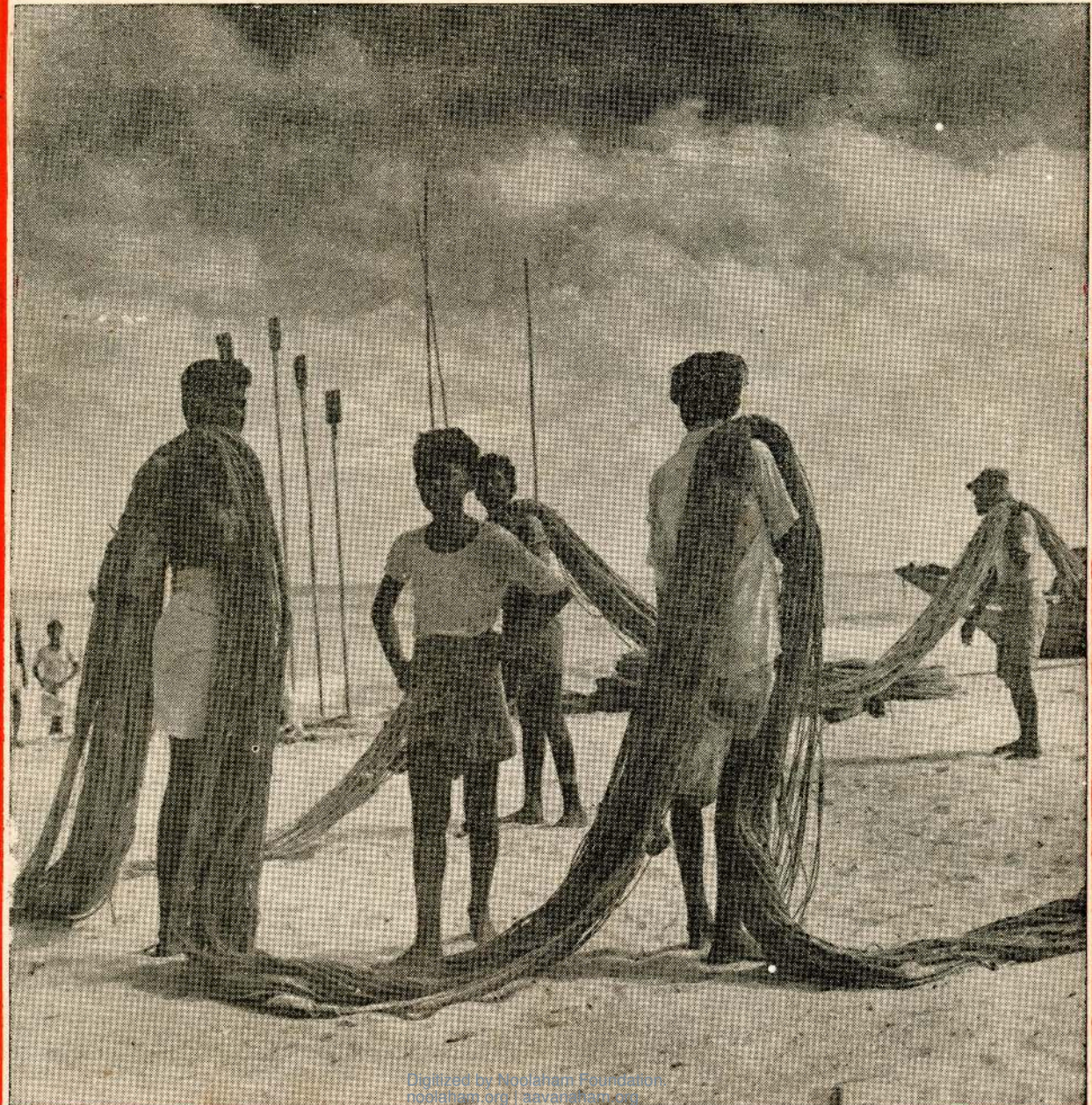


TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



TRIBUNE

Price Increase

FROM the issue of July 1, 1978 (Vol. 23 No. 1), the price of each copy of *Tribune* will be Rs. 2.00

