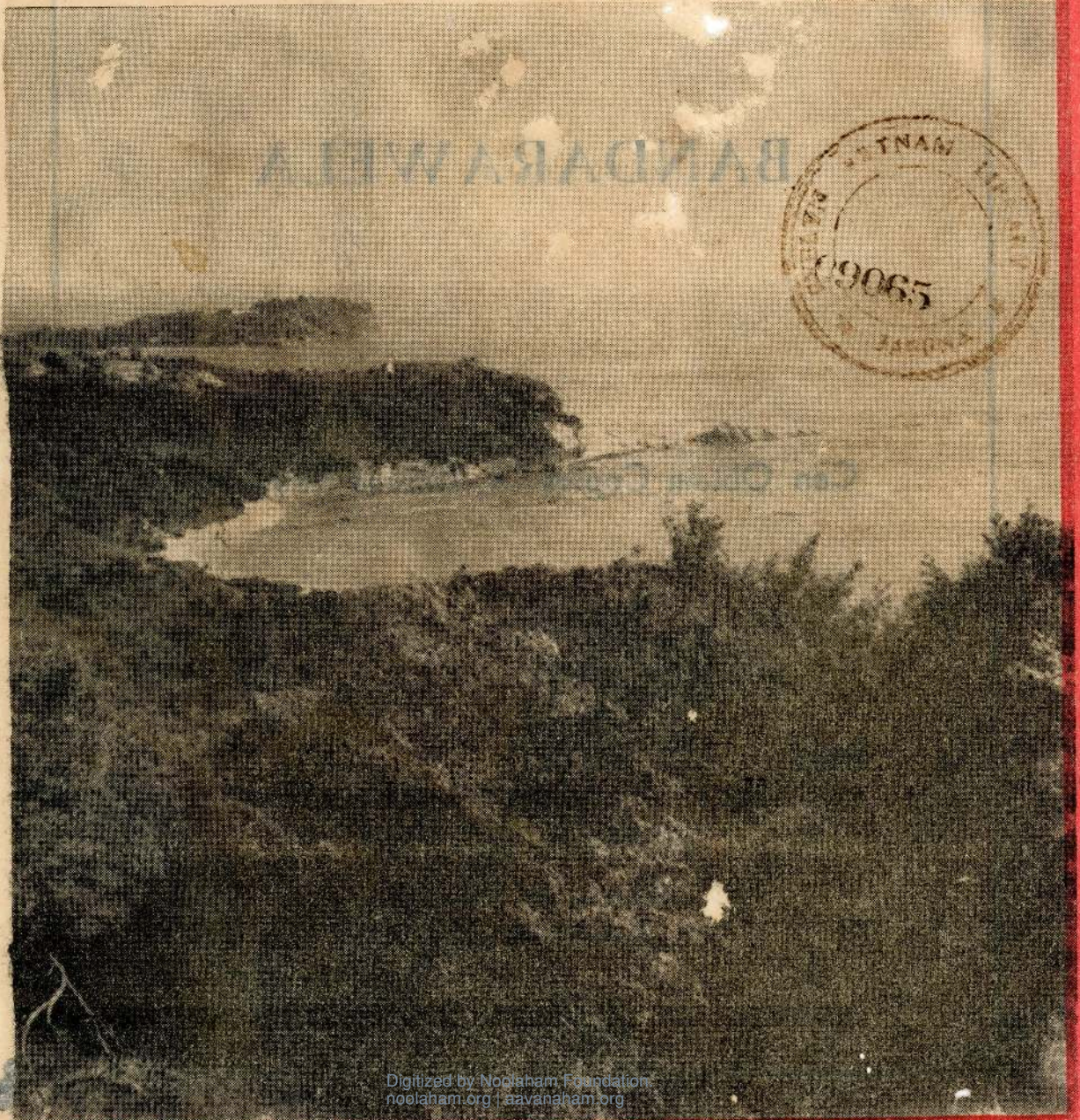


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# TRIBUNE



NEW  
REVIEW  
CEYLON

TRIBUNE

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## Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER this week is a view of part of the coastline in the harbour area of Trincomalee. It is not an aerial picture. It was taken from a watchtower (now all abandoned) on a lofty crag within the precincts of the (former) naval fortress of the British. Trincomalee is not what it was in British times. Nor is it anything like what it was in the early years after the evacuation of the British. Many had hoped that it would be developed as a commercial port on modern lines with facilities for transshipment of containerised cargo. Trincomalee also has the latent facilities for being developed as an oil port. If some of these improvements had been done and proper engineering and dockyard facilities developed, Trincomalee could easily have been able to accommodate idle super oil tankers which were looking for a safe berth during the recent (and still continuing) oil crisis. Newspaper headlines in some of Colombo's dailies had proclaimed that some enterprising bureaucrats had succeeded in luring a large number of such idle super tankers to Trincomalee—and the foreign exchange that was likely to accrue to Sri Lanka was worked out in hard currency in astronomical five or six figure amounts. All this has now turned out to be nothing more than exercise in counting the chickens before even acquiring a hen to lay the necessary eggs. It might be of interest to those who get ecstatically elated about the current glories of Sri Lanka, as depicted in some of our daily papers and in broadcasts over the SLBC, to know that the owners of supertankers have chosen to berth their idle tankers in the port of Singapore which though not a large (or ideal) harbour like Trincomalee has the infrastructure, the engineering services and also has the manpower willing to work without taking too many holidays (at rates of remuneration far higher than what comparable labour in Sri Lanka is paid). All this is beside the point. Trincomalee continues to stagnate as a commercial port. Its facilities are still primitive. And, all schemes and plans to make it a Free Trade Zone have been abandoned for the wrong (political, and not economic) reasons. However, a small Cove in the inner harbour area in Trincomalee has been developed as fisheries complex. But without an adequate number of deep-sea going trawlers to make the maximum use of this fisheries harbour, it is not likely that more fish will be caught immediately. In the meantime, desperate efforts were made (with some success) to induce the private sector to invest in the tourist industry in the Trincomalee area with tax holidays. CRA's and other such inducements to make the vulgar rich of Sri Lanka even more vulgar. (The fact that such tax holidays, CRA benefits and similar inducements were not offered to those who produce paddy, pulses, fish, meat and other foodstuffs is one of those mysterious factors which have detracted from the productive effort and economic development in this country). There is no doubt that the tourist industry in the Trincomalee area has had small boost, but saturation point seems to have been reached so far as the kind of tourist who is satisfied with the facilities now available there—mainly the sun and the sea (and the beaches, now becoming a nightmare). The few capitalists who have ventured to invest in the Trincomalee area under such generous terms will soon recover their capital after earning enormous profits in the meantime. And it may not be long before the tourist craze for Trincomalee will fade away (as it recently has in the Caribbean, Spain, Thailand and other places); and the district will again fall back into that moribund stagnancy that is inevitable in any area which does not develop productive agriculture and industry and is led into the frustrating illusions of grandeur of a tourist industry which by its very nature is parasitic—unless domestic agriculture and industry produces the bulk of what the tourists require, buy or eat. (Today, in Sri Lanka, the bulk of what the tourist requires, including bed sheets, liquor, and T-bone steaks are imported, not to mention cars, air conditioners and their spares). The real wealth of Trincomalee is its harbour and potential port facilities for commercial (especially transshipment) exploitation, together with the fullest economic—agricultural and industrial—development of the hinterland. But this aspect of Trincomalee has been neglected except for wasteful (from a strictly economic point of view) fragmentary colonisation schemes which will not make any significant impact on the total GNP or agricultural production in this country—at least, for a long long time more, until there are radical and fundamental policy changes in regard to agriculture and agricultural production. Political considerations have hampered, circumscribed and inhibited both agricultural and industrial development in the country. Politics of an even more sectarian kind have paralysed all endeavours to develop Trincomalee.

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# TRIBUNE

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## Shadows

THOUGH THERE SEEMS TO BE SEEMING QUIET about the political situation in the country, after Ja-ela and May Day, currents and under-currents have begun to swirl around just below the surface in a way that portends a period of great stress in the near future. Sooner or later, these trends which are now simmering dangerously close to the surface will boil over—and the most interesting and unexpected developments can be expected to bring new zig-zags in the contemporary political scene. The chances are that such confusing and unbelievably contradictory confrontations will emerge into the open sometime after the Nonaligned Conference, probably very close to the next Budget. But it cannot be ruled out that the shadows will begin to fall across the political scene anytime now—if they have not already begun to manifest themselves in some quarters.

A good Yala and good Maha, on the basis of Mahaweli diversion waters, are the best the Government can hope for before the next General elections. There does not seem to be the slightest likelihood that Pesalai oil will come to the rescue of the Government. Off-shore drilling—the most expensive way of obtaining oil—will take years before anything will materialise to help the government in its economic plight. Two good harvests of paddy and increased production of pulses, onions, chillies and other agricultural produce, if coupled with increased quantities of fish and meat at reasonable prices will certainly help the Government at the next elections. It is not possible to improve the meat supply position for some years even if new measures are taken to rehabilitate the livestock industry after the devastating setbacks it has suffered in recent years (and which it continues to suffer even now—in spite of the paper plans that have been proclaimed in the pro-government media and over the state-owned SLBC.)

As it stands, there is no shortage of paper plans. The one solid

piece of work partly completed by the Government in the agricultural sector, which will contribute to production, is the Mahaweli diversion. Land Reform is a political achievement, but the economic consequences of land reform carried out over-hastily without adequate preparations, have already begun to show disastrous results. But more than all this, the one single factor which has undermined production and inhibited rapid economic development is the abnormally large number of non-working days in the year.

This topic has been referred to in the *Tribune* very often. Readers may even think that we have developed a paranoic obsession with regard to this matter. But in spite of possible taunts that we are riding a favourite hobby horse we will continue to insist, week and week out, month in and month out and year in and year out, that unless the number of holidays in Sri Lanka are cut down and the six-day week restored (until our productive totals reach such levels as to justify a five-day week), there would be no salvation for this country.

In the last issue of *Tribune*, we had referred to this matter and we revert to the same question again in this issue. We skipped an issue in between because of the Wesak holidays which, on paper, totted up officially to four days (including the Saturday and Sunday) but in reality very little or no work was done in governmental institutions for well nigh six days—everybody took off on Wednesday May 12 and returned to work only in the course of Monday May 17, (short leave, french leave and the like always helps officials to tide over a half or even a full day). We have come back to this topic because many readers have communicated with us on the question—all of them (who have the interest of Sri Lanka at heart)—have commended us for persisting in our campaign to effect a change in the work and holiday patterns in this country.

Readers have informed us that the number of public holidays in the State of Tamil Nadu has been reduced from 20 to 12 in 1976; in Maharashtra the number of public holidays was only 11; and the pattern for the whole of India was not very different. In Australia there are only six public holidays common

to all states, each of which has other official holidays as well, but the total is nowhere near the grand total of 27 public holidays in Sri Lanka: (Western Australia, for instance, has nine official holidays in addition to the common six making a grand total of 15). Hongkong has only 12 holidays, Japan 10 (or thereabouts), Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines 11 each, Malaysia 10, New Zealand 9, and China (communist China) has no more than 6 (including the 3 days for the Spring Festival at the end of January each year). Pakistan has 16 public holidays, South Korea has 15, Thailand 14 and Taiwan 13. In comparison, Sri Lanka has 27 official holidays in 1976 on top of the Sundays and Saturdays (except for those who more recently have been called upon to work again half-day on Saturdays). Then, the "workers" have the casual leave, medical leave and the annual holiday bulk leave. All this has totted up to bring the number of working days to just around 200 days in the year. *In addition to all this, do workers—manual, semi-skilled and non-skilled—do an eight-hours work every day as they are expected to?*

All this becomes very relevant in the context of the recent interest shown in the economic well-being of Sri Lanka. The pro-government media has stretched itself to the fullest to make it appear that Sri Lanka's economy was on the up and up last year—basing their stories on the report of the Central Bank which was released at the end of April. An *Observer* report said that was a RISE IN THE GNP. But the rise was a 0.2 per cent improvement on the 1974 figures. In 1974, the GNP had increased (measured at constant prices) by 3.4 percent whilst in 1975 it was 3.6 percent.

On this it was (rightly) claimed that the rate of economic growth in 1975 was "slightly higher" than the average 2.8 percent for the period 1971-1975. The *Observer*, 30/4/76, by Manik de Silva, highlighted the following:

*However the Bank notes that "it falls substantially below the average of 5.1 per cent for the preceding five year period 1966-1970". The report comments: "These show that the Sri Lanka Economy has experienced relatively slow and uneven growth over several years. In 1975,*

## Bank Report

the GNP at current factor cost prices rose by 11.4 per cent as compared with the increase of 30 per cent in 1974 and 19.6 per cent in 1973. The lower rate of growth of the GNP in money terms in 1975 is mainly due to the slowing down of inflationary pressure in the economy." The report notes that if the growth rate of 6 per cent indicated in the five year plan is taken as the minimum desirable rate of growth, the performance of the economy in the last five year period falls far below this level. The Sri Lanka economy has remained sluggish despite the contribution of several new areas of economic activity such as industry, gem mining, tourism and other non-traditional exports. The economy has been unable to effectively accelerate growth mainly on account of the dominance of traditional sectors, the plantations and domestic agriculture and their inability to increase and sustain their contribution to the GNP."

The Bank points out that a sharp fall in paddy production (as demonstrated last year), seriously set back economic growth. On the bright side of the picture, the Bank points out that the country's estimated population in 1975 was 13.6 million, representing an increase of 1.6 per cent over 1974. The Central Bank considers this "a creditable development in the trend of population growth." The largest contribution to the GNP last year which (at constant prices) increased by Rs. 386.3 million came from the manufacturing and service sectors while that of agriculture, the leading sector in the economy, was "marginal". In relation to 1974, the increased contribution of the agricultural sector as a whole in 1975 was only Rs. 44 million. The performance in agriculture was mainly influenced by the sharp fall in paddy production due to the severe drought and unfavourable weather condition in the rice growing areas. Plantation agriculture, on the other hand, showed the highest gains in production. In a letter to the Minister of Finance Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike the Governor of the Central Bank, Mr. H. E. Tennekoon, says that with the passage of time, the annual reports of the Monetary Board have expanded their coverage beyond the requirements of the law by presenting a detailed review of economic trends and developments in the various sectors of the Sri Lanka economy. These sections will form a separate report to be published annually as a "Review of the Economy". This year's

Review will be out in the course of May, the Governor has promised. Consequent to the limitation of the coverage offered in the annual report, this year's volume is a slender one compared to the heavy tomes of the previous years.

The Daily News, 1/5/76, drew attention to certain other highlights in the Report.

