

TRIBUNE

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FUTURE OF TOURISM: AGRICULTURE AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

SO MUCH HAS BEEN MADE OF TOURISM by official propaganda that many people in this country today have been mesmerised into the belief that tourism is a panacea for many of our ills. On the other hand, there are people who think that tourism is no more than a mirage that will fade away sooner or later.

The *optimists* say that Sri Lanka's natural beauty, her scenic spots and her beaches are such that tourists will flock to the island in increasing

numbers as long as appropriate hotel accommodation is available for different classes of tourists from the affluent to the poor (described as low-income in tourist jargonage). The *pessimists* point out that tourism in Sri Lanka was parasitic because it depends largely on imports to sustain it and as long as this was the case the earnings would be minimal and fictional because of the over-size FEECs premia tourists enjoyed here—in the long run the *pessimists* say that foreign tourists are being sub-

sidised to have cheap holidays at the expense of local people all for a mess of pottage in the form of a little hard currency. The *pessimists* also argue, with a great deal of justification, that if the effort and money now being invested in tourism had been utilised in agriculture this country would now enjoy real economic development on a sound basis, and within a short time earn hard-currency—much more than by tourism through the export of rice and other foodstuffs now in short supply throughout the world (and likely to be short for a long time more to come with the current trends in population growth). The *pessimists* also say that it is not too late to switch from investing so much money in tourism to food-crop producing agriculture (which is very capital intensive), and thus induce a real and permanent development of the island rather than building huge tourist hotels and complexes which can well become architectural relics within a decade or two: that furthermore agriculture was real, robust and healthy, whereas tourism could spawn a new breed of CRA capitalists, touts, pimps, prostitutes and conmen who will bring disrepute to the island and lower moral and ethical standards. In this island of the Dhamma.

Those who think like the people we have described as "pessimists" are regarded by governmental pundits as churlish individuals who want to find fault with everything the United Front government has set out to do. Anyone criticising any aspect of government activity, however constructive or reasonable the criticism, are cast into the outer hell of doom as "reactionaries" by the official mass media organs of the

Delimitation Commission
S. H. M. Z. FAROUQUE

Many readers of *Tribune*, including some distinguished members of the legal profession, have telephoned us or written to us that we had erred grievously in saying that Mr. S. H. M. Z. Farouque was a "dark horse even so far as knowledgeable circles are concerned...." We have been told that Mr. Farouque had a remarkably distinguished academic record in the University where he was one of the few ever to get a first in his law: that he passed the (old) Ceylon Civil Service Examination at the top of the list: that he had served with distinction in various capacities in the Public Service for very nearly eighteen years and had finally held the post of Registrar General before he had retired recently: that he was a scholar in his own right having got his Masters in Columbia: that he was from a traditionally scholarly family, his father being an acknowledged scholar in Arabic and Tamil: and that he could be counted upon to discharge his duties on the Commission with "integrity, rectitude and equity". Our mistake having been pointed out to us by people whose word we accept, we express regret that we should have made this mistake about Mr. Farouque. In the absence of a *Who's Who* in Sri Lanka, errors of this kind do occur. In this connection, it would be pertinent to mention that a politician who is not enamoured of the United Front and who is hostile to this Government told the *Tribune* that he was amazed (and surprised) that this Government had chosen the personnel of the Delimitation Commission in a "professional manner" and that he had the fullest confidence that this Commission would discharge its functions with "professional competence." He said that he was certain that every member of the Commission would view all matters from the angle of national interests—and this is, he said, was something which could not be said of some of the Delimitation Commissions which had functioned earlier. Having been apprised of all the facts, *Tribune* fully concurs with this view.

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United Front. Not so long ago this column had ventured to make some comments on the sad state of affairs in the CGR. Instead of meeting the critical remarks, made constructively, fairly and squarely, a semi-official organ of the government after listing a series of measures which had been initiated in the CGR (but which have had no impact on the commuters in spite of *you-scratch-my-back-and-I-scratch-yours* role played by office-bearers of the Travellers Associations), the paper went on to say that our comments amounted to "panhandling for reaction". This kind of witch-hunting logic does not cut ice any longer especially when the realities in the CGR are different.

So also in tourism, any criticism is dismissed as the satanic logic of the UNP and reaction. Those who are now basking in the self-glory of counting the increasing numbers of tourists who come here for the cheapest holiday in the world—with also good prospects of smuggling out of the island gems and/or narcotics—will soon be impeached before the bar of public opinion for giving foreign tourists subsidised holidays (through FEECs and the like) whilst they cut down all the subsidies which had made life tolerable for the common man here. (*Tribune* has always stood for the removal of all subsidies, including free rice, free education and free medicine—on the footing that nobody should get anything for nothing—but, many of those who had once ridiculed *Tribune* for this stand and had insisted that subsidies were necessary as invisible additions to the income of ordinary people are now blood-thirsty adherents for the removal of all subsidies and free rice.)

Tribune has in the past and even in recent months uttered many warnings about the myopic euphoria with which official propaganda seeks to envelope the tourist industry. CRA capitalists—the new menace in our midst, shout socialist slogans whilst they mint 150 to 200 percent blackmarket profits on selling CRA money—join UF publicists to condemn those who question of validity of tourism as a developmental enterprise in Sri Lanka as "reactionaries". Apart from everything else, tourism will not only bring a vicious and degenerate strata of society into existence in the image of CRA tycoons (call girls, con-men and slick exchange operators etc. etc.), but

tourism will also do immense damage to the environmental beauty of Sri Lanka and take the worst evils of capitalist tourism into our countryside. At one time, not very long ago, the Left and the so-called stalwarts of "progressivism" condemned the capitalists, the landlords, the compradore bourgeois, the residents of Colombo 7, the members of the 80 Club and all the others who were regarded as affluent, but what do they say or do about the new breed of vulgar CRA capitalists who rush round in new 6 Sri CRA cars, drink CRA whisky, eat CRA cheese, wear CRA clothes, flaunt CRA perfume and travel round the world on CRA money? These CRAs who are permitted to officially and legally make 150 to 200 percent on their CRAs are right in the midst of United Front bigwigs who say that they are taxed on their huge earnings (without realising that the greater part of the earnings through overpricing CRA money is usually under the non-taxable counter). CRA capitalism, which the United Front government has brought into being, may well turn out to be its Achilles Heel—unless remedial measures are taken in time.

IN SPITE OF WHAT IS HAPPENING in other parts of the world and which have a direct bearing on developments in Sri Lanka, the leaders of the Government still persist in wanting to glorify tourism. The *Daily News* of August 31 reported on its front page under the title MORE TOURISTS DESPITE SETBACKS: NM. The report read: "Every thousand tourists to Sri Lanka helped to earn Rs. 1 million in foreign exchange, said Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, who was the chief guest at yesterday's Graduation Day celebrations of the Ceylon Hotel School at Samudra Hotel. Despite the recent oil price hike and other setbacks the number of tourists to the island had increased from 78,000 in 1973 to 95,000 this year, said the Minister. Thirty per cent of these tourists, according to a survey of the Ceylon Tourist Board, returned to the island."

In the course of the speech, the Finance Minister took special pains to pay a "glowing tribute to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, who had taken the initiative in starting the school...."

Dr. N. M. Perera's enthusiasm for the local tourist industry is

understandable, but he is an economist and realist to know what the indicators in other countries, better placed than Sri Lanka to sustain a tourist industry over a longer period, portend for this industry of surplus affluence. One does not need to go far. We take the liberty of extracting reports of what is happening in Great Britain from *The Economist*. The issue of August 10, under the heading OUR TOURISTS ARE GETTING YOUNGER, POORER AND FEWER, said:

"The cheapest single room in the new Intercontinental Hotel at Hyde Park Corner will cost £22 a night when it opens next March, before allowing for value added tax or service. The cheapest twin will cost £28; with Vat, that becomes well over £30; add a notional service charge of 15 per cent, and it comes to more than £35. There will always be a market for top-flight hotels. The Intercontinental already has bookings. But existing hotels are feeling the consequences this summer of too many new ones, built too fast, and opening in time to catch the worst tourist slump since Britain went seriously into the business.

Colombo too has its *Intercontinental*, patronised by affluent tourists and not-so-affluent *nouveaux riches* CRAs and underworld smugglers who take cover behind CRA earnings. But how many Five Star hotels can Sri Lanka stand? What is the story unfolding itself in the UK? "The word has been put around the travel agencies that a number of hotels that would normally charge £9 a night are prepared to cut that to £3, even for peak holiday August and September, to any agent able to drum up some packaged tourists to fill them. At these prices the agents certainly will. At the end of the season the tally of beds filled to beds empty will not look as alarming as it does now, when some of the hotels at Heathrow are 60 per cent empty at a time they would expect to be more than 70 per cent full. But the window dressing will have been achieved at a very high price."

The Economist then proceeds to examine the dynamics of what is now accepted as axiomatic throughout the world—a slump in the world tourist industry. This is how it viewed the matter: "To the glut

of hotel rooms, add the fact that tourism as a whole had begun to fall off last year and has slumped calamitously this year. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development reported last month, rather too late for anyone to do much about it, that the rate of growth slowed significantly last year—with Germany and Switzerland having an actual drop in visitors, Austria and Italy only just holding their own, and the rest (except for Ireland, Greece and Portugal) showing increases of 6 per cent or less. The OECD reported a particularly sharp drop in American tourists.

“What began as a drop has turned this year into a rout. In 1973 the Germans were still usefully disposing of some of their balance of payments surplus by spending it outside Germany, and even Britain showed a small balance of tourist receipts over holiday expenditure abroad, although a much smaller one than in 1972. But this year, world tourist business seems to be down by at least a fifth. It is not only in Britain that hotels are making bargain offers. Any Briton planning a holiday abroad now is likely to find that a little haggling produces a better deal than the one in the brochure.

The *Economist* then turned its attention to the impact of this slump on the airlines and the travel agencies. At least for a few years more, it would be realistic for Sri Lanka to cautious about placing too much faith in the tourist industry: “About three-quarters of the passengers flying the North Atlantic do so at cut-price fares, even on scheduled services, so signifying that they are using some sort of holiday concession. The tourist slump—which might appear at first sight to affect only hotels, tour operators and the souvenir trade—therefore has repercussions that go far wider. Nobody, for example, wants to buy new aircraft. Airline staffs are being cut. The British Airports Authority has already reported a drop in traffic this year. The forecasts for next year are bad. Government agencies think that there is not likely to be much improvement on this season's figures. Airlines and most hotel businesses are big enough to ride this out, but the travel industry, made up of a large number of small agents, is not. The Civil Aviation Authority this

week withdrew the licence of one small business because its financial resources no longer looked adequate. At the moment, 441 tour operators hold licences from the CAA to sell holidays to the public. There will have to be amalgamations, but it was amalgamations of too many different kinds of business that led to the downfall of Court Line.”

Finally, *The Economist* analysed the balance of payments in regards to Britain's economy and what it said should induce a great deal of fresh thinking in Sri Lanka. Countries like Britain have to send out tourists in order to get tourists so that the entire capitalist structure of the tourist trade is sustained on a profitable basis. For some years now this business has been carried on with millions being made by those in the trade. But now, one of the usual crisis, inherent in the capitalist system, has overtaken the tourist industry. Sri Lanka, which late in the day had tried to edge its way into the ultra-capitalist business of tourism, through cut rates (FEECS), has gained an uneasy entry into this trade of selling holidays. But it is not clear what Sri Lanka has gained in *real terms*—not in notional terms or paper statistics. What ratio of the inputs—of goods and services—for the tourist business is obtained on hard currency imports? What is the amount Ceylonese who travel abroad spend in the *white* and in the *black*? What is our real earnings? What is the final result? The Minister said that every thousand tourists meant Rs. 1 million in foreign exchange. Is this gross earnings? Or is it nett? Has allowance been made for the FEECS premium?