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Letter From The Editor

THIS IS THE LAST NUMBER in Volume 22. Though we start Vol. 23 with the next issue, it will be the twenty-fourth year of publication. The first issue of *Tribune* was issued on May 1, 1954 and the paper has been published continuously except for two periods of suspension of about six months each, first in 1958 and next in 1971. Twenty-two or twenty-three years is only a short time in the history of man, but for an English-language journal of comment in Sri Lanka it is a comparatively long period of time. No other weekly paper or journal of this kind has carried on as long as *Tribune*. The story of how *Tribune* was started, how it has existed and how it has come to occupy the place it now enjoys in the political life of this country is a saga that must be told—sometime in the future. In the meantime, we must come down to the realities of the moment. One matters that seems to overwhelmingly pre-occupy the attention of our readers is the question of fish. We have therefore used another picture on the cover from the world of our fishermen, and publish extracts of a letter from a reader, Rev. Fr. M. Mathew O.M.I., on this matter: "... your editorial of June 3 on the fish problem brings home the intensity of the crisis we are facing. Plain speaking is essential to shake the authorities to take stock of a situation that has brought hardship to the people at large. The fish vendor on the cover of *Tribune* of June 3 has expressed her opinion that the foreign trawlers had caught all the big and small and tiny fish and taken them away.' There is some truth in this. Advanced countries look for big fish for human consumption and small fish for poultry mash. The Sri Lankan authorities should re-examine the question of foreign fishing trawler operations and ban even a single foreign vessel fishing in our territorial waters.....But what happens to the fish that is brought to our shore by our own fishermen? Are they not being grabbed by the big mudalalis who supply wholesale to the big hotels that cater to tourists? Hoteliers themselves are waiting on the shore to gather what they can get for their hotels. Consequently, the ordinary man, even from the middle class is badly hit.....Only the Fisheries Corporation can help the ordinary consumer through good marketing. Quick transport, including refrigerated trucks, are essential to link fishing centres to consuming points. But more important than fixing controlled prices is the need to prevent the fish from getting into the hands of middlemen and mudalalis.... .Marketing alone is not enough. The export trade in the fish business must be re-examined. Most people in Sri Lanka now only hear about prawns and lobsters. Should all the prawns and lobsters be exported to foreign markets depriving the local consumers? The export of prawns and lobsters must be banned until there is greater production.....especially in prawn and lobster farms. Some fish mudalalis are now concentrating on the manufacture of dry fish because it fetches a higher price than fresh fish. Transport, storage and preservation of dry fish is also much easier. If the price of dry fish is kept at reasonably low levels and beef and mutton are available as before, then the demand for fish will be less." This is just one of the many letters we have received. Reports reaching us indicate that the incentives being offered to local fishermen and fishing boat owners are so marginal that most youth and even boat owners are now looking for other kind of employment. And our fishermen and boat owners feel that they haven't a chance if modern, well-equipped foreign trawlers are permitted to fish in our seas—it is plain humbug to pretend to demarcate zones on the seas for local and foreign fishing vessels. The Ministry must get out of its *Alice in Wonderland* existence. It must help our fishermen to produce more fish—from the seas and from the inland tanks. It is not enough to set up a Central Fishing Authority. What is needed in the first instance is a complete re-thinking about the fishing industry as far as it applies to the local producer and consumer.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Trilateralism And Sri Lanka

Colombo, June 17.

Many readers want to know more about the objectives of the Trilateral Commission (TC). Our references to the activities of the TC have whetted their appetite for information. We cannot do better than cite a lengthy extract from Richard H. Ullman's article in the *Foreign Affairs, An American Quarterly Review*, October 1976 Vol. 55 No. 1 entitled **TRILATERALISM: PARTNERSHIP FOR WHAT?**

Below we publish Sections One and Three of the article. In Section Two he deals with historical background and rationale which had brought the countries of Western Europe and the Atlantic seaboard in North America to get together after the second world war to make the world safe for them. He also deals with the drawing in of Japan to make the trilateral triangle.