Sri Lanka reached a growth rate of 3.6 per cent in her Gross National Product in 1975 compared to 3.4 per cent in 1974, says the Central Bank report for 1975. The report unlike in other years, is being published in two parts. The part issued yesterday deals with Economic Performance Problems and Policies. A separate report is being published this month titled "Review of the Economy." Commenting on the fact that the Sri Lanka economy has experienced a relatively slow and uneven growth over several years, the report says that this has been due mainly to the dominance of the traditional sectors—the plantations and domestic agriculture—that have not been able to increase and sustain their contribution to the Gross National Product. Other facets of the economy brought out in the report are:

**Trade**—Deficit between exports and imports Rs. 1318 million despite increase of Rs. 462 million in export earnings. **Population**—At 13.6 million, this was an increase of only 1.6 per cent over 1974 and was a creditable development. **National In-**

**come**—Per capita real national income is estimated at Rs. 716 which is the same level as in 1974. **Terms of Trade**—Adverse movements over the years since 1966 have contributed to negate the country's real achievement in income distribution because it has depressed real incomes of the lowest groups. The import price index rose by 19.9 per cent and the export price index by 8 per cent. This resulted in a 20.7 per cent deterioration in terms of trade compared to 10.7 per cent in 1974.

**Agriculture**—Its contribution to GNP was marginal in relation to 1974, the increased contribution of agriculture sector as a whole being only Rs. 44 million. This was mainly due to a sharp fall in paddy production by 28.6 per cent to a total of 55.3 million bushels. The drop was due to a severe drought and unfavourable weather conditions in principal paddy growing areas. The output of subsidiary crops increased by 12 per cent, large increases occurring in kurakkan, gingelly, maize, manioc, sweet potatoes, chillies and red onions. Plantation agriculture showed the highest gains in production particularly mid and low country teas. **Rural Credits**—Credit disbursements for paddy and other cultivation in 1974-75 was only Rs. 77.25 million, a decrease of Rs. 31.8 million. There has also been a decline in the recovery rate. **Public Enterprises**—Employment increased from 260,766 in 1974 to 272,900 in 1975. Capital investment per em-

## ARRACK, WESAK AND LAKE HOUSE

IS IT TRUE that over 10,000 copies of the special Wesak number of Lake House's *Dinamina* were destroyed because a largish advertisement for arrack had been printed in its columns? That a bright spark had discovered before the entire run was completed that such an advertisement would incense the buddhist reading public? That on Wesak (and other Poya days), all taverns and bars are closed as a mark of respect for buddhist sentiment against alcoholic drinks? That these 10,000 copies of *Dinamina* (or was it more?) was a write-off? That it is not known whether a similar act of self-destruction took place in regard to copies of the Daily News and other Lake House publications during Wesak time? That the profits of Lake House could be higher for 1976 if such self-destructive procedures can be avoided? That the reading material in Lake House papers is today so minimal that they have become a mockery and joke? That readers do not get even basic summaries of foreign news? That with the Nonaligned Conference a round the corner the ignorance among the highly literate reading public of Sri Lanka on matters international is colossal? That a bogus show of having "model" Lake House newspapers during the conference period will create an even bigger laugh (in the ranks of Tuscany and elsewhere)? That this will be another *gundu* which will flop—really it might turn out to be a boomerang?

ployee in public sector industries was Rs. 26,415 while in the service sector it was Rs. 24,647. Forty-one corporations including banks showed profits while 15 enterprises incurred losses (eg CTB, Oil and Fats, PMB, Milk Board). **Tourism**—Earnings increased to Rs. 124 million compared to Rs. 94.8 million in 1974—an increase of 30.8 per cent. **Debt Servicing**—Total payments in 1975 were Rs. 1024 million compared to Rs. 684 million in 1974. 22.9 per cent of foreign exchange earnings went for debt repayments compared to 17.8 per cent in 1975.

But the slight improvement noted by the Central Bank has not evoked any enthusiasm among the ordinary people who are daily confronted with increased prices (and shortages) of vegetables, fish, meat and other foodstuffs. Textiles are short and what is available cost a great deal. At the recent SLFP Working Committee meeting the question of prices and the cost of living seems to have loomed very large.

\* \*

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY KAUTILIYA

### West Asia And Africa

THE MIDDLE EAST, OR WEST ASIA AND THE AFRICAN CONTINENT have been boiling over for sometime now in a big way. Trouble in Lebanon, far from subsiding, has begun to escalate again. In the west bank of the Jordan, occupied by Israel in the 1967 war, armed resistance and riots to fight the Israeli administration has erupted in a big way—especially after the recent local and municipal elections showed conclusively that the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem regime has not been able to win over even a microscopic fraction of the local Arab population. Israeli demonstrators and "marchers" into the territory from Israel proper, anxious to show their support for post-1967 Israeli settlers and colonists on the west bank, have evoked even greater resentment than before from the Arabs as well as the world at large.

This outrageously chauvinist manifestation of Israeli nationalism, from a powerful and influential section of the Israeli administration and government, is regarded by many Arab and nonaligned observers as an outcome of the support extended to Israel by Zionist circles in the USA. US Senator Jacob Jawits, one of the most active leaders of the Jewish lobby in the US Congress (President Ford has been battling against the ultra-pro-Israeli postures of this group), had paid a visit to the Middle East recently. He had also visited Cairo and had discussions with Sadat. Arab commentators outside Egypt have stressed that President Sadat now seems willing to collaborate with Israel—contrary to the interests of Arab peoples and the unity of Arab countries—in a way that has already isolated him not only in the Arab world but also among a large number of the nonaligned countries of the Third World.

Inside Egypt, Sadat seems intent on carrying out a policy of eliminating all opposition to his new anti-Nasser policies. The Economist, 15/5/76, had a flippant piece about the fate of journalists in contemporary Sadat's Egypt. "Any more for the sun club? As more writers are purged from Egypt's Al Ahram newspaper empire they join their colleagues in a journalists' no-man's land, dubbed the sun club, where they pick up full pay but put down their pens. Last week two of Egypt's leftwing writers, Mr. Mohamed Sayed Ahmed, recently 'Al Ahram's' main leader writer, and Mr. Lofti Kohli, a columnist in 'Ahram's' weekly edition and editor of a popular Marxist monthly called 'Al Talia', learnt they were no longer writers... Inside the daily 'Al Ahram' three more senior desk men were promoted up and out. Out is the distinguished leftwing editor of the paper's literary page, Mr. Louis Awad. The regime's new press lords seem to be intent on wiping away all associations with Mr. Mohamed Heykall, Al Ahram's former editor, who was Nasser's friend and is now President Sadat's moderate critic."

Furthermore, according to political commentators in England and in Arab and African countries, Senator Jawits' visit was closely connected with the recent trip to Israel by the South African Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster.

It was reported that Vorster had gone to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem not only to clear up some misunderstandings which had arisen between South Africa and Israel over Angola but also to buy sophisticated military hardware including the KRIF plane which was capable of carrying nuclear bombs. It will be recalled that South Africa had intervened in Angola by sending its army into the territory to help the UNITA forces in the South in the belief that Israel would supply the anti-MPLA forces with sophisticated equipment to match Soviet arms with the full backing and blessings of the USA.

However, public opinion in the USA was opposed to such intervention, and the USA had to back-track on its support to the anti-MPLA forces. Kissinger could no more than make stirring speeches against Cuban intervention threatening dire consequences (which did not take place). And it was not only this: it is said that Washington had twisted Israel's arms into not sending any military equipment into Angola—leaving South Africa to carry the anti-MPLA Angolan baby all alone. South African comment, cited by observers in London, indicated that South Africa was very bitter about the way the USA had acted in this matter and some South African leaders have gone so far as to say that if the USA had not initially encouraged Pretoria, South Africa would not have taken such a strong anti-MPLA stand. (There is no doubt that the fact that South Africa had intervened militarily in favour of UNITA as against MPLA had compelled all OAU countries, including countries opposed to the Soviet and Cuban assistance to the MPLA, to support Dr. Neto. This is only an indication that South Africa and many western countries, including the USA, had not evaluated the depth of feeling against South Africa on the African continent).

To come back to Mr. Vorster, he had gone to Israel to repair some bridges that had been destroyed during the Angolan war. One result of the Vorster visit was that Israeli leaders issued a significant statement that immediately after the November presidential elections in the USA, whoever be the winner, Israel would confront the USA about the latter's

policies towards Israel, the Arabs and the Middle East. But apart from this, it is believed that South Africa has placed substantial orders for Israeli military hardware.

Anti-Sadat observers have hinted (e.g. in Iraq, Syria and Libya, etc) that Senator Javits had made efforts (allegedly with some degree of success) to persuade Sadat not to support liberation struggles in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. Egypt has also taken a strong line against the recognition of the MPLA regime in Angola. The question that is being posed is whether the economic aid and military assistance Sadat will get from the USA will compensate him adequately for cutting himself adrift from the mainstream of African nationalism—leave alone Arab nationalism.

In the meantime, observers in London have hinted that in the forthcoming visit to Iran by the South African Prime Minister, he would try to bring the Shah into a modest kind of Pretoria—Tel Aviv—Teheran axis to contain aggressive Arab and African nationalism which was presently threatening the white government of South Africa (Rhodesia seems to have been abandoned to its fate). Vorster seems to think that countries like Egypt, Zambia, Zaire and a few others had also been softened to give a kind of modified apartheid a little longer lease of life.

In this connection, the Time magazine story, (April 12, 1976) that Israel had the atom bomb, stated that Israel had got the bombs ready (13 bombs) no sooner the 1973 war had been launched by Sadat. The Time claimed that its story was based on a CIA report to the American authorities. But the Newsweek did not accept the CIA report—and with so many CIA reports going wrong (it had not even been able to anticipate India's atomic blast)—many have not paid serious attention to the Time story.

But Islamic countries, however, including Pakistan, have been very troubled by the prospect of Israel having the atom bomb. An AFP report from Islamabad published in the Pakistan Times, 15/4/76, under the heading CONCERN OVER ISRAEL N-BOMBS had stated:

The recent revelation in the American Press that Israel possesses 19 nuclear bombs is cause for grave concern not only to its neighbours but to all those who are sincerely committed to the cause of non-proliferation, political observers here say. Apparently leaked to the Press through the CIA, it illustrates the hypocrisy of certain Governments in their profession of concern about nuclear proliferation. While some Third World countries are being pressed to give up the acquisition of nuclear technology for their development objectives, even under the most stringent safeguards, there appears to be exultation at a situation of overt proliferation. Nor is this dampened by the fact that if things had gone wrong with the 1973 war, Israel was fully prepared to use the nuclear weapons in its possession.

Nor are these quarters concerned about the real danger of South Africa acquiring nuclear weapons in the near future and the evidence of a growing collusion between Israel and South Africa in the military field. It will be recalled that in certain seats of power, the Indian explosion was accepted as a fait accompli. On the other hand, Pakistan has accepted draconian measures of control on its nuclear programme. Despite this, pressures are being mounted to dissuade Pakistan from acquiring the facilities necessary to meet the gap in energy production.

Under the circumstances, it is necessary to question whether those Powers who are expressing such concern about the spread of nuclear weapons are really sincere in strengthening world peace and security. Pakistan has given proof of its commitment to the objectives of non-proliferation. Not only has it accepted international safeguards on its programme but has also worked actively to strengthen the non-proliferation regime. In 1968, Pakistan convened the non-nuclear weapons States' conference; in 1970, it suggested the creation of an international service under the IAEA to regulate peaceful nuclear explosion; in 1974, it proposed the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia and advanced the idea of strengthening the security of non-nuclear States. These initiatives were treated with indifference, if not contempt, by those who speak of the nuclear threat these days.

These observers said the conclusion which can be drawn from the

dichotomy in the position of those countries which talk of nuclear proliferation today, is that it is they who are responsible for spreading nuclear weapons. This has been done selectively as a part of strategy to exercise hegemony in various parts of the world through their client States, they added.

IT IS NOT KNOWN as yet, how white regimes like South Africa view Kissinger's Lusaka speech outlining a new US policy to Africa. The leaders of a few African countries, Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda of Zambia, Sese Mobutu of Zaire, Kenyatta of Kenya and a few others have extended qualified support for the Kissinger Plan. Kissinger has insisted there should be "majority black rule" within a reasonable time (about ten years) and that this transformation should take place without violence or outside intervention like the Cuban in Angola.

It is yet too early to say what impact Kissinger's visit to Africa will have on the continent, but there is no doubt that this a turning point in American policy towards Africa—if the new US President and Administration, after the November elections, will endorse Kissinger Lusaka proposals.

The Economist, 1/5/76, summarised Kissinger's proposals in Lusaka in regard to Rhodesia as follows:

The 10 points Mr. Kissinger spent out to the white Rhodesian government in his Lusaka speech were:

1. Rhodesia cannot become legally independent until it has majority rule, which should come into force within two years of a negotiated settlement.
2. Mr. Ian Smith's government will be told that the Americans believe there must be rapid negotiations leading to majority rule.
3. There will be unrelenting American opposition to the regime until a negotiated settlement is achieved.
4. The United States will act to enforce sanction against Rhodesia, and the administration will urge congress not to allow the import of Rhodesian chrome to America.
5. American citizens will be advised not to live in, or visit, Rhodesia.
6. Mozambique will get \$ 12.5m as compensation for closing its border with Rhodesia.
7. There can be American assistance for other countries which lose money by imposing sanctions (probably meaning Zambia and Botswana).
- 8.

There will be economic help for refugees from Rhodesia. 9. The United States will take part in a programme of economic, technical and educational help to an independent Zimbabwe, ex-Rhodesia. 10. The United States believes that the constitution of Zimbabwe should guarantee the civil rights of the white minority.

The *Economist* report and comment on Dr Kissinger's African "Safari" were in the following terms:

Those African leaders who had written off Mr Henry Kissinger's first venture into their continent as a useless exercise should now be eating their words. In his speech on Tuesday in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, the American secretary of state did far more than merely tilt the direction of his country's policy towards black Africa. In his own words, he ushered in a new era. The United States is now committed to "unrelenting opposition" to the white minority regime in Rhodesia and to strong diplomatic and economic support for its black nationalist opponents. Looking farther afield and farther ahead, Mr Kissinger pledged American support for "self-determination, majority rule, equal rights and human dignity for all the people of southern Africa". His message was not directed only at Mr Ian Smith in Salisbury: it was for Mr. John Vorster in Pretoria as well. Mr Kissinger spent the day before his speech with Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere. Mr Nyerere said that he had told his visitor that the war in Rhodesia had already started and that it could end only in majority rule. He would not quarrel with an American decision not to support the war, but if the United States supported majority rule he expected action and not just words. He got at least words that promised action.

Mr Kissinger backed the British proposals for majority rule in Rhodesia within two years of the "expedient conclusion of negotiations" and outlined 10 ways in which he hoped to oblige Mr Smith's regime to follow this course—short, apparently, of military help to the black guerrillas. The most telling point is his promise to urge congress to repeal the Byrd amendment, passed in 1971, which prevents President Ford from blocking imports of Rhodesian chrome to America. The United States, Mr Kissinger said, would also use its influence to get other industrial

nations to observe the UN sanctions on Rhodesia, it is giving £ 12.5m to Mozambique to help cover the losses that country has incurred by closing its frontier with Rhodesia. Mr Kissinger promised similar help to Rhodesia's other neighbours if they do the same: this presumably means Zambia now—and Botswana if it follows Mozambique's example.

