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P.M.'s VISIT
TO INDIA

COUP AND
COUNTER COUP

TANAKA'S
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SHAMBA

PEDAL POWER

ON GIMMICKS AND GUNDUS

THE COMMON PEOPLE of Sri Lanka have no more use for gimmicks and gundus. They are now mature enough to make political decisions without being prodded by stuntism of any kind. In the past, no doubt, gimmicks had played a major role in the politics of the island, and some of the older politicians delude themselves into thinking that they can still make political history through gimmickry, although in recent times all such gimmicks have turned out to be only damp squibs. Ever since he became the leader of the UNP, J. R. Jayewardene has raised one gundu-loaded slogan after another, and the climax of his infantile politicking were his two latest stunts which are dangerously pregnant with political dynamite that can tear things apart in Sri Lanka.

J. R. AND THE UNP are now seeking to mix religion and politics in the kind of satyagraha he seeks to perform in order to get more food for the people, and this has unfortunately stampeded the United Front, which has generally endeavoured to keep religion and politics separate, into resorting to the futile gimmick of transporting several thousands of Buddhist monks to the BMICH in Colombo to support the Government's Food Drive—this was no doubt to forestall the UNP-sponsored satyakriya stunt by some other Buddhist priests. When this religious-satyagraha gundu failed to explode in the way the UNP had hoped for, J. R. Jayewardene fell back upon another time-worn MaCarthyian gundu about a leftwing revolutionary plot to seize state power primarily to eliminate the leaders of the UNP and also of the so-called Rightwing of the UF including some leading lights of the SLFP, LSSP and CP.

EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES, this kind of MaCarthyian witch-hunting stuntism by invoking the bogey of a communist conspiracy has ceased to have any practical value as a valid political weapon. But J. R. does not seem to have outlived his innate belief that religion and anti-communism can bring him back to power. He has pinned his faith on a Select Committee—no doubt to emulate Sam Ervin's Watergate Committee in his frantically desperate bid to win popular support. The Prime Minister, however, has successfully called the bluff on the coup gundu, but all this gimmickry has begun to spawn other gundus everywhere. The *Times of Ceylon* made itself ridiculous with a counter coup story. UNP parliamentarians have chosen to ride in a bullock cart to protest against the petrol shortage, whilst Pieter Keuneman had his own gundu on a push bicycle. If the UNP wants to be taken seriously it must forget gimmicks, gundus and tamashas, and outline a concrete programme of action to take the country forward. Even the insurgents of 1971 had put forward a programme, however erroneous the concepts and however suicidal the tactics. But, it is most distressing that the UF—the SLFP, LSSP, and CP—should seek to tail behind the UNP in the matter of gimmicks and gundus.

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- ✱ Oil Crisis
- ✱ Producers' Case
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THE FIRST REACTIONS to the price hike by the oil producers was indignation and resentment that the Arabs and Iranians had become so greedy that they had raised prices to levels which undermined the very basis of capitalist society in the West and that it also at the same time disrupted the efforts of the developing countries to emancipate themselves economically by quick economic growth. But, with more serious thinking on the subject and a more mature consideration of the available information there is no doubt that the whole question must be viewed differently and realistically—and the proper conclusions drawn in regard to what Sri Lanka can best do in the circumstances which have arisen. Breast beating and wailing about the disasters brought by the oil crisis will not help. Begging for price reductions will only give short term relief that will take us nowhere. The whole question must be viewed from a long range angle and the proper measures taken to re-orientate the whole programme for development. Our Five Year Plan was rooted on deriving assistance from western technology based on cheap oil to effect a breakthrough to economic affluence in terms western civilisation has made the sole symbols of national advancement, i.e. a steady increase in the GNP, a rate of growth over and above the growth of population, and a yearly increase in the per capita real income to enable every family to buy more and more of gadgetry considered essential for good living in this era, like cars, radios, television sets, cookers, refrigerators, washing machines and the like.

Before we consider the question of what Sri Lanka can best do in the new situation, it is necessary to examine the case of the oil producers. This can be simply

stated: First, that the bulk of the profits from the oil were made by the multi-national oil companies and the governments of consuming countries, and that the time had come for the producers to obtain a greater portion of the ultimate retail prices; for instance, when the retail price of petrol in Britain was considered, 61% of it was customs and other levies to bolster the Government's revenue, 31% went as profits to the multi-national companies which handled the oil and only 8% went to the producing nations: the situation in the other west European countries and in Japan was no different.

Second, the oil producers rightly feel that they were not able to get the full benefit of even the 8% they got for their oil: that these earnings had been held in dollar or sterling reserves, and with a series of devaluations the value of these savings had been halved in a few years with no gold backing: that with Britain, and then the USA, going off the gold standard, oil producers' cash holdings were held at the mercy of the bankers of the big consuming countries of the West and Japan. The oil producers naturally felt that it was better to leave the oil under the ground rather than exhaust them by limitless pumping.

And, third, petroleum was being used to manufacture a whole host of synthetics which depressed the prices of the primary products of developing countries—products like rubber, cotton, natural fibres, fertilisers and other raw materials. Huge profits were made through applied technology which went solely to entrepreneurial nations like Britain, France, West Germany and Japan mainly, and also to countries like the USA and Canada which had their own sources of oil.

There is no doubt that the oil producers' have a genuine case for stepping up the price to a point which is a little below the retail price in consuming countries after making allowances for transport and refining charges. Unfortunately the consuming countries have now passed the increased price to the consumer, but the time is not far off when the consumer countries must not only import less oil but also permit the use of oil only for basic productive purposes eliminating the production of syn-

thetics for which natural products are available. This will no doubt mean a major revolution in the ways of life and thinking of the so-called advanced countries and also of the developing countries.

ALREADY, there has been a major re-appraisal of the situation in the USA. In his statement at the meeting of the Committee of Twenty on the Reform of the International Monetary System in Rome on January 17, the US Secretary to the Treasury, George P. Shultz, made the following significant points: he stated that a broader international co-operation was needed "which meets the legitimate aspirations of the oil producers for an appropriate level of compensation for the current production and for secure and profitable opportunities for investing their financial resources while assuring that they in turn meet their responsibilities for producing in reasonable amounts without capricious manipulation of supplies or prices." He also said that President Nixon's invitation to Ministers of oil-consuming countries was intended to launch "the preparatory work which will permit substantive and productive meetings to take place in the near future, on a broader basis among representatives of the oil producers and the oil consumers from all parts of the world. The ultimate objective is a set of international arrangements which will permit economic development to countries on a secure basis in all parts of the world."

Whilst these two were the most significant points he made, the speech he made at the Rome meeting not only makes interesting reading at this critical juncture, but is also indicative of the thinking which has arisen as a result of the oil crisis. The gunboat diplomacy pursued by the militarily powerful western nations has now been replaced with a more conciliatory approach. Shultz's speech sets out the basic trends of thinking in a section of the capitalist world of the West to meet the challenges that have arisen. We, therefore, reproduce the speech almost in its entirety, because Sri Lanka is still very much within the orbit of the capitalist world. Our Minister of Finance also attended the Meeting of Twenty.

"It is imperative, therefore," said Shultz, "that we make the most

of our meeting. But, after a change in economic circumstances without precedent in magnitude and suddenness in peacetime we obviously must rethink our priorities in the area of Monetary Reform. And we must act in the financial area with a full realization that our response to the current threat of economic instability will be viewed as a fundamental test of our willingness to co-operate internationally.

"A number of governments, the oil exporters, have demonstrated that they can act in pursuit of immediate political and economic objectives. In doing so, the clear danger is that they will create severe economic disruption for other nations and ultimately for themselves as well.

"Now we must demonstrate that we can achieve joint action among a much larger number of countries and in a more broadly beneficial manner. We must develop a broader co-operation which meets the legitimate aspirations of the oil producers for an appropriate level of compensation for their current production and for secure and profitable opportunities for investing their financial resources, while assuring that they in turn meet their responsibilities for producing in reasonable amounts without capricious manipulation of supplies or prices. We must develop a broader co-operation that does not undermine economic development in any areas of our world."

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that Shultz did not want the powerful oil consuming countries to get together to use their economic, political and military strength to compel the oil producers to be "more reasonable." Instead, he suggested a joint meeting of producers and consumers to find a way out, and stated that the conference proposed by President Nixon would go a long way towards finding solutions in the present crisis. This is what he said: "This meeting of Ministers of Finance is not the proper forum for discussions of all the implications of the new developments in the field of energy. Primary work must be undertaken elsewhere on agreements for the maintenance of appropriate levels of supplies and prices, on research and development, on conservation, on alternative energy sources, and on emergency sharing of supplies.

"President Nixon, to insure that all this work is undertaken promptly, has issued an invitation for a meeting in Washington to Ministers of a number of oil-consuming countries, together with the Secretary General of the OECD and the President of the Executive Commission of the E.C. It is the President's belief, I know, that this small group can launch most expeditiously the preparatory work which will permit substantive and productive meetings to take place in the near future on a broader basis among representatives of the oil producers and the oil consumers from all parts of the world. The ultimate objective is a set of international arrangements which will permit economic development to continue in a secure basis in all parts of the world."

The objective is clear: Shultz wants a new set of rules integrated into agreements to make capitalism work without breaking down or causing international economic dislocation and disruption. To stress the importance and urgency of such arrangements, he outlined the difficulties which had arisen as a result of the sudden increase in the oil prices by producing countries. He said: "The recent price increases and supply disturbances of oil have created uncertainty, which—even apart from the direct costs involved—is detrimental to economic development. And, when the newly announced prices are applied to estimates of oil consumption which are in the neighborhood of previous forecasts for 1974 and later years, the arithmetical results are staggering. We have seen estimates, for example, of an increase in the costs of imported oil in 1974 of more than 75,000 million dollars just from the price increases of the last few months. Similar calculations for later years yield even larger numbers. In appraising these estimates however, I believe, we must be driven to the conclusion they are simply not realistic. At the prices used in these calculations the consuming countries will not—and in some cases probably cannot—import such large volumes. In the more developed countries the combination of consumer choice and Government controls is bound to restrict consumption of imported oil substantially even in the short run. Increasingly over time, imports will fall even

further behind earlier forecasts, not only from reductions in consumption, but also from increases in production from alternative energy sources which have become economic by comparison. With the economic incentives which now exist, I suspect we shall all be surprised by the new ways of producing and of saving energy which 'come out of the woodwork.'

"The impossibility of the initial projections of mammoth increases in import bills for oil is particularly obvious for the less developed countries which are not oil producers. I have seen estimates that their import bill alone would increase by more than 10,000 million dollars in 1974, an amount in excess of the total of official assistance which they

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have been receiving in recent years. Clearly it would not be possible for these countries to absorb such increases. Conceivably these countries could turn to the oil producers to borrow some portion of the increased cost. But many of these Governments are already near the limits of prudent indebtedness. Moreover, it is one thing to borrow for a promising investment project which will generate increasing revenues in the future, but it is a far different and dangerous course to borrow large amounts to cover current consumption. Of course, the more developed nations must maintain their assistance programs but, in addition, to meet the new needs, some of the oil producers must provide a substantial amount of grant assistance if current welfare and future development are not to be drastically reduced in many areas whose levels of economic welfare are abysmally low.

"Even after the inevitable reduction in future levels of imports, the increasing cost of imported energy in the near future will still be huge. The secondary effects in terms of the availability of such derived products as fertilizer must also be recognized. The extra funds paid by the importers will inevitably mean a decline in their terms of trade, a burden upon their economies, and a heavy burden on efforts to manage common affairs co-operatively. Of course, the funds paid by importers will not disappear from the face of the earth. They will be used by the recipients in part for increased purchases of goods and services and in substantial part for investment in other countries. These reflows will collectively redress the payments positions of those countries. But in the new circumstances there inevitably is great uncertainty as to which countries will receive these reflows.

"Naturally we in the U.S. Government are hopeful that our businessmen will be competitive with their exports, and we know that we have a large and smoothly-functioning market for investments. Yet for us as for others, there is great uncertainty as to what will be the net impact of the new oil developments on our payments position. We had, after all, been scheduled to be the world's single largest importers of oil during the next

few years. The oil price increase are likely in the short run to cause for us an even larger percentage increase in the total cost of imports than will be the case for most major countries in Europe, since oil looms larger among our imports.

"For me these new developments have three basic implications for our work on monetary reform in the Committee of Twenty:

"First, we must demonstrate that we can achieve international economic co-operative agreements in a timely fashion. It is imperative that we reach a substantive agreement by the date which we have already set for ourselves, July 31 of this year.