The manner in which *The Economist* makes up the account for Britain should make many people examine the figures provided by our tourist industry in a new light: “Britain earned an estimated £680m from foreign visitors last year. After deducting the expenditure of Britons abroad, this left a net surplus of £6m, or a quarter the size of the previous year's. By May, when fears about the three-day week could no longer be said to be putting tourists off, and before the Tower of London bomb had scared some away again, the Department of Trade was reporting a 25 per cent fall in the number of Americans coming here. This

was partly offset by rises of between 5—10 per cent in the number of Europeans, so the net drop in numbers looked only around 2 per cent. But Americans spend around £85 a head when they come here, excluding their air fares. Many of the Europeans are young, rucksack carrying, will not look an at hotel charging more than £3 a night and prefer a dormitory in the £1—£1.50 class. They spend as little as they can get away with on traditional tourist items like food, but do buy surpris-



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ingly expensive presents. It would be wrong to think of them as either poor or short of cash, but they do not lay their money out as the traditional North American or Japanese visitors might. And it is to the latter that the British tourist industry has been geared.

"It is probable that the pattern of tourism here is changing as well as its rate of growth. The Government must be worried whether we are moving back into a balance-of-payments deficit on tourist account. This year many more of the British are staying at home. Next year they may stay at home too, especially if there are any fears that Spain might go the way that Portugal, Greece and Cyprus so alarmingly went this year."

THE STORY DOES NOT END HERE. *The Economist* in its issue of August 17 had another interesting piece entitled **THE YEAR ALL THE TOURISTS STAYED AT HOME.** "...Since the trouble began in Cyprus a month ago, the number of tourists in Greece is estimated to have fallen by anything up to 50 percent, with Corfu largely escaping the slump, and islands like Rhodes that are near Turkey getting the worst of it. Up till then, the tourist business, which began the year a third down, had picked up a bit. The same was true of Cyprus. But even without a shooting war, tourism was doomed to be the first major victim of the developing world recession.... The Americans are the most conspicuous absentees. France a top American favourite, expects 7-9 percent fewer American visitors this year after a decline of 13 percent in 1973.... At first sight the French have little to complain about. They look like doing better than the Italians, Greeks, Swiss, Portuguese or Austrians.... Visitors from Britain and Italy may be 3-5 percent down; but France's other European neighbours are moving into take advantage of the depreciating value of the franc, led by those still within the currency snake.... The growing importance of the German tourists is striking: 7 percent more are expected this year.... They (the Germans) are also spending more, with a daily forecast at £9.87 a head this year compared with £8.09 in 1973. But they remain poor substitutes for the Americans. American tourists spend £22.40 a head a day, and 44 percent of them stay in luxury hotels. All too

many of the Germans drive over the frontier with their caravans or tents.... Switzerland has suffered its first substantial drop in the number of nights spent by foreign tourists since anyone can remember in the years of postwar prosperity.... Hotels are reported to be 60 percent empty.... Austria has also been hard hit.... Spain is the one country which has done better than it had expected in a lean year. The kind of cheap mass package tours which Spain had catered for 10 years is no longer "economic". Spain has for some years now been seeking to escape from the coils of such package tours and it has begun to succeed because Spain is expected in 1974 to earn more than in 1973—and that from fewer tourists. (Sri Lanka seems to be picking up where Spain left off, and it will be good if some of our tourist pundits find out why Spain wanted to end the cheap package tour business).

This is how *The Economist* concludes its comments on Spain: "They (the Spanish) criticise the kind of mass tourism that developed in the past 10 years, and take a particularly jaundiced view of British tour-operators whose 'savage' business methods have, they say, maximised the risks run by Spanish hoteliers while providing British tourists with minimal standards of food and service that no other national group would accept. A Spanish banking team which visited London a few weeks ago was shocked by what it learned of recent tour-operating history. (British firms owe Spanish hoteliers £3m which the Spaniards seem unlikely ever to receive) and convinced that bottom-of-the-barrel tourism should be discouraged...."

The British tour-operating industry has been badly hit. *The Economist* of 24/8 analysed the **THE COURT LINE COLLAPSE** with the headline comment "A Third of An Industry Cannot Collapse Without Bringing Down A Great Deal Else, Including Political Reputations". The Court Line was the biggest syndicate of tour operators and in spite of a Government "loan" of £16 in mid June, the company went into liquidation before the July/August holiday season was over. The current discussion whether a loan of £25m might have saved the Court Line is academic, because the worst had happened. If the Government had not coughed up £16 million in June

200,000 people would have lost the holidays for which they had paid. The postmortem by *The Economist* makes interesting but painful reading, and it is not known how many thousands in Britain have lost the Summer holidays they had paid for because the Government did not put up another £16 million to prop up the Court Line in July.

All these have valuable lessons for Sri Lanka. We entertain extravagant hopes on the promises held out by tour-operators from Switzerland, France and West Germany. Will any of them suffer the fate which has overtaken the giant British combine, the Court Line?

Tourism is a good thing if it is used, utilised and exploited within limits that will not damage our economy or compel us to take risks that will inevitably boomerang. It is also necessary to channel our scarce resources, both public and private, into the most essential channels of investment on the basis of correct priorities.

It has always been our view, and still is, that the top priority in this country is food-producing agriculture, and in this field private capital and enterprise is being driven out in the hope that the public and co-operative sectors (together with the small peasant and farmer operating privately for a little while longer) will be able to deliver the goods. All private enterprise is being pushed into the tourist business and into exporting non-traditional goods like gems.

It would be wise for government to do fresh re-thinking on the matter. Without upsetting the new system of ownership of land tenure, it would still be possible to permit private enterprise on guaranteed undisturbed leases or permits for fifteen to twenty five years to invest in food-producing agriculture. The same incentives which are offered to entrepreneurs and capitalists in the tourist industry should be offered to such private sector capitalists who are willing to divert to agriculture. The moment local needs are met, rice and food stuffs can be exported.

This was no doubt the logic underlying the UNP Special Leases, but the UNP had bungled the whole affair. But this Govern-

ment can not only use land vested in the Land Reform and also jungle land to be developed, on the terms it thinks appropriate for the purpose of utilising the still extant resources of private enterprise. In our view, such action will not jeopardise the objectives of land reform, and it will be the quickest way of ensuring that we will export food within a reasonably foreseeable period.

If private enterprise is good enough for tourism and the export business, it is good enough for agriculture (on the same terms and conditions). If the immediate objective is to make this country self-sufficient in food and also export rice and other food stuffs, it will be necessary to harness the resources of the private sector for agriculture for a reasonably appropriate period—until the country is ready in every way to go in for full blooded and thorough-going nationalisation and socialism. The use of private enterprise in this way will not detract from the gradual parliamentary method Sri Lanka is making its way towards socialism.



Tribunania

'Bandaranaike Policies': what it means and implies, now.

THE UNITED FRONT has had massive impressive rallies in recent weeks. After the first round of of rallies ending at Kalutara, the rally organised at Anuradhapura proved to be the biggest of them all. It showed that Minister Maithripala Senanayake had grass roots support in the NCP and that he was one of the very few, besides the Prime Minister, who had charisma of an all-island character. It was at this Rally that special stress was laid on the term *Bandaranaike Policies* distinguishing them from policies from more extreme and more

radical ideologies which had manifested themselves recently in slogans shouted at some earlier Rallies by red-flag carrying processionists.

At Anuradhapura, red flags were few and far between, and the slogans were all "pure" Bandaranaike blue-flag slogans. It was also at this Rally that Maithripala Senanayake had appealed to the Prime Minister to encourage Anura Bandaranaike to follow in the father's footsteps—thus publicly indicating that Maithripala Senanayake was willing to combine with the SLFP forces which had begun to coalesce behind Anura—and which had been responsible for the anti-Janavegaya resolution in the SLFP Working Committee.

It was after this public appeal by Maithripala Senanayake that Anura has been shot in the forefront of national politics and there is no doubt that he will soon be a force in SLFP and UF circles. Anura himself has begun to display signs of maturity and political shrewdness that one would not normally expect of a person so young in years. At the Anuradhapura Rally, the Prime Minister herself had laid special emphasis on the validity of *Bandaranaike Policies* and had in fact mentioned that it was the late SWRD who had first mooted the question of land reform—this he had no doubt done in 1933 in the first State Council.

At the Polgahawela Rally, which had come after the Anuradhapura, there was a vigorous effort to bring the red flag into prominence so that it could attain some kind of parity with the blue. This was followed by the LSSP Youth Rally on August 11 and 12, which was an all-red show and where ultra-red slogans were shouted—including slogans that Srimavo should now give way to an NM 'anduwa'. The following weekend, August 17, was the United Front rally at Minneriya, and here with the pro-red Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, the red-flag boys shouted themselves hoarse with cries that Srimavo should "go straight like Castro and forward like NM." This seems to have been the last straw for the PM, and in a remarkably pungent speech said she would have no truck with people who believed in the policies of outsiders like Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara, Lenin, Mao and the like and that she relied completely on the policies

(of socialist democracy) adumbrated by the late SWRD. This speech had some very curious repercussions and this was discussed in detail in the last issue of Tribune, 31.8.74.

THIS POINT ABOUT BANDARANAIKE POLICIES was made even more forcefully at the rally at Attanagalla last weekend, 31/8/74. This rally was the biggest UF rally so far and it was clear indication that the PM has still not lost anything of her charisma. But what was significant about this Rally was that it was an all blue show, to the exclusion of anything even faintly suggesting red. Though a few red leaders were present on the platform and made speeches, red flags and slogans associated with red flags were totally absent. And to steal red thunder, some of the blues spoke with melodramatic finesse that the day was not far away when all land would be nationalised.

In recent months, the reds had been making claims that land reform and land ceilings were the result of exclusive red inspiration and action within the UF. This is now strongly resisted by the SLFP and it was urged that the land reform implemented now was a complete Bandaranaike affair. Stress was laid on the fact that it was the late SWRD who had first suggested that land reform was necessary in Ceylon. Speaker after speaker stressed that they were pledged only to *Bandaranaike Policies* and that if there was any attempt to infuse these policies with ultra-red slogans, the SLFPers would have nothing to do with it. The Prime Minister in particular had made it clear that in the future she would

Saigon Army Scandal

Eleven army generals have been retired in Saigon following their involvement in financial scandals, according to an official announcement quoted by news agencies. They include former Minister of Defence Nguyen Van Vy, who was appointed to that post in 1967. He was in charge of the so-called Army Savings and Mutual Relief Fund, to which all Saigon servicemen were required to make monthly contributions. Three of these eleven generals have been made ambassadors to Middle East and Southeast Asian countries.

only accept only true blue SLFP *Bandaranaike Policies* and that if there was any attempt to impose non-Bandaranaike, non-blue policies on the UF she would have none of it and that she would "go home".

Though the uninitiated may find it difficult to know what it all means, the ordinary people in the towns and villages are knowledgeable in these matters and they know that the PM has given notice to her left partners that she would not agree to any further shifting of the United Front to the revolutionary left (except perhaps the nationalisation of all banks). In fact, if one is to read between the lines of the recent speeches of the Prime Minister, Maithripala Senanayake and Anura Bandaranaike, it seems clear that there would soon be a tilt to left-coated centrist slogans in preparation for the 1977 elections.

