

# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

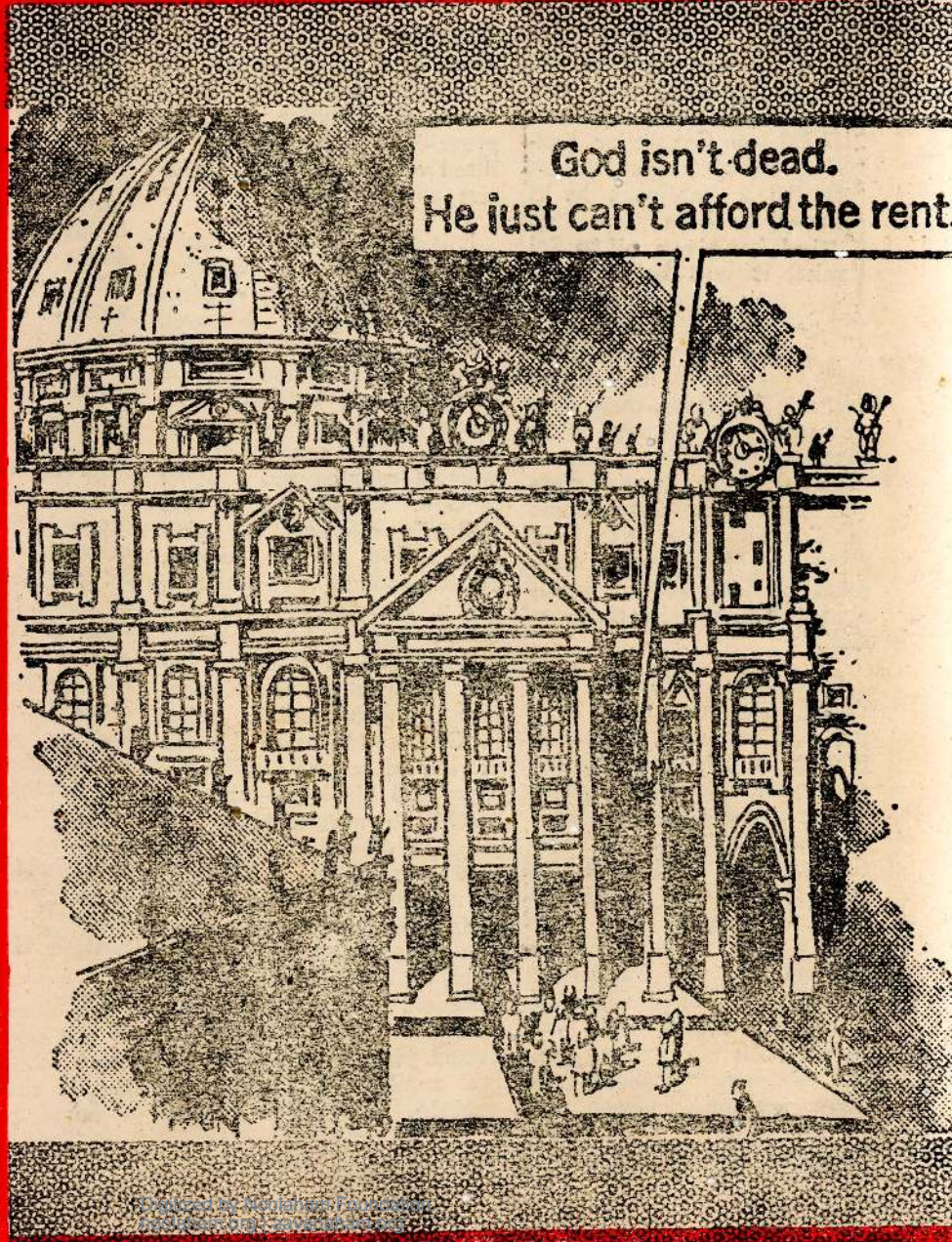
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Vol. 18 No. 14

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- GOD & RENT  
ONE ACRE &  
A COW
- LIBYA-EGYPT  
PAKISTAN  
DETENTE &  
CHINA
- LAKE HOUSE  
DEDIGAMA  
I M F
- AIR CEYLON
- BATTICOTTA
- DISTILLERIES



# Tribunania

✱ God Can't Afford The Rent

✱ One Acre and A Cow

SEVERAL READERS of *Tribune* have written to ask why T. Jayasuriya who sent us a piece, (vide *Tribune*, 21/7/73), on Counsellor Kalinin's press conference did not refer to a statement he is reported to have made that if "God has given oil to Sri Lanka, it will be struck". Every newspaper reporting this press conference had made it a point to report this statement. From all information available to *Tribune*, there does not seem to be any doubt that that the Soviet Embassy's Economic Counsellor had made this remark. Daily newspapers in Colombo had picked on this statement to have many jokes and quips about a Soviet marxist-leninist's reference to God.

Counsellor Kalinin, no doubt, used the term in a metaphorical sense, because it is most unlikely that a leading soviet official would be guilty of the obscurantism of believing in a God. If the word God were equated with the term Nature, then Counsellor Kalinin's remarks will assume a new meaning within the context and framework of the logic of a dialectical materialist—which every soviet official is likely to profess. But this does not mean that there are no believers (in

God) in the Soviet Union. Freedom of belief and worship is guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution, but the prevailing atmosphere is tilted very much against believers and religion.

It is as foolish as it is futile to speculate on whether Counsellor Kalinin's remarks unwittingly betrayed a subconscious return to God in the Soviet Union because there is no evidence that there is any unexpected upsurge in that country in favour of religion and a belief in God. It may well be that Kalinin's reference to God was a slip of the tongue, but it is something about which one need not worry. In the Soviet Union, humanistic ethics based on atheistic dialectic materialism, which eschews religion and a belief in God, continues to flourish as the dominant officially-sponsored ideology—that it would be unrealistic to indulge in wishful thinking that God was being remotely, even secretly, enthroned once again in the hearts of people. The same is no doubt true, of all countries in the eastern european socialist bloc, though in many of them like Poland, Hungary and Rumania, the number of believers is probably far greater in per-

centage than in the Soviet Union. In China also, dialectical materialism is the official ideology and God is not officially recognised by the Government, but it is difficult to know what people believe. In the land of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, the approach to God was not the same as in the christian or muslim world, and it was also different from the thinking in hinduised world of south and south-east Asia.

IT IS difficult to evaluate what people in the non-marxist world believe in or do not believe in. There are no doubt hundreds of millions of believers in God professing various religions, but there are also in this so-called "free world" an increasing number of people whose beliefs are uncertain: ranging from atheism to agnosticism, from rationalistic humanism to cynical nihilism, and from a sophisticated any-means-to-end ethos to downright cannibalistic gangsterism. It is in this situation, that the Pope, as the head of the most organised, most institutionalised and perhaps the richest religious organisation the world has ever known, has declared that 1975 would be a year to pray for the Return to God. In a statement he had declared that God was not fashionable at the moment and that it was necessary to make a special effort to make people return to God.

But what many people fail to realise that it was not so much marxism and the communist countries which gave a boost to unbelief as the

misdeameanours of organised religion which slipped into commercialism of the highest magnitude. In the days of feudalism, the Church and religion became part of the Establishment, and religion subserved feudal privileges. Capitalism brought a new kind of commercialism into the Establishment of religion, and it was this which made Marx cry that religion was the opiate of the people. It was the corruption which stemmed from this bourgeois commercialism which gave rise to humanistic rationalism, atheism and agnosticism (just as feudalised religion had given birth to the Reformation in Europe and Buddhism in Asia), and it is the continuance of this commercialism of institutionalised religion which has made God "unfashionable."

ON THE COVER we have a drawing which symbolises the cynical frustration which has taken more people away from religion and God—rather than any positive proselytisation by *unbelievers* who profess atheism and marxism. It is the same old story from the days of Jesus Christ when he drove the money changers from the Temple. The spirit and teachings of Christ may have spread far and wide, but the money-changers have a firm grip upon organised and institutionalised religion, and God, if he does exist, cannot find room in the Establishment maintained by these religions. *God is not dead, but he just can't afford the rent* is the plaintive cry of the artist. That is the cry of many people who are inclined to believe in a God,

but stay away from religion because of the commercialised exploitation indulged in by many priests and institutions which claim to uphold God.

Science is today unable to explain many things. It has reached a dead end in many matters. Science is not able to establish whether there is a God or no God. This is what many people feel and say today. But they are repelled by the commercialism of all established religions especially in countries where religion is today the *de jure* (as in UK and elsewhere) or *de facto* (as in Sri Lanka) adjunct of the State.

In this issue, the Editor in his *Rambling Notes* refers to an article in the *Nation* of 13/7/73, which suggests that one way out of the financial and economic difficulties of the Government was to repudiate the debts we owe certain foreign countries on a unilateral basis. In recent times, Sukarno was one of the leaders who repudiated the foreign debts of Indonesia and this had led the country into a right royal mess. Sri Lanka may avoid the mistakes Sukarno had made when he repudiated foreign debts, but such repudiation, whatever be the sugar coating and method will have far-reaching consequences which cannot be easily envisaged. Many will fear that repudiation of foreign debts will only lead to repudiation of local debts. It is now argued that many foreign debts were the result of bogus commodity aid of unwanted consumer

luxury items at inflated prices, and it can also be argued later that internal debts had arisen owing to the excess money which the capitalists and exploiters had hoarded.