"Second, in doing so we must re-order our thinking to take fully into account the new conditions and the new uncertainties which have been thrust upon our international affairs. Our monetary reform agreements must not attempt to impose upon the system a rigidity which hampers response to future developments including, for instance, the possibility of a surfeit of energy supplies around the world in a few years time. Rather, we must agree on rules and procedures to insure there will be prompt adjustment in response to developing international monetary imbalances. We must try to avoid the mistake of giving too much weight to present conditions by simply extrapolating them far into the future. While setting the flexibility necessary to adapt and evolve the system to meet future developments.

"Third, we must design financial mechanisms and arrangements to deal with the present problem. But we must be realistic and recognize that the present problem is literally unmanageable for many countries. The oil producing countries have to recognize this simple fact and cooperate with the rest of the world in scaling down the magnitude of the financial problem to manageable proportions. Once that is accomplished we must still bring together the countries that have investment opportunities with oil producing countries that have investible funds, so that major de-stabilizing forces in the world economy are avoided."

Shultz then went on to suggest that all these arrangements could

produce beneficial results only if proper arrangements were made for a smooth flow of trade from one country to another, and that it was dangerous for individual countries, however well placed now, to embark on policies of unilateral isolationist self sufficiency or of selfishly national policies of bilateralism which could be disruptive of international co-operation. "If we manage our affairs properly, it will plainly make economic sense all around for producers to pump oil in excess of their current revenue needs so that oil wealth can be put to uses which generate a greater return than would result from letting that oil increase—or possibly decrease—in value while lying in the ground. In fact, however, that oil is not likely to be produced unless the producers of the oil and the custodians of the investments project can be brought together in a manner in which each participant feels he can rely on the contractual relationship with the other. There may be possibilities for collective action which should be given consideration in this area.

"All these tasks I have just mentioned are ones for which we as Finance Ministers must take primary responsibility. But our responsibilities for constructive response to the new circumstances will not end there. We also have a vital role to play in facilitating future trade negotiations. The frequent experience of abrupt, major shifts in world supply-demand relationship in certain commodities has caused us all to rethink our policies and our methods of economic management, domestically and internationally. In this rethinking, some have concluded that recent proposals for trade negotiations should be put aside in view of more pressing problems like the energy supply constrictions and price rises or alleged world food shortages. That is the wrong conclusion.

"The effort to embark on trade negotiations has much in common with our efforts in the monetary field: on the one hand, to solve specific problems, and on the other hand, to bring about a negotiating process and improved framework for trade relations which would help deal more effectively with new problems as they arise. The recent difficulties, to me, argue more strongly than ever

for getting moving on the process of trade negotiations. The exact way in which we go about this, and the new priorities, that may be emerging—including the avoidance of export restrictions—will need close examination. But it is imperative that the process itself be set in motion now.

"While this broader process is getting underway we have to ensure that nothing is done to make the situation worse now. No country can take unilateral restrictive trade or monetary measures to benefit some selected sections of its economy or its current balance of payments at the cost of others without generating still greater turmoil in world economic relations. There would inevitably be countermeasures. Unilateral trade or monetary actions which are generated by energy problems or similar difficulties would be counterproductive. Any new trade or monetary actions should be considered in the most careful way in this delicate time, and should be kept consistent with mutual interests and obligations. Bilateral agreements between oil producing and oil consuming countries should themselves be fitted into an internationally agreed framework."

HE CONCLUDED his speech with an appeal for international co-operation which was essential in the interdependent world of free exchange, meaning the world of capitalism of supply and demand where profit constituted the basic incentive for all economic undertakings. "As Finance Ministers, with our particular knowledge of the dangers of economic instability and autarchic policies, we must impress upon our national colleagues the dangers of attempting to 'go it alone' in international economic affairs in today's circumstances. We must recognize monetary co-operation plays a large part, but still only a part in the broad effort needed to respond to the new economic challenges. With co-operation, we can find a balance in the essential needs of oil producers and consumers. With intelligence and understanding, we can avoid unemployment through excesses of financial restraint at home. If we approach our problems in common, we can maintain a fabric of reasonable stability and freedom in international commodity and exchange markets, to the benefit of all our citizens."

"The new challenges have come upon us with a brutal suddenness. But the collision between growing energy demands and the slower growth in apparent supply was inevitable in any event. Let us now attempt to insure that we derive one important benefit from our recent jolting experience. Let us resolve to delay no longer and to proceed at once with the re-ordering of our research efforts, our production plans, and our consumption patterns to fit our new conception of the world's energy balance. In doing so, let us achieve that broad consistency among our individual actions that is essential to the success of the total effort."

THERE CANNOT be the slightest doubt that it is the USA which has to take the foremost role in any solution of the present crisis of the capitalist world. Though some western European nations may be unhappy about the subsidiary role they have to play, there is no help for it. The British, *The Economist*, 12/1/74, in a leading article entitled THE RETURN OF THE DOLLAR sets out the position in realistic terms in the most forceful way. "The almighty dollar, top, beast of the economic jungles, has returned to suzerainty. It has happened not a moment too soon. Open warfare threatens between the other animals, and American leadership is needed to save the free world from tearing itself apart. Whether it will be forthcoming, given President Nixon's enmeshment in the problems of Watergate, remains to be seen."

This is the British view. Britain has in the post-war era tailed behind the USA with dogged consistency, but France and even Germany, though they too had grown under the benign patronage of Marshall Plan dollars, had become ultra critical of US policies. Nevertheless, under the impact of the oil crisis, France, Germany, Italy and Japan have no option but to follow the US in the delicate and difficult task of establishing some kind of equilibrium in the world of capitalism. These countries are not likely to agree with *The Economist's* analysis of the crisis, but the British approach is realistic and cynical.

"The troubles stem from a shift in the balance of economic power.

For more than twenty years western Europe and Japan have prospered on plentiful dollars and cheap oil. The oil powered the growth of industry (particularly in Japan), and dollars in profusion made easy markets for the products. The economies of Japan, Germany, France and Italy emerged from the postwar shambles geared to oil and exporting. While they have prospered, the rich Anglo-Saxons and the poor Arabs and Afro-Asians, on whom this prosperity depended, have grown relatively poorer. This could not last.

"The supply of dollars was bound to dry up when America could longer run deficits with impunity. This has been a slow process, but it is nearing completion with America's return to a trade surplus. In contrast, the end of cheap

The Energy Crisis

The energy crisis has resulted in cut backs in industrial production in many West European countries. The French automobile firms Citroen and Alpine have decided to close their factories for eleven days, and Peugeot, France's second biggest auto manufacturer, proposes to curtail output at all of its plants on December 26, 27 and 29 owing to a "slow down in exports". Peugeot has also announced that it will not renew contracts with foreign workers and will end overtime work. Air France has reduced the number of its flights. General Motors proposes to close its Antwerp works for seven days in December and five days in January. Beginning with the new year the Swedish Volvo concern will go over to a four-day week and reduce the number of passenger cars put out by 10,000. Some 20,000 workers will go on short time. There will be production cutbacks at 650 supplier plants connected with Volvo. The Danish *Berlingske Tidende* reports that production may be cut in the Danish food and plastics industries. In Norway 18,000 auto workers are faced with layoffs, besides which the auto plants will go over to a shorter working week.

oil was abrupt because it was political. Oil can be produced at only a fraction of the cost of coal. The oil-producing nations, as a group, are poor while the main oil consumers are rich. Yet because oil wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few low-population countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, with more money than they could spend, the rich consumers have been allowed to take the lion's share of the economic rent from oil's cheapness. Many industrial countries took this for granted. They have only themselves to blame for the consequences, although it is a misfortune for everybody that they have come so abruptly."

The *Economist*, moreover, is not optimistic about what is round the corner. With the economic boom that has prevailed in some countries, the world slump had been eliminated from the vocabulary of the advanced industrial countries, but now the dark shadow of a world-wide depression, a slump, has begun to haunt the capitalist world, particularly the countries which had enjoyed "miracle" revivals in the post-war period. The *Economist* did not mince its words: "It is easy to see how the suddenness of the re-adjustment now could lead to another world slump. Higher oil prices since October, costing industrial countries up to \$50 billion a year, will have the same demand deflationary effects as a comparable increase in domestic indirect taxation. Following the first price rise in October, most governments had the sense to resist further demand-deflation, despite increased cost inflation and trade disruption. But none has the courage to reflate when faced with the multi-billion deficits that will be caused by the latest price increases. Most of them argue that demand-reflation can do no good when output is constrained by a shortage of oil. Instead, a scramble to corner oil supplies has begun, with Japan, France and Britain taking the lead. Each has its own special reasons of pursuing national self-interest: Japan is overwhelmingly dependent on oil; France needs at least 5 per cent annual growth to keep unemployment down; and Britain's industrial troubles rule out altruistic gestures. Aggressive trade policies will follow, as countries struggle to foot the oil bill. Japan

has given notice of its intention by allowing the yen to devalue."

In a crisis, with a depression looming large—it is no longer a "recession" which is on the horizon—capitalist countries tend to claw their way to self-preservation of self-aggrandisement at the expense of other members of the community. This is what Shultz has warned against, and this is what *The Economist* would also like to prevent.

The *Economist* offers broad suggestions how the dilemma could be resolved, but it is not clear whether the Committee of Twenty, or the IMF, or GATT, or the Energy Conference of the Big Powers will be able to find a way out. The *Economist*, however, poses the problems in unmistakable terms: "Only swift action can prevent this situation deteriorating into open trade and economic warfare. Collective action is likely to prove too slow, as the pressures on individual countries to do their own thing are too great. America is the only country which can either opt out or jump in to hold the ring. There are three steps America could take: Reflate its own domestic demand to ensure at least one prosperous market; offer substantial bilateral support, effectively recycling Arab money, to any country standing back from beggary—neighbour policies (for the medium term it should also urge that the International Monetary Fund make special allotments of SDRs to any such countries); and launch an investments drive by American multinational corporations into the world's heavy capital goods industries. Without such help, these industries may be crippled by a world slump in 1974-75, just before they should face enormous demands both from energy investment and the industrialisation of oil producers. Consumers in industrial countries must ultimately foot the bill for higher oil prices, but that is no reason why output should be cut when the world faces the greatest period of industrial reconstruction since the postwar years. Where's General Marshall?"

It is frantic cry for succour from the USA, but America is in no position to undertake a new Marshall Plan—which had been put into operation at the end of the second world war because of the cold

war compulsion of fighting "communism". In a world of detente, even if the USA had the gold and the dollars, a Marshall Plan cannot be revived in America.

IN THIS ANALYSIS, we have examined some of the new perspectives which have emerged in regard to the oil crisis, and it will be only in a subsequent article that we can look at the implications of the oil and energy crisis so far as Sri Lanka is concerned. But it is necessary to point out that we have to adopt new standards and values to gauge development and discard shibboleths which contemporary econometrics have deified—yardsticks like GNP, per capita real income, consumer satisfaction, etc., etc. Life has become a mad race for the trappings of urban living—refrigerators, air-conditioners, washing machines, packaged local and foreign holidays and what not—which did nothing more than induce an inflationary spiral which has made life and living unreal to all except for a handful of multi-millionaires. Elsewhere in this issue we have published an article by Baron de Rosen, a French business magnate who also indulges in philosophical speculation, about new imperatives which must be established for global development.

Planners, bureaucrats and even politicians, in Sri Lanka, who have also been brainwashed into making GNP and per capita income the main yardsticks to gauge development, will no doubt dismiss what Baron de Rosen says as piffle emanating from the patronising solicitude a western millionaire has for the poor blacks, but the day is not far off when the values established by the economists of the west are replaced by more stable and enduring values.

What matters to man is not the Cadillac he cannot purchase—most people in the world in the best of times cannot afford a Cadillac—but the fact that he is able to lead a comfortable existence, without hunger, with a roof above his head. Anything produced in excess of the simple needs of man must be considered unproductive and anti-social. This is not religious asceticism but an inevitable conclusion which emerges from the rat race which has marred the world in this century.

Things were not perfect in the ages past, but at least there was enough of everything for everybody, but today man is consuming natural resources at a pace which must bring disaster. Control of population—though prudent in some circumstances—is not enough. It is more essential to control the consumption of natural resources at a pace which is far in excess of what a simple, leisured and cultured life requires.

developed a theory that for survival this little island should lean on big and small powers, not well disposed to India. Generations of bureaucrats, politicians, newspapermen and intellectuals in this country have grown up under this subtle brown sahib indoctrination that India was an enemy; that Britain had held the Indians in check; and that with the withdrawal of British power it was necessary for Ceylon to lean on and tilt towards anti-India coalitions whilst pretending to be friends with India.

fresh effort was made to re-establish the relations along the lines she had charted earlier, and there is no doubt that much progress has been made in the last three and half years.