Let us see what Ullman says. Section One reads:

"TRILATERALISM—nature abhors labels but men insist on them—is the latest attempt both to describe and to prescribe for the relationship between the United States and the other principal democratic, industrialized, market-economy states. Under the aegis of the so-called Trilateral Commissions—an organisation of influential private citizens from these countries—it has been the focus of a well-organized effort over the past four years to propose a set of solutions to many of the principal common problems of international society. Trilateralism has explicitly been embraced by the Democratic candidate for the presidency as a central theme of his foreign policy. Recently it

has also become a stamp of Secretary of State Kissinger's speeches. Its connotations of symmetry and order—the triangle is one of the most aesthetically satisfying of geometrical forms—contrast strikingly with the pervasive lack of evident order in human affairs.

"The three points of the triangle are, of course, the United States (or, in deference to sensitivities north of the 49th parallel, North America), Western Europe, and Japan. They are also the loci of the bulk of the world's present wealth and of its present capacity for production. Their very listing evokes images of a rich man's club—which, for many purposes, they constitute. That they do raise questions both of equity and efficacy: the existing global distribution of wealth and power is clearly "unfair", yet it may seem less unfair if the trilateral grouping were to serve as the engine of progress and enrichment for those less fortunate. That it can so serve—indeed, that it must be made to do so—is one of the central assumptions of the Trilateral Commission and its adherents."

Then we go on to Section Three:

"Trilateralism as a linguistic expression—and the Trilateral Commission—arose in the early 1970s from the reaction of the more Atlanticist part of the American foreign policy community to the belligerent and defensive unilateralism that characterized the foreign economic policy of the Nixon Administration, then dominated by Secretary of the Treasury John Connally. That policy was based upon the assumption that Western Europe and Japan had prospered at American expense, and that the dynamism of their economies (and the apparent sluggishness of the American) had come because the 'leadership' role of the United States had prevented us at crucial moments

from taking the kind of unilateral remedial measures—trade and investment restrictions, currency devaluations, and the like—to which other OECD governments so frequently resorted. The trilateralists agreed on the diagnosis: the relative balance of economic strengths had so changed that the United States could no longer play the role of economic leader. But they also argued that further American unilateralism would fuel a spiral of defensive reactions that would leave all the Western economies worse off. Their suggested remedy, instead, was much more far-reaching co-ordination among all the trilateral governments.

"Within a very short time, however, this diagnosis came to appear only partly relevant: the recession brought on by unilateral escalation of petroleum prices in 1973-74 by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) exposed substantial economic weaknesses in Japan and much of Western Europe and emphasized the continuing basic underlying strengths of the American economy. Yet even that strength has been only relative, for the decade of the 1970s has been a time when the West as a whole has seemed very much at bay. The rise of OPEC has been accompanied by a new Third World militancy in the United Nations and other international forums. This militancy has in turn engendered something of a *laager* mentality and a perceived need for 'bunkering down' within the Western camp. In all the Western countries (a category that, for these purposes, includes Japan), the remarkable growth in prosperity of the 1960s suddenly seemed threatened. In some, standards of living actually dropped. Where 'openness'—the reduction of barriers to economic flows of all sorts—once seemed a key to rising prosperity, as a result of unila-

teral actions in the 1970s openness began to seem (as indeed it has always been) a source of vulnerability as well. Rather than the further reductions of barrier, 'beggar-thy-neighbour' strategies reminiscent of the 1930s often seemed more in keeping with the times.

"In this climate of astringency (if not gloom), a united front on the part of advanced industrialized Western societies has seemed to many observers the only effective way both to counter the new demands and militant actions of the Third World (such as the 1937 OPEC boycott) and also to meet the prospective threat of a Soviet Union with a newly developed global military reach—witness Angola—and possible increased ambitions. Where trilateralism began as a formula—and a forum—for co-ordinating economic policy among the advanced market economies, it has come to mean something much more far-reaching—'a partnership between North America, Western Europe and Japan', to quote Governor Carter. As such, trilateralism has two faces, one turned inward the other outward.