We have also published in this issue a rather lengthy article by A. Navaratnam, Regional Manager of the Bank of Ceylon, Northern Zone, with his office at Jaffna. The text is based on a speech he delivered at the Rotary



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Club of Jaffna. He makes several interesting points and coming from one of our new breed of bankers it makes interesting reading. He tends to oversimplify many matters, but that is inevitable in an article of this nature. One intriguing suggestion he makes about young men being given *one acre and a cow* is reminiscent of the *three acres and a cow* of Catholicism's Social Justice movement in the thirties (of men like Chesterton in the UK and Father Peter Pillai in Ceylon). Social Justice was one of the ways the Roman Catholic Church sought to remedy the evils of capitalism and stem the tide of communism—but the three acres and a cow method flopped ignominiously. How Navaratnam's one acre and a cow will work is problematic: and he suggests a Jersey cow which can stand only a temperate climate. What is a young man in the Wannu to do especially when he has no market for the milk he produces—as many farmers know to their cost.

\* \* \*

### For Respectability's Sake

A court in Montreal (Canada), the West German *Illustrierte Wochen Zeitung* weekly reports, recently tried a counterfeiter. Asked by the judge how many banknotes he had forged, the accused replied: "I made just enough to become a respectable man again."

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BY ARIEL

- \* Libya—Egypt
- \* Pakistan
- \* Afghanistan
- \* Detente & China

WITH THE GROUP of twenty scheduled to meet at the end of July to resolve the difficulties confronting the capitalist world's monetary and currency problems — and which *directly* affect the economies of the developing countries and *indirectly* the trade and financial dealings with the controlled economic systems of the socialist countries—the currencies of different advanced countries continue to experience ups and downs of the most unexpected and uncertain nature. The dollar has been getting consistently weaker, and grave doubts have been expressed about the validity and usefulness of President Nixon's fourth stage which he announced just before he left the hospital after his recent attack of viral pneumonia. He has got himself on the wrong side of the Senate Committee investigating the Watergate affairs by refusing to place White House tapes before them or release Secret Service aides to testify before it.

His 4000-word statement to the Committee has evoked criticism in many quarters. To save face, Nixon had ponderously declared as he left

the hospital: "let others wallow in Watergate, we will get on with the job..." But Watergate cannot be dismissed just like that.

Events in the Egypt-Libya sector are taking a tragicomic turn with Gaddafi endeavouring to force Sadat into the merger they had agreed upon sometime ago. Gaddafi had even withheld the money Libya paid Egypt for keeping the Suez closed, but Sadat had thereupon turned to Saudi Arabia, and the King, a bitter enemy of Gaddafi, had promptly given the money to Egypt—but the terms are still unknown. This has made Gaddafi take "direct action", and after proclaiming that he had resigned his job as President of Libya in order to make possible the merger under Sadat's leadership, he had induced thousands of Libyans to launch a march to Cairo to demonstrate in favour of the merger. Sadat does not want any such demonstration and the Egyptian government authorities are doing the best to prevent the demonstrators from entering Egypt. There are other elements in Egypt itself who want to welcome these Libyan demonstrators to engage in a "dialogue" on the merits and otherwise of the merger.

In the meantime, the Libyan Revolutionary Council has stated that Gaddafi was still and always President and that the proclaimed resignation should be taken as if "not made." How this interlude will end is difficult, but there is no doubt that this will embarrass Sadat. The merger idea, according to the original agreement must be put to

the final test on September 1 when both countries will vote upon it, but Gaddafi now has doubts whether Sadat and the Egyptians want to back out. However, the demonstrators have withdrawn, but the tussle goes on.

Gaddafi wants to fulfil a new Arab destiny: overpopulated Egypt in grave economic distress with Israel on its doorsteps merged with oil-rich and underpopulated Libya would bring a new force into the Arab world. Gaddafi, 31, who has much more charisma than Sadat, 54, is even willing to let Sadat head the new state. But Gaddafi's vision of an Islamic state has frightened many Egyptians. His recent two-week sojourn in Cairo had shown him that many Egyptians were hostile to his views. Egyptians pride themselves on their "muslim tolerance," but Gaddafi's Libya is a supreme example of xenophobia. A nonsmoker and nondrinker, Gaddafi has closed all bars and nightclubs in Libya where he has restored the Islamic practice of amputations for thievery—punishment which Egyptians do not seem anxious to adopt in their country. Gaddafi has also enraged Egyptian women who feel that adopting strict Islamic law would relegate women to secondclass citizenship. Gaddafi had told an audience of women in Cairo: "because of biological defects, a woman's place is in the home..." Because he could make no headway, Gaddafi flew a delegation of women from Libya to convince their Egyptian sisters about the great virtues of female subservience. Unfor-

tunately, when these women went to Cairo they had pleaded with the Egyptians to help them change their status. Furthermore, Egypt has reason to be cautious of Gaddafi's impulsive diplomacy which has made him quarrel with Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.

ANOTHER MUSLIM country which is still in deep trouble is Pakistan. President Bhutto, with his dexterity and skill, has gone far to give a new image to Pakistan, but the stalemate after the Simla Agreement with the POW's question still unsettled compelled him to "move decisively to thaw relations." He persuaded the National Assembly to give him authority to recognise Bangladesh at the appropriate time. He had stressed that it was a time "for mutual forgiveness and understanding" between Pakistan and Bangladesh. In an emotion-charged speech he had said... "we want to meet one another, we want to embrace one another, we want to shed tears over one another, over what has happened in the past..." The Assembly by an overwhelming majority adopted a resolution authorising the recognition of Bangladesh as an independent country.

Bhutto has made it clear that he will not use that authority immediately, but he is now in a position to effect a compromise. Bangladesh wants recognition because that is the only thing which will make China withdraw her veto on her application for admission to the UN. Pakistan wants its 90,000 POWs still in India back, and India

is naturally anxious to get rid of them. Bhutto is now willing to repatriate the 200,000 Bengalis who are held hostage in Pakistan, and his earlier refusal to take back the 250,000 Biharis now in Bangladesh and who want to return to Pakistan has vanished—he is now willing to swap the Bengalis for the Biharis. But the main hurdle to a settlement centres around Bangladesh's determination to put on trial 195 POWs as "war criminals". The Pakistan army was guilty of so many atrocities in East Bengal that there is no doubt that there will be ample evidence to support the charges against the 195.

High level talks at the officials' level between India and Pakistan will take place soon, but before this Bhutto went to Rome to meet Pakistan's Ambassadors in the West at a conference. He had then planned to go to

### Newsstand Change

Italy is suffering from a chronic shortage of small change. This has given enterprising publisher Luciana Pensuti an idea. As the average newspaper costs 90 lire and news vendors usually have no change for a 100-lire banknote, Signore Pensuti has decided to publish a four-page tabloid called *Newsstand Change*. It is full of comics, horoscopes, jokes, personal ads, etc. It is priced at 10 lire and is given instead of change. The paper's circulation has already reached 150,000.

Washington, but it had to be postponed until September because of President Nixon's illness. He has met Heath in Britain. Bhutto had no doubt wanted to start the talks with India after getting further assurances from Nixon. He already has the fullest support of Iran and China.

Nixon's illness was undoubtedly a setback for Bhutto, but even more disturbing was probably the coup in Afghanistan in which the monarchy has been overthrown and the former Prime Minister Daud Khan has assumed power. The fact that the Soviet Union was the first to recognise the new regime, quickly followed by Czechoslovakia, has made many think that this change in Afghanistan will tilt the country towards the socialist bloc. At the time of writing, India, Bangladesh, Iran, Pakistan and Austria have recognised the new regime.

VERY LITTLE news has become available about the coup in Afghanistan, but the new President has mentioned that whilst the country was non-aligned and friendly to all countries, it had an unsettled Pakthoon problem in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. This Pakthoon problem with Pakistan impinges directly into the problems of the Baluchis whose ethnic and natural homelands extend from inside the political frontiers of Pakistan into the political boundaries of Iran. One of the main reasons why the Shah has backed Bhutto's Pakistan is because he wants to contain the demand of the

Baluchis for a separate state within the overall dominance of CENTO. If the coup in Afghanistan brings a new government of stability, there is no doubt that the cry for the Pakthoonistan and Baluchistan will receive support in Kabul. This will naturally weaken the Shah's Iran and Bhutto's Pakistan as it will lead to considerable inter-ecine trouble in both countries.

There are reports that in Baluchistan there are over 40,000 armed tribesmen who were holding their fire just as their counterparts in the NWFP are doing. Will the coup in Afghanistan and the New Government in Kabul be a signal for a new turbulence in the area?