This is a very realistic appraisal of the state of grass roots opinion in Sri Lanka. The majority of people still entertain centrist views and this likely to be so for some time longer. The Common Programme of the United Front, on which they won the 1970 elections, was specially meant to attract centrist opinion which had begun to be disillusioned by the rightward swing of the UNP. Those who think that in the years between 1970-74 the bulk of the masses had shifted leftwards do not know domestic realities. The fact is that the current trend is towards centrist, and if the SLFP does not take advantage of this, are vamped and resuscitated UNP would be able to exploit the situation. *The red-flag enthusiasts seem to think that with a little drum-beating, straight-lacing, and brainwashing the voters could be induced to go completely red. This may be possible if there was a complete denial of civil liberties and press freedom.*

But the Prime Minister and the SLFP do not seem inclined to adopt such regimented methods of mobilising electoral victories. This is probably the reason that she and her SLFP Ministers were extremely anxious to lift the ban on the UNP in regard to holding meetings and also permit the Davasa group to restart its publications. It is known that serious efforts were made to achieve both before the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference which is now in progress in Colombo at the BMICH. Various moves and counter-moves took place

behind the scenes. It would appear that the Government wanted an assurance from JR that he would renounce the use of violence and extra parliamentary methods of overthrowing the government. His position had been that he had never advocated such methods and by asking him to make such declaration he was being asked to say "mea culpa" when he was not guilty of any such crime.

Sometime last week the UNP and the TUF had taken a decision to boycott the CPA Conference if the restrictions on the UNP and the Davasa were not removed. One does not know what confabulations took place, but the statement made by J. R. Jayawardene last Saturday, 31/8, at the special delegates meeting of the UNP at Sri Kotha, was evidently the face-saving formula which was the minimum acceptable to the government negotiators.

The UNP leader did not admit that he had ever advocated violence: in fact he stressed that the UNP and he had always stood for parliamentary democracy. But he made a pious declaration of good intentions that the UNP would connive at or condone any attempt to overthrow the government through violent or extra parliamentary means. This seems to have satisfied the Government. Emergency Regulations have to be renewed by gazette notification once every month, and the latest Gazette on this subject did not carry the restrictions on the UNP.

In the circumstances, the UNP and TUF have now agreed to participate in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting, and Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike was able to say that democracy in Sri Lanka was so robust and free that the delegation to the Conference consisted of Democratic Socialists, Trotskyites, Communists, Federalists and Conservatives. **It is clear that Prime Minister, the SLFP and the Government therefore were extremely anxious to present a democratic image (where civil liberties are not tampered with) before the delegates to the CPA conference.**

The UNP-TUC opposition, which had stipulated that the removal of the ban on the Davasa was necessary before they could agree to participate in the conference. The demand they do not seem to have pressed at the last stages. This may be due

to a certain intransigence displayed by the ownership of the Davasa group in the course of the negotiations for the opening of the Davasa. With the withdrawal of the UNP-TUF backing for the Davasa group, it is likely that a settlement may be arrived at, but it seems that a face-saving formula has become difficult because of many relevant and irrelevant circumstances.

However, hopes have been expressed that the Davasa group publications will be on the newstands before the end of month, maybe by the third weeks of this month. The Government should now feel strong enough, after the display of mass support at the Rallies, not to insist on a pound-of-flesh pre-conditions before lifting the ban.

It would be in the interests of the SLFP and the Government to bend a little before a newspaper organisation which had in fact brought this government to power and which had been penalised because it had too vigorously opposed non-Bandaranaike policies even by tilting to the centrists in the UNP. It was the Red-Flag adherents who had wanted the liquidation and take-over of the Davasa. It is likely that the blues would be willing to go the rescue of the Davasa more readily now than a few weeks ago.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 17: According to the *Daily News* King Feisal of Saudi Arabia has written to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, inviting her to send an economic mission to that country: diplomatic sources believe that this is a fair indication that Saudi Arabia is ready to assist Sri Lanka economically just as two other oil-rich States, Iran and Kuwait: it is understood that the Minister of Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, who led the special economic mission to Iran and Kuwait this month as a special envoy of the Prime Minister will undertake this mission, too. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the Government is making a comprehensive study of the country's mass media services, including newspapers, to ascertain among other things how to improve the role played by mass media in helping the public to understand the socio-economic transformation taking place as a result of the government's policies: the study will also ascertain whether there is a communication gap between publicity media, such as newspapers, radio etc; and the people particularly in the rural areas. According to the *Daily Mirror*, nineteen state-run commercial ventures including state corporations and statutory Boards have made record profits during 1973: the gross profits made by these institutions during this period is Rs. 171 million. According to the *Daily News*, major amendments to the Customs Ordinance to make it easier for the Customs to prosecute smugglers and importers of banned goods are embodied in the bill to amend the Customs Ordinance: the Bill has been gazetted under the authority of the Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera. At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania Prof. Manea Manescu, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will pay an official visit to Rumania in the latter part of the September says a press release of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs. South Korean President Park Chung-Hee escaped an assassination attempt but his wife died after being shot in the head by a gunman. Turkish forces, now controlling almost a third Cyprus, decided to call a halt to the war yesterday. The Presidential election of India is being held today.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 18: According to the *Sunday Observer*, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, will ask for the appointment of a Select Committee of the National State Assembly to probe the allegation of "conspiracy to destroy the sovereignty of the people", made by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, on March 6, 1974 at the National State Assembly. According to the *Sunday Observer*, the Mayor of Nuwara Eliya, Mr. T. William Fernando, has written to the Prime Minister that he believes that there are several gold deposits in this country and has urged the Prime Minister to carry out tests: the Mayor has pointed out several instances

in the past history of Sri Lanka where gold has been discovered in the country. Mr. Rolf Traupmann, Director of the Tea Department of Teekanne, the biggest buyers of Sri Lanka's teas in West Germany, has told the *Sunday Times* that they were prepared to buy an unlimited quantity of Sri Lanka's quality teas: Mr. Traupmann is currently on his annual tour of Sri Lanka. Mr. W. T. Wijekulasooriya has been appointed Sri Lanka's envoy to Kenya. The Prime Minister, will preside at the United Front rally to be held in Polonnaruwe today. According to the *Sunday Observer*, the Delimitation Commission will accept written representations from political parties, organisations and the general public till October 1 this year: the three man team appointed by the President met throughout last week and had preliminary discussions. According to the *Sunday Observer* the authorities are still unable to find a suitable place in the southern province for the setting up of the Southern Campus of the University of Sri Lanka. According to the *Sunday Times* the number of persons registered for employment at Employment Exchanges throughout the country increased from 477,212 at the end of March to 480,380 at the end of April. The White House yesterday barred the transfer of Mr. Richard Nixon's tape recordings and papers to the former President while special prosecutor Leon Jaworski considered whether to take any further legal action in the Watergate scandal. Turkey yesterday ordered its troops to cease fire after capturing about one-third of Cyprus in a bloody three-day campaign.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19: The *Daily News* published copious extracts from the 600-page report of the University Commission Report which was now before the President: this part of the report covered the period from January 1, 1960 to December 31, 1971: the report had commented on the fact that the bitter factionalism in the election of Vice-Chancellors was one of the factors for the gradual deterioration of University standards: this Commission had been appointed in 1972, ten months after the outbreak of the April 1971 insurgency, and its terms of reference covered an investigation into the circumstances under which firearms and ammunition had come to stored in the University prior to the outbreak: commenting that the cache of arms and explosives found in the university "was sufficient to blow up the entire city of Kandy", the Commission reported that it had become abundantly clear that the present system of teaching at the University had failed and that it "cannot solve the problems facing the students:" the Commission has suggested several remedial measures to bring about improvement in the university education. At the United Front rally at Minneriya on Saturday, August 17, the Prime Minister had emphasised that the UF was committed strictly to Bandaranaike policies and that it was wrong to shout slogans asking her to "go straight like Castro and forward like NM". In pursuance of the decisions of the countries in the Sri Lanka Aid Consortium for 1974, Japan yesterday signed a loan agreement of 4,200 yen or approximately 14 million US dollars. The Petroleum Corporation's Chairman had revealed that the site for the second well will also be in the Pesalai area: the Soviet oil, expert Professor Kalinin arrived in the island yesterday to site the next well: it was also revealed in the *Observer* by the Chairman that the "second test

well would probably be very close to the first test well because the oil found in the first stratigraphic well is likely to have seeped through to the surrounding area". In Tamil Nadu, the DMK government is reported to have decided to abolish horse racing and increase the tax on cinemas and other forms of entertainment. Floods, cyclones and disease had afflicted over four million people in the north east of India and they were on the brink of starvation. Emperor Haile Selassie was stripped of more powers he had enjoyed by the Army Junta which is now in control of the country.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20: According to the *Daily News*, a top level team from the European Common Market arrives in Colombo today for a three day visit to explain some of its policies which are of direct concern to Sri Lanka: the visit follows a request made to the Common Market by the ambassadors of some of the EEC countries represented in Sri Lanka. The Up-Country areas have been severely affected again by earth slips and floods in the wake of heavy rains: rail and road transport have been severely disrupted: rail tracks have been damaged by earth slips and roads have become impassable: the Up-Country train services which resumed a few days ago are suspended once again beyond Peradeniya Junction. According to the *Daily Mirror* the Government has appointed a high-powered committee to assess the benefits accruing to country from the tourist industry. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the sudden increase in the number of polio cases detected during the past three months has alarmed the Health authorities: Health Ministry sources have told the *Daily Mirror* that as many as 150 cases had been detected during the past three months claiming 12 deaths. According to the *Daily News* tea estate owners who do not develop their estates and fail to comply with instructions to do so will have their lands taken over by the Government: this deterrent is being introduced by the Government to ensure that the country's principal foreign exchange earner does not suffer as a result of neglect and that Government subsidies are profitably used: new laws are being framed to give effect to these decisions. According to the *Daily News*, over 100 foreign firms have already taken the preliminary step towards incorporating themselves as rupee companies under the Companies (Special Provisions) Law. Air Ceylon and British Airways yesterday announced revised conditions for the advance purchase excursion fares between Colombo and London. US Ambassador to Cyprus Roger Davies was shot dead during an anti-American demonstration outside the Nicosia Embassy yesterday. The ceasefire in Cyprus was holding yesterday and there were no reports of any fresh outbreaks of shooting. The leaders of Egypt and Libya President Anwar Sadat and Colonel Muammer Gaddafi have agreed to shelve their differences for the moment and continue a dialogue aimed at ending them.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21: The European Common Market is very concerned about Sri Lanka and is seriously interested in helping it overcome its present economic difficulties: but assistance from Common Market would be to help Sri Lanka develop itself without the indignities of "dependence": according to the *Daily News*, this is the opinion expressed by the leader of the special Common Marke. delegation at an airport news conference soon