President Kaunda, Mr. Kissinger's host in Lusaka, was moved by all this to give the secretary of state a characteristically emotional embrace and to call the speech of "paramount importance". But Mr Kaunda, like Mr. Nyerere, said that the time for peaceful negotiations had passed.

Referring to the reactions in Rhodesia and South Africa, *The Economist* stated:

Unvisited in Salisbury, Mr. Ian Smith chose the Day of Mr. Kissinger's speech to show that he too regarded the question of negotiations with Rhodesia's African nationalists as closed. He announced that four African tribal chiefs were to join his government as full ministers and that six others were to be made deputy ministers. This "initiative", as Mr. Smith has called it, had been dismissed in advance as irrelevant by both factions of the Rhodesian African National Congress. The nationalists consider the tribal chiefs to be unrepresentative of the majority of blacks, and the inclusion of unelected Africans in the government to be real advance towards majority rule. Mr. Smith tried to explain away the change in American policy by suggesting that it was prompted by fear of Russian intervention in Rhodesia. He argued that the British and American governments, caught on the wrong fact in Angola, were prepared to sacrifice the whites in Rhodesia and in all southern Africa in order to avoid being confronted by a further expansion of Russian influence in the continent. But in his Lusaka speech Mr. Kissinger avoided any mention of the Soviet Union or Cuba and did not condemn their presence in Angola. Instead he confined himself to saying that the United States did not want to see a pro-American African grouping confronting another group supported by another power, and that it did not wish to support one black faction against another. But, he added, "neither should any other country pursue hegemonial aspirations or block policies." The only

factional leader Mr. Kissinger met was Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the head of the internal wing of the Rhodesian ANC—but that was because Mr. Nkomo alone agreed to meet him. Mr. Kissinger was specific on Rhodesia: much vaguer on what the United States could or would do about the South African government's policies at home or in Namibia (South West Africa). He welcomed Mr. Vorster's decision to move Namibia towards independence but expressed concern at the lack of a timetable and the fact that not all "people and political groupings" (an obvious reference to Swapo, the South West African People's Organisation) were included in the territory's constitutional conference. South Africa itself, Mr. Kissinger implied, was in a separate category. No one challenged the right of whites to live there, only the institutional separation of the races. He appealed to white South Africans to heed the warning signals. In all this, Mr. Kissinger seems to have been obliquely spelling out American opposition to Mr. Vorster's separate development policy, but he gave no indication of what the United States would do, if anything, should Mr. Vorster ignore the warning....."

Nationalist black Africa is still very sceptical about Kissinger proposals. But, there is no doubt it is a first step which is capable of bringing the USA into the African scene? Whether President Ford or the new President, whoever that may be, will be able to carry this initiative into fruition is to be seen.

It is significant that Kissinger's Lusaka proposals and the speeches he made on the trip to Africa have boomeranged on the Ford Presidential election campaign because White American opinion has reacted violently against Kissinger's support for black rule in Africa. If the US is not able to implement the Kissinger proposals on Africa, the African leaders who had supported him will lose face among their countrymen and their own political futures will be in jeopardy.





## April 25 — May 1

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; TOCSL—Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silmuna; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

**SUNDAY, APRIL 25:** The Executive Committee of the United National Party yesterday decided to expel Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, from the party: about 800 delegates attended the EXCO meeting which was held at the Ramakrishna Hall, Wellawatte: the decision of the Committee was sent to Mr. Senanayake yesterday—CO. Several Heads of States including US, USSR, Pakistan, Egypt and Yugoslavia have sent messages of felicitations to the Prime Minister on the occasion of her birthday which fell on the 17th of this month—TOCSL. Government ordered the Police and the armed forces to be in a state of alert following information about several likely unlawful incidents in the coming months—JS. *Janasathiya* in editorial said the results of the Ja-ela by-election indicate the necessity of forming a United Left Front to fight the capitalist UNP: the editorial further said the results also indicate that the people of the country do not have any faith in the present Government. According to the *Virakesari* UNP politicians are of the view that the Ja-ela victory is a victory for the new socialist policies of the UNP: SLFP circles are of the view that the SLFP candidate polled more votes than what he polled at the last general elections and this showed that the people are neither frustrated nor hated this Government: SLFP circles further said this election had been a good lesson for the LSSP which thought that progressive minded people will not vote for the SLFP without the LSSP in the Government—VK. *Aththa* editorially praised the Minister of Health, Mr. George Rajapakse, for taking appropriate steps to improve the country's health services: the paper further said actions taken by the Minister were positive approaches for the country's health problems. National Milk Board announced that it had inadvertently released a consignment of 12,000 tins of spoilt condensed milk to the market and as such it will replace same with good milk if those who happen to buy these spoilt tins return same to the Milk Board—CO.

**MONDAY, APRIL 26:** Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, reacting to the expulsion from UNP said that the Executive Committee met on Saturday to discuss arrangements for the May Day celebrations and it has no mandate to sack him from the Party: Mr. Senanayake also said that he would not join any other party but would take up the challenge and place the whole matter before the people of the country—CDN. According to the *Daily News* the Central Committee of the Dedigama branch of the UNP resigned from the party and Mr. Rukman Senanayake MP, told almost all members of the UNP in Dedigama resigned from the party over his expulsion. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, is

expected to lead the Sri Lanka delegation for the Non-Aligned Nations Foreign Ministers' conference to be held in Algiers from May 30 to June 2: the main discussion of the meeting will be the criteria of admission to the Non-Aligned Group—CDN. Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs has drawn up the guidelines for the proposed scheme of profit sharing in private and public sector undertakings: in the private sector, it will be initially to large firms employing over 50 workers and the management will be expected to set aside 25 per cent of the profit for distribution—CDM. The quantity of rice imported last year is 37 per cent more than that of 1974—CDM. Six officers of the CID walked into the *Janadina* office and took statements from the Editor and other journalists on a news item that appeared in the *Janadina* of Thursday which quoted Dr. N. M. Perera's speech at a by-election meeting at Ja-ela: according to the paper Dr. N. M. Perera has said that it was he and the LSSP that prevented the Prime Minister from getting down US troops to quell the insurgency: the Police interrogated the Editor and another staff for over six hours—JD. The All Ceylon Islamic Teachers Union requested the Government either to release or produce before a court of law all those Tamil youth detained for long periods without an inquiry—VK. Classes for the first batch of students who would sit the HNCE examination in April, 1978, will commence in schools on May 3—DM. Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanyake, Minister of Plantation Industries, left for Rome yesterday to participate at a meeting of the World Food and Agricultural Organisation—LD.

**TUESDAY, APRIL 27:** Mr. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, proposed to the Government to set up large TV screens in selected places in the city during the Non-aligned conference to enable members of the public to view the proceedings of the conference: nearly half a million people are expected to flock in Colombo during the conference to get a glimpse of the Heads of States attending the conference—CDN. Office bearers of the Dedigama branch of the UNP Youth League in a letter to Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP, said that by expelling Mr. Rukman Senanayake from the party Mr. Jayewardene has not only been smirched the good name of late Mr. Dudley Senanayake but also betrayed the UNP—CDM. Mr. Ranjith Abeyseriya, Director of Public Prosecutions, addressing a seminar of senior Police officials advised them not to make unwarranted arrests unless there was a reasonable suspicion for doing so—CDM. Communist circles are of the view that the SLFP and the LSSP should review their political positions in view of the results of the Ja-ela by-elections: party circles said the Communist Party's Central Committee will meet next week to decide on this matter: a spokesman for the party said victory of UNP at Ja-ela indicate that the SLFP cannot win without the LSSP and also that the LSSP cannot do things alone—VK. *Aththa* in an editorial on the results of the Ja-ela by-election said the high cost of living and corruption and wastage in the Government sector naturally would make the voter angry and refuse to accept the progressive policies of the Government and this was the main cause of defeat for the Government: the paper further said unless these are stopped the good deeds of the Government like the Land Reform, nationalisation of estates and companies,

Housing Bill etc will not have the desired effect on the masses. Government decided to recruit 25 per cent women to the administrative and other grade of the Government service in future—VK. Starting from today a subsidiary of 50 per cent will be given on fertilisers for all types of plantations: hither to only tea, rubber and coconut received a 50 per cent subsidiary and for paddy a subsidiary of 33 1/3 rd per cent was allowed—DM.r

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28:** Several members of the UNP have sent in their resignations as a protest to the expulsion of the MP for Dedigama, Mr. Rukman Senanayake: prominent among them were Dr. C. D. L. Fernando of Kandy, a provincial organiser of the UNP, Mr. P. B. A. Weerakoon, ex MP for Wattogama, Mr. H. P. Hettiarachchi, Provincial organiser, Senkadagala and Mr. G. D. Edward, branch secretary of the UNP Borella and Narahenpita: meanwhile the UNP Parliamentary Group met yesterday and endorsed the decision of the UNP's Working Committee to expel Mr. Senanayake—CDN & CDM. Distribution of 20,000 acres of land under the Mahaweli development Scheme Stages 1 and 2 will begin this week—CDN. A top level committee headed by Professor H. A. de S. Gunasekera has been appointed to prepare a comprehensive plan for development projects that can be financed by foreign countries—CDM. According to the *Virakesari* a top level conference of the SLFP will be held soon to lay out a code of conduct for SLFPers in regard to public speeches: this conference has been suggested by the Prime Minister: it is expected that emphasis will be laid on party men to refrain from meetings conducted by other political parties except with Communist Party which is a constituent member of the United Front—VK. Under a plan drawn up by the Students Council of the Peradeniya Campus of the University nearly 1200 new entrants to the Campus this year were made to engage themselves in sharamadana instead of the customary ragging: officials of the Campus too participated and advised the students on the sharamadana work they undertook—DM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will lay the foundation stone for a Rs. 70 million textile complex at Minneriya on the 30th of this month: this textile factory will be built with Chinese assistance—ATH.

**THURSDAY, APRIL 29:** Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, who was expelled from the UNP recently, told a meeting of youth leagues at Kandy that he was prepared to quit politics if any one could prove that he said or did anything against Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP—CDM. Mr. Stanley Senanayake, Inspector General of Police, told a press conference yesterday that further investigations into the Ward Place incident are still being continued—CDM. The IG Pat a press conference yesterday also said that there was no serious threat of any insurgent movement in the country because of lack of leadership: he further said that 6,000 policemen had been trained for security work during the August Non-aligned conference—CDN & CDM. Government decided on a uniform salary structure for all trained teachers from May this year: accordingly trained teachers will start at Rs. 355/- per month all inclusive—CDN. At a public meeting held at the Jaffna Weerasingham Hall on Sunday Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, President of the Communist Party, said though there may be a feeling

among the Tamils that the Sinhala people were trying to oppress the Tamils it was not true and the Sinhalese have no such intention: he further said the Communist Party would oppose any such attempt: the meeting was held to celebrate Dr. Wickremasinghe's 75th birthday—CDM. In a statement issued by Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, MP for Panadura, and the General Secretary of the LSSP, on the results of the Ja-ela by-election, it has been said that those who were frightened to annoy the capitalists and imperialists and who ran away neglecting the masses should be allowed to stay where they are and progressive forces should be gathered to form a United Socialist Front Government in the next general elections—JD. L. ke House earned a profit of Rs. 530,000 for the financial year ending December 31, 1975 exclusive of taxes—DM.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 30:** The Governor of the Central Bank, Mr. H. E. Tennekoon, addressing the annual general meeting of the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce said that owing to the vital importance of the plantation industry to the national economy it was essential that efficient running and good management of estates taken over are ensured on a continuing basis under state ownership—CDN. The Aid Group for Sri Lanka at its recent meeting held in Paris pledged \$ 180 million as aid to Sri Lanka—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* UNP's 1977 polls campaign will be inaugurated this year starting with the May Day rally. 1800 buses will be released by the CTB for all recognised political parties to bring their supporters to Colombo for the May Day rally: meanwhile the CTB has informed those who hired buses for the May Day that they would have to pay the cost of any damage to the buses—CDM. All taverns and liquor shops will be kept closed tomorrow, May Day—LD. Mr. C. Haider, Acting Ambassador for Bangladesh in Sri Lanka, told the *Virakesari* that if both countries, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh which produce quality tea can avoid competition in the world market it will be possible for both countries to obtain good prices for their products. The LSSP controlled Ceylon Federation of Labour and the Government Workers' Trade Union Federation will start the campaign for the 28 demands on May Day: this demand was first put forward by the ICTUO in 1973—JD. The *Janadina* editorially requested the Prime Minister to listen to the slogans that would be shouted at the workers procession instead of making the customary speech at the rally. Matara Police which charged Mr. L. W. Panditha, General Secretary of the CFTU and seven others regarding red uniforms of the trade union withdrew its case yesterday: the uniforms of the trade union which was taken into custody were also returned: this incident occurred on the eve of the 9th Congress of the Communist Party held at Matara last year—ATH. Several trade unions in the teaching profession thanked the Government for giving equal pay for all trained teachers and increasing their basic salary to Rs. 355.00—ATH.

**SATURDAY, MAY 1:** The Worker's Charter described by the trade union circles as the most significant part of labour legislation in any part of the world will be gazetted today—CDN. Dr. N. M. Perera, President of the LSSP, in a May Day message on behalf of his party said that a New United Front with an undiluted socialist policy that would enthuse the young people would alone meet the threat of UNP demagoguery—CDN.

Addressing employees of his Ministry, Corporations and Departments Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction referred to the break-away of the LSSP and said that people of this country must strive to build the unity they have lost—CDN. An official of the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands told the *Daily Mirror* that compensation in cash would be paid to those whose lands of over fifty acres were taken over if they negotiated a settlement with the Special Compensation Board appointed for this purpose. There will be seven major processions and five rallies in the city today to celebrate May Day: about a million people from all over the island are expected to visit the city and special security arrangements have made by the Police: and additional 3,000 Policemen from all over the country will be deployed in the city—LD & DM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, laid the foundation stone yesterday for a giant textile mills at Minneyiya: this textile Mills will be financed by the Government of the People's Republic of China: Mrs. Bandaranaike speaking at the ceremony said that once this mill starts production the country will become self-sufficient in textiles—DM. Dr. N. M. Perera, President of the LSSP, will declare open the new GCSU auditorium at 9.30 a.m. today—JD. The two communist parties, Moscow wing and Peking wing and the Tamil United Front have made elaborate arrangements to hold 3 processions and five May Day rallies in the Jaffna peninsula—VK. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will declare open the satellite earth station built at Padukka on the 6th of this month—VK. According to the *Aththa* the motto of the UF May Day rally in Colombo today will be the re-establishment of the damaged unity of the United Front.