If the change in Afghanistan has a pro-Moscow tilt, China will undoubtedly come out most strongly against the new Afghan government. But if the coup has only brought a neutral group into power, then China will woo the new Government after extending recognition. But if the Chinese see a Soviet hand in the changes in Afghanistan, Peking will undoubtedly point out that one super-power was stealing a march on the other whilst both were collectively colluding to do China down.

FOR A LONG time after the Brezhnev-Nixon summit, Peking did not make any comment, but after three weeks Premier Chou En-lai came out openly against the summit and its outcome. He is reported to have said that the Brezhnev-Nixon agreement to prevent nuclear war

'could not be trusted and was dangerous because it was deceptive.' Kyodo News Agency named Hisao Kurodu, chairman of the Japan-China Friendship Association, as its source for the views of Chou En-lai. Kurodu had a meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister on July 7.

Kishen Bhatia reported from Washington (*Hindustan Times*, June 24) that China "greeted advance information (of the summit) with suspicion and reservations, officials here admitted." He quoted Henry Kissinger, who should know Mao's mind better than many, as having said that he "did not expect that China would approve any bilateral deal between the USA and the Soviet Union, whatever its consequences."

Not only do the Maoists seem to be against any relaxation of tension between the Soviet Union and USA or the creation of a climate of peaceful coexistence, but they have also declared a total war against detente. All their recent diplomatic endeavours have the sole aim of hampering all moves towards relaxation of tension whether it be in Europe, Arab world or Asia.

This preoccupation with maintaining tension and the cold war has landed the Chinese leadership in the position of supporting military blocs and war machines around the world—military blocs which China's anti-imperialist policies had condemned a few years ago.

The first stage of the European security conference concluded on July 7, in Helsinki

with some positive results. It held out the vista of a peaceful Europe. But it has not found favour with the Chinese leadership.

The Hsinhua News Agency published a commentary on the preparations for the conference. The commentator claimed that no detente was taking place in Europe, but only "a false relaxation of tension fabricated by the Soviet Union." He had added that under the pretext of this "false relaxation", the Soviet Union was seeking to "extend the domain of its influence and build up its military power." Western Europe, he went on, is threatened by "Moscow's aggressiveness" and "Soviet hegemony."

EVERY COUNTRY has a right to change its policies but the change which has come over China, after the Cultural Revolution and the Lin Piao affair, is significant. It has been noted that China has now begun praising the virtues of such aggressive military blocs as the NATO. No less than Prime Minister Chou En-lai has given expression to such views. Some recent delegations from Europe which visited China were told by him that "Europe should follow fixedly the manoeuvres of the Soviet Union and be on guard." And that countries of western Europe "should unite to oppose the Soviet Union's continental expansionism."

Support for NATO is being given expression by Peking through various ways. Hsinhua, for example, broadcast a Copenhagen report on the

statement of the ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council of the NATO on June 14 and 15 without comment. The statement had called for "vigilance" against Soviet "manoeuvres." The conclusion drawn by the American news agency AP (June 17) was: "China again hinted today at its support for the Atlantic alliance, with the help of US troops based on Europe keeping up its defence against the Soviet Union."

So obsessed have the Chinese become about the threat from Russia that they, according to reports appearing in Paris, London and Bonn, are flirting with various anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik organisations in West Germany and elsewhere.

There is a well known setup known as the People's Anti-Bolshevik Bloc in Munich which has for many years waged a propaganda war against the Soviet Union. There are also organisations of refugees from Estonia in Stuttgart which still have hopes of restoring the old order in the Latvian countries. Reports indicate that the Chinese believe that these organisations should be helped and encouraged in order to keep the Kremlin on the hop. All over Europe and even on the other continents, Peking is now the chief opponent of Moscow, and the Chinese attack is constant and persistent with no hold's barred, and the old anti-bolshevik organisations are naturally excellent organisations for mounting such attacks.

CHINA has made its position very clear in many ways. China's foreign minister Chi Peng-fei made a grand tour of four capitals—London, Paris, Teheran and Karachi (he could not land in Islamabad because of bad weather) in June. Though the discussions in London and Paris were kept secret the purpose of the visit could not be mistaken. It was to persuade Britain and France, if possible, to take intransigent anti-Soviet positions at the Helsinki conference on European security.

Later at Teheran, however, Chi Peng-fei put all his cards on the table. The Arab world and India are currently worried over the massive arms build-up by Iran, a member of the CENTO which has again been activated by western imperialists. The aim of the build-up is all too clear to them—it is in furtherance of imperialist interests in the area. The Shah of Iran has even started talking about a "role" for his country in the Indian Ocean.

But according to Chi, "Iran has a right to reinforce its military potential to safeguard itself against the subversive forces at work in the Gulf region." At the banquet which the Shah threw in his honour he spoke about the "identical views" of China and Iran. And he affirmed China's support for Iran's military build up as "necessary measures" against subversion and expansionism of "certain big powers" in the Gulf and Indian Ocean areas.

He did not name the "certain big powers". But for

his listeners there was no difficulty in identifying them as the Soviet Union and perhaps India. Neither did they fail to note the similarity of views between the Chinese foreign minister and the CENTO partners—Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Britain and USA.

AND, China has also made it clear about the "desirability of US presence" in Asia even after the Vietnam war was ended. For example, in January last Chou En-lai had told a delegation of Japanese MPs that Japan must keep to the US-Japanese security agreement and remain under the protection of the US nuclear umbrella. He also called on the Japanese ruling circles to build up their own military potential.

Only until recently the Chinese leadership had consistently condemned this very same agreement in the most vehement fashion. Even Mao had called it way back in 1960 as an "aggressive military alliance spearheaded against China." This is not the only matter on which China has adopted new attitudes. During 1956-60 China was an ardent champion of a peace pact among the states of Asia and the Pacific including USA. In 1957 the joint Soviet-Chinese statement proposed substitution of all military groupings through a system of collective peace and security in the region.

And now, Chou was reported to have said to the earlier mentioned Japanese MPs' delegation that the Soviet Union was "trying to subjugate us with the help

of its idea of an Asian security system."

And China's attitude to the Soviet Union's desire to make a success of Helsinki was the same. The Russians were seeking to subjugate Europe under cover of a collective system of security.

NEVERTHELESS the 35 nation European Security Conference formally ended July 7 with agreement among the European countries, the USSR, the US and Canada to try to bury the cold war. But the final meeting nearly broke down over differences and acrimonious exchanges on its final communique.

Foreign Ministers of the participating countries had offered a number of plans on how European security and closer co-operation should be strengthened in the future to replace the 25-year old cold war with an era of peace and greater freedom. They agreed that these and other proposals should be taken up by their representatives in Geneva on 18 September and turned into acceptable concrete specific agreements.

These agreements will provide a set of principles on future improved relations between East and West closer economic and scientific cooperation and more "human contacts" allowing for a freer flow of information and ideas across the continent.

But when the Ministers came to formulate their achievements in a final communique, they ran into serious trouble. Important Foreign

Ministers expressed their anger over the wrangle which they feared obscured the achievements of the conference, described as dramatic, historic and unprecedented by many of its participants.

The quarrel was about Malta's insistence on a reference to its demand for admission of two Arab States - Tunisia and Algeria —to the talks, opposed by the bulk of the conference.

A terse and watered down communique was finally produced. It included a statement about Malta's demand, but said no consensus had been reached. The controversy had extended over hours and caused Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko intervene angrily with the charge that one country was blocking the vital conference. West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel complained about the 'undignified manner' in which the meeting had degenerated.

Significant of the heavy atmosphere of the concluding stages was Britain's insistence on the removal of proposed references in an earlier draft of the communique to the conference's businesslike and constructive work. The British Minister said the claim was not borne out by the facts.

Nevertheless in spite of Malta's spanner-in-the-works, the Conference ended on a cordial note. Many observers noted that Malta is the recipient of generous aid from China and Libya.



## RAMBLING NOTES

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

### \* Lake House \* Dedigama \* IMF - and Repudiation of Foreign Debts?

AT THE TIME these notes are being written, the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon (Special Provisions) Bill has already become an Act—after receiving the Speaker's assent. It is now law. The names of the new Board of Directors, appointed by the Public Trustee, has been announced and by the time this issue of *Tribune* gets to the newstands, Lake House will be under a new management.

This brings to an end one chapter in the history of Lake House, and it is also the culmination of the long-standing demand of the Left and radical forces that Lake House should be taken over. The first time this demand was made was in 1960 (and this was reflected in the Throne Speech of the Government which came to power after the July 1960 elections). But for various reasons, this demand could not be implemented until now. What the future of Lake House, under its new auspices, will be, is hard to say. And it is also premature to venture on any comment what the Lake House papers will say under the new management. It will understandably be a hundred percent pro-government affair, although the shares will be diffused among

a large number of shareholders. It is to be yet seen whether the new management will present all the news fit to print in an objective manner even if such news is unpalatable to the government in power, or the circles in the ruling hierarchy.