In the period after 1970, India not only came to Ceylon's rescue during the insurgency of 1971 and has also year by year developed schemes for economic co-operation and assistance. Mrs. Indira Gandhi had come to Ceylon on a state visit last April, and at that summit many knotty problems had been solved. Repatriation under the Shastri-Sirimavo Pact was speeded up in a bid to catch up with time lost during the 1965-70 period. And now, Mrs. Bandaranaike is on a state visit to India and she will be a honoured guest at the Republic Day celebrations in New Delhi on January 26. She will also address both Houses of Parliament—an honour which only a few Prime Ministers who visit India get. Consistent with the ties of personal friendship established between Nehru and Bandaranaike, the Indian Prime Minister has continued the tradition of including an invitation to the members of the Ceylon PM's family to visit India as guests of the Indian government. Daughter Sunethra and son Anura have accompanied Mrs. S'rimavo Bandaranaike whilst daughter Chandrika has not been able to make the trip because of the pressure of work in the Land Reform Commission where she works.

COMMENT

* PM's Visit To India

* Coup And Counter-Coup

* IATR And Jaffna

RELATIONS WITH INDIA. The importance of maintaining cordial relations with India and of constantly developing and improving such relations cannot be too strongly stressed. Ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic, economic and political ties have been close and intimate between this island and the mainland for countless centuries. Dynastic wars had no doubt occasionally interrupted the smooth flow of normal relations in the past but the religious, cultural and other ties had superseded these irritations stemming from dynastic changes.

It was mainly after Britain had become the paramount power in the island as well as on the mainland that acute socio-cultural, religio-linguistic and politico-economic differences were planted among the people on both sides of the Palk Straits in pursuit of the imperialist strategy of dividing to rule. Cheap slave (euphemistically called "indentured") labour was brought from India to Ceylon to run plantations and this was used to divide both countries even more particularly by raising the bogey that the Indians were to swallow up little Ceylon. The intellectual allies of imperialism in both countries, the brown sahibs, continued to do their best to keep divisions and differences alive, and deve-

The Senanayakes and the leading sections of the UNP, as inheritors of the British mantle in Ceylon, continued this policy in various disguised and undisguised forms, and it was S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who took the first steps to establish genuinely friendly ties with the new independent Republic of India under the leadership of men like Jawarhalal Nehru. Bandaranaike closed down the military naval and air force bases held by Britain in independent Ceylon with the active collaboration of the UNP—bases which were said to be essential for maintaining Ceylon's territorial integrity against possible aggressive designs by India. Thereafter, he took steps to establish closer relations with India on the basis of Pancha Sila, non-alignment and dynamic neutralism. For the first time after independence and the withdrawal of British political and military power from these both countries, relations between India and Ceylon were placed on a footing of friendship and understanding. It was only a beginning because there were many irritants that were hanging over.

Mrs. S'rimavo Bandaranaike carried the SWRD tradition forward and the Shastri - S'rimavo Pact of 1964 was a significant step forward, but the UNP interlude of 1965-70 interrupted the process of removing the obstructions which stood in the way of fuller understanding between the two countries especially at a time when it was necessary for the two countries to establish integrated plans for economic co-operation with a view to subsequently organising a scheme for regional economic co-operation in the Indian Ocean region. But with the assumption of power by Mrs. Bandaranaike in 1970, a

This invitation to the members of the family is only symbolic of the friendly feelings entertained towards the Bandaranaikes for ending the British—induced spell of suspicion and mistrust which had grown up between the two countries in this century. Brown Sahibry in Sri Lanka will, no doubt, be tempted to crack cynical jokes and fatuous witticisms about the family entourage accompanying the PM, but the one ground on which such criticism could be levelled, that it will make a dent in Ceylon's state coffers, does not arise because, as guests, India will be responsible for their expenses. There are many things *Tribune* has been critical about the Establishment now centred around the Prime Minister, but there is no justification for criticising her on this score, which

is at the same time tantamount of a criticism of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Indian Government.

A DAMP SQUIB. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's coup story has boomeranged on him and the UNP. The Prime Minister had called his bluff when she called upon him to produce the "informant" especially after his admissions that he did not question him closely to satisfy himself that he spoke the truth. J. R.'s plea that he will produce the man only before a Select Committee of the National State Assembly makes it obvious that it was not to help the Government to uncover a dangerous "revolutionary" plot but that he was only anxious to make a propaganda stir for himself and the UNP. A Select Committee cannot investigate a crime, especially a crime like a coup, but a Select Committee is an excellent forum for political propagandising.

JR and the UNP are now committed to utilising religious jingoism to mobilise political support through dubious satvagraha and also to raising McCarthyian slogans about communist conspiracies to provide a smokescreen for the absence of a concrete and constructive political programme.

JR's story of the coup does not hold water. It is full of so many holes and loopholes that anyone who is familiar with the local scene can see that it is only a series of insinuated half-truths making a transparently unbelievable story. Only those who want a propaganda stick against certain elements in the Government wishfully want to believe the story, but even they have no answer for the questions raised by the Prime Minister in her statements.

The comic element was introduced by the *Sunday Times* with a story about another coup, this time by UNP elements to capture power, and the *Times* went so far as to hint that JR had started his coup scare of a leftwing revolutionary plot to provide a cover for the UNP-led coup. The *Times* story was an even more flimsy and feeble than JR's story, and the *Times* did not repeat the story after the first banner-headline outburst.

JR and the UNP have suffered a major setback with their coup

story. It is surprising that the FP and other Opposition groups should have supported the UNP demand for a Select Committee to investigate JR's allegations about a coup. Until the UNP is able to formulate a concrete programme and a political manifesto, it would be ridiculous for other Opposition Parties to tail behind the UNP on the basis of a *de facto* coalition.

TAMIL CONFERENCE. The International Conference on Tamil Studies, which was held in Jaffna from January 3 to January 9, has had the most chequered record for any event of that importance and magnitude. For a start, the organisation, the IATR, had suffered internal squabbling in which a certain coterie, which had dominated the organisation from its inception, was eliminated primarily on the ground that it had tended to treat the IATR as a private outfit from which many Tamils were deliberately kept out. In this process, the venue of the Conference was shifted from Colombo to Jaffna, and this incurred the disapproval of that section of SLFP and UF Tamils who are led by Minister Kumarasuriar. Thereupon, the authorities, particularly Deputy Minister Lakshman Jayakody, to decree that visas would not be given to foreign delegates to attend the Conference unless the venue was changed from Jaffna to Colombo.

In the meantime, pro-SLFP Tamils led by Gopalapillai Mahadeva, made representations to the Prime Minister about the ban on foreign delegates, and at the very last minute persuaded her to over-rule the ban on visas and allow foreign delegates to attend the conference. This Prime Ministerial order was made at the very last minute—too late to prevent about half a dozen delegates from the USA, Britain, France and other countries being compelled to return on the next flight back. However, over 50 foreign delegates attended the Conference and, by all accounts, the Conference was a success if one is to judge by the number and quality of papers presented and tabled at the Conference.

But the Secretariat of the IATR let itself and the Conference down by its inefficiency and incompetence.

The organisation was marked by a hangover of the old malady of running the Conference like the private tamasha of a few leading lights of the Secretariat and the IATR. Life members of the IATR, who went to collect their admission tickets, found that their tickets had been given to personal friends (who had never shown any interest in the IATR before) of certain organisers.

This was not all. The IATR Secretariat did not make adequate provision, moreover, to cope with the overflow crowd—the hall could accommodate no more than 2000—that gathered outside the building. These crowds varied day to day, and it was estimated to be no less than 20,000 on some days and over 50,000 on the last day. The public address system was inadequate and proper arrangements had not been made with the Police to deal with this large crowd with understanding and tact and the result was that an ugly situation had developed on the last day that led to a stampede, the death of number of persons by electrocution, the use of tear gas and general confusion.

The Police has been criticised for not having displayed tact and it has been suggested that anti-IATR elements had provided provocation to make Police interference inevitable. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the Organisers had let a rabid-DMK leader from South India, who had not been invited to the Conference, to address the meeting and that this had sparked off the trouble.

There is no doubt that great deal of tension in Jaffna about the tragic last day of the IATR Conference. The Government will be well advised to appoint a Commission of Inquiry, preferably headed by a person who has been on the Supreme Court, to inquire into this matter.



Jan. 9 - 12

*A Diary of Events in Sri Lanka and the World
compiled from English-language dailies published
in Colombo.*

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9: The United Front will run its full term despite Satyagrahas and Satyakriyas said the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, when she addressed delegates of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party on the 75th birth anniversary of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike at the B.M.I.C. Hall yesterday. The prices of petrol, furnace oil and asphalt were increased from yesterday: the new prices per gallon are as follows: Lanka Super petrol- Rs. 12.50; Lanka ordinary petrol-Rs. 12.00; Lanka Furnace oil-100 secs-Rs. 5.75; Lanka Furnace oil 800 secs-Rs.- 5.75; Lanka Furnace oil 500 secs-Rs. 5.75; and Asphalt Rs. 5.60. According to another communique, the Government has decided on a five day working week with extended hours; members of the public are requested to curtail travelling particularly during week ends as public transport will be reduced to a bare minimum. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, President of the SLFP Youth League, will make a visit to Jaffna on January 12 in a bid to forge Sinhalese Tamil unity. About 5,000 devotees met in the sacred city of Anuradhapura yesterday and participated in a two hour meditation; among the devotees participated were Opposition leaders Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Dr. W. Dhahanayake, Mr. Prins Gunasekera, Mr. R. Premadasa, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake and other UNP MFs. France has made a major arms-for-oil deal with Saudi Arabia by agreeing to by million tons of crude oil over the next 20 years in return for Mirage jet aircraft and heavy arms.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10: The Government yesterday fixed the price of kerosene at Rs. 3.60 a gallon and diesel at Rs. 4.40 a gallon; the new prices announced yesterday represent an increase of Rs. 1.68 on kerosene and Rs. 2.07 a gallon on diesel. The Kandy Senkadagala Tririkaya United Bhikkhu Front meets on January 12 to decide the date for the march from Kandy to Colombo against certain measures of the Government which it claims undemocratic. A positive case of cholera has been detected at Maligawatte Lane Maradana. The Minister of Justice, Felix Dias Bandaranaike will confer today evening with the newly appointed 10 Supreme Court Judges regarding the implementation of the new Justice Administration Law. The Government will decide today as to from when the five-day week will be operative. Despite emergency laws, the Satyakriya "within the law" at Anuradhapura was a complete success, said Mr. R. Premadasa, Chief Organizer for the Opposition. The Sri Lanka Taxi Drivers Association has asked the Government to supply them at least 4 gallons of petrol at the old price. Nearly a million British workers were registered as temporarily jobless as the nation's industry settled into its second three-day work week owing to the energy crisis. President Nixon is considering inviting repre-

sentatives of industrialised countries to Washington next month to try to co-ordinate their policies in dealing with Arab oil producers.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 11: Opposition Leader, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, yesterday alerted the country to the 'plans of a Revolutionary Group' within and outside Parliament to seize power: speaking in the National State Assembly, Mr. Jayewardene said that some of the younger Members of Parliament were in this group as well as some Armed Services and Police personnel. United National Party MFs led by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, yesterday came to the National State Assembly in bullock carts and hackeries to demonstrate their protest against the increase in the price of petrol and kerosene. The Parliamentary Group yesterday discussed at length the basis on which money should be allocated for development programmes at district level. The Government is expected to take a final decision today on whether the five-day working for the public sector is to be operative from tomorrow or from the following week-end. The sittings of the CIC (April insurrection) were postponed to January 15. The CIC (Exchange control) yesterday issued summons on four more suspects returnable on January 31. At the conclusion of the International Tamil Conference held yesterday at the Weerasingham Hall Jaffna a sudden fight took place and in the melee that followed, it is reported that several people were killed and many others injured. Sri Lanka will know by April whether there are commercially exploitable oil deposits available in the Mannar region. Kuwait has surrounded its oil-fields with explosives, ready for use in case of any intervention of the kind mentioned recently by US Defence Secretary James Schlesinger. It is generally believed that Mrs. Goldar Meir will again head a labour-led coalition.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12: In a statement issued yesterday on the document tabled by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, the Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike assured the country that she will not fail in her duty to preserve the security of the state against any threats from whatever directions they may come: the Premier while agreeing with the Opposition Leader that an impartial inquiry must be held said that the truth of the allegations must be ascertained before such an inquiry gets underway: Mr. Jayewardene has requested the Premier to appoint a Parliamentary Select Committee to go into the matter. Nearly 2000 members of the Maha Sangha meets today at the Bandaranaike International Conference Hall to endorse and support the Government's food drive. The Government has decided to implement the five-day working week from next Tuesday. The DIG Northern Range Mr. Ivor Van Twert, flew to Jaffna yesterday morning by special Air Force plane for an on-the-spot investigation of the incident on Thursday in which several persons were reported killed. The post-mortem conducted by the JMO Jaffna has revealed that all seven deaths were due to electrocution: the Magisterial inquiry has been postponed for January 16. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, said that oil producing nations had in one stroke negated Western aid flow to the underdeveloped nations by raising the prices of oil. The US Export Import Bank is considering a 100 million dollar financing deal to construct an oil pipeline in Egypt.