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## INTERNATIONAL DIARY

### April 22 – May 2

**THURSDAY, APRIL 22:** Peking announced that China signed a military protocol with Egypt. Thailand officially announced its new four-party Government. Robert Muldoon, Prime Minister of New Zealand, arrived in Japan for a seven day tour. Mr. Gul Khan Naseer, a former Minister in the Baluchistan province of Pakistan was jailed for releasing a group of alleged smugglers from prison. Russia has warned Western Communist parties that they would weaken if they fail to maintain solidarity with other Communist parties throughout the world. Fresh violence broke out again in Lebanon yesterday along the lines separating Moslem and Christian sectors of Beirut. India accused Bangladesh for shooting across their common border.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 23:** UN Secretary Council called on Indonesia to withdraw its troops from the East Timor region: meanwhile Jakarta warned that it would sink any ships trying to reach Fretlin-held areas of the territory. Thailand's new Minister of Defence, Kris Sivara, died unexpectedly after a heart attack. South Vietnam warned that it would exterminate members of the former US-backed regime who continued to oppose the new administration. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan, announced that

his Government was in no hurry to normalise relations with India: Mr. Ali Bhutto called for close ties with military co-operation between his country, Iran and Turkey and a free trade among them. Police opened fire on a demonstration of over thousand people who protested against the demolition of houses in the old city of Delhi: five people were killed. GDR and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam signed a trade agreement covering the period 1976-1980.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 24:** Cambodian Ambassador and representative of the country at the New York Law of the Sea Conference told reporters that reports of mass killing in Cambodia "were nothing but US and Western press propaganda." Pakistan Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Sha of Iran had military talks with Turkish leaders at Izmir. China announced that former Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping was "chief-backer" of the riots on April 5 at Tien An Men Square. Israeli Government officials expressed concern over strengthening relationship between Egypt and China. According to a senior official Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia will soon announce his plans to bring in African nationals into the Rhodesian Government. Thai Government said yesterday that it would not change the order of the former Government that all American troops should leave Thailand on or before the 20th of July. Japanese Prime Minister yesterday told the former Foreign Minister Toshio Kimura to brief US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on Japan's situation in connection with the Lockheed payoff scandal.

**SUNDAY, APRIL 25:** Communist guerillas in Malaysia blew up nearly 50 yards of the railway track in Perak disrupting the rail services. Vietnam went to polls yesterday to elect the new National State Assembly for a unified country. Pakistan Prime Minister announced that he could not enter into talks with India to normalise relations when India is engaged in border battles with Bangladesh. A pro-Franjeigh radio announcement in Lebanon said that President Sulaiman Franjeigh signed a constitutional law paving the way for election of a new President. US President Ford, confident of winning the US Republican Presidential nomination, believes there is a good chance of former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, to be his Democratic opponent.

**MONDAY, APRIL 26:** General Secretary of the Burmese Socialist Party, San Yu, accused foreign powers of helping communist insurgents in his country. Manila announced that at least 40 Government troops were killed in the fighting in the Southern Philippines during the past month. Pakistan announced yesterday that a nuclear power station would be set up soon on the banks of River Indus and for this purpose a French technical team will arrive in the country soon. The USSR daily, *Pravda*, commenting on the proposed visit of the US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, to African countries said this is an attempt to repair the prestige of the United States lost in the Angolan war. US will sell training aircrafts, transport helicopters and other military equipment to Pakistan in the near future.

**TUESDAY, APRIL 27:** Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, will fly to London en route to Nairobi, his first African stop in the seven-nation African tour. Thailand's Prime Minister, Seni Pramoj, said his Government would review the previous adminis-

trations' demand for the withdrawal of American technicians from the country. A Government Commission appointed by the India reported that seventy Naxalite prisoners have been killed in Indian jails in the past six years. Government of Pakistan voted for President rule in the Baluchistan province. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said that war in Rhodesia was inevitable and the West was to blame. Cambodia and Burma decided to have diplomatic ties at ambassadorial level. The Cuban Committee for the Defence of the Revolution said that the US Central Intelligence Agency was responsible for the bomb blast in the Cuban Embassy in Portugal in which two members of the Embassy were killed.

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28:** New Zealand Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, arrived in China for the first visit of a New Zealand Prime Minister to China. The Indian Supreme Court ruled that political prisoners held under the Emergency Laws have no right of appeal to higher courts. Vatican named 19 new Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church. According to an official statement Common Market Agricultural Ministers will meet in Luxemburg to discuss monetary problems. Customs officials in the South Indian State of Tamil Nadu have dug up gold, diamonds and jewellery worth more than Rs. 3,500,000 from the estate of a Hindu Guru, called Andaver, who died recently. American President sought the approval of the Congress for more money for nuclear missiles because of what the White House called slow progress in strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union. Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, on the eve of his departure on an African tour told a press conference that majority rule could come to Rhodesia within a decade without war: several African embassies in Washington telephoned the State Department expressing concern over the remark.

**THURSDAY, APRIL 29:** A Ugandan military spokesman commenting on Dr. Kissinger's African tour said that the Secretary of State has chosen only weak African countries for the tour to sow and spread confusion on the Continent as he did in the Middle East: meanwhile the US Secretary of State arrived in Nairobi and discussed with the Kenya Government, arms supplies to match a build-up in neighbouring Somalia and Uganda: Dr. Kissinger will leave for Tanzania which is expected to be the toughest leg of his seven nation tour. Two Chinese were killed in a bomb blast near the Soviet Embassy in Peking. A former Minister of Civil Aviation in Australia was accused of receiving payoffs from the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 30:** Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, who arrived in Lusaka said "racial justice, majority rule and independence were the most important among urgent issues facing Africa and the world today": later, in a major policy statement, Dr. Kissinger pledged America's "unrelenting opposition" to the Smith regime until a Rhodesian settlement brings about black majority rule: when Dr. Kissinger outlined his ten-point programme for black majority rule in Southern Africa in general and Rhodesia in particular, Zambia's President, Kenneth Kaunda, was so moved that he got up and embraced Dr. Kissinger with wet eyes and told "we could not believe this is

a Secretary of State from Washington speaking". In Rhodesia, Prime Minister, Ian Smith, attacked Dr. Kissinger for having apparently joined the psychological campaign against Rhodesia: he regretted that Dr. Kissinger did not come to Rhodesia to judge the situation himself: in Britain Prime Minister, Mr. James Callaghan, said in the House of Commons that he hoped that the Rhodesian whites would heed the warning given by Dr. Kissinger in his Lusaka speech as it provided the best hope for their long-time future. The pound registered an upward mark in London on Thursday and it was announced that inflation has halved in the last nine months: the Indian rupee has been revalued against the British pound sterling for the fifth time in seven months, so as to effect an overall upward valuation of the rupee by about ten percent.

**SATURDAY, MAY 1:** Ghana cancelled the visit of the US Secretary of State saying that the Head of the State, Colonel Ignatius Acheampong, was ill. Yesterday Dr. Kissinger was confined to bed in Kinshasa with a stomach ailment: Dr. Kissinger said that he was sorry that earlier in the day he denied that US representations have been made to Ghana and the USSR over the last-minute cancellation of his trip to Ghana. Police broke up demonstration of workers and students numbering over 3000 who attempted to walk into the palace of the Philippines President, Ferdinand Marcos: the demonstrator was against low wages. Lebanese Left Leader, Kamal Junblatt, demanded the delay of election of a new President owing to the presence of Syrian forces in the country: the election of a new President was scheduled for Saturday. Dimitrya Ustinov has been appointed as first civilian Minister of Defence in Russia: this is said to be the first appointment of its kind since 50 years. A military leader in Bangladesh, Air Vice Marshal Mohamed Gholam Tawab, resigned.

**SUNDAY, MAY 2:** At a banquet in Monrovia (Liberia) the visiting US Secretary of State offered Angola normal relations with the US couple with economic assistance: but officials accompanying the Secretary of State said a condition for the normalisation of relations will be the removal of Cuban troops within a period of time. New China News Agency confirmed that Singapore Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, had been invited to visit China later this month. British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Crosland, left London for visits to Tokyo and Peking. It was reported in Jakarta that pro-Indonesian Apodeti party's General Secretary had been killed by members of the Leftist Fretlin movement. To add evidence to speculation that Chairman Mao's wife had gathered new power in the leadership she took a starting role in the country's May Day celebrations.



## What Kind Of Farmer?

By R. Kahawita

If only such a crop cycle, using the seven million Acre feet of water available, is adopted that the capital investment will give a return. This kind of farming cannot be rammed down the throats of a peasantry whose experience now is chena cultivation, paddy and few field crops like kurakkan, mustard and varieties of cucurbits, and the only experience country has of scientific cultivation is the growing of tree crops like coconut, tea, rubber, cocoa and coffee

We are completely ignorant of a planned crop cycle to suit the weather conditions and designed to rebuild the soil fertility etc. This has been the biggest stumbling block to progress at Gal Oya, Uda Walawe, Rajangana etc. schemes designed to develop a real farming gentry, even though this kind of exploiters of the soil are not favoured in present day politics, it is that breed of farmer who can produce the results.

A VERY GOOD EXAMPLE where we have failed in our efforts to grow one of the crops recommended is sugar cane cultivation. Sri Lanka has a very-long history of cultivating sugar cane and some may even be surprised to learn the original "Sweet grass" was from Sri Lanka, taken to China for improvement and today known as sugar cane.

We thought of growing sugar cane seriously in 1946. Since then we have achieved nothing significant in this field even though we have two sugar factory complexes which have become scrap heaps without once being worked to full capacity. The reasons are obvious and I do not want to harp on the same theme. Cotton is another crop we have failed though cotton was not an unfamiliar crop with the peasants. For, a variety of cotton known to the ancient Sinhala were tended in every village to provide the thread for "Peerith Knool". The legend is: with the Badulla rebellion some of the inhabitants escaped to Bintenne, not forgetting to take some cotton seeds with them. This variety is still grown in this region for the

same purpose—"Peerith Knool". These two crops are mentioned because sugar cane and cotton are two industrial crops that play an important role in the Mahaweli economics.

If we are to generate a new kind of farmer who can be trained into a new way of farming life, we must start straight away with material unspoilt by traditional type of cultivation, and who can assimilate new ideas and new farming techniques. This brings us to the selection of a new farming community to take over the land that is going to benefit by the Mahaweli water.

Selecting this farming community must be based on certain rigid norms, not to be varied by influence or political pressure. The selection of a future farmer is as important as selecting a candidate for an administrative post. These selections should not be treated as just another avenue of employment to send the unemployed youths, landless peasants, and to broadcast that thousands of unemployed youth have been sent to "Janawasas" in the same spirit that people were sent to a Siberian exile.

We cannot afford to do this. The investment on Mahaweli is high and the country is entrusting to the selected community this vast investment to be exploited to enrich themselves and the country. It is a great responsibility we are entrusting the new farming community. Therefore, the selection must fit into the bill of requirements. This is where we failed in schemes like Gal Oya and Uda Walawe. (Once at Uda Walawe, we encountered a farming family whose story was: "When I got land at Uda Walawe I had only two children and today I have nine children and my one and a half acre is not fully developed yet. How can I feed my children?") We were not surprised at the story. After the family was dumped on the land, no one took any interest in him. He had no capital, except his own work potential, no one inquired how he was progressing; whether he got the necessary implements to develop the land etc.

The way assistance is given now for development to a new settler, progress in his work becomes a liability to the Government, as the farmer had to be paid his subsidy for developing his plot.

If his progress is slow then the Government does not pay him anything till his schedule of work is completed. In this way the Government saves on its current expenditure. So the Government officers are inclined to leave the farmer alone till the request for payment comes from the farmer—this may be several years. This is what happened to the farmer in the story. On the other hand this particular peasant had plenty of leisure, so he produced what he could with his own effort—produced seven children in the eight years he was on the land.

For the success of Mahaweli, this kind of thing cannot be repeated. After the discovery of this family at Uda Walawe, the officers started changing the technique of selection of would-be colonists and the quality of the farming community. This new approach of selecting would-be farmers was the subject of discussion for a whole day in the Parliament and ended up in selecting on Political Patronage. Political patronage has never produced a useful citizen either to himself or the country.

THE SELECTION OF FUTURE FARMERS to use Mahaweli resources must be from people who will have the guts to endure hardships, failures and never to adopt a defeatist outlook—"Tomorrow will be better than today" outlook is what is needed in a farmer. This kind of individual is all the more necessary today with our present policies of ownership, income levels and socialist ideas of man exploiting man. A one and a half acre cropper will never remain on the land. As the farmer advances in years his responsibilities will also increase and so will be his family, (like the example quoted above) until they are big enough to be driven away from home because the parent's inability to maintain the many longer on one and a half acre of holding.

We are yet to see a policy better than D. S. Senanayake's. His standard was 5 Acs. of wet land, 3 Acs. of high land and on successful completion of development an additional 10 Acs. of high land.

His vision was not to create at State expense a beggar peasant who will cast his vote to any individual who promises a better tomorrow. But use his vote to elect the

individual most suited to lead the country to prosperity. We have no such leaders today who can wear that thinking cap. What matters today is how to get control of power. Leaving aside all this, the country needs the real farming type, however meagre his income is, he must stick to the land and hope to do better next time. Our present land policies do not give the necessary incentives to do this.

Such a way of life is all important to the development of Mahaweli because crop diversification is the key factor to make the investment viable, and in crop diversification as understood by the UNDP experts we are not even amateurs at it.

The time schedule set out by the UNDP is to complete development in each area of settlement in four years, i.e. from the fourth year, the farmer should get 100% of his income from his holding. This speed of development has never been achieved so far. It means a completely new approach to development problems. This is another norm set in evaluating the profitability of the project. To achieve these targets a new approach to development assistance, management of the farming community, extension work, personnel relations etc. must be worked out.

Further, the target income per capita from the 4th year is Rs. 1,400/- from a 5 Ac. unit for a family strength of 6.5 persons. (Rs. 9,100) per family unit).

To achieve these targets there must be quality farmers (farmers as understood by the UNDP Specialists) and a sound understanding and experience in crops and crop rotation. The new farming community in Mahaweli has to be broker in and trained in the new techniques right from the start. How can this be done? Not in their own plot but in an Institution where, why and the wherefore are supported by field work and experimentation before they are put in possession of their holding. This institution may be termed an Agricultural University as in India. But in Sri Lanka we read in the Press the Junior Minister wants the proposed campus of the South converted into an Agricultural University sited at Matara—the southern tip of Ceylon.

The only reason we see why it should be in the South is, it is in

the Junior Minister's area of Political Interest. It is this kind of parochial thinking that has driven Sri Lanka with the begging bowl to the International Highways. One could not think of a worse place for an Agricultural University than Matara. The siring has nothing to commend itself except the self interest of the Junior Minister. Agriculture does not mean just lemon-grass and cinnamon. There are a thousand other crops and disciplines included in Agriculture.

If there is going to be an Agricultural University in Sri Lanka it must be in the Dry Zone as mentioned earlier, this agricultural future of Sri Lanka is in the Dry Zone provided there is abundant water, and it will be there with the Mahaweli development to its fullest scope. The best location for the Agricultural University is Maha Illuppalama where there is already several facilities available and plenty of land best suited for the types of crops to be grown under the Mahaweli plan. The most important aspect of an Agricultural University is to draw the work force and experimental staff from the farming population who will go back to their holdings and try out what they did at the University themselves.