THE POST-MORTEMs about Dedigama are not as many as one was led to expect by the heat generated by the tussle on polling day. *Lake House*, with understandable caution and restraint, published only wishy-washy comments. The *Times* group did not venture to say anything more, whilst the *Sun* group was a little more vigorous in pointing out that the tide of public opinion had turned against the Government. The communist *Aththa* stated that reactionary forces were still strong and that the Government had to draw the proper lessons from this defeat at Dedigama—if the UF has to win public support more fully. The last issue of *Nation* was silent about Dedigama except for a weak cartoon, but the *Janawegaya* stated that Dedigama showed that the feudal overlords at Botale, namely the Senanayake family, still ruled the roost in the elec-

torate, and that this stranglehold had to be broken.

There was a great deal of talk and gossip in political circles about thuggery, and the SLFP candidate took the bull by the horns and issued a statement which made it out that he and his party were the victims of thuggery unlimited. The statement, which was released to the papers last weekend, is published in full below for the record.

How far people will believe everything set out in the statement is hard to say because many are still of the view that at Dedigama, this time, it was the UNP which was at the receiving end of the thuggery and that it was a kind of karmic retribution for all the thuggery the UNP had indulged in elections during the last 25 years all over the island, especially in the periods when it was in power. However, Mr. Dharmasiri Senanayake's statement makes interesting reading especially for those who can read between the lines. We publish the English version which appeared in the *Observer*.

"It is a well known fact, especially to the people of Dedigama that elections at this electorate have, from as early as 1936, far from being peaceful and orderly, been fraught with the tensions and violence organised by the established reactionary strongholds against the poor and downtrodden masses. Beginning in the 1936 General Elections all those sections of the masses who stood against the forces of capitalism and

entrenched feudalism had to face various forms of thuggery and intimidation unheard of in the annals of Parliamentary elections in this or any other democratic country."

"Assault, battery, wanton destruction of personal property and even kidnapping on the eve of Polling Day followed by their abandonment in the countryside at points-of-no-return, have been the sad and recurrent story that progressive elections in Dedigama have had to face at the hands of the massive machinery held by the reactionary and feudal overlords who had ruled the roost. This violent process was so systematised by the power elite that is readily and easily clipped into gear when the Parliamentary Elections of 1947, 1952, March and July 1960 and again in 1965 and 1970, were held in Dedigama and it manifest its ugly head in some form or other and in ranging degrees of intensity.

"It is therefore not surprising that these features were manifest during the recent by-election too. But it took a new form, a new guise, which perhaps was not beyond the fertile imagination of the power-hungry reactionary classes who wanted to destroy any chance of the poor to see the dawn of a new era. The old thuggery in a new guise manifest itself throughout Dedigama through new and subtle techniques. Until the night of Election Eve, the 8th of July, everything was peaceful at Dedigama except for a minor incident when thugs threw some stones at my jeep in the village of Waddeniya.

But this was perhaps a passing triviality when compared to what was unleashed on the night of the 8th.

Truly it may be called the 'Night of the Long Knives' which was reminiscent of Hitler's Nazi Germany. Groups of imported thugs who were later unmistakably identified by the law authorities as coming from such places as Kotte, Yatiyantota, Attanagalla, Mirigama, Ja-ela and certain other adjoining electorates, infiltrated into Dedigama under cover of darkness coming by a variety of means — by cars, taxis, private coaches and even by public transport.

"I was reliably informed that certain of these groups of organised thugs travelled from Colombo to Ambepussa

by train, and then moved into strategic points 'relevant' to their nefarious operations in relation to the Elections that were to take place the next day. Fortunately owing to the vigilance shown by the local population and the alertness of the Police a large number of these groups were effectively prevented from implementing their operations. Some of these were carrying hand-bombs and other dangerous weapons on their persons. An ex-MP was arrested by the Police for carrying an excessively long and sharp dagger on his person.

"What was most revealing was the fact that almost all of these infiltrator-thugs were caught with parcels of red and blue shirts and caps with

### SPACE DOCTOR RULES OUT LONG FLIGHTS FOR WOMEN

Houston, July 2,

Skylab astronaut Joseph Kerwin, America's first doctor in space, yesterday urged a go-slow attitude toward long flights to the planets and ruled women out for such flights. He told a television interviewer: "Men have been sailing ships and going to the Arctic without women and been doing so successfully for hundreds of years." But he also conceded that women have proven themselves just as capable as men in science and technology. Skylab commander Charles Conrad also said that women should not be used in the initial stages of space exploration but had a role to play later on such, as in the building and staffing of large space stations.

Kerwin, Conrad and Skylab pilot Paul Weitz were interviewed on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) programme "issues and answers." Kerwin suggested that longer space flights should be taken in "slow steps" with intervals of 90 days, six months, or one year before any determination is made about planetary flights.

"By that time we'll be able to say what kind of equipment and ecology we'll need," he said.

which they were to be probably adorned when they took 'duty-stations' on Elections Day! This was the measure of their conspiracy and the enormity of their crime against the very democratic institutions that they had sworn to uphold.

"Police investigations have revealed that the ring leaders of these groups carried written credentials from their Principals to the local Agents stating 'treat these people well, they are briefed for action'. What more telling proof of organised thuggery do we need? In this context it became the duty of the people to not merely go to the polls the next day but also to alert themselves into an awareness of the dangerous propensities of these imported thugs and protect their kith and kin from their molestations.

"I am happy to state today, that in spite of this tense situation fraught as it was with 'imported' dangers, the mass of the people of Dedigama as much as 91.5 per cent—trekked to the polling booths and cast their votes. I am also grateful to record that the enlightened voters of Dedigama have endorsed the progressive policies of the United Front Government by way of an increased vote to me as the Government candidate than what I polled in the 1970 General Elections."

**"Note by Observer Editor: A few phrases in this statement have been edited on legal advice."**

THE OTHER DEVELOPMENT of some significance

has been brought into focus by a leading article in the *Nation* of July 13. The article was under the heading: IMF HOLDS SRI LANKA TO RANSOM. During the last two or three months, the *Nation* has been hitting hard at the IMF and the World Bank. It had also hinted, in fairly clear terms that there were certain forces within the UF Government which were willing to surrender all down the line to the IMF.

The present attack on the IMF was because of the short shrift an official delegation from Sri Lanka had received in Washington when it went there recently to negotiate for a standby credit. This is how the *Nation* described the treatment the delegation had received: "The recent high-powered mission sent by Sri Lanka to the IMF to negotiate a stand-by arrangement for the current year has returned unsuccessful. At Washington, our team has met a solid human wall of goggle-eyed financiers screaming 'Devalue now, or else..' This is the latest of a series of events that started with the UNP regime of 1965, which have gradually and steadily shackled the economy of the country to a point where the country's sovereignty is now in serious question.."

The article then goes on to set out the history of Ceylon's dealings with the IMF since 1965, when the UNP had come to power, and stressed that the policies of the UNP which had led to devaluation and FEECs had brought this country into a financial mess.

But what is of significance in the article was in the tail—it had a sting with far-reaching implications. The question was asked: "What is the solution available to Sri Lanka?"

The answer is set out in full.

"Of course, we could refuse to service the debts. After all, these debts arose primarily from bogus 'aid' consortia, which negotiated purchase by the country of surplus and non-saleable goods at inflated prices. We can ask the IMF and IBRD "to go to Hell, and service those debts of friendly countries only. Immediately, the Western imperialistic financiers are likely to retaliate.

"But, couldn't we stand this? The people of the country would suffer any hardship to preserve our national sovereignty and integrity, if only the problem is explained to them. (Hush Hush talks wont do). The Western markets cannot yet do without Ceylon's Tea. Rubber and Oil markets are buoyant and we do have assured markets in socialist countries.

"Many liberal anti-imperialistic countries such as Norway, Sweden, Libya, UAR, India, would certainly come to our assistance, other than the Socialist regimes.

"Of course, the problem will be whether the country's leaders and planners will have the courage to contemplate, leave alone implement, such a policy. It is useful for them to remember that the COMECON countries have worked

out side the imperialistic IMF-IBRD system for so long and they do not seem to have done badly. China had become a great trading power without benediction at the reactionary altar of world imperialism. Why not we?"

**Does this mean that there are circles in Government which want to embark on a policy of repudiating the foreign loans obtained from countries which are "unfriendly" to Sri Lanka at the moment?**

Unilateral repudiation is a serious matter in the community of nations. It is one thing to negotiate a moratorium or a re-scheduling of debts, but it is a totally different thing to repudiate debts unilaterally, or even unilaterally suspend all payments for a set period.

It is too early to say anything on this subject, but this is a matter which must concern all people who are deeply interested in the future of Sri Lanka. Repudiation of debts may seem an easy way out of many difficulties, but the implications are serious on a short-term as well as long term basis.

Or is repudiation being aired as a bargaining stick for negotiations for a moratorium? It must be also borne in mind that even COMECON countries will think twice about dealing with countries which resort to unilateral repudiation of debts in the prevailing atmosphere of detente and coexistence.