"The inward face has been concerned chiefly with preserving for the industrialized societies—indeed, expanding—the advantages which, during the 1960s flowed from openness and increased interdependence, while limiting their adverse consequences. This means, of course, common—or at least closely co-ordinated—policies toward money, trade, energy, pollution, and many of the other issues common to the advanced nations and important in their relations with one another. And it requires a set of political leaders in the West with sufficient political power in their own societies and sufficient confidence in one another—a confidence achieved

by frequent and intimate consultation—to be able to abstain from measures conducive to short-run one-sided advantage which would harm others. This inward face is also concerned with preserving among Western countries the liberal political values and institutions which they hold in common. The demise of liberal democracy in society after society, outside the trilateral geographic sphere has made this aspect of trilateralism's "inward face" seem especially urgent.

"Trilateralism's outward face is turned toward the construction of a common approach to the needs and demands of the poorer nations, and the co-ordination of defense policies and of policies toward such highly politicized issues as nuclear proliferation, terrorism, and aerial hijacking, and such highly politicized geographic areas as the Middle East or Southern Africa. Once again this means abstention from measures conducive to one-sided advantage, such as the sale of nuclear-fuel reprocessing plants, or departures from common fronts in negotiating with producers of oil or other raw materials. Above all, it means a shared perception of common long-run interests, and a willingness to adjure short-run measures which contradict that common perception."

"The ultimate result—to quote Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former Director of the Trilateral Commission—would be "a community of the developed nations", The path to that community, he wrote in this journal three years ago, runs through intensive "regular and ever more formal political consultation" and "common political planning with regard to problems or areas of mutual interest" in order to achieve "shared political perspective among the governmental bodies of the three

(trilateral) units. Governor Carter used almost the same language in addressing the Foreign Policy Association last June."

This gives the rationale of the Trilateral Commission :thus,

(a) It seeks to establish the unity of the leading capitalist countries of Western Europe, North America and Japan—during the Nixon regime this "unity" had been threatened by a Nixonian resentment against West Europeans and the Japanese.

(b) to meet the economic and political challenge from OPEC.

(c) to meet the economic and political challenge from the socialist bloc.

(d) to meet (b) and (c) by offering third world and less-developed countries a new international economic order by re-furbishing the IBRD, IMF, IDA, ADB, GATT, UNCTAD, OECD etc. etc.

The election of President Carter was a triumph for the Trilateral Commission. It then became possible for the Trilateral Commission to implement some of its policies. The sudden change of attitude by the richer countries at the last meeting of UNCTAD in regard to third world debt, especially the debt owed by the poorer countries, was no doubt a result of Trilateral policies. The new attitude of the rich countries did not cancel the debts or even bring substantial relief, but hope was held out that there was some serious re-thinking on the part of the creditor countries.

The election of President Carter and the emergency of the Trilateral Commission as a dominating force in Western capitalist countries coincided with the election of the UNP government in Sri

Lanka with an overwhelming majority on a programme of free enterprise in a just, democratic and "socialist" society.

To the Trilateral Commission, Sri Lanka under the UNP was fertile ground for trying out its new streamlined policies. For the UNP too the new Trilateral policies of the IMF, IBRD and other international agencies was manna from the heavens. There was evidently a meeting of minds and Sri Lanka has been able to secure cash, aid and assistance never before given on such a scale to any country of the size of Sri Lanka.

The economies and praise showered on Sri Lanka in the West is an indication of the way leading capitalist countries view current developments in this island.

The *Ceylon Daily News* of 7.3.78 published a report from T. M. Deen in Washington under the heading STABLE AND SECURE LANKA VITAL FOR S. ASIAN PEACE—US STATE DEPARTMENT. The report read: "A State Department document on American security assistance says that "an independent Sri Lanka which is economically stable and secure is important to the overall peace and stability of the South Asian region." Prepared for presentation to the US Congress, the 120-page document which covers more than 80 countries receiving military credits and assistance, holds out a very optimistic view of Sri Lanka. Calling for a politically secure and economically stable Sri Lanka, the document released last week says: 'In support of the goal, the United States maintains cordial and co-operative bilateral relations with Sri Lanka'. Referring to security assistance, it says that the procurement of spare parts by Sri Lanka for its US-origin military equipment poses no concern from an arms control point of view. 'Sri Lanka,' says the docu-