Of course what is understood today by an Agricultural University is not the type of Institution that grants degrees to enable the graduates to sit on a Colombo office and broadcast over the SLBC how to grow onions in one's back garden. What the new concept of an Agricultural University is, to produce practical farmers who can take all the scientific techniques to their holdings and extract the utmost from their holdings. We hope in the national interest and in the interest of the vast investment in Mahaweli Development that the proposed Agricultural University will be at Maha Illuppalama.

FOR THOSE who do not know how the Maha Illuppalama Research Station came into being where some excellent work was done under an Administration fully devoted and nationally minded, it may be mentioned, that the Research at Peradeniya was mainly for plantation crops and nothing was done there for paddy and field crops mainly because climate

did not suit such crops. So on the instructions of late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, his Director of Agriculture, the late Mr. Edmund Rodrigo, acquired the Sisal Hemp Estate of Maharaj of Baroda at Maha Illuppalama and established the Dry Zone Research Station. In later years it was fully equipped from a five million rupee grant from New Zealand. Some years back it was really on the crest of the wave as a Research Station, but in later years from 1956 it kept on sliding down to the cusp of the wave. What happened to the officers who were there and who produced excellent results may be a pertinent question to ask today.

It was about the same time that Batalagoda Rice Research Station was established. At this station, two wonder paddy hybrids were evolved—BG 11-11 and H4. So far no better variety has been produced anywhere to suit local conditions. These are practical solutions to our economic problems compared to what our radical friends are labouring for "Tea Liberation." When our own researchers produced these two varieties of paddy, no one said a word about the achievement. But when a variety of Paddy called I.R.I. 8 was introduced into Sri Lanka in 1966/67, we could not find a single politician who has had no hand in its introduction into Sri Lanka. With all due respect to the International Rice Research Institute of Manila where I.R.I. 8 was produced and where the efforts of the researchers are directed to find a solution to the world food problem, our researchers who produced BG-11 and H4 to suit our soil conditions, climatic conditions and within the reach of our peasants to harvest high yields, deserves the highest commendation for their contribution to solve our food problem. Still there is plenty of experimentation to be done in the Crops recommended by the U.N.D.P. experts in their Mahaweli Project report. There is no better way of doing it than at an Agricultural University located in the heart of the Development area and get the "would be farmers" involved in the work under the guidance of competent Researchers. Thereafter they will also be field recipients to pass on further research development work.

For the success in growing crops recommended in the plan, there

## Mahaweli

will have to be intensive extension work—extension officers working with the farmers through out each cultivation season until such time they master the techniques of crop rotation diversification, use of agro-chemicals, water management and operation, maintenance of agricultural mechanical equipment. This type of training must commence now so that as the project advances towards completion step by step there will be an army of peasant farmers to take over the land and cultivate it with confidence.

In addition there must be a band of social welfare officers living in the settlement centres to see to the needs of farmers' other problems, such as marketing, supply of basic needs and a host of other demands of the new settlers; they may be small from our point of view, but to them (the peasant) they are of some consequence. Till the farmer families take root in the area and adjust themselves to their new environment, this kind of playing the foster parent is necessary to give them encouragement. **This is where we failed at Gal Oya and why it failed to achieve the production targets. Where this kind of attention to details during the settlement period which paid dividends was at Minneriya Colony in 1934. In spite of uncontrollable malaria, transport problems, food scarcities etc. and above all political obstructions from every shade of political thinking the scheme weathered through to what it is today. Of course, it was master-minded then by a person who had a human approach to all peasant problems—late Mr. D. S. Senanayake. We should take a leaf from this experience and mould our dealings with the new settlers of Mahaweli on that pattern.**

**BUT WHAT IS THE APPROACH today to the problem of "regenerating the peasantry"? It has become competitive; which Political Party in power settled the largest number of people on the land seems to be the objective? This has resulted in colossal failures in all the settlement schemes undertaken by the Governments of later years. The object is not to achieve success in re-habilitating the farmer, but to claim that so many "families" have been settled**

and be able to announce over the SLBC which, in the people's mind, is the most successful successor to Baron Munchissen as an imaginative liar.

A good illustration of what is happening in these hasty settlement schemes is the example of parcelling of coconut land taken over in the Kuliypitiya area. The standard of land extent is 1/4 Ac. to 3/4 as broadcast over the SLBC. On this basis 40 units were settled on 1/2 Ac. each of coconut land—that is 200 souls. Each unit get 30 coconut trees, highly manured and cultivated before parcelling, were neglected. Each family lived on the crop of 30 trees, thereafter on the tender nuts as the family could not starve for two months till the nuts matured for the next harvest. When the nuts were over, the families contracted to supply 200 coconut branches a day at Rs. 60/- per hundred branches to feed two elephants working in the area.

Then the branches were also over. Then the problem was how to carry on from there in their new environment. There are 200 souls young and old to eke out a living. Obvious thing was, to rob the surrounding villages, so they started robbing everything, nuts, fruits, fowls, cattle, and anything they can lay their hands on. This is not done in the cover of darkness but in broad daylight. It has become a problem to the police and they say "What can we do if they rob to satisfy their hunger?" So a Government policy has reduced a community of 200 souls to be petty thieves with no respect for another's private property.

This is spreading. A Government must realise that there is tremendous unemployment and underemployment in the rural areas and also a tremendous shortage of capital due to so-called "progressive" policies of the Government. When the Government undertakes this kind of mass settlement, how the people are going to find employment in an area already overpopulated must be sorted out, before policy decisions are made. It is absurd to expect any money crops to be grown under coconut and without water at that—imagine 40 wells in 20 acres—and in these areas wells may be as deep as 20 to 30 feet before striking water, and may cost the settler Rs. 1,200/-

to sink such a well. If he had that capital he would not change his habitat without looking into the prospects of bettering himself in the new area.

**The UNP Government also went on a stupid adventure of this nature much to their cost as a political party in the settlement areas. Why? Because the settlers' new state is worse than what they were, so they blame the Government for cheating them of their honest living in the area they were used to.**

**It is this kind of hasty policy decisions that should be avoided in developing Mahaweli resources. In the case quoted Government has not spent anything, its outlay was nil. But in the case of Mahaweli the outlay is in the region of thousands of millions and what the country expects to see, is a happy and prosperous farmer, getting the maximum out of the investment. If one listens to the SLBC it is regretted to note, the competition is still on—"thousands of families given land under Mahaweli project each month". What they make of their new wealth is nobody's concern.—"Haste makes waste".**

(To be Concluded)

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—78

## Village Scrapbook VI

By Herbert Keuneman

'WOULD'ST HAVE A SERPENT STING THEE TWICE?' Not the same serpent, the cobra in our roof whose unwelcome visit I described in these pages a few weeks ago and whom we finally despatched; but another, equally deadly, who was despatched also and with less fuss the very evening after: *Bungarus caeruleus*, I think—a krait.

Pema and P.B. had set out that evening just after the 9 o'clock News, to leave Kusum (the new girl, slight/prognathous but pretty and greatly given to highly effective mini skirts, who in Dinga's absence 'does for' me out of sheer goodness of heart) at her door. From our garden there is a short cut to her house, which is not

more than a furlong away. Still livelyly snake-conscious after the cobra episode, I insisted that they take a stick as well as the lantern they of course always take; and a good thing, too! Just where Kusum's short cut turns off into a patch of overgrown shrub before leaving our garden the new snake appeared in the pale lantern-light, leisurely creeping across the path, and was about not to turn aside for Kusum's bare feet. P.B. held the lantern (Pema had the stick) and the kraat was killed with so little to-do that although the killing occurred barely thirty yards from our front door where I stood looking out I was unaware of any occurrence out of the ordinary until the boys, having left the dead snake by the path-side and picked it up again on their way back, brought it triumphantly home for my inspection, draped over the end of the walking-stick.

My idea of the stick was not so much to kill snakes with as to ward them off. Experts tell us that a stick thumped on the ground as you go along communicates a vibration which warns of your coming and persuades snakes to clear the way. It is probably a well-reasoned precaution and probably works with some snakes. But not with all. Apparently not with kraits. It may be that the kraat, as is well known to, and actually admitted by, even the villager (who is normally somewhat given to scare-stories about snakes, exaggerating their fierceness and ascribing virulent venomousness even to totally non-poisonous species) is normally so inoffensive and gentle, to the point of lethargy, that it does not occur to him to get out of the traffic any more than it occurs to him to strike unless you severely hurt him or he means to feed. They say you can even handle him, ugh! and he will submit.

But when he does strike, that is altogether another matter! It has been proven that, weight for weight, a kraat's venom is sixteen times as purely deadly as a cobra's. This terrible potential is partly offset by his non-aggressiveness; and even more effectually by his small size—he seldom grows to 3 ft.—and proportionately small 'engines' of destruction; so that he injects far less a quantum of poison than the generous teaspoonful, or much more, that a well-grown cobra drives in. But what he does

is enough, 'twill serve: as it did Sitale's little sister. She was only 10 years old.

This was the most desperate death from snake-bite of which I have heard. It took place some years ago. Sitale's eldest sister and her husband at that time ran a 'laundry' in the Ehetuwewa *kadamandiya*. They and their little sister were asleep in it, when she suddenly awoke, and woke them with a cry. Something had bitten her, she said. They lit a bottle-lamp and searched for a possible culprit but found none, though they even swept out the half-walled hall in which they lay, she was in considerable pain, and kept wringing the hand which had been bitten and which by this short time was already considerably swollen; but they put it down to the sting of a centipede or a scorpion or some such creature, and they put down her moanings to a 10-year-old's unnecessary—and, they might have remembered, unwonted—fuss, and they spread their mats back on the floor and went back to sleep. All but she who lay tossing about and whimpering. Quite shortly after, woke her sister and brother-in-law again and said the pain was unbearable and she wanted to go home and have *behet* applied. Grumbling rather, they set off with the child along the dark road to their village of Waratakama not half a mile away. Near home she said she could walk no farther and seemed on the point of collapse; so her brother-in-law set her on his shoulder. When he put her down she was dead. Convinced at last that something direr than a centipede or scorpion had been involved, they next morning instituted a search by daylight; and then found, in an angle of the wall where a flake of mud-plaster had fallen away, a small kraat: a *habarala*.

Our kraat was a *habarala*, too, a *tel-karavala* as it is sometimes called; at least, I think so. Yet it was not a typical specimen. That it was a kraat there was no doubt: it had the give-away line of 'enlarged hexagonal vertebral scales' along its back. But—by the dim lantern-light—it had not the oily gleam that earns it its Sinhalese designation 'tel'; nor the blue-black colour which herpetologists ascribe to it, was a dull—almost charcoal—black; and its correct 'thin white transverse bands' were not 'paired', though many were bifurcated to-

wards the belly. The belly was plain white. The head was black. It was 3½ ins. long.

The point is: Kusum had not actually stepped on it. And it was now dead.

METEOROLOGICANA. The drought has actually broken, for us, at last! Not, it is true, in any significant way: you don't call a three years' effective drought 'broken' by a few convectional thunder-showers. But they are the conventional thunder-showers for this season, and that is a very great thing. And the tank has visible water in it, and for eyes seared by the parched landscape (though not, seriously, for the farmer; for most of the water is only six inches deep and will have shrunk in a fortnight to little more than a generous bathful) that, too, is a great thing. And there is a beginning of hopefulness among the village that after all seedtime and harvest and summer and winter have not ceased as they were beginning to fear; and that, at this time of the New Year, of the Spring, when village hearts are *meant* to lighten and village faces *meant* to brighten (for it is the one village time of true holiday spirit in all the year) it is a very great thing indeed.

I am not at all sure, however, if this undoubted great thing is altogether a good thing. We had our first shower a couple of weeks back, after a great deal of threatening sky but high winds that hurled the clouds away, and after days and days of heavy, miasmatic, choking humid heat that convinced one it must rain or something in the cosmos or at least in human nature must give; and Mutu Menika, Banders' mother, who had sown her *tala*, was jubilant: 'Now it will sprout, it will sprout! But when that long-looked-for harbinger seemed to have spoken false and was followed by days restored to scorching sunshine day after waited-for day, she was disconsolate again: 'It will rot, it will rot!' she said. 'In my mother's day it rained, to sprout the seeds, and then after two or three days it rained again, often, to green the young plants. Something has happened, something has changed, the times have changed.' Now she is again all-believing in Providence. 'See!' she cries, 'the gods provide. My mother and her mother were right. Rain for the sprout-



## Rain In Ehetuwewa

ing, rain for the greening! Hm!—The sprouting-rain came only just in time.

The only creature known with as resilient a faith in supernatural intervention as the Ceylon peasant is the Ceylon politician. It is to be hoped that our brief reprieve from a really killing drought will not persuade the latter that no long-term foresighted measures to insure all this drought-menaced tract of the Vanni beyond the Mahaveli's reach are necessary because the Gods will provide!

Ehetuwewa (and Galkadawala) seem singularly unblest. Already, after less than a fortnight, we are back to disgruntling evenings: dramatically portending rain, but no rain falls. Five days, and none has fallen. Yet rain fell—heavily—on Attanapola a quarter of a mile away. Six miles away (as the crow flies) the Galgamuwa tanks are spilling. In ours five feet of water at the deepest; to spill level, five more feet of greatly expanding acreage.

If Jupiter Pluvius is acting a little irresponsibly, Jupiter Tonans put on a really spectacular show the other evening. March 29, to be precise. 4.0 p.m. It was at this time exactly that I realized the rumble of half-distant thunder I was listening to had gone on for a good while now—at least three minutes, I should estimate—with-out any diminishment; and glanced at my watch. I have seen electrical storms of considerable magnificence from Vakaneri Bungalow, near the East Coast. In 1952, my wife and I heard and watched one over the sea; in which the forked lightning darted and flickered continuously and the thunder raised peal after peal without pause for much longer than it took to smoke a whole cigarette—but I have never known a thunderstorm quite like this. There was no lightning to see: the sky was heavily overcast from horizon to livid horizon. There was not a drop of precipitation. The temperature shortly after went up by 5° (to 84° F) so it had probably dropped about the same; but no other local disturbance appeared to take place. Naturally, perhaps; for the thunder was certainly not nearby. But what was astonishing was the duration of the thunder at an almost unbroken level of sound loud enough to rattle loose floorboards in the house and

completely without a break in continuity just after 5.05 o' clock. Half an hour! Then the sound began steadily to lessen in decibelle (if I may invent that word) and gradually died away into the south-west. 5.14 before I could hear it no longer.

'I WILL WEAR NO RED SARAFAN ...' I type this on 9 April, when by rights things should be hotting up to usher in a hopefully happy New Year. The rains have come and (apparently) gone. The *avurudu mal*—the New-Year Flowers, have flamed and faded on the Indian Coral Tree. The *koha* has called and called (and the little children have answered and answered him) and fallen silent the better to-cuckold his dupes. But the human contributors to the New Year Symphony have been notably lagging. I have not heard so much as a single *rabana*; not a single fire-cracker. Pinhamy has not so much as consulted an almanac and cannot tell me what are the festal *nakatas* (the auspicious times for the various customary occasions) nor what is the New Year's colour. As he points out, what is the good of knowing what a colour ought to be when you cannot choose clothes in it but must take what textiles the Co-operative will let you have, if it will let you have any.