SHAMBA

## Depressing Thoughts

May 31 -- June 3

by ANATORY BUKOBA

May 31,

Matters seem to go from bad to worse, and never more so than when they seem to have taken a turn for the better. It is not the weather that is at fault, but the frailties of human nature. You leave a couple of people in charge of a house, and they leave it. Then others come along and find no one there. There is no gainsaying that those who abandoned the house have broken faith. They have not lived up to the trust reposed in them. That is quite bad enough. Sometimes their short-sightedness or perspicacity boomerangs on them. That is what happened today. One unscrupulous person could load all manner of accusations on those who have bolted. Reckoned in terms of money, the sky would be the limit, if they were really unscrupulous.

Well, I was away for a few days and came back to find the *ratta cadju* dead. I pulled it out, and it came away quite easily. One asks for an explanation and the answer one gets looks everything but the right one. Some good work has been done. A fence has been planted to match the one that was down before. The path to the house is like a Y, the second last letter of the alphabet. The arms of the Y lead on to the road

a few yards from each other, and they meet at the bottom of the embankment. The fence was planted on one side of all this to match that on the other. It looks very fine. Three of the four plantain trees that were planted last look a wreck. Just dead leaves hanging on them. These dead leaves must be cut off. A plantain tree that has been moved usually has to be trimmed of its leaves, and often part of its trunk. We had at last three bundles of cadjans put aside on a tree; they are liable to pick up snakes on the ground. There are only two left. People who appeared to have no money, claim to have had quite large sums of money with them, once it is lost. Losing a rupee usually makes one quite objected. These people can lose large sums and sing. It is a wonderful philosophy they have, but it makes one think. Perhaps it is folly to start our venture alone. It was certainly not my idea to start this alone. When one has had a spell of living entirely alone, one does not like to repeat the performance. One becomes thankful for small mercies and a companion has to be really very bad for one not to accept him.

In a venture or experiment like this, where one is supposed or trying to work

and live on terms of equality where no one is employed, and all have to wait for their returns at some time or other, hence, it is not easy to ask anyone to leave, especially if they have put in some good work. It makes no difference that they have invested nothing.

June 1.

It has been a day when I have been feeling too despondent to work. A trip to "town" did me good. Half, or rather all, the newly transplanted vegetables are sheathed in leaves of branches stuck in the ground to protect them from the sun. It is difficult to penetrate these leaves with the eye to see how the plants are doing. Rather than poke around too much, I have left them alone. Those who have done their watering say they have done their work well. I can only hope for the best.

Soil makes a lot of difference to the plants. The original water melon plants do not seem to have grown much. The water melon and the beans planted more recently in what seems better soil have outstripped the rest. The bitter gourd, since branches were put in for them to grow on, have grown faster. The eighteen month jak looks much better although I was anxious about it yesterday. Even the manioc looks better, anyway by torch light. I often go round the plants at night, like an English farmer would his cows, especially those milking cows tied in the byre, but I do not remember him ins-

pecting his pigs in the hull, unless there was one about to have a litter. I look at the plants at night much for the same reason the English farmer would his stall-fed cows, but I find it at a more restful time to do so, too. We were probably all feeling under the weather, so no work was done. I think, apart from the watering in the evening.

Village life goes on much as usual. Some people whose houses are near, we may not see for weeks on end. We might undertake a trip to our shopping centre and see no one, except the man in his shop. It really is a

great life, and today, even after so much trouble, I was really glad to get home. It would not, I think, have been quite the same without my two companions, and this is their home too, and there was a friend to swell our numbers. We talked much as other people would, and it is only after they have gone to bed that I am writing these notes. I heard a noise, and I went out to investigate it. Some plants in the hedge are almost lying on their side, and no one has bothered to pick them up again and put them straight. The torch picks up many things that the eyes does not see in daylight.

### MOSQUITOES DETEST GARLIC

From mediaeval herbal folklore to the penetrating analysis of modern biochemical technology, that's the distinguished journey now completed by the odoriferous garlic. And the two biochemists who have spent the last couple of years examining the striking pesticide properties of the herb now think they have come up with a larvicide that could be a real commercial proposition in the fight against malaria. Two years ago S. V. Amonkar and A. Banerji, then at the University of California, reported that an oil distillate of Instant Minced Garlic killed off mosquito larvae at a concentration of about 20 parts per million ppm. Clearly excited by the possibility of discovering a new anti-mosquito agent, they set about isolating and purifying the chemicals in the distillate.

This they have now achieved while at the Bhabha Atomic Research Laboratories, Bombay. Diallyl di-and trisulphide turn out to be the larvicidal substances, the natural mixture of which is lethal to mosquito larvae at a mere 2 ppm. After identifying these agents Amonkar and Banerji produced a synthetic mixture of the two sulphides which had an efficacy equal to that of the natural sample. The way now seems clear to commercial production of these larvicides which centuries of gastronomic application have proved to be harmless to humans, giving them a clear advantage over the much-criticised DDT —From 'New Scientist'.

It is good to have a place; to say, I live at such-and-such a spot. The work one does seems secondary. There would, of course, be no life without work.

When there was a slight, short drizzle this morning, I took it as a sign that however bad everything might seem, there is always a silver lining somewhere. Living without a clock or a watch at this place is a great boon. It means one is not worried by time. The church bell rings the time when we need it.

June 2,

We planted mango seeds, ten of them, in coconut shells, after knocking tiny holes in each shell. Then we extended the front of our house, something I have wanted to do for a long time, the wood had already been cut. We erected the wooden edifice before lunch, and put the cadjan roof on after our

### BACK TO THE BIKE

The Japanese Ministry of Construction has decided to build a special 1,200-kilometre bicycle road along the Pacific coast, from China Prefecture to Wakayama Prefecture. The decision was prompted by the fact that the city streets are packed with automobiles and more and more Japanese are switching back to the bike. All in all, some 30,000 kilometres of three-metre-wide bicycle roads are to be built.

afternoon rest. It looked good, but I shall have a better idea of what it looks like tomorrow. I trimmed the four new planted trees, and they now look respectable. We were able to plant our second pineapple top. Today, as I was able to buy the fruit for Re. 1/- which is cheap for these parts.

Plantains have become so expensive here, we just do not buy them, and make sambols to eat in their place with our bread. We decided too, not to buy any more condensed milk after the price increase, in spite of the fact that we were never without it before but now that the increase has been slashed by half, we may buy it occasionally. We had *mungatta kiri-bath* for lunch, and it was made with *rathu kekulu hal*, a variety of rice. It tasted good, but we had a little sugar in it.

A long green snake ran over my towel yesterday. This snake is supposed to spring at the eyes, after which part of the anatomy it is named.

When we make or extend a house, we have to buy rope. This rope is sold at twenty-five cents a piece of rope. I do not know how long a piece is, but the rope certainly goes quickly. It can be quite an expensive item. I am beginning to feel sleepy now, and I find that I am beginning to write nonsense, which I have to scratch out, of course, I managed to do a bit of reading today, Fr Malachy's *Miracle*, by Bruce Marshall, written in 1931. I have a copy of *Das Kapital* with me to read next.

Someone has sent me a present of some French and Israeli magazines. We also got a present of some mangoes, and we shall plant every seed.

What a more hopeful day it was than yesterday.

We live on Rs. 5/- a day here, Rs 5/- for three of us, but I think we normally spend a little more. Vegetables are the cheapest to get, but there is not much of it to be had. Mangoes are cheaper than plantains, and papaws are cheap too. I am really so tired, I can hardly think.

June 3,

If there is one comment, a fair one, that I can make upon our life here, I would say that inspite of all our failings, it breeds men of character. Of course, there is bad character and good, and those who have stayed with me have strong characters.

A bad character some may equate with a weak character; no doubt it is a form of weakness, but I do not think it is a weak character. A good character must be built on a naturally strong character. We have had enough stresses and strains I think to test all our characters. Some people have not lasted a day. St Patrick ran away from his bondage in Ireland, as a swineherd, after seven years of it. Then he came back to him a household name for many centuries.

You farm two ways, I think I would be right in saying. Either it is a purely

commercial venture, or it is a life. If it is a life, I would say that it has to look outside itself—there farming itself I do not think could ever make a life. I do not think anybody would just live for farming. There must be higher ideal, a higher aim. I think that is what we are lacking at the moment.

One of us is a fine cook. I have rarely seen a better. He is a willing cook. When he first came, if he lacked anything to make a tasty food, he was willing to manage without, and I always liked eating what he had made. He sits on a stone by the fireplace, as black as night, braving the smoke, spending seemingly hours there, and washes the pots. I do not know how. He is a versatile man and is a Tarzan when it comes to trees.

Another of us is a patient gardener. He is fairly versatile, too, a willing worker, and he is reliable in his way. We all work for no pay when it comes to our work here. We have various schemes for making money, and one of these we hope to launch out on tomorrow. More of it awhile, and I need only say at the moment that it is firmly anchored to our farming, but in spite of that any Colombo household could do it.