after he arrived yesterday on a three-day visit to the island. According to the *Daily Mirror* another Rs. 400 million in foreign exchange is required to bridge the gap in Sri Lanka's import bill for this year: the total import bill for 1974 is expected to reach an all-time high of Rs. 5,300 millions. According to the *Daily Mirror* Mr. Dhanapala Weerasekera, M. P. for Dehiowita, in a press release said that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party branches, Village Council members and the 8,000 strong trade unions in the Dehiowita electorate have come out bitterly against the Lanka Sama Samamaja Party following certain incidents which took place on the day the LSSP held its rally in Colombo: supporters of the LSSP returning from the rally are said to have abused the MP for Dehiowita and attacked vehicles when they passed through Dehiowita: several people were taken to hospital: the plan to abuse the MP apparently was made after Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance and President of the LSSP, made a bitter attack on Mr. Weerasekera when he addressed the rally in Colombo. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the Ministry of Plantation Industry has decided to modernise rubber factories to make rubber products more competitive in the world markets. According to the *Daily News*, hospitals are facing a drugs crisis: even some of the commonest drugs are not available or are in desperate short supply. According to the *Daily News*, the Land Reforms Commissions is now gearing itself for stage II of the land reforms, having virtually completed stage I which involved the takeover of all excess land: the second stage of the reforms involved the distribution of lands. President Gerald Ford yesterday named former Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York as his Vice President: before announcing his choice of the 66-years old multi-millionaire Republican as his Vice President, Mr. Ford had met with leaders of both Republican and Democratic parties in Congress. Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed candidate of the ruling Congress Party, was yesterday elected fifth Vice President of India with a massive majority. Britain's minority Labour Government in extending its controversial control of private industry announced plans to take over every port in the country. Federal Judge John Sirica ordered the Watergate cover-up trial of six White House aides of ex-President Richard Nixon to go ahead as scheduled next month, despite protests from defence lawyers.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22: In a wide ranging survey on the world economic outlook, the International Monetary Fund has said, that unless resources on sufficiently concessionary terms are made available to Sri Lanka it is likely that the volume of imports, which has fallen over the recent years, will be reduced again this year: the prospect for the current year is very adverse in the external current account which existing resources are not sufficient to finance. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, leaves for Maldives today on a three day official visit: today has been declared a public holiday throughout the Republic of Maldives in honour of the Prime Minister's visit. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the Health Ministry has set up a special striking force to detect malpractices, misappropriation of funds and frauds in Government hospitals and other medical institutions: this force will also conduct surprise checks to detect cases of negligence on the part

of employees in these institutions. According to the *Daily News*, the Leader of the National State Assembly will seek the approval of the House today to suspend standing orders and dispose of the motion of Agriculture Minister Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa calling for the appointment of a Select Committee to investigate the documents presented in the NSA by Opposition Leader Mr. J. R. Jayawardene: the Assembly meets at 2 p. m. today. The Mayor of Colombo, Mr. A. H. M. Fowzie, yesterday explained to the members of the Colombo Municipal Council as to why he did not resign the post of Mayor: Mr. Fowzie said that a large number of UNP members in the Council have requested him to continue in office. The Prime Minister will open the Jaffna Campus of the University on October 6. Bangladesh's millions of flood victims waited in vain for urgently needed food supplies after heavy rain grounded aircraft and flooded another 2,000 square miles of the country: Pakistan announced it was giving 5,000 tons of rice and 890 tons of cotton yarn as its contribution to flood relief in Bangladesh. Turkish forces have ordered the UN peace keeping contingent out of the Famagusta district on the east coast of Cyprus: the United Nations is seeking clarification of the order.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23: The Prime Minister was given a rousing reception when she reached the Maldives yesterday to begin a four day state visit to the island. According to the *Daily News*, the reception given to Mrs. Bandaranaike is considered the biggest since that accorded to Queen Elizabeth when she visited the Islands. The National State Assembly yesterday approved a motion by the Minister Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, to appoint a Select Committee of the House to probe certain documents tabled by the Leader of the Opposition, during the debate on the alleged conspiracy to destroy the sovereignty of the people. At a press conference held yesterday, the Speaker of the National State Assembly and the President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, said that nearly 250 delegates including speakers, Ministers, Parliamentarians from 90 commonwealth parliaments and state legislatures will arrive in Colombo next month to participate in the 20th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. The Leader of the six-man delegation from the European Economic Community, said yesterday that the EEC was very interested in helping Sri Lanka to maintain economic stability in the country and in this part of the world. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the Tea Market in Colombo, has reported that the recently announced tea subsidy in Britain is likely to benefit the tea consumer. Former New York Governor, Nelson Rockefeller, will undergo a searching inquiry into his vast wealth before Congress confirms him as Vice President: Mr. Rockefeller is reported to be worth hundreds of millions of dollars and it is said that the fortunes have always been shrouded in secrecy. Diplomatic moves were underway in Athens aimed at resuming the Cyprus peace talks. Six Turkish journalists are missing in Cyprus and three others are being held prisoner by Greek Cypriots.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24: At a civic reception given in her honour at Male, the capital of the Republic

of Maldives, the Prime Minister, Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, said that Sri Lanka and Maldives share a concern as developing countries that the world economic environment is one which is not conducive to the development of small countries like ours which are seeking to ensure the people a standard of life and quality of keeping with the dignity as independent nations: the Premier paid a tribute to the youth of Sri Lanka for their response to the food drive and said that as a result the contry may be self-sufficient soon. According to the *Daily Mirror*, on August 31, a mass rally will be held at Attanagalla to mark the taking over of over 6000 acres of land belonging to the Prime Minister and members of her family. According to the *Daily News*, some of the world's largest airlines are keen to make Colombo a stopover for their larger planes: airlines like KLM, British Airways, Condor, Swiss-air, PIA and Malaysian Airlines have requested that facilities be made available at Bandaranaike international Airport to enable them to land and service their large aircraft here. The Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, says that he has let loose all the forces at his command to hound out corrupt and dishonest officials, whatever their rank, in the co-operative network. The Ministry of Education states in a Press release that a Question Bank for the new curricular areas from which teachers could draw questions for use in their schools for evaluation purposes will be set up shortly by the Examinations Department. Commonwealth Finance Ministers will hold their annual meeting in Ottawa on September 25 and 26. The Soviet Union called for a big international conference — including Russia—to seek a solution in Cyprus, and also bitterly attacked Britain's role in the crisis. India announced that it agreed to Pakistan's suggestion to hold talks on the resumption of communications links and travel facilities in Islamabad on September 12.

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INTERNATIONAL-AFFAIRS

BY ARIEL

- Slump ● President Ford
- Pakistan's South Asia
- Vietnam

UNNOTICED IN SRI LANKA, the capitalist system is slipping into a economic recession which threatens to be as bad or worse than the depression of the 30s. For the last two years, and more especially in 1973, responsible economists have been warning their respective governments that the current inflationary spiral and other attendant economic ills would push the world over the brink into the greatest depression the world has ever known.

From the beginning of August, the London Stock Exchange, for instance, has been riddled with uncertainty and a heavy gloom has brought a near-permanent sense of uneasiness whenever it opened for business. But London is not alone. The continuing fall in the share prices on the world stock markets has accentuated the fears that capitalist economy has already entered the most serious recession since the last war. Forecasts that the world had already entered a 12-18 month recession, published in the beginning of August, brought share prices in London, New York, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels and other international markets, tumbling down. "Share brokers in all capitals make no attempt now to disguise their alarm about the size of the market collapse, which is now relatively greater than the share debacle preceding the slump of 1931. Britain is worst hit because there are fears of a 15 to 20 percent inflation by the end of the year and over a million may be unemployed early next year.

"There is also a widespread fear in the British business community that the Labour Party may be returned with a working majority in a general election, which could enable it to embark upon its mass nationalisation programme of major firms. The collapse of confidence in the British economy is

evident everywhere. What really worries the investment institution in most European capitals today is the unique and perplexing phenomenon of worsening inflation and a dangerous recession at the same time.

"The *Financial Times* index opened this morning at 230 points and there is a talk among stock-brokers and bankers that it could soon at 175 points, which means that nearly 80 per cent of the share values is wiped out.

"In America, one can associate Watergate with the fast falling Wall Streets share index, but in western Europe the slump on stock exchanges is more directly linked to fears of further major financial collapses. There are rumours that some important banks in Germany France and Switzerland are in serious financial trouble and their collapse is imminent. There is a talk about the need for some urgent co-ordinated international action to tackle the worldwide inflation, recession and financial turmoil produced by oil price increases. But no one seems to know what exactly is to be done. And there is a growing fear that by the time they find out what is to be done, the damage done by the present recession could be irreversible.

"Many financial analysts are wondering if there is a serious danger of a big international banking crash like that of the 30s in the next few weeks. Most banks have lost a lot of money on the foreign exchange markets. It remains to be seen how the oil money moves in the crisis months of August and September. All this talk of an imminent crash has started causing withdrawal of money from the smaller banks all round the world. Right now the Arab-favoured big New York based banks have some edge over the others but they also cannot keep on feeding the smaller banks if there is a real run on banks in the European capitals in the next few weeks."

This is how Batuk Gathani, the UK Correspondent of the *Hindu*, described the situation early in August. On August 21, he again commented: "The London Stock Market continues to fall and the market barometer was below the 200 level of the *Financial Times* index. There are persistent rumours

that it could fall by another 15 or 20 points which would mean, that taking inflation into account, the share prices' real value would be equivalent to the prices in the late 20s. The business community here is baffled by what is described as the 'incredible behaviour' of the British stock market and is wrapped up in almost total gloom about the British economic outlook.... The pound has lost a lot of ground on foreign exchange markets, but foreign exchange dealers say the pound is one of a number of foreign currencies which lost ground to the strengthening US dollar...."

Shortly after Gathani wrote his first piece the giant British combine *Court Line* had gone into insolvency and even the financial assistance the Labour Government (amounting to £16 million) could not save it.

Seeking to find a reason for Britain's difficulties, Gathani commented: "But the root cause of the incredible fall in the value of British shares and the pound is that investors, both local and foreign, feel convinced that the British Government is totally incapable of curbing the rate of inflation which is fast corroding the British economic structure. There is a growing feeling that civil servants on whom Ministers rely in framing policies are prone to poor judgements both about what is happening and what is the most appropriate economic and monetary policy. Parallels with the Indian situation may be far-fetched, but the basic factor menacing the British economy is that there is no adequate flow of new savings into the British investment market. While there is no "black money" economy operating in Britain, saving institutions, insurance companies and private individuals are sitting tight on their cash because they have no confidence in the Government's ability to manage the economy in a way that the British companies can flourish with increased production and healthy cash flow. There are rumours that a number of prestigious British companies could be insolvent in the near future."

Perceptive readers will be able to draw the correct lessons vis a vis the situation in Sri Lanka.

Warnings about an imminent global slump have also come from such prestigious magazines like *The Economist*, *Time* and the *Newsweek*. Each of them say that disaster

was round the corner, and that unless some drastic remedial measures were adopted, it would mean a crash, but none of them seem to know how (not even one of the experts whose views are reflected in their columns) the oncoming slump can be avoided, if it can be avoided at all.

WHILST THE SHADOW OF THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION has gripped the capitalist world, and this includes the Third World also, affairs in Cyprus continue to be in a mess. The Russian move to convene an international conference has, not met with adequate response to make it a real possibility. In Ethiopia, the army junta has taken full control, and the aged Emperor is now a virtual prisoner allegedly enjoying certain "constitutional powers". The Portuguese government has broken the gathering deadlock by declaring that it was prepared to free all its African colonies. This decision, its repercussions in the colonies as well as the countries surrounding these colonies, especially apartheid-bound white South Africa and white Rhodesia, can be adequately examined only at full length in a separate article.

President Ford has got into his stride in the domestic scene where he seems to have got bipartisan support for his immediate programme, and everybody who matters in the US is also undoubtedly anxious that the office of President should be restored to its pristine glory. But in his foreign policy statements, Ford seems to have fumbled. To make Peking feel at home he praised the Chinese capacity for hard work and stated that Americans can profitably draw many lessons from the way the Chinese have solved most of their problems. Whilst the Chinese will no doubt be pleased, it is not certain how other countries, big and small, will view this statement. Most of them will be inclined to think that that Ford will tilt a little more heavily to China than Nixon had done, and this will naturally lead to the most surprising set of foreign policy changes on the part of many nations in Asia, Europe, America and elsewhere.