INDONESIA

* Tanaka's Visit

* Student Unrest

* Anti-Foreign

Singapore, January 18,

The violent student riots in Indonesia during Prime Minister Tanaka's visit to Jakarta has focussed a great deal of attention on the political situation in Indonesia. Seven students were reported killed by the police, about 30 wounded and a hundred arrested in two days of demonstrations starting from January 15 as rioters damaged and burnt over 200 Japanese-made vehicles and ravaged a good part of the capital city. Mr. Tanaka himself was confined to the Presidential guest house, scrapped three outings and cancelled three separate meetings with Japanese businessmen, students and Indonesian officials.

Though the demonstrations were overtly directed against the Tanaka visit, it was obvious that it was mainly directed against the Suharto government for corruption in high places and soaring prices. The demonstrators against Mr. Tanaka had also converged on houses of presidential advisers, attacked Chinese shops, massage parlours and a market complex which included a night club. When a government spokesman said that the demonstrators would be treated as traitors, placards had gone up demanding that corrupt officials should be shot as traitors.

During these two days, Jakarta witnessed the worst riots of the seven years of Gen. Suharto's regime. During these seven years, Japanese and US investors were actively encouraged by Gen. Suharto. These investments were built up as a base for the five year development plan to begin this year, but they also enabled many Indonesians to grow rich overnight and officials in high places had become involved with foreign investors, particularly Japanese and Overseas Chinese, for personal gain.

Corruption, which had gone down after the fall of Dr. Sukarno, had once again become rampant. One knowledgeable observer summed up the situation thus: "As Jakarta modernised itself with new buildings and night clubs, the plush living by foreigners and a few locals contrasted worse than before with the poorer living of the common people, as the cost of living continued to rise influenced partly by world prices. Students encouraged by other anti-Government elements, demonstrated recently against corruption and the high cost of living and against the Chinese for continuing to control the economy of the country. Mr. Tanaka's visit provided them a good opportunity not only to voice their anti-Japanese feelings but also their resentment against the Government...."

REGULAR STUDENT riots have been breaking out in Jakarta and other towns for some months now. Student unrest has concentrated on one favourite target, "the economic animals from the rich north" and "their brokers in Indonesia". Japanese companies have been accused of exploiting Indonesia's rich resources, particularly timber and fisheries, and setting up non-essential factories producing stomachache medicines, headache powders, food flavouring, noodles, cosmetics and other items Indonesia could do without. There is also popular response when exploitation accusations against the Japanese are linked with local Chinese businessmen."

The prestigious *Hindu* had commented editorially that: "...it would however, be wrong to dismiss as baseless the students' criticism of Japanese involvement in the Indonesian economy. The Japanese have tended to collaborate with the Chinese minority who are more business minded than the non-Chinese majority. They have also maintained a high style of exclusive living which has attracted criticism...."

The main burden of criticism is that the ruling circles in Indonesia were collaborating in corruption with foreigners and the powerful Overseas Chinese businessmen in Indonesia—known as *cukongs*. These student protests in Indonesia were part of the same chorus now being heard all over Southeast Asia—a

chorus that is expected to become louder and more united in the next few months. The *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17/12/73, had reported that "...at an assembly of students from Thailand, Australia, Hongkong, Cambodia, Laos and Singapore, in Bangkok on October 14, which was loosely called the Asian Economic Conference, it was resolved to launch region-wide protest against economic imperialism, the military presence of the US in the area, and the use of aid to prop up military regimes. That seemed to be merely repeating the established aims of Indonesian students."

THOUGH INVESTMENTS by foreigners and Overseas Chinese in Indonesia have increased the value and quantity of exports, there is a great deal of resentment against all foreign investors and even more against the local Chinese businessmen. The amount of money invested by domestic entrepreneurs, mainly Overseas Chinese, at the end of September 1973 totalled Rps. 1,006,338 (compared to Rps. 666,612 million to the end of December 1972). Foreign capital investment committed until the end of September 1973 reached US \$ 2,635 million (compared with \$ 2,265 million at the end of December 1972).

"However, these economic achievements have meant little for the masses, especially in the urban areas who are, being squeezed by the steadily rising consumer prices. In Indonesia, as elsewhere the rich become richer and the poor become poorer under what is euphemistically called the decade of progress and development. As the voices of a free market economy grow into their stride, more fruits of progress were harvested by a relatively small group of people than by the masses. This has led to social tension in Indonesia...."

Under its impact Indonesian cities have been swept in recent months by a wave of student riots and middle class demonstrations. They have taken place in Jakarta, Bandung and other towns. Although the Japanese were the main targets in the latest round of student riots, all earlier riots were directed against the Overseas Chinese *cukongs* and their Indonesian patrons. Though the Suharto regime had sought to make these riot

as part of a deeply laid plot for "communist subversion", it is really a protest against the continued exploitation of the masses by foreign and local rich investors, and the local Chinese investor, being on hand, the demonstrations were directed mainly at them.

It is now revealed that shortly after the events of 1965, Indonesian Generals had taken under their wing the interests and capital of several rich Overseas Chinese businessmen—and the names of these cukongs and of the Indonesian top Army brass now figure prominently in many Indonesian papers. Thirty such Chinese families, owning companies and business interests which are spread all over Southeast Asia, have figured in these attacks recently. Particular mention has been made about the connections between President Suharto's relatives and his entourage and Lim Siu-long a rich banker. This Chinese financier's group controls the Windu Kencana Bank, Waringin Kencana, and Rimba Kencana Companies, the Bogasari Flour Mills, the Tarumateks Textiles Mill, the Mandala Air Lines, besides interests in the timber industry, cement factory construction, hotels, nightclubs, restaurants, etc. etc.

A complaint frequently voiced in Indonesian papers is that Lim Siu-long is able to obtain state credit for billions of rupiahs without difficulty and without delays—something unheard of in Indonesia. For instance, it was said that just five days after the licence was granted for the Bogasari Mills, it was given state loans for 2.8 billion rupiahs—its own paid up capital being only 0.5 billion rupiahs. This flour mill has been established at Sourabaya and is said to be a biggest one in Southeast Asia: 40% of its shares were allotted to the Harapan Kita Company headed by Suhtikatmono, President Suharto's brother-in-law, 35% of the shares were distributed among the Directors of the Board of the Bogasari Company which included several high-ranking Army officers, and only the other 25% was distributed among other shareholders.

Reports reaching here show that the official organ of the Army, the Angkatan Bersenjata, had sought to "explain" this collaboration between the Generals and the Chinese

businessmen in the Bogasari Company on the ground that the main thing was not to see "who dominates whom" but how proper arrangements could be made between 'non-indigenous' and 'indigenous' Indonesian businessmen' for the object of developing the nation's economy.

Student papers, some of them illegally produced, link General All Murtopo with Lim Biang-koe, while his brother Lim Bian-koon is said to be tied up with General Humardani. Genreal All Sadikin is said to operate with one Fook Sen and the Chinese millionaire Wilyam Suryajaya is said to be connected with several members of the Indonesian Cabinet.

Students have demanded that Overseas Chinese interests in the country should be "Indonesianised" because according to some estimates these Chinese are said to control at least 30% of all working capital, 70% of all financial transactions, up to 90 % of all internal trade, and also about 70 of the major industrial enterprises in the country. They have also pointed out that in Bandung out of 7,886 licenses issued in 1969 for trade 80% had gone to foreign and domiciled Chinese—while the Chinese were only 8% of the city's population. This is said to be one of the main reasons why many of the recent student riots had taken place in Bandung which has now grown up to be a major textiles centre in the country. According to the Director General of the Textile Industry about 80% of all spinning, weaving, knitting and finishing factories and mills are owned by "non-Indonesians", that is, Overseas Chinese, who operate in this case as partners of Japanese, Hongkong, Taiwan and other foreign firms. The Director General had also pointed out that it would be possible to break the monopoly of Chinese wholesalers in the textile trade, at least in ten years, if the Government immediately established large state corporations.

All this has led to the popular cry that under the present regime Indonesia had become a "paradise for foreigners and overseas Chinese" who were able to cooperate with top-rung Generals. And the recent riots have shown that on the slightest pretext major

demonstrations of the most destructive nature have been sparked off. Up to now Suharto was under pressure to solve the problem of the local Overseas Chinese, but after the recent Tanaka visit the problem has proliferated to cover the entire range of foreign investors. The attempts of the Suharto regime to explain the logic underlying foreign investment has been feeble because of the all-pervading corruption which has enveloped the Administration.

L.K.S.



Poor Relation

Britain is soon doomed to be a poor relation in the family of European nations, according to Sir Geoffrey Howe, Minister for Trade and Consumer Affairs. She is already among Europe's poorest nations.

In 1950 she was the richest country in Europe looking down with disdain on poor living conditions in other European countries. Today Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries are ahead of Britain in terms of wealth per head. Sir Geoffrey feared that by the 1990s Britain would have less wealth per head than the Spanish and the Portuguese.

It is a gloomy future to contemplate but the prophecy need not necessarily be correct. The British have still an exceptional capacity for resilience and recuperation. Mr. Heath was described last week by a high-ranking Opposition critic, Edward Short, who is Labour's Deputy Leader, as "a rigid, pigheaded man." Mr. Short, loudly inquired why somebody couldn't knock sense into him. He was appealing to the Prime Minister's Tory colleagues. "Their duty to the people of Britain," said Mr. Short, "is much greater than their collective cabinet's responsibility."

WITH APOLOGIES
TO 'INNA'

Of This, That And Heaven Too

by CANAX

THE VATICAN probably never intended to upset anybody by its disclosure, yet it has somehow managed to leave me disillusioned. But to be charitable, and in a sense christian, how was the Vatican to know that people have feelings? Ah well, I said to myself and a couple of friends who jointly sought consolation in a nearby pub on reading the news, that's life—both here and, it would seem, in the hereafter.

You suffer with a smile the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune in the full and fervent hope that it is all part of the ridiculously easy terms offered under the Great Plan, only to find Italians having the edge over everybody else even in Heaven. It's hardly fair. Heaven clearly practices a peculiar brand of Socialism. We're all equal, it seems, but some people up there are more equal than others, which is very different is it? Now where on earth have I come across that phenomenon before?

The Great Plan, as I was telling my friends, is really out of this world as far as advantages go, or so I thought all this while. The attractiveness of the Plan's revolutionary concept lay in that you could Sow Here and Reap There. Not many realise this, but it is a concept that has been effectively adapted to meet the varying needs of people and nations for a very long time now.

The most recent adaptation that readily comes to mind is our own Food Drive, and one can only marvel at the clever twist we have given to the basic concept. Thanks to our agricultural inventiveness we sow here and reap here—that, too, within 3 to 4 months at most, which is pretty good going.

We have even tried to reap without sowing, I understand, but have

failed to achieve any significant success so far. Pessimists among us have described it was a waste of good men and better money, but I for one fully support the crash programme of research launched by the Planning Ministry to ensure success. As one member of the Ministry's Statistical Division put it, "Nobody makes a monkey out of us. If you can reap what you sow, we know of no imaginable reason why you can't reap what you don't. The secret's in the reaping."

I have only his word for it, but he assured me he had had bumper harvests season after season. He strongly favoured the liberal use of fertilisers and personally recommended a mixture of Concentrate of Imagination (60% C.P.C.) and Powdered Arithmetic, to be applied as often as required at the rate of 40 lines (maximum, treble-spaced) to the foolscap. Closer spacing, he felt, would only produce an abundance of verbiage but poor yields.