We had good showers of rain today. The soil has had a good soaking. There is much waiting to be transplanted.

\* \* \*

## AIR CEYLON AGAIN

# The Only Way To Fly

By CANAX

This may surprise you, but I consider myself a patriot first, and a bum last and always. (No, I haven't taken refuge in politics yet, but why do you ask?) The world being what it is, one man's patriot is invariably another man's bum, only in my case there are a good many people who think I'm an unusual mixture of both, which makes me a sort of patriotic bum, I suppose.

That probably explains why I find myself brimming over with pride as I come back this week to Sri Lanka's greatest gift to the world—Air Ceylon. Lest we forget, 'Roving Raju' was our greatest once upon a time, but that was before we invented Air Ceylon.

AGREEMENTS may come (with UTA) and Agreements may go (with KLM and with BOAC) but, remember, Air Ceylon goes on forever.

I've decided to rush into print in defence of our national carrier because of the nasty, and incredible, stories about Air Ceylon now being circulated by a few unpatriotic nationals. One of them happens to be a friend, I'm afraid. Well, it takes all sorts....

The best and most effective way for me to expose this villainy is to let my friend tell his story the way he's been telling it up to now, and then give you 'the facts of the case'. Over now to his story:

My friend went to London on a pre-paid return ticket made out for Colombo/London/Colombo. The return journey, in two month's time, was also confirmed for a specified date. Within a week of his arrival there he

phoned through to the London office "just to make sure" as he puts it. And, sure enough, he had his confirmation re-confirmed.

So he forgot all about it and went about his business the nature of which, he says, is none of my business. With a month to go he thought he'd check again. Everything tickety-boo, he was told, or words to that effect which made him feel he was back home already. More of his business until it was one week to blast-off. He decided to play Doubting Thomas for the third and last time.

A SWEET, Frenchy female voice answered, told him to hold on a sec and came back a couple of minutes later with the wonderful news that his name was not on the list. Difficult though it was to break into a cold sweat in that miserable weather, he says he did.

"What do you mean, it's not on the list?" he demanded.

"Like I said, sir," said the voice, by now fast turning to ice. "Your - name - is - not - on - the - list."

"But it was there TWO months ago," he shouted, his voice heating up in an equal and opposite reaction.

"Two months ago!" echoed the voice. "Why, that's ancient history."

"Well, it was there one month ago too."

"Now you're into modern history, sir."

"You can't do this to me!" cried my friend. "I hold a confirmed ticket for that flight." "You won't feel lonely, sir, for you have company. We have a dozen others like you whose names don't mean a thing to us."

"I demand to speak to the Manager."

THE MANAGER, it turned out, couldn't have been more apologetic. It was a most unfortunate foul-up, he said, and was the result of modernisation. Seat-reservations was considered too important a job to be handled by humans, so a computer took over and human error became a thing of the past.

Said the Manager, "At least in the old days I could bawl out a ticketing clerk for a goof like this, but now I'd look a proper Charlie yelling at a bunch of transistors."

My friend asked to see the passenger list. "Who's the Frenchman in my place?"

"A friend, maybe," the Manager said hesitantly.

"Of yours?"

"No, the computer's," said the Manager blandly.

When, finally, the talk turned to the very real possibility of court proceedings, the Manager turned unusually sympathetic and promised to 'fix it'. "Leave it to me," he had whispered confidentially, with a knowing wink.

And fix it he did, for on the appointed day my friend got on board the aircraft at Heathrow without a hitch.

THE FIRST STOP was Paris but, says my friend, it very nearly turned out to be also his last. And that of a dozen others, all from good old Lanka. The stop being a brief one, he decided to sit it out in the aircraft. Minutes later, a sweet Frenchy female voice over the public address system called out a string of names, my friend's included, requesting them to come to the rear of the aircraft. On responding, they were told to pick up their hand baggage and step outside. "I'm sorry, said the voice, which had by now taken on a shapely visual form as well, "but you're not on this flight."

"But I am, I am!" said my friend firmly, "and I intend to be till I get all the way home." To prevent any misunderstanding, he says, he trooped back to his seat and made himself comfortable once more. He says he added, "If you want me off this plane that bad, you'll have to carry me off yourself," but she didn't dare. Unfortunately. Quite unlike the French, I agree.

At this stage all the natives on board (ours, that is) joined in the shouting match and chaos reigned until the Paris police, who look and act very much like our thugs, the ones out of uniform, stepped in and restored order. The natives were adamant that there would be no half-way house, the choice being between all of them getting on board or none at all. So the French thought good riddance and bundled them all onto the flight.

It was an exciting experience, says my friend, who admits he wouldn't have missed it for anything in the world. He means the plane, of course.

So much for his story. And now for the facts:

MY FRIEND should be thankful. Air Ceylon asked him to buzz off at Paris and not anywhere else.

### SLOW MOTION

A special survey undertaken by the Higher School of Technology in Vienna reveals that the average speed with which cars move in the centre of the Austrian capital during the rush hours is eight kilometres per hour. The authors of the survey have suggested proclaiming the centre of Vienna a "pedestrian zone." This, they say, will save the drivers nerves and pedestrians will not have to breathe air that is filled with exhaust gas.



I really don't know what he is grousing about; not as though he was asked to step off the aircraft and make himself scarce at 39,000 feet, as would have been demanded of him had he travelled by an uncivilised airline, which is what all the others are.

My friend has also completely misunderstood the whole purpose behind the request to disembark at Gay Paree. It's all part of Air Ceylon's new, exciting 'Stop-Over' Plan in operation. All right, so my friend didn't want to stop over for one reason or another (his wife was probably one), but that's no reason to lambaste Air Ceylon. They try to put the fun back into flying, and all they get is a lot of abuse. Believe me, it's the only way to fly.

One last point. In case IATA, like most professional bodies, forbids its members from seeking undue publicity on the grounds that it is unprofessional conduct, I would like to say here and now that the puff I've given our national carrier was not solicited in any way and was given gratis and only because I love my country—even to the point of praising Air Ceylon.

For me, too, like for some other people, patriotism knows no bounds.

For News Behind  
the News  
Read  
**TRIBUNE**  
Regularly

BATTICOTTA SEMINARY -- 2

# Governor Barnes Finally Relents

by

James T. Rutnam

This is the second instalment of the series on Batticotta Seminary which was established on July 22, 1832, at Vaddukkodai, in Jaffna, by the American Missionaries.

PROSELYTIZING in the sense we now understand—a sinister opprobrious term that describes a misguided religious zeal—was never practised by the American Mission. There were no forcible conversions. The missionaries depended entirely on precept and example to gain their spiritual objectives. They set great store on education, on discussion and finally on conviction and a genuine change of heart for which consummation they were ready to pray and wait patiently. This explains why there was not a single case of baptism of a non-Christian in their field for as long as five years.

Nathaniel Niles, formerly known as Kathiresar, a son of Velayuthar of Punnalaikaduwan and Jordan. Lodge were the first Hindus who were baptised by the American Mission, and this happened as late as 22nd April 1821. It would thus be seen that the Missionaries laid the emphasis on education and that too of a wide and liberal type. Nathaniel Niles who later became a Preacher was

a remarkable product of local American education, as the references to his educational progress published in the *Missionary Register*, a London Missionary publication of the time, would indicate.

With the rapid expansion of Missionary activity, particularly in the field of education, additional personnel was needed. Early in 1820 Levi Spaulding, Miron Winslow, Henry Woodward and John Scudder, arrived in Ceylon with their wives. Brownrigg was still Governor of Ceylon, but as it transpired later, the missionaries had not come a day too soon. Howland states, "They arrived just as the Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg was retiring from office. His official consent to their residence was given the day before he left. When the Lieut-Governor Sir Edward Barnes protested, he said he was Governor as long as he remained in the Island and he should give permission. Sir Edward Barnes replied, 'Very well, they will soon die off and we shall not allow any more to come.'"

The canard that the Ceylon Government had relegated the American Missionaries to the "arid" North (of Ceylon) to perish there appears to have sprung up from this story. Indeed it should now be clear that Jaffna was selected for other reasons. "It is a

curious fact," says a writer to the *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon*, "that from the announcement of this programme (by Barnes) till its withdrawal in 1832 (by Horton) the American Mission lost only one man by death and suffered little from sickness. Two members of this company lived and worked fifty years in Jaffna." The "curse" had no effect!

But Barnes did have his revenge. For after Brownrigg's departure in 1820, when Barnes sat on the *gadi* for a time, James Garret came over to Ceylon to take charge of the Mission's printing press. Barnes would not allow him to stay, and he had to leave, eventually for Bombay. Barnes, a Waterloo veteran, fumed that he considered it "an impertinence on the part of Americans to come to Ceylon for Missionary work since every needed effort in that direction was already being made by his Majesty's Government."

Barnes sneered at the Americans and got his Deputy Secretary William Granville to write to the Missionaries in a letter dated 22nd September 1820 that "when he considered the vast, extensive regions of the American continent, many of the populous tribes of which are to this hour in all the darkness of heathen barbarism, he cannot but think that your pious labours might be far more advantageously exerted in their cause than in that of a people already subsisting under a Christian Government."