I suppose the Co-operative can be described, in a real sense, as largely to blame in creating this unhappy and utterly uncharacteristic hebetude (more about the Co-operative's failure, in the near future). But here are a couple of typical modern-day inhibitions of holiday happiness from the experience of the Pinhamy family alone. *Item*: A couple of nights ago thieves came in and lifted the entire hundredweight crop from Mutu Menika's onion bed: the one green thing she had laboriously been able to raise through the drought. Three of us were sleeping in the house—and I was awake till after 2.30—and the onion-bed was not 25 yards from the front door; but no one knew a thing. (Twice as much onions were lifted the same night, and no farther from that owner's house, from the garden next door. And several sacksful the previous night from another contiguous garden.) *Item*: The girls from Kantalai, who have had one brief week at home, go faithfully back at dawn tomorrow—no medical certificate extensions

entered into these loyal young enthusiasts' plans—and everybody is disconsolate. *Item*: All the 'American' flour the girls insisted on purchasing for New Year sweetmeats for their families and to take back to their friends proved so stinking weevil-ridden, and so stale it formed fungussed (?) webs, it had to be thrown away: after they'd had a shy at using it, so there was precious sugar, spices and *mung* wasted as well. *Item*: Kapuru Banda, one of the sons employed far away because the home fields could not supan undivided family, has sent money home but has written to say he himself will probably be unable to come; he cannot, he fears, afford it (the traveling alone will cost him not far short of Rs. 40). He will try to come, but he cannot even let them know, because of the Post Office holidays! *Item*: Pinhamy, who had hoped collect payment on his Mahaveli labour-contract was told he had asked too late: this will be a poor festival for him and his.....

Oh, well! A happy New Year—just like this—everybody!

\* \* \*

SAFARI—March 8-13

## Kachativu

by Alkardi Mugana

March 8,

Lose a shirt, one of your two best, and a man's heart withers. It happened to me, and I do not know where I lost it, then we read that we are called to be holy, as God is holy, and it is a little surprising to learn of what this holiness consists. In Leviticus we read this. You shall not steal, nor deal falsely, nor lie to one another. You shall not oppress your neighbour or rob him. The wages of a hired servant shall not remain with you all night until the morning. You shall not be partial to the poor or defer to the great you shall not go up and down as a slanderer among your people, and you shall not stand forth against the life of your neighbour. You shall not hate your brother in your heart, but you shall reason with your neighbour, lest you bear sin because of him.

All this is commonplace. Now comes the rub. It is Christ himself speaking in, Matthew. Speaking of

himself at the end of the world, he says the King will say to those at his right hand, come, A blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you; from the foundation of the world; For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me. Then the righteous will answer him, Lord when did we see thee hungry and feed thee, or thirsty and give thee drink? And when did we see thee a stranger and welcome thee or naked and clothe thee? And when did we see thee sick or in prison and visit thee? and the king will answer them, as you did it to others, you did it to me.

March 9,

A letter, and I went to my room. Then the visitor came into my room and said, cheer up, and leave this till tomorrow. He had brought the letter. How could I? Men to be paid, and a cow or a bull to be sold, which for quite valid reasons just could not have been sold earlier. Certain money would be sent, and I was being asked to make up the deficit by selling an animal. Plenty of warning had been given. Granted that the warning, whether for valid reasons or not, had not been heeded, or it would be rather true to say, could not be implemented, then what is one to do? Rush out on the road and say, come, cows at two a penny, or, bargain, a bull at two hundred when at present day prices it was worth at least twice that?

Take the other side of the coin. The money is just not there. Yet it is there, and this is what F. H. Drinkwater meant when he said, quoting probably Pius XI, something about those who control credit and decide to whom it shall be allotted. A well or a house, on the one hand, and a man's wages on the other. Are wages and digging a well always co-terminus? Suppose it is not that man who is digging the well. Am I to lay off Jack in order to pay Harry? Am I to pay off Jack and Harry in order that Jones may live better? I control the credit, and in exercising the power of selection, I would seem to be trying to play the part of God. Let both or all three live, and have faith.

March 10,

Crack, crash, the rope tent, and a body at the end of the rope. Coconut trees fell like that today, and I wonder if they fell as heavily as I did. Owner of land, recipient of that land, gift tax, tens of thousands of rupees, a letter, your teak trees will be taken, appropriated to pay the tax. So far so fine. It falls within the fourth commandment. Then, the herd will be slashed in half. Breeding? Young stock brought on to take the place of old cart bulls. Careful selection but now? Seventy head. Thirty head? The dung counts for naught it seems. It has no value. Ask a person in Jaffna, and the men who cart it by lorry. Staff. They count for naught. Very polite. There is something in the Psalms to describe that kind of politeness. If you do not fall into line about the staff your land will be taken from you. Deed signed Yes. Deed signed but that is not the end of the road, a dawn, of hope, a ray, light but how long will it last? Faith. You have only to believe. Christ said it. The trouble is we all give in too easily.

Endurance, lad. You must love those who persecute you. You must love them even when they try to destroy you. It is that they are first testing you? Hate centred on one man, why? They have not even seen him. Polite. Is it that they hate you more than him?

From the family or personal front, let us now look at the national. A passport, yes; that is not too hard to get but then? The Talaimannar ferry. It is Indian owned. Even then, I would have thought that a passport was not necessary for a trip over to Rameswaram provided one did not land; and the ferry stops, anchors, I gather well off from the shore, even then why should it not be possible to wander around ashore, on land, until the boat sails, and to sight-see, stretch one's legs, with just a pass issued by the harbour authorities? What did I find, but that even with a passport, which one's foresight prompt one to bring along, you cannot make the round journey on the ferry unless you pay for it in dollars, or, I presume in any other acceptable foreign currency. To use Ceylon Rupees you would have to get permission in Colombo, at least a half day's journey away what is sometimes called sleeping

round the clock or more appropriately here travelling round the clock. Ceylonese acquire foreign currency for most people it would have to come as a gift, a nice form of beggary. For even the great majority of Ceylonese, the gift will not come at all, how long they wait for it and quite rightly too. This kind of curb on travel, or jumping on a boat, as you would a bus, is a good socialist practice, quite world wide. Perhaps we gained and independence only to lapse our freedom, and those who remember the thirties will know.

March 12,

There is a blustery breeze at my back, we are on the breast of a small rise or hill. The surf is not so far away. We are under canvas, a ship's tarpaulin spread like a Bedoin's tent. That means most of the sides are open. There are many dwellings between us and the sea, all virtually in the seashore, dwellings which have come up in the last two or three days as ours did today, this evening to be precise. We are on the island of Kachchativu, with Ceylon naval boats anchored off shore. The scene must be like any Mediterranean port where there are many pleasure boats. There are babes in arms on the fishing vessel that brought us here, and the boat will wait till Sunday to take us back. In addition to the customs at Talaimannar are a many patrol boats stopped us at sea and gave us an even more thorough search. I gather it is even harder for us to get here now that it was before Ceylon acquired suzerainty of this place a year or two back. We had army men with us, and this fire Brigades doing the trip to Kachchativu. The wooden fishing vessels was built in Ceylon, and it was as steady as a rock coming here. The mass was over at 9 p.m. which I thought was rather late. There seemed to be as many people from India here as there are Ceylonese, and we all seemed to be living together. We are certainly all one large family.

March 13,

Seven men slept under this canvas last night. There will probably nine tonight, the new comers being the two army men. Their relations are next to us in a much smaller tent, and they are mostly women. One of the men got up during the night and lay down on the other

## Allen Abraham

side of me as a windshield. His father is the captain of our boat, and to all purposes our host on land. I was one of the last to get up. Later I set off to walk round the island from twin lulls all sand; I had a view taking in the whole island, and I saw I was as good as half way round. The sand was as fine and as clean as powder and there was vegetation and grass growing on it. I could see there were trees here on Kachchativu; all very much of one kind. Kachchativu boasts only one coconut trees, bereft of nuts. There are two landing places which are used and there are probable about fifteen thousand people on the island tonight, all come in about five hundred boats.

There was a hectic, noisy session of trading going on this afternoon, two Indian women and Ceylonese men and women. Articles for barter or sale changed hands, some to be taken back, all in Tamil, all confusion, snorts, smiles, indignation, going, coming back, non stop chatter. This evening I walked to the other landing place. Boats were still coming in, boats all the way to the horizon. There was an unending stream of people on the road, the footpath between the landing places.

\* \* \*

SOMEWHERE IN THE EAST—III

## Allen Abraham

by R. C. Thavarajah  
Retd. Supdt. of Police

With Mr. Kulatungam's assistance, the miscreant managed to gain entrance into the great man's room, when he was absorbed in study. He begged for mercy. The compassionate teacher took the offending piece of 'poetry', tore it to pieces and relegated them to the place where they rightly belonged—the waste paper basket. It was a completely relieved pupil who prostrated before the great mentor and wept — his contrite heart exuding a veritable cascade of that which "hinder sorrow from becoming despair—tears, — the result of foolish conduct." The old man was visibly moved. It was the great writer South who said "There never was any heart truly

great and generous that was not also tender and compassionate."

"Get up—you are only a small boy". With a gentle pat of admonition never to repeat that type of nonsense, he sent the repentent schoolboy away.

### ASTRONOMICAL PREDICTIONS.

In the year 1910, astronomers all over the world were disseminating information about the appearance of the HALLEY'S COMET. The English astronomer, Professor Edmond Halley, was able to compute parabolic paths (trajectories) for comets. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* records that a Comet is generally a nebulous celestial "body of small mass revolving around the sun." Its appearance and brightness vary markedly with its distance from the sun. According to some ancient Greeks, comets were "conglomerates of stars" but this was not the common view; comets were usually regarded by the Greeks and Romans as totally unconnected with the incorruptible realms of the stars. The philosopher, Aristotle (4th Century B.C.) thought they were "Blazing exhalations in the Earth's upper atmosphere and, as such, they were deemed unworthy of study for many centuries. Yet, at various epochs, a far more enlightened minds such as the Roman philosopher, Seneca (1st Century A.D.) considered that comets were heavenly bodies like the planets. A comet was thought to be the harbinger or even the cause of some human or natural events, usually disasters such as wars, famines or deaths of Kings.

Astronomers in the Eastern world recorded comet sightings more accurately than Europeans did until the 15th century. The Babylonian, Chinese, Japanese and Korean annals have been very useful for statistical studies and for tracing back early apparitions of such periodic comets as Professor Halley. The Chinese annals, in particular, go back more than 3,000 years from present time, and many records of early correct sightings appear in them".

Mr. Allen Abraham, who was assiduously interested in the study of astronomy, did not sit idly by when various propositions were being proffered by leading astronomers of the world at that time. A French Astronomer predicted that the Halley's Comet would

come so close to the Earth, possibly collide with it with disastrous results. Making use of an antiquated telescope used by the early American Missionaries, ingeniously constructing a scaffolding of three tall palmyrah trees complete with rope ladder and platform, he improvised his own 'Observatory' in his home at Karainagar.

His observations, calculations with a series of mathematical diagrams enabled him to establish the following:—

(a) The Halley's Comet would not collide with the Earth.

(b) That it would be visible to the naked eye in the middle of April, 1910.

(c) The Comet would enter into the orbit of Venus and reach so near it during the first week of May, 1910

(d) That its motion would be retarded by that Planet, (Venus).

When he communicated his observations to the Royal Astronomical Society, London, they were treated with scant respect. The R.A.S wrote back and stated categorically that their observations which were based on the exact calculations would be proved correct.

The British view was contradicted by other astronomers. Dr. Wolfe of Heidelberg University first observed the Halley's Comet in photographs on the 11th of September, 1909 and Professor Burnham of the University of Chicago had viewed the Comet with his telescope on the 19th of September, 1909. Mr. Allen Abraham first saw it with the naked eye on the 14th of April, 1910. He informed the Colombo Newspapers indicating where to look for it in the heavens. It was seen at Khartoum, Capital of Sudan and at Kodaikanal in South India on the 19th of April and in London on the 25th of April, 1910.

Mr. Abraham was right. The Royal Astronomical Society of London immediately elected him a Fellow of the R.A.S—a rare honour and distinction which was first awarded to an Asian—In fact, he was the first in the East to earn that award.

He certainly did his country proud! A most deserved tribute showering encomiums to this great mathematician from the North of Sri Lanka was paid in the Centenary

Memorial Edition of the *Morning Star* (1841-1941) by Mr. L. S. Kulatingam and published by the grand venerable teacher Mr. Chelliah Hastings Cooke, J.P. also of the staff of Jaffna College.

Instead of "hiding his light under a bushel or burying his talents," Mr. Abraham studied, taught and laboured in the pursuit of knowledge. As William Shakespeare so aptly put it, "Ignorance is the curse of God. Knowledge is the wing wherewith we fly to Heaven." In the ultimate analysis, no one will deny that the true Christian that he was, he had rendered a good account of himself to richly deserve a place among those who served their Maker. He was certainly one who had the re-assurance of the 23rd Psalm—especially the last verse:—

"Surely goodness and Mercy shall follow me all the days of my life and I will dwell in the House of the Lord Forever."

As for an epitaph, it may not have been necessary for the Great Poet John Milton to say

"What needs my Abraham for his honoured bones,

The labour of an age in piled stones,  
Or that his hallowed reliques shall be laid

Under a Stary pointed pyramid?  
Dear son of Memory, great heir of Fame,

What needs't thou such weak witness of thy name?"

In life as well as in death, those who knew him, loved and honoured him for his knowledge and virtue, their thoughts will indubitably find the divine harmony with the sentiments of James Shirley:—

"Only the actions of the just  
Smell sweet and blossom in their dust."

(Concluded)



IN THE 19TH CENTURY

## Caste In Jaffna

by K. Arumainayagam

The caste system continued to hold sway over the economic social and religious life of the people. The number of divisions varied. The main caste that played prominent role in society was the high

caste Vellala. The Slave were castes Kovia, Pallar and Nalawar and the Kudimakkal castes of Barber, Washer-man, Blacksmith Carpenter, and Grave digger (Pariah).

All these were endogamous Groups. There was no commensality or connubium. These factors reflected themselves in the religious outlook and the Gods each caste worshipped, in the Cryptic Symbols of the animals they reared, in mode of dress and even in such matters as taking oaths.

**PORTUGUESE & DUTCH PERIOD (1505-1796).** The Portuguese and the Dutch did not interfere with this aspect of the life of the people. In fact during the rule of the latter the system became more and more stratified and rigid. The Dutch codified all that was once a tradition, clearly demarcating each group's functions and services to the state and behaviour of the lower classes towards upper classes, notably towards Vellalas.

Instruction given to the Udayars (Dissawas) of Jaffna and the placats will demonstrate this. For example, a Placaat issued by Lauren Pyl, a Dutch Governor of Ceylon said "It must be also seen that the lower castes observe the rules with regard to their costumes, etc. they do not wear their dress in the proper way, do not cut their hair and do not wear and golden ring in the ears, so that they cannot be distinguished from caste people" such a placat certainly would not have helped the low castes to take shelter under the Western attire.