THE SAD PART of his story was at the end. His bumper crop had time and time again been ruined and rendered totally unfit for human consumption by a variety of wild beasts roaming freely in the Fourth Estate. Had he found the answer to his problems? Not quite, but he had begun experiments with an artificial lake filled with real water hoping the animal would come, not to drink, but to drown. That certainly sounds a novel approach to pest control and the one thing that stands between him and success in the likelihood that most animals are born swimmers and instinctively know to keep their heads above water.

No, don't tell me, I know I was with friends at the start of this safari nearly 500 words away. So if you'll excuse me, I'd like to hop to my bottle pals and to the subject that brought us together in the first place.

As I was saying, what the Vatican disclosure means, in effect, is that not everybody who pays now enjoys later on, if indeed they do, that some apparently enjoy more than others.

The news that Italians dominate Heaven and also enjoy the plums in terms of saintly recognition is

hardly likely to shock other Italians, but it has certainly made a lot of us sit up and think' (The best position to think in, or sleep in, or do the hundred and one things one does in a lifetime is, in the Sri Lanka view, the horizontal, but the Vatican, alas, has changed all that)

We as a nation have got accustomed to having easy terms for just about everything, thanks to the generosity of successive Governments since Independence. Rice for instance, was, and a bit of it still is, free, which is about as easy as easy terms can ever get.

When one comes right down to it, the Great Plan has without doubt been the greatest source of inspiration for every attempt, by us mortals the world over to make life easy for ourselves—may be because only Heaven knows just how difficult that is.

TAKE TRAVEL, for example. Airlines have often borrowed from the same source and so have the undertakers with, of course, appropriate adaptation in each case. While the former may plug 'Go Now and Pay Later', the latter tend to put it in reverse, so it reads 'Pay Now and Go Later.'

In the case of undertakers, I hear, where you go is your business. You can go to hell for all they care, and they'll still give you the same carefully planned farewell. There's no extra charge for going to the other place, either.

Undertakers appear to have a reason of sorts for their adaptation or, as in the words of one in the profession, for putting the cartage before the hearse. Don't ask me how they figured this out, but they seem quite convinced that when one chooses to Go with them, one has also chosen to go for good. And always. They may have a point there.

If I may digress—some more I mean—rumour has it that undertakers are the one breed of businessmen that'll stay alive, and in business, to the bitter end. A hardy strain if ever there was one. Considering the bleak outlook for business in general these days, I should perhaps caution readers spreading the rumour even to their near and dear, like the girls at the office. For in Sri Lanka if one

man gets on to a good thing, before you can say Barney everybody wants to get on to it too. Heavens, we'll have a nation of undertakers if I don't watch my tongue.

To get back to Heaven, though I have never been there before, one of my friends, Hema, who's a great believer in fairplay, demanded to know, "What does one need to be to get to the top in Heaven?"

Nava, the other friend in the group, replied, "That's obvious. You need to be an Italian."

"Can't be," said Hema. "I thought that qualification was only to become Pope here."

"When in Heaven," retorted Nava, "do as the Romans do."

By now Newton, the fourth guy in the quarter, decided to make his own contribution to the discussion. "I'd hate," he said, "to go to Heaven."

"Why?" we all cried in unison.

"Just imagine", he mused, "having spaghetti three times a day every day."

Hmm...mm...mm, that settles it, then. When it's my turn, I think I'll carry just enough dry rations to last me an eternity. Heaven, after all, can be no Heaven without rice and curry.

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INANIA *Of This, That and The Other*

Wastage Of The Earth

By INNA

IN MINAMATA BAY in Japan, man's greed has got the better of him. Of course, through sheer necessity, it may be, chemicals had to be obtained, and all the while, the Minamata Bay chemical factory was pumping in mercury waste into the sea. The fish ate the mercury contaminated fish, and people ate the fish, and food cycle was ruined.

Take the case of the 18 year old Jitsuko, daughter of Mr. Tanaka. Not only did the cats and dogs stagger and hit objects as if blinded, but also the people and Jitsuko behaved strangely. Distortion of the fingers, swelling of the tongue, inability to chew, to retain excrement, limited range of vision, shrieking—all these symptoms were seen and heard in many children. They thought it was some strange epidemic.

They even put people in quarantine! Ten years went by. It was 1966 and 148 victims later (after 48 deaths) that some action was taken. Mercury effluents are ruining territorial waters of many countries. Man is dignified. He is the noblest creature and yet man's inhumanity to man produces such colossal tragedies against his fellowman and brother. Many also suffer from cadmium contamination of rice. No wonder the 2300 scientists gathered at Menton in May 1973 condemned this tragic turn of events.

statues in Egypt and of the careful Aswan Dam operations.

But what happened? "We are now told that Egypt will need more fertilizer and will need to take special measures to desalinate the soil. The greater number of irrigation channels increases the incidence of schistosomiasis while elimination of the annual Nile flood has drastically reduced the sardine catch in the Mediterranean near the mouth of the Nile" (Burhop, *ibid*, p. 73-74). Why aren't our own scientists and engineers studying ecological problems in relation to our country?

Why are we letting them go so easily abroad and thus impoverish our country. Even religious and dedicated women seem to be in the game: large numbers of kindergarten (of the Montessori type) seem to be trained and used to feed American and other schools. The rape of our colonies has now given way to the rape of our brains, and some of our own so-called religious people are in it senselessly.

They say they have the faith, but when will they understand? Do they know what they are doing? How infantile and puerile to merely pat oneself on the back and say "we are not murderers, we are charitable, etc. when there is such heavy collaboration with foreign powers in a subtle manner, keeping the status quo, reeking as it is with inequality and injustice. None so blind as those who do not wish to see: none so deaf as those who do not wish to hear.

MAN in his hunger puts out his hand to other men, but instead of fish is given "scorpions", the better being often the enemy of the good. Menton deplored the environmental deterioration "at an unprecedented rate, the mercury, the lead, cadmium, oil spills, organic wastes released in amounts too great to be taken care of by the normal recycling processes of nature.....the heavy clouds of smog, airborne pollution, reckless ventures into new technological processes, e.g. supersonic transport and the planned proliferation of nuclear power plants" (see Indian Left Review, Feb. 1973, article of E. Burhop).

Rene Dumont, the agronomist of the Sorbonne suggested smaller projects side by side with the larger Mahaveli project in Sri Lanka. Have all the consequences of the damming of the Mahaveli been studied? How eagerly people spoke of the shifting of the Abu Simbel

SHAMBA

A FAMILY MOVES IN

by ANATORY BUKOBA

October 22.

The grass and the weeds, cut short with the Vici Katta months or weeks ago, are now growing fast. Just by walking about you see what is getting out of hand, needs doing again to prevent this place from becoming a wilderness once more. Coming back to the Shamba, I sometime enter by the place I had once cleared as a buffalo road, and when I did this today, I saw a bed of luxuriant green, of thorn and weed, which I thought I would weed by hand.

So, leaving the things I had brought in to the house, I turned round to do some weeding right away and I saw a patch of green which also needed doing, standing near the pathway which is more usually used. The result of my weeding by hand, pulling up what I did not want, and pulling them out by the roots, has been to heighten the green effect.

With nobody here to help me I have not been able to do any planting. Two families, which might have moved in here, have failed to show up.

October 23.

A group of six lads were out breaking or picking up wood apple this morning at the far end of the acre. In front of this, there was an untidy piece of ground with much thorn, all short stuff, but tall enough to obstruct the view from the house to these wood apples trees, or the edge of the wood that forms them. This I cleared in the evening, and how nice to look now. I did it with a knife although, I suppose it should really have been done with a mammoty. I think the knife does a fine job, the mammoty is more clumsy, and it would have removed much of the grass that I left. It is also possible to clean the grass with a knife, by removing much of the dead stuff, and also by

uprooting the less desirable forms of grass. Of course it does not do much good to the knife, to its cutting qualities, having to dig it into the earth as I do, to get right down to the roots.

This morning I had cut with the vici katta and I cleared up the whole of the front between the house and the road, and even the grass verge on the road.

October 24.

The rain of the last ten days has made my murunga trees put on leaves. One tree I found was dead, and I have six left. The six remaining plantain trees have freshened up, and my two papaw trees are growing again. The passion fruit plant is larger, the spinach are putting on leaves quite quickly. I think there is not much point in planting anything that will be sure to be despoiled by vandals, whether monkeys or man. I have three measures of paddy to sow, and I cannot get it down yet; because the ground is not yet quite prepared, and which I think is more to the point, as I am now alone, I feel someone or something else will get the growing crop.

Losing money is a sore problem. I had Rs. 5/- loose in my pocket, a note put by to pay my bus fare as it is not easy digging into a wallet or one envelope in a crowded bus. I either had my pocket picked in our local kaddoy or I dropped it, the note, I mean. To have one's pocket picked is gross negligence.

October 27.

Today I arrived after a short absence, about two or three days, to find my spinach had been pinched, plants, root and all. I feel certain that the thief was a human one, because my door had also been broken open. I arrived with two companions, and what with looking after them, I had not much time to inspect the estate. It must not be thought from these notes on this Shamba, that Ceylon is an island of thieves. I am, it would seem, in the middle of a very bad area, a small one, because not far away, not far from the periphery of these bad "eggs", people do leave their homes and their workplaces unattended, and even go away for days. I saw one such

place today, and that is why I write about it. I was very glad when I got back, to find my house still standing and intact, apart from the open door, and much else right besides, and the first question I asked someone I know, when I got off the bus, was *Is the house still there?*

So this is like a third start. I refused to buy rice at Rs. 3.25 a measure. The last couple I saw on the subject, a man and his wife, refused to sell me any at my price, Rs. 2.50 a measure, but they said, as you will have nothing to eat tonight, we had better give you some, and so they did, gave me for nothing what, on principle, they should not sell at the lesser price. Such is our Ceylon peasant!

October 28.

One of my partners was for doing heavy work, but I thought a day of rest should be observed. Life can be chaotic; you can work on Sunday, and then have to lay off on a weekday, so that you will have missed a day anyway.

Someone dropped a bombshell. He wants to go, and, of course, the other will want to go, too, for that is the custom of those who come in pairs. Once three people came here together. One stayed and the other two left. I was again in a quandary today as to what to do. I hope a family moves in tomorrow. They will be coming a week earlier than we had arranged. I am beginning to learn what I had already been told, that new projects, especially agricultural ones involving settlement, must be built on families; the married man has more stability, and this must be the rule, however many the exceptions.

Wet did I get today, wet twice no matter that I have had a cold the last two days. At this rate I should be having pneumonia, but I hope I do not.

The murunga is well in leaf. One papaw tree is down leaving me just one.

October 29.

The married man came this evening. He does not think my idea of piecemeal cultivation will get him far; that is, cultivating as you have the money to buy the

The One Acre Farm

various seed, instead of wading into it wholesale, borrowing the money somehow, so that, for instance, you sow three bushels of paddy instead of three measures; actually, I think, an acre will take only two bushels of seed paddy anyway. He turned up his nose at the measure of mungatta or green gram that I bought yesterday for sowing; it cost me Rs. 7/-. He thinks a measure is just a fleabite.

He is against keeping any trees at all. He thinks the wood-apple trees ought to go. I, who have seen our wood-apple laden with fruit, am naturally taken aback at such a thought. It is a popular fruit. As for the siyambala, he thinks those ought to go, too. Siyambala is a fruit that is used for seasoning dishes; it is more like a spice, like cloves, which also grow on trees bushes, and it fetches a tidy sum of money. The upshot of this all is that he is not likely to come, even at Rs. 5/- a day.

October 30.

The family is in my house. They turned up at about 3 p.m. My first indication was the sound of children's voices coming from the house, voices that sounded as if they belonged to them. And so it was. The man is to have free hand. He knows my wishes, and he is to be left free to disregard them. In that case he will be all on his own.

The present arrangement leaves me free of any financial obligations for the first time since I came here, or since I first had anybody with me. So now I shall be able to use my money as I like. The family has taken over my household

assets. I have kept the big knife, the long-handled one. I gave the man three measures of my seed paddy, all I had, and a measure mungatta treated for sowing. He has been given my big bucket, a short-handled knife which can be used to cut trees, and my brand new mamoty, a really good one.

He will have to tend for his family, and he will probably go out to work, but at present it will mean catching a bus, always a nuisance. He will find soon that it is not going to be easy to get all the sowing materials he wants. I have told him how to do it piecemeal. The most important element is his wife. The wife is the making of every man, and a wife always means stability.

October 31.