He even dared to reopen the question of the continued stay of the other missionaries permitted by Brownrigg, and his despatch to Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State, dated 10th October 1820 affords interesting reading. He did not think it "expedient or prudent to allow the subjects of a foreign State to gain that influence over the minds of the Natives, which as their religious instructors these men and their successors might in time acquire."

Barnes, whose objections were really political, not religious, continued to be a menace to the Mission and a nightmare to unhappy Poor. It must however be recorded that towards the end of the Barnes administration in Ceylon, he seems to have been affected by Poor's persistent protests for in his letter dated 11th March 1829 to George Murray on Ecclesiastical Establishment and Education he says:

*"At stations within a short distance of each other and a few miles of the Town of Jaffna are five American Missionaries with their Native Assistants. They are very well informed, indefatigable and painstaking men, have had much success among the Malabars, and have very flourishing schools with an Institution at Batticotta for the further education of the most promising Youth who have made considerable progress in the higher branches of Education. Their annual Examination have always given the greatest satisfaction to all present, among*

*whom have been some of the best judges in the island."*

Righteousness seems to have triumphed finally, though belatedly.

Note the word "indefatigable" used by Barnes. That was the measure of Poor's triumph over his enemies.

(To be continued)

### Lira on the Decline

The exchange rate of the Italian lire has been falling on the money markets since mid-June. Since it was floated in January, its purchasing power has declined roughly by 30 per cent, and even in relation to the steadily declining dollar its exchange rate has gone down by 20 per cent. Financial experts attribute the depreciation of the lira to Italy's balance of payments deficit and the outflow of capital from the country. No small part is played also by speculative conversion of Italian currency into gold and more stable currencies abroad. The depreciation of the lira has tended to aggravate contradictions between Common Market countries since the fall in its exchange rate gives Italian exporters an advantage in the competitive struggle on the West European markets. The French and West German state banks propose to extend credits totalling \$1,900 million to the Bank of Italy in order to strengthen the lira.

## Some Aspects of Economic Development

By

Appapillai Navaratnam

Text of a speech delivered by Appapillai Navaratnam, B.A. (Lond.), Regional Manager, Northern Region, Bank of Ceylon, at the Rotary Club, Jaffna on Some Aspects of Economic Development.

In order to appreciate the strategy employed for the economic development of a country, it is necessary to know the socio-political-economic background of a country. I shall therefore, first touch on the social systems and the forms of government in countries of interest to us before I proceed to unfold to you the strategy of economic development in the different economies.

WHILE a free economy and a *laissez-faire* policy are the hall-mark of a capitalistic structure, what are the essential features of socialism? In socialism, firstly the major factors of production, viz land, labour, capital and organisation or entrepreneurship are owned by the state; the second feature of socialism is the planned economy.

Soviet Russia and the Republic of China are glorious examples of planned economy. I might say that there is more central planning in Russia than in China. Under Central planning, the State shall draw up a scale of priorities in the different sectors of economic activity; the State shall determine what shall be produced and what shall not be produced. What shall be imported and what shall not be imported.

The third feature of socialism is the liquidation of all forms of exploitation; exploitation of man by man; of a country by a country such as takes place in imperialism; of one class by another class such as might take place in a country where there is an oligarchic class; why ignore feudalism as an example of exploitation of one class by another?

On a broad analysis socialism may be said to be of two major types: democratic socialism and totalitarian socialism. In democracy as you all know, the individual is King; the individual is supreme, the state is only a means to an end. The end is the individual. In the words of Prof. Laski, it becomes the business of the State "to provide those conditions of social life without which no

man can seek to be himself at his best." That epitomises the purpose and role of the state in democracy.

India and Sri Lanka have committed themselves to democratic socialism. Powerful examples of totalitarian socialism are Soviet Russia and the Republic of China. In totalitarianism, the State is supreme, the individual is only a means to the end; the end is the State—there lies the fundamental difference between totalitarianism and democracy.

When there is socialism under a totalitarian set-up, there is what is said to be an economic dictatorship. But when there is totalitarianism, without a socialistic structure but totalitarianism induced and achieved politically, there is said to be political dictatorship as what prevailed in fascist Italy during the time of Mussolini and in Nazi Germany during the time of Hitler. So much for a background examination.

COMING to our country, we freed ourselves from the shackles of colonialism, from the yoke of imperialism in

### SAFETY FOR 34 CENTS

American airlines have hiked fares by 34 cents. This has reportedly been done in the interest of the passengers—to protect them from hijackers. The surcharge will go to pay the several thousand guards it is planned to employ at airports.

1947. Under colonialism, our imperialist masters were contented to have an educational system that produced pen-pushers and quill-drivers for the colonial Civil Servants. Quite surprisingly, our planners and educationists, if there had been a tribe like that did not bother to examine the content of education, did not bother to relate man-power development to education. While in countries like Singapore the research in man-power development vis-a-vis education has created a prosperous City State, perhaps a radiation of the economic boom in Japan—it is

only when the problem of unemployment has become explosive, that deviations have been thought of from the traditional mode of education.

Before I proceed further I wish to examine for you the very term "economic development". Now ladies and gentlemen, you have heard of the term "economic development" repeatedly mentioned by economists, politicians, cabinet ministers, administrators and even by the man-in-street. I venture to pose the question to you, "what do you understand by "economic development?"

What is the yard stick by which this is measured?

Economists want to employ traditionally three yard sticks to measure the development of a country. *Firstly* the Gross National Product. *Secondly* the Rate of Growth and *thirdly* the per capita income. Look at Japan today. This country has a very large Gross National Product but the majority of the people do not have decent houses to live in.

Could you call this proper development? Again look at *Philippines*. This country has a large per capita income but 90% of the wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of 10% of the people. The country is growing wealthier and wealthier, the rich are growing richer and richer, but the poor are becoming poorer and poorer. Could you call this development?

Again look at *South Africa*. This country has a high Rate of Growth; but 80% of the people of South Africa are not free. Could you say that this is development? **In other words modern economists have begun to think differently in measuring the economic development of a country. They are, in fact, today looking for non-economic factors to measure economic development. What are these non-economic factors? How happy are the people? How free are the people? How healthy are the people? Do you see a new dimension in my argument? This is the human dimension.**

### WAYS TO MAKE COMPOST MANURE

Scientists of the department of agriculture in India suggested two best ways of making "compost" manure from organic wastes and human as well as animal refuse.

Farmers who live in low rain-fall and low water-table areas are advised to dig pits (4.5x1.5 metres) and partition them into compartments for the storage of wastes.

The recipe for making compost is this: "Thoroughly mix the cattle dung (collected daily from cattle shed) with urine-soaked litter and place it in the compartment in 25 to 30 cm layer. Sprinkle soil over it. Put the second day's collection over the first day's layer and repeat this till the pit is filled and the heap is raised a foot above the ground level. Cover it with a two-inch layer of soil to prevent air getting inside.

In four months all the matter will be converted into compost ready for use. The compost recipe for farmers who live in high rainfall and high water-table areas is as follows: "Select a high-level plot and build a 3.5x2.5 metre platform with stone pieces or bricks six inches higher than the surrounding ground level.

Mix the day's collection of urine-soaked refuse and dung and spread layer of 12 to 20 cm on the platform and cover it with a 5 cm layer of thick dry earth. Go on adding the collections till the heap reaches a height of 1.25 to 2.5 metres. Then plaster it with a paste of dung and earth. Fine compost would become ready for use in about four months, the scientists say.

## Whither Sri Lanka?

It had been traditionally accepted that if a country develops economically, social development will automatically follow. In this respect too, modern economists have begun to think differently and Japan again becomes a good example where social development has lagged behind economic development. The modern way of thinking is that social development should move side by side with economic development as is taking place in Singapore.

WHEN I think of the rapid economic development that has taken place in Japan and Western Germany, I am inclined to think that it is easier to start from scratch free from the fetters of an existing economic set-up than to mould an existing economy; for modernisation and development involves two phases—breaking up the existing structure and building a new one. Japan has literally risen from the ashes of Hiroshima within a matter of a quarter century. Today it has a phenomenal Rate of Growth even larger than that of Soviet Russia. Its Rate of Growth is said to be over 10%, while Russia's rate of growth is about 7%.

China's is believed to be less and cannot be stated with any precision for want of published figures. India's growth is said to be good, but lower than that of China. On the balance of payments side Japan has been enjoying a favourable balance of payments to the tune of billions of yens and for the last several years has been the envy of United States, which

country is year after year in difficulties in that regard. Of course, the reason why America has an adverse balance of payments is different from the reason for which for example our country is going through a balance of payment crisis. In the case of the States, it is not trade that is adverse to them. Their problem is the flight of capital in search of better investment; but still more the finance provided for their involvement in Viet-Nam is responsible for their difficulties.