This was no doubt a first utterance by a new, if somewhat inexperienced, President, but if any US action supports this tilt, then

interesting developments are bound to arise. To complicate matters, Ford has chosen to elaborate on his earlier (vice-presidential) view that there should be an Indian Ocean Fleet by saying that he saw no harm in expanding and streamlining the facilities in Diego Garcia, and to justify his view he had gone on record that the US was entitled to do this because the Soviet Union had three operational bases in the Indian Ocean. It was surprising why Ford had ventured on this controversial ground so early in his Presidency especially when there was very responsible and influential opinion in the US against upgrading the base in Diego Garcia. Many Admirals and even the chief of the CIA were against making Diego Garcia more than what it was: they felt that it would result in unnecessarily provoking the Soviet Union to enter into a limitless arms race in the Indian Ocean. But Ford seems to have thought that an assurance from him that an upgraded Diego Garcia would constitute a better basis for the next round of SALT talks with Russia, would make the Kremlin more conciliatory than otherwise.

Moscow has understandably reacted strongly against this line of argument by the new US President. It has denied that it has any operational bases in the Indian Ocean and instead of attacking Ford directly a Tass statement had stated that the President had been either "misinformed" or misled by his subordinates. Ford refused to backtrack or retreat, nor let silence bring about a diplomatic detente on this matter. He has insisted that what he said was correct: that Russia had bases in the Indian Ocean and he has named them. Where this will lead to is hard to say, because whilst countries like Pakistan, Iran and China have welcomed the USA's intention to upgrade Diego Garcia such action will stir a hornet's nest of protest in all other littoral states of the Indian Ocean and elsewhere. **Though none of these can do anything to stop the USA from making Diego Garcia a nuclear base, the USA will lose a great deal of goodwill in the region and at the same introduce a new upsurge of cold war confrontations between a number of countries. New bi-lateral tensions and**

multi-lateral confrontations are bound to arise.

IT IS IN THIS SETTING that the new proposal by Pakistan to have a South Asia Atom Free Zone must be viewed. Though CENTO and SEATO exist only on paper, and though Pakistan is very much out of them in a strict sense, the imperatives of Pakistani foreign policy had left it no alternative but welcome the USA's decision to expand the facilities on Diego Garcia.

Then came India's atomic explosion on May 18, and Pakistan's Bhutto was roused to the highest pitch of indignant rhetoric to condemn the Indian blast. He sought support from other nuclear powers for a "nuclear umbrella" guarantee to protect Pakistan against a possible Indian invasion. This was not forthcoming even from China, although the French were willing to enter into agreements to help Pakistan develop nuclear energy for "peaceful purposes".

This was not enough, for Bhutto. He broke off the talks with India. He threatened Afghanistan. But after this flurry of high rhetoric he has calmed down into quieter, more calculatingly cunning diplomacy in his attempt to give Pakistan a big power status on a basis of parity with India. CENTO AND SEATO had given the old pre-Bangladesh Pakistan a semblance of parity on the basis of western military support, but this had led Pakistan into dangerous a *cul-de-sac*. Now, Bhutto has to build Pakistan anew with only the western wing.

Almost simultaneously with Pakistan's willingness to re-start talks with India under the Simla Agreement, according to a news release from the Pakistan Embassy in Colombo on 20.8.1974: "Pakistan has requested the inscription of a supplementary item on the agenda of the 29th session of the United Nations General Assembly, entitled 'Declaration, and Establishment of a Nuclear-Free Zone in South Asia'. An explanatory memorandum states that recent developments have underlined the importance and urgency of action on the recommendations of the General Assembly of the United Nations and the conference of non-nuclear states in regard to the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. Such zones have

been created in Latin America and the Antarctic. Recently the Shahanshah of Iran has revived his proposal for a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East.

"On November 28th, 1972, the Prime Minister of Pakistan (then President), Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, stated: 'Pakistan believes in using atomic energy for peaceful purposes and as an instrument for development and progress. We have placed our nuclear facilities under the international safeguards of the IAEA. We would like other countries in our region do the same....The most menacing problem in the subcontinent of South Asia is that of poverty and misery of its people. For our people, atomic energy should become as a symbol of hope rather than fear. For this reason, we would welcome if the entire subcontinent, by the agreement of the countries concerned, could be declared a nuclear-free zone and the introduction of nuclear weapons banned....'

The Press Release continued: "The Government of Pakistan considers it imperative, especially in the light of recent events, that the region of South Asia be declared a nuclear-free zone. All the countries of South Asia have already proclaimed their opposition to the acquisition of nuclear weapons or to the construction of such-weapons into the region. This common denominator can form the basis of an agreement establishing a nuclear-free zone for this region.

"A model for such an agreement exists in the treaty of TLATELOLCO. It is noteworthy that besides containing an unequivocal commitment on the part of the Latin American states not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons, the treaty also provides for the possibility of exploding of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes, on condition that such explosions are conducted under established procedures for independent verification to ensure against proliferation of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the treaty of TLATELOLCO calls upon the nuclear weapon states not to introduce nuclear weapons into Latin America, nor use or threaten the use of such weapons against the regional states which are parties to the treaty. The establishment of a similar regime of security for South Asia to ensure against the

proliferation of nuclear weapons has become necessary and urgent.

"The Government of Pakistan hopes that member states of the United Nations will unanimously accept the consideration of this item at the 29th session of the General Assembly. The declaration and establishment of a nuclear free zone in South Asia as outlined above would help to strengthen international peace and security and promote stability and economic development in the region."

On August 22, the Pakistan Embassy in Colombo issued another Press Release, this time from *Radio Pakistan News*, entitled *South Asia as a Nuclear Free Zone: PAK Initiative Complementary to Sri Lanka Proposal*. This is what the release stated:

"Official sources in Islamabad say since Asian countries including India are committed against acquiring nuclear weapons, there should be no impediment to agreement at United Nations to declare South Asia a nuclear-free zone. As already reported, Pakistan has asked the U.N. Secretary-General to include in the agenda of coming U.N. General Assembly Session the item regarding declaration and establishment of nuclear-free zone in South Asia. India, it may be recalled, has repeatedly declared that her nuclear explosion was for peaceful purposes and that she has no intention to go in for nuclear weapons. As such, India should have no difficulty in agreeing to such a provision which would reassure other countries in the region and world public opinion.

"Pakistan, sources added, had taken this initiative after great deliberations and thought it would not be seen as some sort of manifestation of bilateral confrontation. There has been exchange of letters between the two countries at Foreign Ministers and Secretaries level. Pakistan is also looking forward to resumption of dialogue between the two countries towards normalisation of relations as envisaged in the Simla Agreement. At the same time, as a responsible member of the international community, Pakistan believes that a situation exists in which the initiative taken by Pakistan was in the interest of security of states of South Asia and for strengthening international peace and security and economic development in the region.

"Pakistan's initiative is complementary to a similar proposal by Sri Lanka which has been endorsed by the General Assembly three times. The member states of South East Asian nations are also agreed against introducing nuclear weapons in their region. Official sources said provision of such a collective assurance was endorsed by the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference at Kuala Lumpur. Discussions were also held on the subject at the Committee of Disarmament Conference in Geneva and a report is to be submitted to the General Assembly. The sources said Pakistan regards its initiative complementary to Sri Lanka's proposal which contemplates establishment of a zone of peace within the Indian Ocean free from nuclear weapons. The proposal has been endorsed by the General Assembly three times. The member states of Association of South East Asian Nations are also agreed against introducing nuclear weapons in their region."

This is certainly a clever piece of work and will place India in the dilemma of the cleft stick in the UN. This resolution is directed at New Delhi with unerring skill. But the question will be asked why Pakistan has chosen to confine this resolution only to "South Asia" which consists of Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Burma is sometimes taken as part of South Asia and sometimes as part of Southeast Asia.

Why has Pakistan left out the Indian Ocean with the Anglo-US base in Diego Garcia? What

Moronic Entertainment

The Grand Guignol, the elaborated Paris theatre of horrors has reopened after a break of eleven years. According to "Newsweek", the plays it has revived—"The Horrible End of Dr. Guillotin," "The Butchers of White chapel", "The Dance of the Madmen", to name a few—are a "grisly blend of sadism, sex and sickhumour. The theatre's manager says hee takes pride in offering "the most moronic entertainment in Paris."

about other littoral states of the Indian Ocean like Indonesia which has the capability of becoming a nuclear power within a few years? What about the countries to the north of South Asia? What about China which is believed to have a nuclear base in Tibet overlooking India? What about the nuclear arsenal in the Asiatic side of the USSR? What about the nuclear-armed US Polaris submarines cruising in the Indian Ocean?

It seems a little unreal in this context to talk about a nuclear-free "South Asia". Pakistan has never been enthusiastic about Sri Lanka's Indian Ocean Peace Zone, although it has not opposed it. If Pakistan was completely for such a Peace Zone, which necessarily must be nuclear-free, it should oppose the Diego Garcia base plans. On the other hand, Pakistan has welcomed the US decision of upgrade Diego Garcia.

South Asia and other littoral states of the Indian Ocean can be nuclear-free only if there is guarantee that the Indian Ocean will be nuclear free and for this the big nuclear powers, the USA, UK, France, and China must come to an agreement, and now with India also. And until this happens it would be unrealistic to ask for a nuclear-free region as a small pocket set in the midst of bigger but integrated area.

WHILST THE COLD WAR has begun to surface in the Indian Ocean, there is renewed trouble in Vietnam. Recent weeks have seen a new eruption of fighting in which South Vietnam's armies seem to have been provoking the fight, under a propaganda smokescreen that Hanoi was on the warpath.

Though western propaganda tends to blame Hanoi and the communists for the fighting which centres around violations of the ceasefire line, the Saigon correspondent of *The Economist*, 24/8, stated "...so although the ceasefire 'parameters' may look more and more like decaying elastic bands, capable of almost infinite expansion, it is a matter for some comfort in Saigon that the communists do not seem to be disregarding them entirely. If the communists do one day choose to blow the Paris agreements skyhigh, it will be an allout military offensive

aimed at a decisive victory. The present fighting does not fit into that apocalyptic category...."

While there is speculation about the intentions of the communists, knowledgeable observers of Vietnamese affairs say that the Thieu government has got itself into dire straits because of the American withdrawal and the scaling down of US aid. South Vietnam was a flourishing and prosperous country as long the Americans were there and US Treasury spent vast sums of money for the military campaigns.

Now the situation has become desperate and is daily getting worse. Economic difficulties are great, price increases are phenomenal, the devaluation has been disastrous, the unemployment problem has got out of hand, and there was an upsurge in the opposition to the regime, including demands for the release of more than 200,000 political prisoners. This is one side of the story. The other side is the constant endeavour which has to be made to influence the US Congress to increase the size of its military aid (on August 6 this year the House of Representatives decided to reduce the Pentagon estimates of \$1.6 billion for South Vietnam down to \$ 700 million.) Soon it will be a case of preventing further decreases every year.

The only salvation the Thieu government can see to the present impasse is to get a new war started, and this can be done only by undermining the Paris Agreement and reviving full scale war in the whole of Indochina. There is no doubt that President Gerald Ford and the US government have to keep the Thieu government in check if they do not want to have another fullscale Vietnam war on their hands, and a way must therefore be found to solve the domestic problems of the Thieu regime by means other than military operations leading to another total war.