It looked to me as if the children would be going without lunch. They are well fed children, chubby, and they did not complain of hunger. Their mother had made them cander, which is a sort of thick soup. I thought of buying them a tin of condensed milk; was so thick it would not flow out of the tin, the colour of the milk was sort of chocolate brown. So the milk I returned, and I found that two pounds of battala, sweet potato and eleven pieces of jaggery came to exactly the cost of the condensed milk. So the children would have had their lunch anyway, the sweet potato serving as a substitute for the rice which was not in the house. It is very difficult to buy rice now under Rs. 3.25 a measure. Not so long ago, I would not have dreamed of paying more than Rs. 1.80 for a measure of rice.

Half a pound of spinach and half a pound of drum-stick came to twenty cents each vegetable.

My house is very low, and the new occupier is anxious to raise the roof. I shall help him to do so when I get back. Grass is growing daily with all the rain, and wanderoo monkeys have almost taken possession of some the land.

The jaggery I bought will serve as a substitute for sugar, a small piece of it is five cents. You put it in your mouth, and keep it there while you sip your tea.

November 7.

It has not rained today, but the rain of the last five days has almost turned the Shambo into a jungle. There is weed and grass growing where there was just bare earth before, and the grass that there was before is quite tall now; it is all a job for the *vici katha* which is out of commission, it needs a new shaft or handle.

The mamoty has been stolen. The lady of the house had to leave the house for a reason connected with her children, and when she got back, it was gone. I was not here, and her husband was away, he goes out to work every day. This happened five days ago soon after I left, and so, up to the time I had got back this morning, there had been no work done at all on the Shamba, neither new clearing, nor old clearing done again. No preparations for cultivation was done, either the sowing of the paddy and the mungatta. So we are without a mamoty, and we have lost a very good one.

Our one and only flower bed is like a jungle, too. I hear that



ANOTHER ERA

A NEW STRATEGY FOR
GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

by Baron Lean de Rosen

here are any number of mosquitoes around, and I am not surprised with all the long grass that is growing right up to walls of the house. The *Shamba* really looks a wreck, there is nothing beautiful about it now, the way the vegetables has raced away with just five days of rain. Of course, the ground was softened up with more rain before that.

November 8,

It was not till 4.30 in the evening that I had the *Vici Katha* ready. Fixing a *Vici Katha* handle is not much different from putting on a mammy handle, in fact, a good deal easier, for it is nailed on; but I thought I would rather have a professional job done on it, the *bas* was away, hence the delay I gave him one rupee and he thought he had been grossly overpaid.

With no mammy and no *Vici Katha*, there was just our hands left, and I set to weeding the flower bed. I thought what a good thing it was we had been left without any implements, or that particular job would never have been done. I used my knife for digging up a few of some thorny stuff, and with its long handle, it served as a kind of prop while I was bending down.

The woman of the house started to weed, too, and she cleared up the whole of the front of the house, right back to its cadjan walls, of weeds, and most of the sides, too. Hers was a really good job, and I told her so. I also weeded our new periphery and I loosened the soil around them with my knife.

Then I went out to see about the *Vici Katha*. When I returned I used it to clear the land on one side of the path that leads to the bathing place at the far end of the property, or, rather, beyond it. Then I cut short the grass on the other side, where there I was less grass. That day I started on the grass between the house and the road, and then I cleared all the grass verge which faces the house. I had covered quite a large area in the short time I had worked.



In the past, it has been an article of faith in the West—zealously propagated in the poor countries—that the prime objective of economic activity and social organisation is the increase of national income. Governments have been judged by the rate of growth of income they have achieved. International institutions have bestowed their favours in accordance with this criterion. We judge ourselves and others, by the size of our pay cheque.

National income is a means to the end of human fulfilment. It is not the only means to that end. Indeed, it is diabolic when it becomes the sole principle of human activity. Income alone cannot ensure human fulfilment. It is certainly a necessary condition, but we have allowed it to become the main condition.

Because planners and politicians, technocrats and ordinary people find one yardstick easier to manage than a whole array of measures, it would be better to create a new measure that assessed the real aim of activity—human happiness.

A "National Welfare Index" may be beyond the limits of feasibility but some measures other than income per head are available (or could be made so). Some at least deserve as much attention as G.N.P. They include statistics about the number and living standard of the very poor. How many have incomes of less than half the national average. How are they housed? What are their jobs? What chance have they or their children of eating adequately? What is the life expectancy of a child in this group?

But some concepts are not amenable to any kind of measure. Creativity, community, communication—these pursuits embody some of the finest aspirations of the human spirit. Some societies encourage them more than others. We value 15th century Venice, 17th century Amsterdam, 4th century China and 10th century India, not for their wealth—but for the standards they were impoverished—but for the amazing blossoming of talents. So it should be now. The music of the black community in the United States, the negritude movement in West Africa, the development of an original literature in Latin America—these have been born, not of affluence, but of a quest for dignity and self-respect which has ennobled our century.

IN THE CURRENT reaction against growthmanship, there has been increasing emphasis on the distribution of income and, to a lesser extent, welfare. Mr. Robert McNamara has pointed out that while the incomes of those who live in the rich countries are likely to reach \$1600 per head by 1980, the 75 per cent of the world's population who live in the poor countries will see their incomes rise to only \$180. However inadequate income is as a definition of an end or goal, it is one means of freeing man from some of the constraints on his humanity. It is this that makes scandalous the growth of disparities in income.

If we lack the means in the immediate future to close the gap, there is one step we can take without delay. We can guarantee to every child in the world adequate food—adequate water—adequate shelter, immunisation against communicable diseases and security against absolute want for the rest of his or her life. By contrast with the resources spent on the space race and the arms race, the cost of this guarantee is minimal.

The cost to the affluent may well be great. Let it be. The re-ordering of their own priorities, the change in their own life styles which this would involve might be the liberation of the rich.

It is certain that the life style of the rich will have to change, if only because the growth of population and congestion on one hand and the rising price of some raw

materials on the other will make it inevitable. Again we are presented with an alternative—one less dramatic than extremists present, but nonetheless demanding a conscious decision. Either we, the rich, can approach this change constructively and hopefully; or we can resist it in a desperate attempt to protect the consumption pattern in which we have too readily invested our identity.

WE NEED a new society which puts as much emphasis on social inter-responsibility as an earlier age put on spiritual purification. We have lost the joy of simplicity in a vain search for satisfaction. Always frustrated in that search, we go out of our way to have the latest gadget, the most recent model, the ultimate in luxury or technical sophistication or novelty. The ease of yesterday is today's deprivation: today's luxury is tomorrow's necessity.

We do not know how to survive, either as individuals or as societies, without mass consumption. The economic impact of mass moderation would be little short of cataclysmic.

The dependence of the mass consumption economy on arousing envy, greed, insecurity and possessiveness is almost as morally corrosive as the extreme forms of poverty.

Further, the mass consumption economy has so far been unsuccessful in equating private cost with social cost. In non-economic terms, for example, noise, pollution, ugly exploitation of the countryside and congestion, the political system tends to ensure that the least powerful and least organised groups of the community pay a high pro-

portion of these costs. In such cases, the poor pay for the indulgence of the rich.

In the new society, these problems would not be solved automatically. It is precisely because mass consumption plays upon man's moral weaknesses that exploitation will always be possible. It is precisely because entrepreneurs seek to minimise the manufacturing cost that they are disposed to pass on as many costs as they can to the public.

WHAT THEN can be done? Two principles must be maintained—the overthrow of consumerism in the rich countries must not be allowed to inhibit the pursuit of economic growth "as-a-means" in the poor countries; and the poor of any country must not be exploited for the enrichment of the owners of productive resources. These principles suggest a number of practical steps.

The first is the more vigorous pursuit of a rational international division of labour.

The second is the transfer to the poor countries of financial resources sufficient to enable them to take advantage of the international division of labour.

Third is the management of non-renewable resources (even those presently in abundant supply like bauxite) on a world scale.

Fourth, no less obvious, is the fact that some resources have already a scarcity value which gives the owners of those resources juicy profits.

Fifth, renewable resources produced by the poor countries have

been the victims of the mass consumer society. As demand has fluctuated, prices have sea-sawed when they have not fallen. Rubber is cheaper today than it was 20 years ago. Meanwhile, the prices of the manufactured exports of the rich countries have risen each year as a result of inflation.

It is self-evident that most of these proposals imply a large increase in the volume of transfers from the rich to the poor. "Aid" has come to suffer a number of disadvantages. It smacks of paternalism. It has sometimes been used as a means of political control.

Rather than a transfer from the rich nations to the poor, let it be a universal pooling of a proportion of the real annual increase of income. Let the poor countries give a smaller proportion, but let them share in the act of giving. And let aid flow from the rich to the poor, irrespective of nation, colour and creed. There are pockets of poverty in the US as degrading as the mass poverty of Calcutta. Let such people have aid from a fund of human solidarity.

Without vision, the world carries with itself the seeds of its own destruction. The vision, still so incomplete and imperfect, as presented here depends on a fundamental reordering of priorities among the rich and powerful of the whole world.

THE RICH AND POWERFUL have still a chance to re-order their own priorities to substitute, the New Society for the mass consumption economy, to replace the pursuit of individual possession by the common good of the community. The choice they make will determine the parameters of the coming



revolution. But the choice is not between pain and pleasure, between more and less. Rather it is a choice between different sources of satisfaction, of joy, and of spiritual growth.

That is the choice of the rich. The choice of the poor is different in degree but not in nature. We cannot claim the right to reject mass consumption on their behalf. Equally, we cannot refuse them the resources required to allow them to make that real choice. This implies a general about-face. Now, we proselytise among the poor the virtues of consumption, but deny them the possibility of an above margin existence. The hope of the future is that we shall succeed in defeating individual consumption in our rich countries while permitting the wretched of the earth the means to elect it in theirs. It is a peculiar form of cultural arrogance, however, to suppose that they are incapable of learning by our mistakes.

Let us at least allow the debate to begin. Let us at least challenge the hegemony of the mere ethic. Let us at least join the young, the naive and those who still have hope and ask: More of what? For whom?

Courtesy: Development Forum

THE BICYCLE

Pedal Power Makes A Comeback

London.

"Never has a more simple machine encompassed the solution to so many crises, phobias and fashions." So begins an article on a new British boom in bicycles in the latest edition of the magazine, *Design*. Last year more bicycles than cars were sold in the United States. This year in Britain bicycle sales are expected to exceed one million—10 per cent up on last year.

People, it seems, are re-discovering the wisdom of an old truth as the price and scarcity of petrol threaten to force cars off the road; you can go further and faster by bike than you can walking, and the only fuel you need is oxygen—which is still free! And as British cities get more and more choked with motor traffic it is actually becoming quicker to cycle to work

than it is to go by public transport or in your own car.

Growing awareness of these inescapable facts is boosting the bike's status as well as its popularity. The magazine article showed how far new designs have helped bicycle manufacturers cash in on the changing climate of opinion. Lightweight bikes using plastics have been invented; bikes you can fold up and store in a small space are now on the market.

More ingenious and fundamental changes in the design of frames, the size of wheels and gear ratios have created the Moulton bicycle which is capable of carrying heavier loads and is easier to ride than conventional models. It has proved especially popular with housewives and as a safer bike for young children. An ideal form of commuting in large cities is for people to cycle short distances to railway stations and then hop on a train, but in most countries there is often nowhere for cyclists to leave their bikes when they get to a station.

Yet in spite of these drawbacks more and more people are turning to bicycles. For they remain cheap, long-lasting, non-polluting and health-giving and with those recommendations in this day and age pedal power just has to make sense.

TANAKA'S ADVICE TO JAPANESE IN S.E. ASIAN NATIONS

Tokyo, Jan. 18.

The Japanese Premier, Mr. Tanaka, stunned by violent, anti-Japanese demonstrations in Jakarta during his stay there leading to the cancellation of all his official engagements in Indonesia, to-day admonished his people staying in South-East Asian countries for insulating themselves socially and not associating with the local people.

Mr. Tanaka, who returned from his South-East Asian tour yesterday, urged his countrymen in a nationally televised press conference to study the languages of South-East Asian countries where they were doing business so that they could mingle with the local people. "They should eat at the same table" with the people there to increase mutual understanding.

He conceded there had been some lapse on the part of Japanese diplomacy towards South-East Asia in that while many leaders from these countries including Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers had made frequent visits to Japan and were fully aware of the situation in this country, few visits had been made to South-East Asia by top Japanese leaders resulting in inadequate understanding of these countries by the Japanese. For many years now, Japanese Premiers and other Cabinet Ministers had concentrated on visiting rich and powerful countries of the West. He said it was necessary for Japanese Ministers to pay more formal and informal visits to South-East Asian countries in order to promote greater mutual understanding.