The radiation of the boom in Japan has had its beneficial effects on the City States of Hong-Kong and Singapore. Philippines yet continues to have a colonial type of economy with a difference. The difference is that the colonial masters have now been replaced by the oligarchic class. As I mentioned earlier the wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of about 10% of the people. If there is any country, in which the rich are growing richer and richer and the poor are becoming poorer and poorer, while the country itself is growing wealthier and wealthier, there is something wrong with that society; there is something wrong with that social system; with that social structure. It contains within it the very conditions that will erode the powers of the powers-that-be; It contains within it the germs of its own dissolution. Willy-nilly, early or late that system, that order will give way to a new one.

China has throughout followed a philosophy of self-sufficiency. With the norma-

## PRICES SOAR IN BRITAIN

The Heath governments' wage and price control policy has not checked the continued rise in the cost of living. According to reports from London, price increases ranging from 2 to 13 per cent have been announced on a wide range of goods by 12 major companies. Bed linen and beds, biscuits and cakes, beans, nuts, and automobile spare parts have all gone up, as have city transport fares.

According to the Department of Trade and Industry in May alone wholesale prices rose by 1 per cent, which is bound to result in a further increase of retail prices in the immediate future.

The National Coal Board has announced a 7.5 per cent increase in the price of industrial coal as of July 1. This brings the overall increase over the past four years to 60 per cent. The higher cost of coal will increase the cost of electric power and products of the iron and steel industry. Application has been made with the government's Price Commission for a 5 per cent increase in electricity rates. The coal bill of the iron and steel industry will increase by some £ 10 million.

lisation of relations between United States and China on the one hand and Japan and China on the other, there is bound to be a change in the pattern of China's trade in the future.

COMING to our country in the matter of agricultural development, it will be relevant to know the strategy employed by India in its development programme. The transformation that led to the 'green revolution' in India was achieved in stages. In its first stage the infra-structure in the form multi-purpose irrigation scheme and power projects were developed. In its second stage, India followed an extension programme. As a third stage selected areas were marked out for intensive growth. This was coupled with training schemes for farmers.

India placed a lot of emphasis on training to the farmer, for unlike in industry it is decisions and actions of millions of farmers that constitute agricultural development. Training included re-

placing the old method of cultivation with the modern technique and introducing high-yielding strains for better yield.

As far as our country is concerned we have today thousands and thousands of educated, unemployed youths who like the old philosopher are "looking for a black cat in a dark room where it did not exist."

MY SUGGESTION is: induce the Government to open up Agricultural Colleges in each of the 22 Districts. District-wise selection must be made for admission to these Colleges for training say for a period of six months or one year. Once they are trained, I am now thinking on the lines of the Fabian Socialists of whom Bernard Shaw was one—an acre and a cow.

Give these boys in their own districts an acre and a cow. Of course the State must provide the infra-structure in the form of water facilities, accessible roads etc. accor-

ding to the possibilities of the area. In this way thousands of boys would have been found self-employment. I mentioned about the cow. I am sure, you know of the Jersey cow, that prolific milk supplier. Let me tell you something about this cow that has earned the name of queen of the dairy. This animal comes from the tiny island of Jersey which is about 100 miles south of England. It has now been introduced into several countries. It has a milk yielding capacity of about 30 bottles a day. Providing for the adverse conditions in a dry zone, even if we put the supply at 15 bottles a day, we could expect the owner to have a subsidiary income of about Rs. 150/- per month from the cow alone. This queen of the dairy was first introduced in New Zealand in 1962 and it is said that the Jersey cow has done more to the economy of New Zealand than all the politicians put together.

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milk produced. The Milk Board as it is presently constituted does not go far enough. For rapid expansion in the line of activity it may be desirable, on the lines of India, to set up a Dairy Corporation. As a first stage, collection points should be organised through Milk Co-operative Societies to collect all excess milk and distribute fresh milk to the urban population. As a second stage, creameries and factory plants may be constructed to convert excess milk into butter and milk powder.

I HAVE dealt at length on the agricultural side. What of the industrial development? There are two basic ways in which a country may industrialise. First for import-substitution and secondly for exports. In manufacturing substitutes for imports, it is necessary to know the purchasing power of the people and the elasticity of demand for the commodity. Underdeveloped countries have found it more advantageous to start industries that are export-oriented.

The idea behind industrialisation is employment. In our context, export-oriented industries are a *sine-qua-non* in order to earn more foreign exchange. In both instances, it is necessary for under-developed countries to have the industries labour intensive, in order to provide employment. As I mentioned earlier, Singapore by reason of its gearing education to manpower development had been able to provide the necessary skills that rapid indus-

trialisation required. In the matter of capital and know-how Singapore and Malaya have gone all out, to invite foreign capital for joint ventures and they have made a success of it.

In the matter of providing tax holidays to industrialists it may be worth-while emulating Singapore, the tax holidays there are related to the labour employed in each industry. This will force the hands of the industrialists if they wish to avail themselves of the tax-holidays. This will also eliminate the anomalous position, where some industrialists in our country enjoy large profits and tax-holidays with a handful of labour employed. We have already had teams of industrialists from Japan examining the possibilities of joint ventures. The Prime Minister of Yugoslavia who was here the other day expressed the desire for joint industrial ventures. It could only be hoped, that before long, we too will become an industrialised country.

**In conclusion, I might say in the ultimate analysis, development to an individual means something different from what it connotes to the nation.**

**To the individual it means more food and better food; more clothes and better clothes; more houses and better houses; more hospitals and better hospitals; more schools and better schools and so on. It also means to him more happiness and more freedom.**

## SRI LANKA ANNIVERSARY

A year ago, on May 22, 1972, Ceylon, previously a British dominion, was proclaimed the Republic of Sri Lanka.

The coalition government of the United Front has set course towards implementing socio-economic reforms and consolidating the state sector of the economy. A ceiling for landholdings has been fixed and farming co-operatives are being set up in the Republic. The key industries have been placed under government control. More than 90 newly-formed government corporations are operating in the steel, cement, and tobacco industries, mining, tea-processing, the extraction and sale of precious stones, etc. A decision was taken to set up a worker's university.

The progress made by the young republic is indisputable. But it still has to contend with serious economic difficulties. These are all vestiges of the colonial past which the people and government of Sri Lanka are firmly resolved to eradicate. On the international scene, Sri Lanka upholds the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, maintains and develops relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

— New Times

# IS IT TRUE?

## Sherlock Holmes

### \* Distilleries Corporation & the Excise Department

IS IT NOT TRUE that in pursuance of a budgetary promise the State Distilleries Corporation was inaugurated in the first week of June 1973? That the Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, addressed the Board of Directors regarding their duties and responsibilities? That at the first meeting of the Board the following salaries were fixed? That of the Chairman salary was Rs. 2,500 a month: the General Manager, Rs. 2,250 the Distribution Manager Rs. 1,750: Finance Manager, Rs. 1,750: and the Production Manager, Rs. 1,750? That an Administrative Assistant received Rs. 750 a month? That the Corporation had also taken in other staff? That in salaries and maintenance the Corporation will totally foot a bill of Rs. 18,500 a month? That the *Athitha*, in the third week of July, complained that though this Corporation was already paying these handsome salaries to officials, it had not yet begun to function?

That the fact that five top officials of the Corporation collect Rs. 10,000 a month as salary has stirred up a hornet's nest in the GCSU? That the Union's top hierarchy (which has now

been re-elected) had met in emergency session and had protested to the Minister of Finance against "this unconscionable fixing of salaries" in the higher echelons of the "Liquor Corporation?" That the GCSU was really perturbed that at a time when the United Front was calling upon workers to make sacrifices, "wooden-headed" bureaucrats had been given the licence to decide on their own salaries? That the GCSU also made the further point that the scales decided upon by the Board were in conflict with the rules laid down by Government in respect of government officers who were seconded for service in State sponsored corporations? That any officer so seconded for service was entitled to receive only one third of his basic salary as additional remuneration? That the present salaries of some of the top men represented almost double the salaries these officials had drawn in the Department immediately before they were inducted into the Corporation? That the GCSU protests about these "extravagant" salaries does not seem to have had any impact

either on the Minister of Finance or the Government?

That whilst the new Corporation dilly dallied, the affairs of the Excise Department seem to have slipped into a complete mess? That not everyone in the Excise Department, it is reported, will be taken over into the Corporation? That apart from certain selective recruiting, the over-40s (or it over-45s?) are to be asked to revert to other government departments? That rumour has it that they have been asked their views about going over to the Department of Agrarian Services? That this has caused a major *furor* among the officials of the excise department? That the over-40s (or it over-45s?) in the department have had several trade union meetings as to what they should do about this matter? That it is well known that officials of the Excise Department always had a "side income" which was often higher than the total remuneration they drew from the Government? That some excise men became rich as a result of this "side-income"? That most of them however used the "side-income" to have a life far beyond their means based on their official salaries? That this "side-income", they allege, will go in future to the officials and employees of the Corporation? That excisemen compulsorily sent to the Agrarian Services will become paupers and will be compelled to reduce their standard of living? That this is, no doubt, a tragedy of great magnitude?