Castes groupings were recognised by the rules and it was included in the letter of appointments. A example of such instance is as follows. "Welala Welayren Joan Ramenden, resident of Manipay was appointed as 1st Cannecappel (Shreff or Cashier) of Mannar, Colombo 10th August 1761."

That partiality was shown in matters of justice to members of the high castes could be evidenced from instructions given to governors. The judicial administrators were give specific instructions to treat members of the high Castes with due consideration.

The main interest of the Portuguese and Dutch in Ceylon was revenue and so long the system brought dividends they interfered little. They tolerated such practice

even in their churches. Efficient administration and collection of revenue depended heavily on the continuation of the system. Besides they also relied on the native officials—who had been mostly high caste to administer the country. Any interference to denounce and degrade their status would have been detrimental to their interests and endangered their position in Ceylon. Instances are not rare when Vellalas conspired and rebelled when members of the "madapally" caste were appointed to positions of responsibility overlooking their claims for such appointments.

Thus the Portuguese and Dutch inherited a tradition which they fostered and nurtured, gave legal sanction and passed on to their successors the English. The concept of 'white mans burden' of civilising the "natives" was to come much later, not even during the early part of the British rule in Ceylon.

**EARLY BRITISH PERIOD.** The Britishers accepted and continued the system as the only sound and prudent diplomatic move to satisfy the people. Their regulations were equally zealous in safeguarding the interests of the high castes and perpetuating the caste system. When there were disturbances caused by low-castes in Jaffna at the early part of their rule, they promptly issued an Ordinance to ensure that low castes showed obeisance to the high castes. Ordinance No. 10 of 1806 decreed that "all persons of the lower castes shall show to all persons of the higher castes such marks of respect as they are by ancient customs entitled to receive."

"All questions that relates to those rights and privileges which subsist in the said provinces between higher castes particularly the Coviar, Nalavar and Pallar on the other shall be decided according to the said customs and usages of the province".

Again an acceptance and legal recognition of the system of slavery and caste. Also continued the practice of entering castes of the officers in public documents and designed different kind or uniforms to officers of the different castes. The Madaliyars were appointed on caste basis and in this sphere as Colebrooke commented generally the Government "had favoured the pretensions of

## Welfarism

the higher castes especially the Vellala."

The first quarter of 19th century at the same time saw the emergence of new philosophies in England. Humanitarian and Evangelical Schools of thoughts began to question the validity of the continuation of institutions which owed their existence to tradition but not to any reason or logic. Such attacks were directed against slavery in the British Empire, against Sutte, Thuggism, widow-re-marriage in India. This period therefore saw the gradual erosion of the system of slavery and its final abolition in 1844.

It was much easier to abolish slavery in Ceylon particularly in Jaffna. High castes did not bother and offer any serious opposition to the abolition. Unlike the West Indies, there was no British vested interest in Jaffna. Nor was there any other cultivation to get upset over the abolition of Slavery in Jaffna. Besides by tradition the emancipated slaves castes have to depend on the Vellalas and other high castes for their sustenance. Due to these reasons the abolition of slavery in Ceylon had little social and economic effects on the slave castes.

Among the Kudimakkal castes which were eighteen in number an important place was assigned to the Dhoby and Barber castes. For all practical purposes there cannot be any ceremony, auspicious or otherwise, in the House of a Vellala without the presence of these two castes. Without their presence a marriage was considered to be illegal. In two cases (Case Nos. 1, 180 & 1,103) decided by the Provincial Court of Jaffna patam in the 1820's it was held that the attendance of barbers and washers at wedding ceremonies was a requirement meant to make the wedding legal.

In another case Venayagar Cander vs Venayagar Moorugar, a plaint was filed by the former to clear his caste. The Court devoted time to listen and dismissed the remark as quite unintentional. Such was the force of thesavalamai (the customs of Jaffna) that courts were compelled to take cognisance of the existence of caste.

**LATTER PART OF 19TH CENTURY.** But in the latter half of the 19th century the Government attitude took entirely a different

line. And this was motivated by the current economic and social thinking. The Government was bent on creating a capitalist society. Caste taboos and traditional prohibitions on the movements of various castes proved to be an obstacle to the easy mobilisation of labour and the development of a laissez-faire state. In matters of appointments to Government posts, Colebrooke was certainly against the adoption of a caste basis. As far as the employment of Ceylonese were concerned Colebrooke argued that it should "depend principally on the extent to which they had availed themselves of those opportunities of instruction which would be open to them". Secondly the degree to which they showed themselves to be emancipated from the "prejudices of the people" and thirdly the extent to which they would be willing to "Co-operate with the Government on its views for the ultimate abolition of all unnecessary and invidious distinction of castes."

This shows to the extent to which British Government in Ceylon was preparing itself to depart from what had been followed hitherto. As such the Government decided to ignore it and was un-receptive to claims based on caste. With the abolition of Rajakariya all Government connection were severed and an opportunity was created for the free movement of lower castes.

The courts questioned the validity of the claims based on customary obligations. Courts looked at caste issues purely from a legal angle. They began to view cases of such nature in the light of the concept of contract. This position was clearly stated in the case of Tawasey Canthen vs Vyraven Canthen and others. The defendants who were his domestic servants (a barber and a dhoby) very unlawfully refused to attend a ceremony while the former made preparations to wear earrings on his daughter. In the absence of the above two Kuddimakkal, his friends and relations went away without eating or making presents to him. He sustained a damage of £ 1 45. The accused were found guilty and asked to pay the damages.

On reference to Supreme Court it was held that the findings of the District Judge were not acceptable. The Supreme Court quashed the judgement saying that "it

does not appear that the defendants were obliged to attend the ceremony under any special contract, however, the presents being voluntary are not recoverable at law, and the defendants were not liable to render any compensation." Such a thinking was certainly a departure from the view held hitherto.

Unlike the Dutch, the English Government Agents began to ignore the caste system. P. A. Dyke who had been a Government Agent for a longtime required the village Headman to furnish him with reports pertaining to problems arising an account of caste differences.

(To be concluded)

## HERE AND THERE BY DOPEY

### The Welfare State

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT of Britain has landed on the rocks with her expenditure on a welfare State. The most powerful Colonia Empire, after shedding the Black Man's Burden, had to carry her own burden resulting in inflation, massive unemployment, dilapidated capital equipment, loss of markets, heavy competition from other industrial countries, blistering Labour-union confrontations, sharp drop in production and output per Labour unit, problems of fuel and power, and many other economic conflicts in a labour-dominated political set up.

Labour is never interested in taking responsibility of production and management; what they want is better pay and a larger share of profits. It does not want to take the responsibility of management and planning for higher production levels and cheaper goods. If that were to be the desire of labour unions, then such Unions have no place for they lose the bargaining power they have now with the management. They do not want to lose this at any cost. Therefore, it would seem, labour participation in management and production is something that will never work in the interest of the community.

When the White Man was carrying the Black Man's burden, both were seemingly doing well. Things were easy and free for both. It was "Shangri-la" to all. England

was doing well and we in Sri Lanka were doing extremely well too. Sri Lanka's burden was carried by the White Raj. He was a sort of Simeon on the way to Calvary. It lessened the suffering of the Black man. Then the whole world was awakened to the iniquity of Colonialism and the Colonialists dumped the burden with a thud. Having cast off the burden he could not straighten himself, and the thud was so heavy on Sri Lanka.

Now Sri Lanka goes on her own. But before she could straighten her back to bear the burden, she also started on a welfare State. The argument was: "If the industrial countries can do it why not Sri Lanka, now that she is free of Colonialism?" So the pace was set for free universal education, free health services, free land and facilities, free rice, subsidized transport, subsidized baby food, free family planning services, in fact it is difficult to find anything that is not free or subsidized in Sri Lanka.

Of course, many of these are free but nothing is available without the colonial custom of "Oiling the Palm" of someone. It also has become an international way of life so Sri Lanka cannot be accused of it. After all, our philosophy of life has been "Other countries do it so why not we"—the Welfare State originated with this philosophy.

England has found it difficult to go on with the Welfare State with her mounting economic difficulties, so she has planned to cut her spending in Education, Health services, Mother care, housing, roads, transport, personnel social services and many other items in the inventory, which many a citizen could carry that burden himself herself. Britain plans to save, so that such savings can go into export and investments to build up her economy from which the bottom has fallen off an fast sinking, including her floating sterling—it used to be "as strong as the Bank of England" when her Colonial Burden was on her shoulders.

Though it may seem ludicrous to draw a parallel from U.K. experience, Sri Lanka also started on a welfare state without one hundredth of the resources of Great Britain. Like England, Sri Lanka has not succeeded and she is also faced with similar problems of an unprecedented scale; massive

unemployment at all levels of manpower, a crippling shrinkage of her economy due to state-capitalist nationalisation—compulsory acquisition, take-over of industries etc. Almost 90% of the capital resources of the private sector has been grabbed by the State thus destroying the formation capital by shortsighted financial policies to maintain the Welfare state and stay in power like the Labour Government of U.K. Further Ceylon devised an annual bribe of Rs. 45/- to every man, woman and child in free rice and promise of more if returned to power. This kind of open political bribery which the politicians of Sri Lanka have accepted as a means to an end has come to stay.

It was reported in the *Daily News* of 12th April, 1976 that the Acting Prime Minister, addressing an election meeting at Ja-ela, said that the Ja-ela farmers would also get land under the Mahaweli development scheme. What does this statement mean to the Ja-ela farmer who will be soon electing a member to the National State Assembly? Vote for the party represented by the acting Prime Minister and he will reward them with a gift of land under

Mahaweli Scheme. Or to put it more positively, if the Government candidate does not win, the Ja-ela farmers will not get land—Vote for the government and they will get land. If this is not intimidation and bribery, what is not? So in spite of what is written into the Constitution and the anti-bribery laws, this kind of bargaining is going on to stay in power. In this case not so much for that end, because they are in power, but they want to save face for what has gone before and justify their continuance in the seat of Government after the legitimate life of National State Assembly was over.

However, unlike U.K., Sri Lanka does not intend to cut back her Public Spending. She has one weapon which U.K. does not know of or ever if she does, she is ashamed to use—"the begging Bowl." It is not too late for U.K. to take a leaf from Sri Lanka's fiscal manipulation to keep afloat. At least, she can teach this to her erstwhile rulers—How to move in the international money market with the the "Begging Bowl". So far our devoted and nationally minded Politicians who are adepts at begging, have had good results,—like

#### LAKE HOUSE

IS IT NOT TRUE that the self-proclaimed profits of Rs. 5.3 million Lake House claims it has made for 1975 has stirred up a hornet's nest even in pro-Government circles? That the indignation in other circles has begun to reach new and dizzy heights of investigative ardour? That in pro-Government circles questions are being asked whether Lake House exists only to make profits (after Directors and other selected hierarchy have gorged themselves on fabulously fantastic expense-account orgies at five-star hotels)? That such profits have been shown (in 1974) after over a million rupees of wasteful expenditure were not supported by vouchers (even fictional bogus vouchers)? That in 1974 nearly half the income shown was based on income derived from the sale of unsold newspapers to the old-paper man? That inside sources in Lake House assert that the position for 1975 was not likely to be any better (whatever the camouflage adopted)? That a government publication company should show greater concern in the publishing rather than in profits? That the profits would not have been cut down very much if money was spent on buying additional newsprint to add two or three pages to every issue of the daily papers? That in this way the readers could be given greater reading matter than at present when (mainly Corporation) advertisements dominate the columnage? That more benefits could be given to the employees in the form of bonus and other fringe benefits? That free-lance specialist writers and other recognised writers could be paid better for their contributions (at present, payment rates are a disgrace and most often contributions are not paid for—being contributions from third raters who were willing to appear in print without remuneration)? That the price of the newspapers could be cut down and thus reduce the number of unsold copies which goes to the old-paper (cum bottle) man (with a Lockheed type payoff thrown in for those who arrange these sales by contrived "tenders")?

the old saying "the sun never set on the British Empire", there is never a minute without one of Sri Lanka's Politicians being on the wing on a begging mission around the world. Success, yes. Last April her begging missions resulted in almost two hundred thousand tons of flour which the Sri Lankians still eat, though crawly and infested with maggots due to age and bad storage. This year also to celebrate Sinhala & Hindi New Year, Canada has gifted 9,500 tons of wheat flour at a quayside ceremony—Sri Lanka cannot do these without these tamashas and announce to the world how generous are the capitalist friends so that the communist friends like China and Yugoslavia may loosen their purse strings and put something into the begging Bowl.

So England has failed in her welfare State and is cutting back in her Public Spending at the risk of a severe political setback. Why, because of her national dignity and the dignity of her people. One would say, "go to hell with this "Haw" "Haw" mentality, take to the road with the Begging Bowl as Sri Lanka does," but for goodness sake do not come this way with the Begging Bowl, we will take what you have collected, we need it because we must stick to power, even if what is in the English man's begging bowl is the last straw."

So the politicians go around begging to maintain the 13 million people above the starvation line, if the circuit proves ineffective—go to hell with the 13 million people: the Politicians have had hell of a good time begging around—And what is the use of being a politician if he could not do that.

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### LETTERS

The Tribune welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials or a pseudonym but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address.

### QUARTER CENTURY

## The World Peace Movement

by T. Duraisingam

Attorney-at-law  
Member, World Peace Council

THE SRI LANKA PEACE COUNCIL has recently decided to launch a signature campaign in support of the new Stockholm movement for general and complete disarmament, urging all governments, parliaments, political parties, trade unions and mass organisations to join hands in a world wide offensive for stopping the arms race and achieving general and complete disarmament. This movement was inaugurated in June 1975 at Stockholm, Sweden, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the 1st Stockholm Appeal launched on 19th March 1950 at the same place, urging the banning of atomic weapons, the setting up of international control to see that this measure was enforced, and declaring that any government which used this offensive weapon of mass destruction first should be dealt with as a war criminal.

The world situation in 1950 was very tense. A fierce war was on in Korea. The US imperialists had expected to gain a quick victory by the use of heavy bombs, napalm and supersonic planes. Having failed in this, they threatened to drop an atomic superbomb in an attempt to win the battle against the people of North Korea. The spectre of a third world war loomed over the horizon. It was then that a group of intellectuals from different countries gathered at "The People's House" in Stockholm, with the aim of opposing a new atomic catastrophe threatening mankind. Among those who were gathered there were the distinguished French scientist Federic Joliot-Curie, one of the founders of modern atomic physics, Professor J. D. Bernal, Rev. Hewlett Johnson, Alexander Fedeyev and Ilya Ehrenburg. It was Joliet-Curie who proposed the famous Appeal to Ban Nuclear weapons and which was adopted at this conference. Joliet-Curie's signature to the appeal was followed by millions and millions of signatures from people from all parts of the world.