IN KERALA

Jobs Without Bribes

IT IS REPORTED from Calicut in Kerala that eight candidates have applied for a single vacancy of attendant in a local school and that, since all of them were prepared to pay its bribe price of Rs. 6,000, one of them was actually chosen by lot. This episode speaks volumes for the sordid role corruption has been playing at all levels of public activity and at the expense of the weak and the desperate. It is not that greasing itching palms is peculiar to any country or any age.

But what should worry right thinking men and women is that this evil force is breeding social depravity of a sort that will not only tolerate but intensify, extend

and perpetuate a universal spoils system. The only social defence against it is public opinion which, in the prevailing circumstances of illiteracy of the masses, is yet to be mustered effectively. And the educated who could provide the right lead in these matters are usually lethargic.

It is therefore encouraging to learn that some of the educated unemployed in Kunnathara, near Calicut have proposed a scheme under which instead of bribing their way into jobs, they will pool what will otherwise have been spent on bribes to raise sufficient equity capital for starting any industry which, with the requisite matching assistance from the Government, can employ them and their friends. It is initiative of this sort that is most required at present for easing the pressures of unemployment and in the process for discovering the type of industries that will be viable in various regions differing as they do in their natural endowments.

Of course, such an exercise is not going to be easy and its success cannot be taken for granted. Particularly so because most of the educated unemployed have only a general qualification which is sometimes below what some of the basic industrial jobs call for. Their fitment will require a lot of training of minds and skills. And this apart from the difficulty or even impossibility of finding jobs for all near their homes. All this may look like a wet blanket, but recognising possible pitfalls can prevent eminently timely programmes from failing.

— Hindu,

For News Behind
the News

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regularly

PARAPSYCHOLOGY

Experiment On A Yogi

Rajahmundry.

Scientists of the Andhra University are now analysing the results of an experiment they conducted on a yogi in Viskhatnam on January 6.

Yogiraj Vaidyaraj of Rajayogasadhanasramam of Alamuru, near Rajahmundry, subjected himself to the experiments conducted in the Dream Laboratory of the Parapsychology Department of the Andhra University. Dr. Elmer E. Green, Director of Research, Voluntary Control of Internal States, Menger Foundation (USA) and Dr. K. Ramakrishna Rao, Head of the Department of Psychology and Parapsychology, Andhra University, conducted the experiment.

Before the yogi was sealed in an air-tight box, he was examined by a team of doctors and his blood pressure, heart beat and respiration were recorded. Electrodes were fixed on various points of his body.

As the yogi entered the box (in which all the oxygen had been used up by a candle lit an hour before) at 12-30 p.m. and the glass door was sealed, Dr. Ramakrishna Rao began observing the electroencephalograph (EEG) with its analyser and Dr. Green went to his mobile biophysiological laboratory to observe the recording instruments.

The yogi gradually went into deep meditation. Four hours later finding his breath feeble and heart condition weak and restless, the scientists wanted to close the experiment. But they were advised to continue, as the yogi had the capacity to sustain the meditative state for longer periods.

The yogi withdrew his mind from the senses and light flashes and sound buzzings now and then had no effect on the alpha waves during the later stage of the meditation. It was seen that the yogi could completely control his nervous system.

At 9 p.m. the glass door was opened and the scientists and doctors found the yogi calm, controlled and cheerful. They declared he was in normal physical and mental condition.

— Hindu

MAKING MONEY

OUT OF THE CITY'S RUBBISH

London.

Refuse thrown away by Greater London's 7½ million people totals about 2½ million tons a year. In the past most of this rubbish has been tipped to marshy or waste ground and then consolidated. But apart from this being an expensive and wasteful method, there is no longer much suitable waste land left for the purpose. Burning refuse is not an easy process because of the very varied nature of the things people throw away, but the problems involved have been studied and are now solved. A huge fully automatic incineration plant has been built at Edmonton, London, to burn the capital's refuse.

At first sight, it may be thought that the new plant, costing about £11 million, is an expensive luxury. This is not so—because the machinery is specifically designed actually to earn money for the local autho-

riety and the public which, in the end, pays the bill.

First, of all the heat from the specially designed furnaces produces steam to power electricity generators. Enough electricity is produced to work the refuse disposal plant itself, as well as to sell the £ 500,000 worth of annual surplus to Britain's Electricity Board to boost the national power supply. Secondly, the burnt material leaves various deposits of ash and incombustible refuse behind in the furnaces. The clinker is sold to contractors for roadmaking.

Then there are the metals which cannot burn. Ferrous metals are extracted by enormous magnets, while fine non-magnetic metals are conveyed automatically to sorting areas. The sale of all the scrap metal for re-cycling is expected to be worth another £ 250,000 yearly, bringing the value of all the sales to about £ 1 million a year.

The plant sounds simple, but this is far from the case. Years of careful planning have been needed to overcome difficulties. Up to 700 dust carts will tip their loads into the receiving hoppers daily.

BACKGROUND FACTS

THE OIL CRISIS

by
Spartacus

Following the outbreak of war in the Middle East in October last year, ten Arab countries with an annual production of about 900 million tons of oil, introduced an embargo on oil deliveries to the United States and Holland and decided to cut down output by 5 per cent every month until Israel vacates all occupied Arab territories. Actually, the Arabs have 'overfulfilled' their plan and reduced oil production by about 30 per cent.

Now the energy crisis, the first really serious one in the history of capitalism, is at its height. The USA and other Western countries are feverishly devising ways and means for overcoming the fuel shortage.

With the spread of industrialisation to all corners of the globe in the course of this century, mankind has been increasingly drawing upon the raw material resources of the planet. In the first half of the century world consumption of power tripled. In the subsequent 20 years the corresponding figure went up three times again. In other words, the consumption of power has increased almost ten-fold in the first 70 years of this century.

THE SHARE of coal in world energy consumption which stood at 80 per cent in 1930 went down to 35 per cent by 1970. In Western Europe oil now meets 60 per cent of the energy requirements. The corresponding figures for the USA and Japan are 50 per cent and 70 per cent respectively.

It is estimated that in the capitalist world the demand for oil will grow from 1850 million tons in 1970 to 3150 millions ton by 1980 and to about 4000 million tons by 1985. Some forecasters say that with the present rates of consumption, oil output will have to be brought up to 20,000 million tons per year by the end of this century. But the known oil resources of all the non-socialist countries constitute only about 77,000 million tons.

By 1980 the oil requirements of the USA alone would be roughly 1200 million tons while its own extractions is only 600 million tons. The corresponding figures for western Europe are 1000 million and 200 million tons.

In 1970 the USA received from the Middle East countries only 50

per cent of the oil consumed. But Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton has estimated that by 1985 imports of oil could reach 65 per cent of consumption, giving the USA a deficit of as much as 20 billion dollars a year on her oil trade.

THE SUPPLY of oil to world market concentrated in a relatively small group of major producers, members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) which includes Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Libya, Algeria, Nigeria, Indonesia, Venezuela and Saudi Arabia. As will be seen, except for Nigeria, Indonesia and Venezuela, all of them are situated in the Middle East.

It is here in the Middle East that about three-fourths of the proved oil resources of the non-socialist world lie. Here are pumped oil into 1000 million barrels a year. Here oil and politics are indivisible.

Till recent times, all oil production in the Middle East was controlled by 7 giant trusts—called the "Seven Sisters"—who took the oil of the producing countries at will and on their own terms. There were: Standard Oil, Mobiloil, Texas, Gulf Oil, British Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell and Compagnie Francaise de Petrol. Their payments for producing countries were trivial compared to the value extracted. And the positions of these "oil imperialists" were buttressed by military and political intervention which ensured rule by subservient despots in these oil-rich states.

HOW PROFITABLE oil business was for the oil monopolies can be

gauged from the following figures. Production costs per barrel in the Persian Gulf area is only 10 American cents compared with 1.79 dollars in the USA. The correlation of prospecting costs is approximately the same.

On the other hand, the wages of the Arab workers employed there are scandalously low—among the lowest anywhere in the world. No wonder that the "Seven Sisters" collected a cool £ 2000 million as net profits from their Middle East oil operations in the first post-war decade alone (1945-54)

Little wonder too that oil is big business. One-third of the assets of 100 leading US industrial firms (about 23,000 million dollars) belong to oil companies. Of the 17 biggest industrial corporations there with assets of more than 1000 million dollars each, 10 are oil companies.

OIL ACCOUNTS for the biggest private US investments abroad—about 20 per cent. According to the *Survey of Current Business* (November 1972 issue), oil properties have been the largest source of profits from foreign investments for US British and Dutch imperialisms. In 1971 they accounted for 39 per cent of all profits on foreign investments and 47 per cent of all actually permitted profits on US foreign investments.

The system of mutual relations between the petroleum producing countries and the consumers is one inherited from the colonial era. The members of the International Petroleum Cartel receive concessions in the developing countries. The Cartel, consisting of five US, one British and one Anglo-Dutch company, is the most powerful monopoly grouping of capitalism.

The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was set up in 1960 to fight the Cartel. The general changes in the economic set-up in favour of the oil-producing countries, the strengthening of their political independence and the consolidation of the positions in the international arena of their allies in the struggle against imperialism—the socialist world—all helped to put an end to the declining trends in per barrel payments for oil by the monopolies.

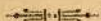
But for about ten years they were unable to make any significant gains.

Since 1970, however, OPEC countries have been on the offensive and have succeeded in scoring far-reaching breakthroughs in their relations with the oil monopolies. Between 1970 and 1972 average per barrel payments for oil to governments in Middle East producing countries increased by 69 per cent. As a result of further increases already in effect or under negotiation, it has been estimated that the average received last year (1973) was probably double the 1970 level.

THE INFLATION in the West caused some damage to the oil-producing countries. For example, as a result of the first devaluation of the dollar in 1971, the losses to OPEC countries amounted to 500 million dollars.

However, despite these losses, residual gains have been impressive. Last June an agreement was signed in Geneva under which the price of petroleum was increased by about 12 per cent compared with February 1973 when the dollar was devalued for the second time. These prices will be periodically revised depending on the rates of the currencies of the leading Western countries and Japan.

When applied to increased volumes of output, it has been estimated that the higher payments will result in total payments of about 20 million dollars to the producing countries in 1973, compared with a mere 2 million in 1960 when OPEC was formed.



IN AGRICULTURE

Weeds Mean High Cost And Low Returns

FARMERS know well how weeds interfere with the growth and yield of crops. "An unweeded crop is just one-fourth of the full crop" says a Tamil adage. To what an extent weeds can render the investment on fertilizers fruitless

is evident from a special study made by scientists at the Tamil Nadu Agriculture University, Coimbatore.

In the two-year research programme, trials were laid out involving irrigated crops, rice, cholam (jowar), maize, ragi and sunflower under intensive cultivation using balanced doses of fertilizers. The effect of weeding the crops manually and chemically was compared with no weeding.

It was found that depletion of nutrients was considerably higher in the unweeded plots than in the protected crops. The uptake of nutrients was higher in the weeded plots as compared to the unweeded plots, by nearly 100 per cent in the case of rice and sunflower and by 50 per cent for jowar, ragi and maize. The grain yield also was commensurately higher being nearly 100 per cent in the case of rice, 60 per cent with jowar and sun-flower and 30 per cent in maize.

A SPECTACULAR improvement was found with ragi crop where the yields were 4366 kg./ha for manual weeding and 3820 kg./ha for chemical weeding, as against 1430 for unweeded crop.

The loss due to exhaustion of nutrients by weeds was as high as Rs. 350 per hectare in some cases, the minimum being Rs. 170. Weeding of the plots even without a crop appeared to be worthwhile as all the costly nutrients will be retained in the soil without being dissipated by the weeds.

The extra return per hectare due to weeding worked out to 2100 kg of grain (value-Rs. 1260) for hand weeding and 2800 kg grain (Rs. 1680) for chemical weeding in the case of rice. For jowar, the grain yield was up by 1270 kg for hand weeding and 1360 for chemical, the value being respectively Rs. 635 and Rs. 680. For maize hand weeding gave 1250 kg of grains (Rs. 628) more while chemical weeding fared better with 1376 kg (Rs. 688). The additional yield for ragi and sunflower was 2936 kg (Rs. 1468) and 693 kg (Rs. 693) for hand weeding and 2390 kg (Rs. 1195) and 733 kg (Rs. 733) for chemical treatment respectively.

THE CASH value of additional yield in these crops had been more than twice the investments in the manual weeding operations and three to four times the cost of chemical treatment.