NEXT ISSUE

- INDIA'S PRESIDENTIAL POLL
 - MORE ABOUT SIKKIM
 - FUTURE OF U.N.P.
-

LETTER

ON SIKKIM

Sir,

In the column of "International Affairs" of *Tribune* dated 31st August, there was a long commentary on the Sikkim issue by Mr. Ariel. It seems that Mr. Ariel was rather unhappy about the article published by the *People's Daily* on 3rd July on the same issue. He blamed China "practically took side of eudal elements and defenders of the already outdated regime."

It is true that the *People's Daily* published such an article entitled "Intolerable Bullying". It said :

"India's crude expansionist act against Sikkim has aroused indignation among all justice-upholding countries and peoples the world over. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution. This is an irresistible trend of history of the present day. Since the second world war, scores of colonies, protectorates and trust territories in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania have freed themselves from imperialist and colonialist shackles and declared independence. Among them, however, only India has, after independence, inherited the colonial policy pursued by Britain in the 19th century by taking Sikkim as its protectorate and carrying out colonial rule over it. India has not only sent its troops to Sikkim to control its internal and external, political and economic affairs, but also tried to go a step further by dethroning the Choyal of Sikkim and annex the country. The Indian government's gross trampling on Sikkim's sovereignty is an act of colonial expansion, pure and simple, which completely runs counter to the historical trend of today.

"Engels has pointed out, 'No one can enslave a nation with impunity', History has proved, and will continue to prove that all policies of national oppression can only arouse national resistance. By subjecting others to intolerable bullying, the Indian expansionists will have to pay for their rabid evil doings."

As is well known, China has always held that all countries, big or small, should be equal and that the five principles of peaceful co-

existence should be the guiding principles for relations between countries. It is absolutely impermissible for any country to invade, control, interfere and sabotage any other country under any pretext. China is resolutely opposed to the power politics and hegemony of big nations, by which the big bullies the small, and the strong oppresses the weak.

If Mr. Ariel thinks that a big nation has the right to send troops into a small country to "stabilize" the situation or to "democratize" the "public life and political structure" of that small country, none would find it difficult to understand his views and words on the Sikkim issue. None would wonder that he attacks China's attitude on this issue.

In the meantime, news reports indicate that the Indian cabinet has made a decision to grant Sikkim seats in the parliament in New Delhi. As reported by Daily Mirror on 31st August, an Indian newspaper "sharply criticised" this. This Indian paper said editorially: "If this is not outright annexation, it comes close to it." The editorial also said that the Indian people had a right to know whether the annexation of Sikkim was part of a larger frontier policy or whether it was an isolated aberration.

Mr. Ariel must have already read this news item. Certainly he has an answer since he appears to be so well acquainted with Indian policies.

Peng Ti-chiang,

Representative
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People's Republic of
China.

22, Bullers Lane,
Colombo 7,
2.9.74.

FOR NEWS
BEHIND THE NEWS

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IN SRI LANKA

THE NEED FOR ENGLISH

by

M. F. X. REX COORAY

(General Secretary, All-Ceylon Educational Federation)

The English Language is spoken or read by the largest number of people in the world for historical, political and economic reasons; but it may also be true that it owes something of its wide appeal to qualities and characteristics inherent in itself.

What are these characteristic features which outstand in making the English Language what it is, which give it individuality and make it of this world wide significance?

SOME OF THE MORE obvious are the following: *First* and most important is its extraordinary receptive and adaptable heterogeneity—then varied ease and readiness with which it has taken to itself material from almost everywhere in the world and has made the new elements of Language its own. English which when the Anglo-Saxons first conquered England in the fifth and sixth centuries was almost a pure or an unmixed language which could make new words for new ideas from its own compounded elements and had hardly any foreign words—has become the most mixed of languages having received throughout its history all kinds of foreign elements with ease and assimilated them all to its own character. Though its copiousness of vocabulary is outstanding, it is its variety and heterogeneity which is even more striking, and this receptiveness of new elements has contributed to making it a suitable and attractive Vehicle in so many parts of the world.

The second outstanding characteristic of English is its simplicity of inflexion—the ease with which it indicates the relationship of words in a sentence with only the minimum of change in their shape or variation of endings. There are languages such as Chinese that have surpassed English in the reduction of the language in the matter of inflexions to what looks like just a series of fixed monosyllabic roots: but among European Languages, taken as a whole, English has gone as far as any in reducing the inflexions it once had to a minimum. A natural consequence of this simplifying of inflexion by reduction how-

ever is that since the relationship of words to each other is no longer made clear by their endings, this must be done in other ways.

A *third* quality of English therefore is its relatively fixed word order. An inflected language like Latin or Russian can afford to be fairly free in the arrangement of its words since the inflexions show clearly the proper relationship in the sentence, and ambiguity is unlikely. But in a language which does not change the forms of its words according to their relationship in the sentences, significance; the order of the words is likely to be relatively fixed; and a fixed word-order in relation to meaning in the sentence takes the place of the freedom made possible by the system of inflexions.

Another consequence *fourthly* of the loss or reduction to the minimum of the inflexions which English once had is the growth of the use of periphrases or round about ways of saying things, and of the use of preposition to take the place of the lost inflexion. Similarly English which once had nearly as many case endings as Latin, has come to use prepositions instead of these, as can easily be seen if one translates any piece of Latin into English.

The *fifth* quality of English though this like the loss of inflexions and its consequences is shared with some other languages is the development of new varieties of intonation to express shades of meaning which were formerly indicated by varying the shapes of words. Consider for instance, the wonderful variety of shades of meaning we may put into the use of the word "do" merely by varying the intonation

that is the pitch and the intensity the tone of the voice.

Not all the above qualities are in themselves necessarily good nor have they all contributed to the general success of English. But it seems probable that of them all it is the adaptable receptiveness and the simplicity of inflexion that have done most in this regard. On the other hand the very copiousness and heterogenousness of English leads to vagueness or lack of clarity its resources are too vast for all but the well educated to use to full advantage and such phenomena as "Journalese Jargon" wooliness of expression and slatternly speech and writing are everywhere likely to be met with. It may fairly be said that English is among the easiest languages to speak badly but the most difficult to use well.

THE VAST EXPANSION of English cultural and commercial influence in many parts of the world has suggested to many that English might well become the international auxiliary language of the world. An international language, as commonly conceived is not in any sense a substitute for existing tongues, but simply to be used as a secondary language for the rapidly growing needs of understanding and intercourse between persons of different nationality. This is not the place to discuss the desirability of such an international language, at which many attempts already have been made. The drawback to these artificial or invented forms of speech and writing in that they are deliberate scientific constructions yet intended to serve the purpose in some degree of what is fundamentally a natural and ever changing growth. Certain languages are not living organisms as a real language is far; they are selectively made up out of existing speech-elements from the most familiar tongues, and tend to become quickly static. For such reasons it has been thought by others that it would be better to choose an already existing tongue for the world language; and hence the question of English arises because of its already vast influence.

Two kinds of difficulty have been encountered by the advocates of English as a world language: First its vast and complex vocabulary and second the lack relationship

between its spelling and its pronunciation. Basic English invented and experimented in several points of the world especially in China, has received much attention in England and during latter years of the World War of 1939-45 was even made an official language by the British Government. It consists of the 850 words thought necessary for expressing the minimum of things and thoughts required for simple international intercourse and claims to be able to give what is needed for translating any prose into English that is intelligible to all peoples. To these 850 words are added common international technical terms like hotel or radio; and when any particular subject having its own technical terms such as a science is concerned, a special list of technical terms is added. Verbs except a minimum of "Motor Words" like take and give, are eliminated their functions being performed by these Motor words plus the appropriate noun. The resulting language is easy to learn but lacks the qualities of the language in the usually accepted sense. Basic English is a Scientific selection and no natural growth nor does it seem to have the living quality of the English from which it has been extracted.

THE EXTRAORDINARY DIFFICULTIES of English spelling for foreigners are supposed to be met by Angelic, invented and perfected by an outstanding philologist in Sweden. It avoids the unnaturalness of basic English, which concentrating its efforts on simplifying English spelling on phonetic lines without making too many revolutionary departures from tradition. Spelling reform in view of the fixing of English orthography by the printers while the pronunciation has very greatly changed has been worked at by many since the late sixteenth century. So that the aims of Angelic are not new but pursued more scientifically than the same ends by other reformers.

But as has been said earlier English much continue to change and there are advantages in having partly symbolic or ideographic spelling which does not depend entirely on sound. A phonetic pronunciation becomes out of date with the changing pronunciation of the language, and or fixed traditional orthography having being so well established it may be doubted whe-

ther the effort is worth making. Moreover a spelling in accord with pronunciation would have to vary in the different parts of the world with the varying pronunciation of heterogeneous speakers.

Language is a social activity and whether it is really desirable for English or any other language really invented—to become a world medium, is a question which perhaps concerns the anthropologist and other students of the "Social Sciences" rather than student of the English Language.

THE INDIAN SCENE

Drifting From Crisis To Crisis Towards Wasteland

NEW DELHI

FIFTEENTH OF AUGUST this year is for millions in this country a day of blighted hopes. The buoyancy and self-confidence with which this anniversary of freedom was celebrated even two years ago—despite all the bristling difficulties around at the time—are not seen in the faces of the men and women of India today.

Not that they have turned weaklings bereft of stamina and conviction, but the leadership on which they reposed their confidence in abundant measure, has been found wanting in these two fateful years of protracted drift. The journey from August Fifteenth last year to this year's has been marked by a spate of wasted opportunities, of shocking neglect in the discharge of national responsibilities. Promises have been reduced to shibboleths, rousing words of yesterday sound like clichés without content.

For the entire national leadership from Smt Indira Gandhi downwards, this is the moment for severe introspection, for searching of self-criticism, to seek how and why they have been unable to live upto the expectations that they themselves roused only two years ago. It is time for them to ponder why, despite the massive mandate given unto them by millions, they have

squandered their assets and let their supreme inaction undermine the unchallenged authority to fight the vested interests.

The promised land of *Garibi Hatao* has turned out to be a mirage, and in its place, one finds the unmistakable drift towards the wasteland of a shattered economy and of polity corroded by the onslaught, open and subversive, of Big Money. National life has been beset not only with uncertainties but is rent asunder by the widening of the unhealthy disparities between the affluent few and the impoverished many.

A PECULIAR PARALYSIS seems to have gripped the political leadership. A little over a month ago, Smt Gandhi announced a tenpoint programme at Bangalore. Hopes were roused and many took it to be the beginning of a determined crusade for a better management of the economic life. But the weeks that followed have given little indication of a break-through: the gloom of despondence persists because inertia has become the order of the day so far as the Govt. is concerned.

Long dissertations on the economics of inflation cannot be any substitute for determined action to combat the ravages of Black Money: rather such sermons are taken by the masses as mere attempts to cover up the Government, inability or unwillingness to touch the vested interests.

Most of the departments of the Government are being managed on a purely hand-to-mouth basis, with practically no Minister—not even those who have long worn the badge of radical commitments—displaying the urge and competence to tackle the crisis that has been overtaking the administration and political life. Much is being made about drastic measures against inflation, but even experts, who are no irresponsible agitators, doubt their efficacy.

The Government's own admission of failure in food policy—after having made a total surrender to the wholesale dealer and rich farmer—is coupled with its inability to set up a public distribution agency even for its own employees. The shortcut is sought in more food imports after twentyseven years of independence: it is not that food

import should be regarded as a taboo provided it follows a record of a determined drive to procure internally.