ment with a degree of absolute self confidence, "adheres to a non-aligned status and is not considered a threat to any country in the region'. Reviewing past US-Sri Lanka relations, the State Department document says: 'During the past seven years, the Government of Sri Lanka has permitted a regular schedule of ship visits by units of the US Navy's Middle East Force and the transiting of ships of the Pacific Fleet. Access to Sri Lanka's ports, which are located midway between the Persian Gulf and the Pacific, is of value to US naval units deployed to the Indian Ocean.' Sri Lanka's arms purchases from the US have been at a minimal. According to the latest figures released by the Washington-based US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Sri Lanka imported 2 million dollars worth of arms from the US during 1966-1975 as against 10 million from the Soviet Union and a 6 million from Britain."

"The *Ceylon Daily News* of 13.3.78 published another despatch from T. M. Deen in Washington under the heading BOUQUET TO LANKA IN U.S. CONGRESS—SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT JAYAWARDENE. It read: "Sri Lanka was handed a rare bouquet last week in the highest political assembly in America—the United States Congress. Speaking before the House of Representatives in Capitol Hill, Congressman Clement J. Zablocki said the 30th anniversary of Sri Lanka independence was a proper occasion for the United States "to acknowledge the many economic, political and social achievements in Sri Lanka." Mr. Zablocki, Chairman of the House International Relations Committee and a Congressman from Wisconsin, said, Sri Lanka is committed to political and economic goals shared by many Americans. Its model of constitu-

tional democracy is inspired by American institutions. Its economic policies place high priority on increasing employment opportunities, particularly for the youth of the country. Paying a special tribute to President J. R. Jayawardene, Congressman Zablocki said he would particularly like to extend his best wishes to Mr. Jayawardene whom he described as "an outstanding public servant since the 1940s". Speaking of President Jayawardene, he said: "His national and international achievements are many and long standing, I look forward to even greater success in the coming years." The Wisconsin Congressman also said according to the objectives of the present Government in Sri Lanka, the bulk of Development activity would be aimed at providing employment opportunities and economic stability to the rural sector and to the neediest in the country. "As my colleagues know", he told the House, "I have long supported development programs that seek to benefit those who are most in need. Actions by the Government of Sri Lanka to provide such benefits, deserve our special attention." Other projects he listed as "worthy economic plans" included the development of hydro electric power generating capability and the establishment of a Free Trade Zone.

Speaking of human rights—a subject dear to the Carter administration—Congressman Zablocki said the National State Assembly of Sri Lanka was now considering political reforms that would further protect the civil liberties of its citizens. "We should all take the opportunity provided by this occasion for celebration in Sri Lanka to wish the people and Government their great success as they proceed with the tasks they have set before them."

There were a large number of other reports of a similar nature but one more is worthy of record. The *Sun* of 20/3/78 had a report entitled U.S. NEWSPAPER PICKS SRI LANKA AS MODEL FOR THIRD WORLD: REMARKABLE SUCCESS STORY IN HUMAN WELFARE. It read: "Despite being one of the poorest in terms of percapita Gross National Product, Sri Lanka is one of the most successful countries in the third world. This is how America's prestigious newspaper the "Christian Science Monitor" has analysed the economy of Sri Lanka. In a comprehensive article titled "A Third World Success Story" by Charles W. Yost, the 'Christian Science Monitor' states that although Sri Lanka's per capita GNP is near the bottom of the scale viz 130 dollars a year, its Physical Quality of Life index (PQL) is a possible 83 out of 1000 Comparatively the index for Iran is 38, Brazil 68, India 41, Egypt 42, Ethiopia 16, Algeria 42 and Korea 80. The PQL is based on the index of life expectancy, infant mortality and literacy. According to the report, Sri Lanka's extraordinary PQL index is a direct outcome of its 80 per cent literacy rate. Sri Lanka also excels in other significant spheres. For instance in a third world of exploding populations, Sri Lanka has a birth rate of only 28 per 1000, lower than that of any other low-income country and lower than all but a very few middle-income countries. The 'Christian Science Monitor' has advocated far greater American aid to Sri Lanka and called on the United States to treat Sri Lanka as a model for other aid recipients. The report states: "No country would seem more deserving of assistance than Sri Lanka or more suited as a model. Yet most US official aid still goes to countries in which we have 'security' interests and most US private