According to Dr. G. Rangaswamy Vice-Chancellor TNAU, the benefit is more enduring than a mere increase in return as weeding results in the conservation of plant nutrients in the soil and paves the way for their gainful utilisation by crops—quite significant in the context of the shortage of crop nutrients, which is likely to continue for several years more.

—Hindu 2/1/74



A LESSON FROM INDIA

The Agricultural Balance Sheet

By S. Nilakantan

LAST YEAR'S (1972) drought and its economic consequences, which have brought development to a halt, draw attention to the precarious state of the agricultural economy even after two decades of planned effort. Preoccupation with emergency programmes and adhoc measures to cope with the crisis was inevitable; but, with the prospect of a good kharif harvest which promises to be the best we have had so far, there is a brief respite and the opportunity for rethinking on the goals and techniques of agricultural development.

Soon we will be a nation of 600 millions and there is no time to be lost in evolving a pattern of growth which will be able to take bad seasons in its stride and at least ensure per capita availability of foodgrains at the present low level of 190 kilograms per annum. And this is the task which has been taken up by Dr. M. S. Swaminathan, Director General of the I.C.A.R., in his Sardar Patel Memorial Lectures.

The series of three lectures in which Dr. Swaminathan has reviewed the positive and nega-

ive factors, the emerging trends in agricultural technology and the organisational and educational effort that is necessary to derive the full benefit of new techniques, offer a wealth of ideas for the formulation of an agricultural strategy suited to our circumstances.

ANY VIABLE strategy of development will have to be based on a realistic assessment of resources and limitations. The preliminary stock-taking has revealed an impressive list of assets whose potential has yet to be fully utilised. Indian agriculture, according to Dr. Swaminathan, has the advantage of abundant sunlight which is essential for plant growth, considerable diversity of soil and climatic conditions, great variety of plant and animal species, a large volume of tapped and untapped water, vast and as yet unexploited marine fish resources, and last but not least a large population engaged in agriculture.

On the other hand, the liability listed by Dr. Swaminathan are equally impressive: "Improper and indifferent water use, inadequate tapping of sunlight, poor utilisation of biological nitrogen fixation, Wasteful disposal of wastes, lack of understanding of recycling processes and poor integration of crop and animal husbandry, on the one hand, terrestrial and aquatic production systems, on the other, are our major liabilities."

It has been calculated that every child born today would need 0.08 hectares of land for purposes like housing, waste disposal, power supply and other uses and 0.4 hectares for production of food. On this basis, we would need five million hectares of additional land every year to provide adequately for the annual increase in population. On the other hand, the availability of agricultural land was only 0.34 hectares per head in 1969-70. And every year vast areas are lost to cultivation brought through water and wind erosion. The annual loss of soil on account of erosion has been estimated at 6000 million tonnes while the loss of plant nutrients is of the order of 2.5 million tonnes of Nitrogen, 3.3 million tonnes of phosphorus, and 2.6 million tonnes of potash.

UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION of rainfall in space and time is another

major handicap. Eighty per cent of the rainfall is received during three or four months of the South West Monsoon. Large parts of the country suffer from chronic drought while others are devastated by periodic floods and cyclones.

Apart from growth of population and aberrant weather, the handicaps mostly arise from, and are aggravated by improper use and management of land and water resources and defective crop planning, resulting in low productivity. One reason for low productivity of important crops is the extension of cultivation to marginal and sub-marginal lands. It is possible that lands which yield a poor crop of the staple cereals like rice or wheat would yield better return if put under pulses or oilseeds. But until there is a proper food distribution machinery, cropping systems will continue to be determined by the requirements of the farmer and his family.

We will have to learn, says, Dr. Swaminathan, to produce more and more food from less and less land. There is urgent need to develop and introduce an agricultural technology which will lead to increased productivity. But care will have to be taken to see that the new techniques that are recommended take into account the limitation of resources as well as regional differences and requirements of different local eco-systems.

The pattern of highly mechanised cultivation with the low labour input is not obviously suited to India with its large population and limited availability of agricultural land and energy sources. The tools of modernisation of agriculture, like fertilisers, pesticide, farm power and water if excessively based on non-renewable resources, warns Dr. Swaminathan, will end in crises now referred to as "ecological crises", "energy crises" and so on. Indian agriculture, luckily, is still largely based on renewable resources, but the productivity is also very low.

According to Dr. Swaminathan one of our urgent needs is the development of technologies where the productivity of land can be continuously increased with diminishing dependence on non-renewable components of energy such as fossil fuels, by deploying

recycling processes more and more effectively. Devices like cow dung gas plants which can supply both fuel and manure have an important role in the development of the new technology. In this connection Dr. Swaminathan has mentioned the growing of trees specifically for generating thermal power, the development of new high yielding crops for industrial energy, recycling of animal wastes by fermentation as some of the possibilities worthy of being studied critically in our country.

THE NEW techniques will also have to be adapted to the vast variations in local conditions and be based on understanding of the local eco-systems. There is considerable need for local research and testing work before a new technology developed in research institutes can be recommended to the farmers. And their introduction will in any cases require basic changes in the traditional practices.

While there are many areas where there is need for further research for obtaining the data required for developing new technologies, the main problem in bringing about transformation of agriculture in the scale required to meet the needs of our vast population is one of organisation and communication. Many of the tasks of the new technology like recycling of farm wastes, proper management of land and water, crop planning etc. require cooperative action by the entire local community.

The new technology must also be such that it can be understood and adopted by the small, poor and illiterate farmer. According to Dr. Swaminathan, such a technology is available, but its adoption requires a certain degree of cooperative effort and changed outlook. And effective extension of the new techniques would call for changes in the educational system to make it relevant to a society in which the majority of the population are dependent on agriculture. The agricultural revolution it seems will have to wait for an educational revolution.

—Foreign News & Features.



TOPICAL

World Bank Helps Indonesian Tea Industry

The International Development Association (IDA), an affiliate of the World Bank, has approved credits amounting to \$ 7.8 million to Indonesia, in support of a project designed to increase the productivity of the private tea industry in West and Central Java. The increased production, primarily by smallholders, will help meet the domestic demand for tea.

In addition to substantial financial benefits for participating smallholders and private estates as a result of increased tea production and improvement in quality, the project is expected to generate 5,000 new jobs for field and factory workers and will help to strengthen the Government's agricultural institutions.

Through a State owned bank, the Bank Rakyat Indonesia, credit will be provided for agricultural inputs to about 7,700 small holders and 30 private estates. Some 24,700 acres of smallholders and 7,400 acres of private estate tea are to be reha-

bilitated and replanted. The private estates included in the project will provide supporting services to smallholders in surrounding areas.

Credit will also be provided for the construction of two new black tea factories and rehabilitation of five existing privately owned tea factories. The new factories will initially be owned by two government owned tea estates, but their ownership will be transferred in the future to smallholders. The factories to be rehabilitated are owned and managed by private estate owners.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. Under the project, a specialized tea extension service will be created to provide required technical assistance to tea growers. Training facilities and programs will be developed to train both extension officers and tea growers. To assure that high quality planting material will be available, tea nurseries will be established.

The project also provides funds for consultancy services and for studies to improve the domestic marketing system for tea, to diversify production in the project area, and to strengthen the long-term lending capability of the Bank Rakyat Indonesia. By 1985/1986 total production from smallholders and private estates participating in the project is expected to in-

crease to 25,000 tons, which is 4,000 tons above the present level of production. The estimated wholesale value of the production generated by the project is about \$7.2 million. The average yearly net income from tea per 2.47 acres of the participating smallholders is expected to increase by about \$200 at full development to the project, and the private estates, net income from leaf production is expected to increase by about \$ 20,000 yearly per 247 acres. The overall effect of the project on net farm income has been estimated at annual increases of \$2.3 million to smallholders and \$ 800,000 to the private estates.

The project is scheduled for completion in 1981 at a total cost estimated at \$15.4 million. Of this amount, \$ 7.8 million will be covered by the IDA credit. The remainder of the cost will be met by funds from the Government of Indonesia, and the Bank Rakyat Indonesia, and from contributions of sub-borrowers participating in the project. The project will be executed by a Project Management Unit to be established in the Ministry of Agriculture.

The IDA credit is for 50 years, including a 10-year grace period, and is interest free except for a 3/4 of 1% service charge to cover IDA's administrative expenses.

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

Find out what's
really going on in
Sri Lanka and the world

To participate in discussion on difficult or unexpected topics, to be confident in your knowledge about this country and the world and to find yourself better informed than your colleagues—read the **Tribune**, a little time each week, and that will give you an interpretative analysis of current events and also indicate the course of future developments. **Tribune** will point out what is important today and what may happen tomorrow.

TRIBUNE, January 26, 1974

IS IT TRUE? Sherlock Holmes

● THE ECONOMIST ● UNP JOURNAL ● JANAWEGAYA

IS IT NOT TRUE that there is a great deal of speculation as to the identity of a *Special Correspondent* who had contributed a rather catty piece to *The Economist* of December 22, 1973? That earlier it was always *Our Own Correspondent* who had kept the readers of *The Economist* informed on Ceylon affairs? That in recent times this new *Special Correspondent* has indulged in markedly tendentious writing about Sri Lanka? That not so long ago he (or is it a she?) had written a dubious piece entitled *That Chilly (Chile) Feeling* hinted that what had happened in Chile could very well happen in Sri Lanka? That even at that time there had been a flurry of speculation in political, diplomatic and journalistic circles as to who had done this piece? That suggestions were made that the prestigious newspaperman who had regularly written for *The Economist* had stopped writing and that some other person had done this writing? That it was whispered that a person who does some writing for the Economic Intelligence Unit of the paper might well have done the writing about the *Chilly (Chile) feeling* in Ceylon? That the new piece on December 22 was entitled *SRI LANKA—LET THEM EAT YAMS* in the manner and style of Marie Antoniette's *let them eat cake*? That this vicious and distorted piece which began with "the breadlines outside Colombo bakeries begin at 4 a.m." had concluded with the pompous pronouncement that "the road to socialism in Asia's oldest and most advanced non-communist welfare state is beginning to sound like a title of an old Hope and Crosby farrel!" That this piece was

datelined in Colombo after the bread queues had been brought under control? That it was a clever piece which would please the Colombo jet set and the club set—really poor parodies of the originals in New York, Paris or London—and raise a laugh among them when they sip the poison called *gal arrack* with the same *bonhomie* and aplomb as when one drinks mellow scotch? That cynical pseudo-intellectual witticisms will draw applause in the cocktail circuit but this is not objective reporting or comment as understood in modern journalism? That objective reporting, even if vicious, is pardonable? That *The Economist*, which carries excellent reports, objective and factual, about other countries will do well to review the reports of this *Special Correspondent* about Sri Lanka? That it is also the duty of others in Sri Lanka who were and who are connected with *The Economist* to agitate about these reports of this *Special Correspondent*? That Sri Lanka may be too small a fragment on the planet for *The Economist* to really worry about, but the least it can do is to have correct reports if anything is published at all?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the revived *UNP Journal* has failed to make a mark? That this political weekly of one of the biggest political parties in Sri Lanka is everything which a newspaper should not be? That the presentation is bad and the contents are worse? That this weekly goes back to the style and manner of the political polemics of the thirties, forties and fifties of this decade in Ceylon when allegedly exposure stories and personal attacks on political figures were

considered the essence of effective political journalism? That in Sri Lanka today effective political journalism will have any impact only if a paper concentrates on constructive, analytical, interpretative and positive articles? That exposure articles and personal attacks, if essential for the well-being of the party's fortunes, should have a secondary role? That the Sinhala party journal of the UNP, the *Sivavata*, indulges in the same kind of journalism? That it will be read only by the frustrated and the desperate, but it is not likely to swing an election? That if the UNP desires to stage a comeback it will have to improve the quality of its Party journals? That the first thing to be done is for the Party to formulate a policy and programme which can be considered a true alternative to the common Programme of the United Front? That UNP politics is once again being worked out on the outmoded formula, derived from Dulles-McCarthyian Imperatives, that jingoistic religion coupled with scare-raising slogans about communist conspiracies bring political power? That it is time that UNP should re-think its policies?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the *Janawegaya* is today the only political weekly which sustains certain standards and which seeks to reflect the views and attitudes of the Establishment of the SLFP as a leading constituent member of the UF? That personal attacks often violate the pages of the *Janawegaya* but these attacks are far and few between? That it pushes a positive and constructive line, however erroneous these policies may appear to many? That the *Janawegaya*, it is whispered, will bring out an English version and also a Tamil version in the near future? That this will be a good thing because these papers will speak for leading sections of the SLFP? That true political rapport between the SLFP and English-speaking and Tamil-speaking sections of the population has long been wanted?