It is an amazing economics by which the hoarder at home is sought to be beaten down by costly imports from outside. This by itself speaks volumes of the Government's impotency in curbing the vested interests, not to speak of fighting them.

It does not require profound scholarship to understand that inflation can be fought only by an allround increase in production particularly in the key industries as also in the vital sector of agriculture. But, where is the the Government's policy to step up production through incentives towards the working class which produces the wealth of the nation? The capitalists can secure all sorts of incentives and get away with even blatant violations of regulations or with lapses that hit the economy. The Government pleads helplessness in dealing firmly with them.

CREDITS FROM NATIONALISED BANKS and other public financial institutions are permitted to be abused with impunity by Big Business, so that its speculative activity and shady deals can flourish, while no attempt is made to enforce the flow of investment into productive channels. Luxury items are produced at the cost of the basic needs—a telling commentary on the overbearing domination of the black-money economy over the normal economic life. Mixed economy, as it operates in India today, promotes the greed of the black-money operators in preference to the less tainted elements in the private sector. The Kapadias naturally get the cake.

No wonder that mass discontent has grown in volume and intensity: its rapidity in the last one year has been unprecedented since independence. It is correct to brand Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's activity as part of the offensive of Right Reaction: what Smt Gandhi and the colleagues have to realise is that the soil for JP to thrive has been prepared by the sins of omission and commission of the Government which they themselves run.

Even as they denounce JP's agitation as fascist which needs to be fought, the Congress in Bihar presents the spectacle of an ugly brawl between the Chief Minister

and the Pradesh Congress chief, without either of them being engaged in the fight against JP. Much the same happened in Gujarat, with this difference that the Congress Chief Minister there merrily walked out of the party itself.

From Madhya Pradesh to West Bengal, from Andhra to Assam, there is no unity of purpose nor of action within the ranks of the Congress, with factionalism raising its head just at the very moment when there should have been serious efforts at united battle against Reaction. In fact, it is the infiltration into the Congress of the forces of Reaction that has, to a large measure, been responsible for the intensification of the current round of Congress infight; significantly, the target of these reactionary forces inside the Congress is the youth wing which alone can yet take up the challenge of Reaction.

FOREIGN POLICY has long been the pride of the nation even in the most difficult phase since independence. Our foreign policy has refused to kowtow to the blackmail and the blandishments of the Western colonial powers. Today, a disconcerting aspect of the situation is the erosion, in will and action, of our independent foreign policy. The allround drift has enabled smart operators in South Block to attempt to bring about a shift in foreign policy as well. On the plea that our economic difficulties demand better relations with Washington, there has been an extraordinary spurt of activity which can only strengthen the American lobby.

The most shameful in this direction has been the latest performance of Sardar Swaran Singh, who could find time to spend five long days in South Korea, which has come to be regarded as the most heavily-armed satellite of the Pentagon in Asia. With fascist terror at home, the regime has provoked criticism even in the US. And to this country, the Foreign Minister of India, losing all sense of decency, makes a special trip, while he finds no time to go to Hanoi. Perhaps it is part of the ill-conceived drive to win Dr. Kissinger's favours at a time when the US Administration itself is in doldrums.

Sardar Swaran Singh even picked up the language of his South Korean

host when he paid handsome tribute to Nixon on his resignation—which none of his ministerial colleagues has so far thought it wise to emulate. What Sardarji does not seem to realise is that servility, apart from hurting the self-respect of his countrymen reared in the tenets of Jawaharlal Nehru, cannot impress realpolitik specialists like Kissinger: if anything, it damages India's self-interest.

THIS BANKRUPTCY in foreign policy is not an isolated aberration: it is the symptom of the disease that will surely spread to the rest of the New Delhi set-up unless checked in time. What this country is capable of has been demonstrated in ample measure by the giant stride taken this year in the field of nuclear technology by our dedicated scientists: Pokaran in the arid desert of Rajasthan stands as a symbol of what great achievements can be scored by our nation, given the necessary leadership: Sardarji at Seoul with its torture chambers and the US bayonets, represent^s the depth of degeneration to which a mindless Government can drag this country into, unless checked by the vigilance of the democratic forces.

It is not that the people of India have let down the Government, but it is the Government that seems to be letting down the people. It is time Indira Gandhi woke up to this bitter reality. If she has to survive, she has to clear up the mess created largely by her agonising drift from one Fifteenth August to another.

NIKHIL CHAKRAVARTHY

SHAMBA

Determined To Make A New Start

by
ANATORY BUKOBA

August 21

Just a few words, first, about my time away. There was the house and the room I was in which had had its corner barged into by an elephant at 3 a.m., a week ago. People were in that room. The elephant, a lone one, has chased

a man from another house to this and he tried conclusions with the house and did some damage. It was brick work and thatch-roof. The other end of the house, the front door, was wide open, and if the elephant had gone there, he could have either gone in or stayed out and played merry war with what was within reach of his trunk. He would have had a grand feed too. The nearest house, which was even more into the jungle, had three-quarter of its structure in cadjan; it was a good thing he did not go there.

There were the two lads who had both legs in plaster, at least one whose leg had been broken in two places. They had been beaten up by a number of men. Each side, it appears, had given a reason for the beating which flatly contradicted the other.

The tanks in the areas I was in were very low indeed. All I met said that last year had been a bad one for farming.
August 22,

The two remaining murunga trees, I planted, seem as good as dead. Some of the ground where they were planted have cracks in the soil which go quite deep. The family found work today hauling sand out of the river up to the road for builders. Both husband and wife were working at this, and the wife had to carry the baby as well. My acre is looking not much worse than all agricultural holdings just now. I have postponed the start of what I hope will be a new chapter because my presence, I thought, was required elsewhere, and I hope to make this fresh start with two friends when I do.

Completed, did I, A. G. Street's *Farmer's Glory*. It was his first book, and written, it was, in 1931. Here are a few points I gleaned. All Canada lived on credit in those days, before world War I, and it probably still does. Is not Trudeau's party called by that name, Credit? Farming was like working a factory but with longer hours. It may have produced the corn and the wheat, but it really did not solve much, for I remember that Canada had an unemployment rate of 11% or so in 1960, and what it is now I do not know.

Back in England, the fun has gone out farming, says Street. As in

Canada, it is, or was, becoming a factory, a question of making money. We know what problems that has caused, inflation, to name just one.

It is a mistake to think, I say, that man exists for work. He has to work to live. He lives to associate with his fellow men; hence the old idea of calling on friends. It is an even bigger mistake, I say, to think that a man must work to make money, so if his life depended on money. Even if there comes about a change of attitude, I grant that it will be a long time before the question of money is utterly ruled out; in fact, I do not think it will be, but it may be reduced to its right size, a subservient role in life. What has all this to do with Shamba? It has much to do with a Shamba, that is, with a farm. It has much to do with this particular Shamba, and you will know why, if we share our experiences, just as we have been doing this last year and a half.

Estate life has been more like that of a factory. On tea estates it may have been less, as the cooly has, I think, had kept up his own home garden, a kitchen one, growing vegetables.

The Canadian farmer on the prairie lived in a shanty eighteen feet by fourteen, until he built a house when he was going to marry. Farming has really to do with ploughing and A.G. Street says that there is no more satisfying task than this. In French I remember being told that the one word one just had to know was French for plough, *la charrue*. Opposed to ploughing, or arable farming, is animal farming, which is not farming really. Farmyard stock is not quite the same thing; it is like keeping a car. Keeping livestock on a large scale makes one a shepherd or cattleman or swineherd.

Two lads propose to join me. One has his home farm near, within walking distance; he is of two years' local standing; I have one and a half years here. The second lad is tired of *Kadday* work, and I presume, feels he may find life more interesting with me. This last lad I shall hvae to support entirely; the other I shall not. I hope we got started and I am looking forward to it.

An interesting problem has arisen elsewhere; what shall we do with

some fallen teak? Shall we sell it or start our own carpenter's shop?

There is a new spirit around these days, and it is heartening to hear that communist China, the nation with the world's largest population, has declared at Bucharest that she is against population control, for production will always keep ahead of population. This, she says, has been her experience, and her population is now 800,000,000. So much for Indira Gandhi, and our population pundits here, and all that U.N.O. can do about it. Perhaps some sanity may come

out of Bucharest after all, and that truth will be vindicated. It, truth, is certainly indivisible and me,

So Lady of Lanka, Queen of the Indian Ocean, and mother of Good Health, we cannot build a world without a Cross, but build some kind of a world we *must* if there is to be Peace; not a world pulling in different directions, but a world agreeing to differ. Just as I wrote this, an enormous jet' plane passed by; I hope it has not frightened the cows. Peace through Reconciliation is the Pope's theme for the 1975 Holy Year.

should abandon it altogether until their conscience thinks that way, with a kind of wisdom of the heart.

They were Christians and bastions of defence of the old regime, of course without much malice aforethought, as we must admit. They fell in line with what was done and being done: the main idea of most of them was to give a good Christian, or as the case may be, Catholic education.

Today, of course, there's *adult formation* rather than syllabus-exam-programme education; there is non-formal formation (or education); most of what is learned even by youth and adolescents, and adults is learnt from outside curricular activities. Perhaps real catholic education or christian education. Is *not* to be in the schools but outside,

Without true religious formation man might tend to be self-centred. And this might be a page from the education given by Other Religious not named in this essay: most of their formation is out of school.

Ivan Illich has much to say about de-schooling of education.

Can we listen?

A GOLD RUSH?

Nuwara Eliya

By Nimal Sarathchandra

THOUGH it is not the regular season now, Nuwara Eliya is in the news again. It is Gold this time and, of course, the incessant rain that fell a few days back creating flood havoc in the city itself.

Accounts of deposits and digging of Gold in Nuwara Eliya, is recorded in several books written by foreign settlers in the region.

According to Mr. T. William Fernando, Mayor, Nuwara Eliya, Gold which has gone up in value in recent times, could be profitably obtained from the area, provided necessary research is done and effective steps taken to exploit these yet untapped resources. Nuwara Eliya would then not only be a tourist attraction and a health resort but also a centre of economic activity.

Of all health resorts, Nuwara Eliya, the Garden City of the East, attracts more people during the season than the rest. The sheltered

INANIA

Of This, That and The Other

ON THE WRONG FOOT

By INNA

Now and again our christian brethren feel they have been caught on the wrong foot. That of course may be only a matter of feeling. It is for them to think seriously and with reflexion to see if this is truly so: whether really in conscience (many make their examination of conscience every day, I'm told) they were and are upholders of a moneyed, bourgeois regime, or whether it is just a taunt of those enemies of theirs who'd like to see them brought "low", even up to the penury-point recommended in the Gospel.

It appears that at the Youth Congress sessions of 1931, in Ceylon, Pandit Nehru and Kamaladevi Challopahdyaya addressed the members, and a C. Sabaratnam proposed and a Terence de Zylva seconded a resolution that the existing system of education (so ably developed by Bonjean, Olcott and a few others) was injurious to Ceylon's 'political, cultural, economic well-being' and urged that a new system of education, in *swabasha* be implemented (Vide Kumari Jayawardena, in *Social Scientist*, 18-19 Jan-Feb. 1974, pp. 3-28, quoting *Morning Leader* Dec. 24, 1931). Now that's a good point to chew upon, to ruminate, so as to see if there is any truth in that after so many decades.