IN SRI LANKA the national Peace Council carried on an intensive campaign and collected hundreds of thousands of signatures in support of the Stockholm Appeal. The appeal was signed by members of parliament, intellectuals, religious dignitaries, workers and peasants. This campaign made the people of our country alive to the dreadful threat of the atomic bomb, the terrible effects of which had been experienced by the men, women and children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Stockholm Appeal mobilised public opinion in a massive manner against the manufacture and use of atomic weapons. Signed by over 500 million people from the continents, the Stockholm Appeal became a decisive factor in preventing the imperialists from using the atom bomb in Korea and Indochina. It gave a tremendous impetus to the world peace movement. Given below is the text of this historic document:

*"We demand the absolute banning of the atomic bomb, weapon of terror and mass extermination of populations.*

*"We demand the establishment of strict inter-national control to ensure the implementation of this ban.*

*"We consider that the first government to use the atomic weapon against any country whatsoever would be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal.*

*"We call on all men of goodwill throughout the world to sign this appeal."*

With the changes in the world situation the campaigns of the World Peace Movement also were modified. In the Stockholm Appeal, the World Peace Movement drew the attention of all to the dangers to mankind arising from atomic weapons. But a few years later the threat to mankind arose not only from war, it arose also from nuclear tests in times of peace.

At its conference held in Colombo from 10 to 16 June 1957, the World Peace Council launched its "Colombo Appeal" to all governments for the immediate ending of nuclear tests. This appeal stated:

*"Eminent scientists have awakened the world to the dangers arising from the continuation of nuclear tests. Governments, parlia-*

ments, great organisations of many kinds in many countries, and moral and religious leaders have demanded the ending of these tests. "Despite these powerful expressions of world opinion, test explosions still continue to pollute the air, land and water and to menace the future of all mankind. They are the culminating expression of the arms race now in progress and can only eventually end in the final horror of atomic war. "We demand that the governments concerned immediately declare a truce to all test explosions and accelerate negotiations to reach an agreement on the prohibition of all such tests. In the name of all that is sacred to man, we appeal to all governments of the world to act in favour of the immediate ending of such tests."

The Colombo conference was the first conference of the World Peace Council to meet in Asia and was also one of the most representative. It was described, by the press of that time as "the most cosmopolitan conference ever held in Ceylon." The hall of Hotel Taprobane (then called the Grand Oriental Hotel) in which the sessions were held, was filled by over 500 delegates from 70 countries. The conference was inaugurated by the then Minister of Justice, Senator M. W. H. de Silva, Q.C. In his message to the conference the Prime Minister, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, said: "Today more than ever before it is necessary to think in terms of mankind rather than as individuals or separate units. If we can in this way have peace for another 25 years, I feel confident that the danger point would have been passed and man would have had an opportunity of achieving a stable new society and a new civilisation. At the same time the methods resorted to in settling such differences in the past war is today unthinkable owing to the terrible weapons which man has recently discovered and developed. "It is most urgently necessary therefore to increase the climate of peace in every possible way and to resort to negotiation for the settlement of differences rather than force and to foster national and international understanding and friendship."

The holding of the WPC sessions in Colombo created boundless enthusiasm among the peace parti-

sans of this country. Mass meetings were held in Colombo, Matara and other places in support of the Colombo Appeal. Over a hundred thousand signatures were obtained in support of the Colombo Appeal. Active in this campaign was Lenin Peace Prize winner Rev. Udakendawala Saranankara, Doreen Wickremasinghe, D. N. W. de Silva, Dr. S. Rajendram, Maud Keuneman, Theja Gunawardene, Dr. J. T. Amarasingam and some others.

The appeal to ban the nuclear tests was as successful as the Stockholm Appeal. All over the world over 650 million people signed the appeal. This organised mass action of the people contributed in a great way to the signing of the Moscow Treaty of 1963 banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. This treaty has been signed by nearly all governments of the world with the exception of a few.

The efforts of the peace forces have greatly contributed, in addition to the signing of the nuclear Test Ban Treaty, to the conclusion of several important treaties and agreements aimed at controlling the arms race. Among these important measures are the treaty providing for the demilitarisation of the Antarctic, the treaty on the

non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Soviet-American agreement on the prevention of nuclear war, the agreement between the USSR and the USA on strategic arms limitation, the treaties banning the installation of weapons of mass destruction in space and on the sea-bed, the convention banning biological weapons and the agreement on the limitation of underground nuclear tests.

However nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction have been manufactured and stockpiled to such an extent that, if used, would be enough to kill all life on earth several times over. Hence the next objective of the peace movement is to stop the arms race and to achieve general and complete disarmament. For this purpose the new appeal was launched by the Stockholm sessions of the WPC Presidential Committee held on May 31-June 2, 1975.

This appeal named "Appeal—Stockholm 1975" states that "the victories for peace and detente have created a new international climate, new hopes, new confidence, new optimism among the peoples. The principal obstacle to

### PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

IS IT NOT TRUE that in a premier district in the Northern Zone all retail petroleum-products depots and selling points have not stocked, on any regular basis, petrol, diesel, kerosene or engine oil for nearly two months? That in this district nearly all private dealers have been eliminated (glory be to the co-operative movement!) and multi-purpose co-ops have taken over? That a few private dealers, who are still able to operate, do so on limited franchise based on the rights to sell such products in closeby districts? That these Co-ops blame the Petroleum Corporation for their inability to stock petrol and diesel? That the "managers" in charge of the co-ops have told *Tribune* readers in the area that the Corporation had insisted on package deals where they had wanted that some slow-selling lines (like insecticides, weedicides, etc etc) should be bought by the co-ops before diesel, petrol and kerosene are supplied to them by the Corporation? That local Corporation chieftains however have told those who have sent us complaints that these co-ops had defaulted in paying arrears, that their cheques had bounced and that it was impossible to supply these co-op organisations even on a cash basis until the arrears were wiped out? That whilst this tussle went on consumers in this important agricultural district have to depend mainly on black market supplies brought in by enterprising dealers? That frequently farmers go to other districts (covering over 50 miles each way) to buy lubricating (engine) oil, diesel and kerosene to run their tractors and water pumps? That if the Government is really interested in increasing food production it will look into this matter and ensure regular supplies to the farmers of these basic essentials at the official prices (blackmarket nevertheless) of the Petroleum Corporation?



## Stockholm Appeal

making the process of detente irreversible is the arms race. The stockpiles of weapons in the hands of the imperialists, incite and encourage the forces of aggression, militarism and fascism, colonialism and racism; detente is a vital factor for strengthening the efforts in all lands for national independence, justice and social progress. World public opinion has greater responsibility and greater power than ever before. It can turn the tide against the armaments profiteers, the supporters of the cold-war and the enemies of mankind." The appeal concludes by saying that: "To make detente irreversible, to move forward rapidly towards a new international economic order, to defend peace and build a new world—Stop The Arms Race. Together for Banning All Nuclear and Other weapons of Mass Destructions! Together for General and Complete Disarmament! Together for the Calling without Delay of the United Nations World Disarmament Conference."

A World Conference of representatives of national peace movement from over a hundred countries was held on 21-24 November 1975 at Leningrad to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the World Peace Council. It was on 22nd November 1950, at the Second World Peace Congress held in Warsaw, that this permanent organisation for peace was founded. The representatives at the Leningrad conference looked back at the glorious past of the peace movement—at its successes, its innumerable contributions over the years to the cause of peace, national independence, international security, justice, democracy and social progress. These representatives also worked out an action programme embracing a wide range of issues affecting the people of the world. Among the heads of states and personalities who sent messages of greetings and good wishes for the success of the Conference were Leonid I. Brezhnev, Indira Gandhi, Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike, Hafez Al-Assad, Archbishop Makarios, Luis Cabral, Ahamed Hassan Al-Bakar, Yasser Arafat, Francisco Da Costa Gomes, and Phan Van Dong.

In her message to the conference our Prime Minister had stated: "The World Peace Council has for over a quarter of a century engaged itself actively in the task of streng-

thening world peace and security. I notice that the Leningrad Conference will discuss many urgent international issues which are of concern to non-aligned countries like Sri Lanka. I am confident that the deliberation at the Conference will further strengthen, and consolidate the cause of peace and progress."

The Sri Lanka delegation, consisting of Suriya Wickremasinghe, D. Shyamala and T. Duraisingam, prepared and moved the resolution on the imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean. It was unanimously accepted. The resolution stated that the imperialist military and naval presence in the area, and particularly the projected US nuclear base on the island of Diego Garcia, which is linked with US bases in the Arab Gulf (Masera and Bahrain), remains an ever present threat to the littoral States of the Indian Ocean and their peoples, ranging from the young State of Mozambique on the one side to the newly victorious Vietnamese people on the other. The resolution also stated that the Conference reiterated the demand that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace, demanded that all imperialist bases in the Indian Ocean, including the Arab Gulf, be immediately dismantled and returned to the sovereign states from which they had been detached, demanded in particular the abandonment of the US base on Diego Garcia, requested the French and British governments to respect the territorial integrity of the Comoro and Seychelles islands, denounced CENTO manoeuvres in the Indian Ocean Arab Gulf area, expressed its appreciation of the support of the people of the world, in particular the people of the United States, who have succeeded in mobilising public opinion against the Diego Garcia base, and urged them to intensify their efforts.

At this conference the World Peace Council issued a declaration on its 25th anniversary. The declaration stated that the past 25 years have been years of intense dedicated struggle for millions of peace defenders throughout the world to save mankind from the threat of another world war, to isolate aggressive imperialist circles and expose their misanthropic designs, to strengthen solidarity with those fighting for national

and to give them every possible support. This struggle has been an invaluable contribution to the development and strengthening of an atmosphere of confidence and understanding among nations, without which the establishment of lasting and just peace in the world is impossible.

The past 25 years have seen great changes in the world. The movement of peace forces has changed. It has become broader and stronger. The ranks of the peace fighters have widened greatly. Its prestige and influence in the international arena has grown likewise. At the same time there has been a tremendous increase in the responsibility of the peace forces for the destiny of peace. The active participation of broad sectors of the population in settling problems of war and peace is an essential actor in the present-day international situation. The solution of the ultimate question of whether the future of civilisation will be reliably safeguarded in the life-time of the present generation is, in the final analysis, in the hands of the nations and, consequently, in their own hands.

The declaration ended with the following appeal: The present World Conference of Representatives National Peace Movement wholeheartedly supports the New Stockholm Appeal of the World Peace Council and its demands to stop the arms race and make international detente irreversible.

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## NEXT WEEK

Mahaweli - 6

— Concluding

Village House - 79

— Two Imposters

Development From Below

— U. S. View

Confidentially

— More About Milk

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# Confidentially

## \* CGR \* Condensed Milk

IS IT NOT TRUE that there is a great deal of speculation as to why Minister K. B. Ratnayake left on a sudden and unexpected visit to Rumania on Thursday May 6? That it was known that he was planning a trip to India on the invitation of the Indian Government to visit factories which made railway carriages, spares and other railway equipment? That he was also scheduled to inspect some of the factories which supplied bus and lorry chassis to Sri Lanka? That the announcement of a journey to Rumania had come as a bit of surprise to many? That several guesses have been made as to why he should want to go to Rumania? That the only guess which seems to have any validity at all was that the visit had something to do with the railway carriages which Rumania had supplied Sri Lanka very recently? That, as far as is known, 40 of the 140 carriages on order (on credit) have already been delivered and that they are now being used on certain runs? That it is now agreed by all, including railway officials, that the Rumanian carriages as they are, do not suit the CGR? That the top brass had gone on a test run in these carriages in a special train to see if they could be used in the colder climes of the up-country? That unfortunately this special train (with the top railway bureaucracy) got stuck at Ambepussa with an engine failure? That it is not known whether the test run to this hills (where booze tastes sweeter) was completed? That there is now speculation whether the Minister will request the Rumanian authorities to alter the inside of the carriages so that commuters in Sri Lanka could travel in some degree of comfort? That the contract entered into by the earlier Railway Administration may make it difficult for Minister Ratnayake to secure suitable changes—without paying an extra charge? That *Tribune's* preliminary investigation as to how the Rumanian carriages—on specifications alien to the CGR—came to be ordered has revealed that

a local lobbyist for Rumanian trade (not connected with the CGR at all) had everything to do with this? That the current quip in political circles, which seem to know something about how this deal was put through, was that even backward Abyssinia would not have agreed to buy these coaches? That sales talk about "socialist austerity" is said to be one of the arguments used to stampede the CGR to buy these coaches in preference to Indian-made coaches which were available on shorter delivery dates on the most favourable prices (but on much shorter credit terms perhaps)? That a combination of factors in which hopes of bi-lateral trade and long-term credits were mixed up with big talk about socialism led to the purchase of these carriages from Rumania? That it is known that many socialist countries buy railway carriages from India? That more may come to light after Minister Ratnayake's visit to Rumania about this railway carriage deal?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the scandal about the loally made condensed milk has come very much into focus recently? That Lake House papers had run a story that consumers would be welcome to return all spoilt tins of condensed milk and that the Milk Board would replace the same? That the very carefully worded press report had stated that "one batch of sub-standard condensed milk had gone into the market inadvertently?" That the Co-operative Marketing Federation, which was the largest distributor, alerted the Board that spoilt tins were in circulation? That press reports had stated "immediately the Milk Board had withdrawn these stocks"? That unfortunately "a part of this consignment had gone into the market"? That the complaints related to these stocks? That the press report hereafter went into an apologia which did not explain that spoilt tins of milk were on the market for more than 12 months or more now? That the *Sunday Observer*, 25/4/76, very gallantly stated that "about two months ago nearly 3,000 gallons of condensed milk was over-cooked due to the meter reading being irregular, Milk Board sources explained. This had been packed into 12,000 tins. It is the condensed milk in these tins that is thick, discoloured and does


not dissolve. These sources said that there have been very strict quality control measure at the factory level and their marketing staff go out to the field and check stocks with the trade for quality. Particular numbers are given for every batch of condensed milk that is manufactured. So they can easily identify the tins that were manufactured in this batch and the Board undertakes to replace every one of these tins if it is brought to the notice of the National Milk Board." That is excellent sales talk? That kind of big talk will not fool anybody? That long before the "two months" when 3,000 gallons of condensed milk was "overcooked" owing to faulty meter reading, there were hundreds and thousands of spoilt condensed milk tins? That the *Tribune* has on more than one occasion during the last three years referred to the spoilt condensed milk distributed by the Milk Board on a take-it-or-leave-it basis? That one of the last occasions when *Tribune* had referred to the condensed milk fiasco was several months ago? That *Tribune* has drawn attention to the unhappy goings-on in the Milk Board on several occasions? That something very drastic must have taken place for the Milk Board to make a partial (and lame) explanation about 12,000 milk tins and to offer to replace these tins? (That the Milk Board was no doubt certain that only a tiny fraction of those who bought these 12,000 tins would find the time or energy to trek back to their co-op store to return the tins immediately after opening it?) That any delay in taking the tins back would have been a valid reason for the agents of the Milk Board to ask the customer to go to hell with such tins? That even the *Daily News* was moved to write an editorial on the subject of the tin milk fiasco on May 5, 1976? That this gives this column an opportunity, next week, to go further into the matter and bring to light the results of investigative reporting by one of our many sleuth-like informants?



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