To give another, bare, cold fact: nobody guessed that the regime was geared to making men and women with heads in Ceylon and hearts in England's Mincing Lane and that the schools were making people who would one day help exploiters outside to exploit their own inside, and the Trojan Horse wasn't of wood.

It was growing, and of flesh and blood, since they had their nose close to the grindstone the schools, christian and others, very strictly private, went on apace.

THE POPPY DAY was replaced by some as a *Suriya Mal* campaign. Issues were not clear at that time. Great interest was shown in Colombo. The *Suriya Mal* was a

symbol of a people's determination to stem the flow of interest in the wrong direction, and to take a hand in their own affairs. Pedestrians in Colombo (we are told) and in other towns showed preference for the *Suriya Mal*, but most cars had Poppies (and thereby hangs a tale, I'd add). "The leading Christian schools of Colombo refused to sell or to let *Suriya Mal* be sold." Firms refused to let those who had *Suriya Mal* to-enter their premises.

Of course, this is no reason why the private schools should go slow in raking in the shakels through Welfare committees (Welfare for them and not for the people at large, who seem to be doubly taxed); it does not mean they

nature of the town, the salubrious climate and its scenic splendour not only attracts the local holiday-makers but foreigners as well, and once at Nuwara Eliya, the foreign tourists feels quite homely.

THE GREEN-CARPETED hill, slopes, the knotty Rhodendrons the multi-coloured flowers, the sturdy Cyprus trees, the streams full of trout fish and the majestic Pedro, are some of the natural beauties Nuwara Eliya has to offer to all those who go there.

Nuwara Eliya is today a highly developed town with more than 25,000 dwellers but it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as Dr. John Davy describes "a table-land surrounded by hill-tops, a charming landscape rendered picturesque by isolated clumps of alpine and solitary Rhodendrons but quite deserted by man, the domain entirely of wild animals except for the blacksmiths from Kotmale who are supposed to come in the dry season to make iron and the gem renter in quest of precious stones".

Nuwara Eliya was less known to the outside world till 1826 in which year a group of British officials discovered this isolated spot.

Sir Edward Barnes who constructed the road to Nuwara Eliya and extended it to Badulla thirty six miles further on the same route, realised the value of this health resort. In 1829 he constructed Convalescing Home for British troops out of his own expenses of 8000/-. He also constructed Barracks and Officers' Quarters for the invalids

From then onwards it became the home of many European settlers who opened up plantations in and around Nuwara Eliya.

SRI SAMUEL BAKER who visited Ceylon in 1847, spent nearly twelve months hunting in various parts of the Island. It was during one of these hunting trips that he came upon Nuwara Eliya and he was thoroughly disappointed at the state of the place at that time. He says: "I was only a fortnight at Nuwara Eliya, the Resthouse was the perfection of everything that was dirty and uncomfortable. The toughest possible specimen of a Beefsteak, black bread and potatoes were the choicest and only viands obtainable for an invalid. There was literally nothing else; it was a land of starvation. But the climate! what can I say to describe the wonderful effects of such a pure and unpolluted air". The station

then consisted of twenty private residences, the Barracks and Officers' Quarters, the Resthouse and the bazaar—the latter containing about 200 native inhabitants.

It was the salubrious climate which lured Baker to re-visit Ceylon in 1849 and settle down in a farm two miles east of Nuwara Eliya.

Though Nuwara Eliya developed in a short of time to what it is today, it has a long but tragic history. Nuwara Eliya was during Ravana's time, a lovely plain fitting for the sojourn of a princess. It is said that Hanuman, after over-powering Ravana, set fire to this beautiful city and completely destroyed it.

THE SITA AMMAN KOVIL at Sita Eliya or Sita's glade situated a few miles from the town along the Badulla road, is supposed to have been the spot where Sita was kept in captivity for nearly twenty years. Not far from Sita Eliya is the Hakgala Gardens at the base of the Hakgala peak.

Hakgala is a well-kept garden with rare rose plants, orchids, ferns and years old oak trees. From the eastern end of the garden, one could have a panoramic view of the Uva Valley with Welimada in the distance.

Rarely does a visitor to Nuwara Eliya fail to climb Pedro, the highest mountain in Ceylon. It rises about 2000 feet above the valley.

Harry William, the author of "Ceylon, Pearl of the East", says "the way leads through thick forest in which live elk and leopard, the latter of which have been known to walk at night down the main street in Nuwara Eliya in recent years. I had forgotten such things in my anticipation and eagerness to set afoot on the highest point in Lanka, although at one place I was rudely reminded of the possibility of an awkward encounter by the sound of a quick crash in the undergrowth bordering the path followed by a silence more terrifying than the noise".

April is Carnival time in Nuwara Eliya, and the various sports and cultural activities keep the enthusiasts occupied with a galore of entertaining thrills.

And once the season comes to a close and the holiday seekers return to where they came the incessant drizzling rain begins to fall, a curtain of mist covers the valley and the hills, the streets become deserted and the whole town returns as if to a deep slumber.

HEALTH

Curd Lowers Level Of Cholesterol

The age-old Indian saying that curd is good for health has been borne out in two medical studies one in Africa and the other in the United States. The studies reported in *New York Times* have shown there is some substance in curd that prevents heart attacks by lowering the level of blood cholesterol. 'Cholesterol is a fatty material notorious for its ability to clog arteries of the heart leading to a disease known as arteriosclerosis.

The curd's ability to lower the cholesterol level was first observed in a study of a group of Masai tribesmen in Africa. Now 12 adult Americans at the University of Vanderbilt in the U.S. are taking two litres of home-made curd daily plus their normal diet as a continuation of the African study. Although the study is still continuing, Prof. George V. Mann who is conducting the work has said that intake of curd has already reduced the cholesterol level in the Americans just as it happened with the Masai tribesmen.

Despite their diet heavily laden with animal fats and cholesterol the Masai are known to be unusually resistant to heart disease because their diet also includes a kind of home-made curd. In the study conducted by Dr. Mann and Dr. Anne Sperry of the African Medical Research Foundation, the Masai tribesmen were given as much curd as they wanted in addition to a regular milk and meat diet rich in cholesterol.

To their surprise they found the men's cholesterol level dropped significantly since the start of the study and, in fact, those men who consumed more curd registered a bigger drop in cholesterol than those who consumed less. According to Dr. Mann curd brings about a dramatic decline in the body's own production of cholesterol, though curd, like fresh milk, is itself high in cholesterol.

Dr. Mann suspects that bacteria in the curd produces a substance that blocks cholesterol production in the liver. He is now reported to be testing various fractions of curd to isolate the precise substance that has this effect.

IS IT TRUE?

Sherlock Holmes

Naleem Hadjar—CRA Capitalist

IS IT NOT SIGNIFICANT that the Daily News and the Daily Mirror had frontaged a story with a special photograph, on August 15, 1974, of a GEM MERCHANT'S GENEROUS GESTURE? That the photograph showed the Prime Minister accepting what was described as a "gift"? That the caption in the Daily News to the photograph stated: "Al Haj M. I. M. Naleem met the Prime Minister at Temple Trees to offer his foreign exchange entitlement of Rs 1.5 million to the Government: in the picture are left to right Al Haj Badiudin Mahmud, Minister of Education, Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandara naike, Dr. Seevali Ratwatte (behind-Mr. Nowfel Jabir, Special Commissioner, Beruwela, Al Haj M. I. M. Naleem and Mr. I. A. Cader, Deputy Speaker. (Picture by Vincent Perera)." ? That it is also necessary to record for history (if not posterity) the story which both papers ran as the second lead for the day? That this is what it said?—The well known Beruwela gem merchant Al Haj M. I. M. Naleem yesterday placed at the disposal of the Government the foreign exchange component of one and a half million rupees in his Convertible Rupee Account. Mr. Naleem is an exporter of gems. Accepting the gift the Prime Minister, according to a reliable source told Mr. Naleem that at a time when the country was facing a grave exchange crisis his unique offer was greatly appreciated. She also added that she hoped others would follow his example in a letter to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Mr. Naleem has said that he is making this 'humble gesture' in view of the foreign exchange difficulties currently experienced by Sri Lanka. Mr. Naleem has requested that the Central Bank be instructed to credit to his bank account non-convertible rupees amounting to Rs. 1.5 million. The letter to the Prime Minister is as follows :

"Dear Madam,"

"In view of the foreign exchange difficulties currently experienced by Sri Lanka, I do hereby make this humble gesture of placing at the disposal of the Government, foreign exchange component contained in up to Rs. 1.5 million (one and a half million of rupee Convertible Rupee funds lying to my credit in account No XN 10253 at the National and Grindlays Bank Ltd., Colombo. I am instructing the National and Grindlays Bank Ltd., Colombo, to make the necessary arrangements with the Central Bank of Ceylon, in terms of the offer. I shall be grateful if the Central Bank of Ceylon is instructed to credit to my current account No. XN 10253 at National and Grindlays Bank Ltd. Colombo with non-convertible rupees amounting to rupees one and a half million. I do sincerely hope this humble gesture of mine will in some way assist the government in its current production programme.

M. I. M. Naleem"

Note: Mr. Naleem has placed at the disposal of the government the equivalent of nearly £60,000 in foreign exchange at its par value (inclusive of fees) which amounts to about Rs.1.5 million rupees. Had he made use of these earnings through the Convertible Rupee Account Scheme and decided to import industrial raw materials and sell these imports as he is allowed to do under the present rules he could have sold the exchange at about 150 per cent of its par value (inclusive of fees) and made a profit of over Rs. two million.

IS IT NOT A FACT that this kind of lengthy, detailed and interpretative write-up has not been accorded to matters of more momentous news-worthiness owing to newspaper shortage? That the write-up goes on to explain that the worthy Naleem Hadjar, as he is popularly known in Beruwela circles, could have made a legalised (blackmarket) profit of about 150 percent on this sum of Convertible Rupees? That

not satisfied with this domestic publicity, the international weekly edition of the Daily News, known as the Ceylon News, of August 22, also frontaged this story? That there is no doubt that this offer to the government is a generous and praiseworthy gesture that other CRA tycoons should be encouraged to follow? That what disturbs thinking and perceptive circles in Sri Lanka, however, is whether such CRA-tycoon types should be given such publicity? That questions are being asked not only in knowledgeable circles but also by the ordinary man-in-the-street as to why Naleem Hadjar has been accorded such great honour as to be welcomed in Temple Trees in such high ministerial company? That the saga the daily papers have sought to make of Naleem Hadjar's "generosity" conflicts sharply with the public image of the man in Beruwela and also in circles in which he is known?

IS IT THEREFORE NOT TRUE that what this story and photograph proves is the Tribune contention that Sri Lanka is now moving into the era of the CRA capitalist and CRA exporter? That gone are the days of the pukka sahib, and his shadow, the brown sahib? That gone are the days of the compradore bourgeois, of the plantation owner and the import and export merchant? That gone are the days of the wholesale and retail mudalali? That the State has taken over all these functions? That the Government has meanwhile enabled a number of the earlier rich and also a vast brood of new entrepreneurs to become CRA capitalists? That CRA capitalism is only a dangerous proliferation of gem capitalism? That such bourgeois manifestations are unnatural and unbecoming, according to many responsible observers, of a State which claims to be going towards socialism? That the one question which is now being asked, throughout the length and breadth of Sri Lanka, is what invisible strings CRA capitalists attach to such generous "gifts"? That the famous Trojan Horse had an invisible army which brought the downfall of Troy? That it is difficult to use the word "gift" to describe Naleem Hadjar's gesture because he has lost nothing (not even the FEES)? That giving up blackmarket gains (even though temporarily legal) does not make this a "gift"?