investment to countries whose expanding GNPs promise the quickest and largest financial returns." The report adds: "In sharp contrast with other developing countries, Sri Lanka's increase in income during recent years has been highest for the poorest 40 per cent of the population and lowest for the most affluent 20 percent. Sri Lanka has had four free elections, each time resulting in a change of government. In these elections more than 80 per cent of the registered voters have voted, a performance far better than that of voters in the United States. These statistics reflect a success story, in terms of human welfare, more truly remarkable than the more widely publicized stories of countries which are far wealthier in terms of per capita GNP, including all the OPEC countries. They show what can be achieved when the basic human needs of the whole population are chosen as the primary goal rather than expanding GNP which in so many cases winds up disproportionately benefiting the few and failing to meet the needs of the many. Sri Lanka's success story however, is not without imperfections. Its economy is dependent to an inordinate degree, as a result of its colonial history, on the export of two raw materials, tea and rubber, the prices of which fluctuate dishearteningly. It must import food and oil and pay for the most part in dollars. It has little control over the prices of its exports, and none over the prices of its imports or over the value of the dollar."

Other similar economisms have been paid to Sri Lanka for following the present policies. Politically, in foreign affairs, Sri Lanka follows a low profile line, but in economic affairs it pursues an aggressive policy of borrowing limitlessly in the belief that with

economic development all debts could be repaid and prosperity brought to the country.

THE WORLD TODAY

Focus On Zaire

by The Recorder

BELOW ARE SOME OF THE EXTRACTS OF THE FIRST NEWS FLASHES WHEN THE FIGHTING IN THE SHABA PROVINCE OF ZAIRE FIRST STRUCK THE HEADLINES:

WE DON'T KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON IN ZAIRE, BUT

London's *Financial Times*, May 16: "Zairean-armed forces were today struggling for control of two of the most important towns in the copper-producing towns..following last week's invasion by Angolan-based rebels..the men who entered the country were dressed in civilian clothes, and had backing of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Algeria and Libya....."

London's *Daily Telegraph*, May 15 "But the spokesmen said it could not be confirmed in Brussels whether or not Cubans, Libyans, Algerians and Russians were helping the invading force....."

New York *Times*, May 16: "With no firsthand reports available from the scene..the situation was unclear..The official accounts were disputed by a spokesman for the outlawed Congo National Liberation Front, who said..there has been no invasion.

Washington *Post*, May 16: "...Accounts of the situation available here and in European capitals remained fragmentary and often contradictory. Just as the Administration seems more primed to counter another communist-backed advance in Africa, however,

so the public would also be readier to go along. That is the difference a year's African experience has made."

ZAIRE INVASION: MERCENARIES FIGHTING WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU.

New York, May 16 (NSIPS)—The alleged "communist-backed" guerrillas now invading Zaire emerge from a motley crew of Zairean exile guns-for-hire and from a minimum of six distinct organizations opposed to the rule of Zairean President-for-Life, Mobutu Sese Seko. Contrary to the cries of the press, these movements have far closer ties to British intelligence than they do to any communist movement or government.

The "*Mouvement d'Action pour la Resurrection du Congo*" (MARCO), which Mobutu claims conspired with the Soviet Union, Cuba, Libya and Algeria to invade his country, is a Brussels-based movement headed by one Daniel Mbenga, with close ties to Belgian business circles. One French diplomatic source, who discounted the idea of any Soviet or Cuban involvement in the current unrest, suggested that right-wing Belgians, not the communists, are trying to topple Mobutu. A second movement, the *Front National pour la Liberation du Congo* (FNLC), who took credit for last year's "invasion" consists of refugees who left Zaire (then the Congo) for Angola when Mobutu overthrew then Prime Minister Moise Tshombe in 1965. A good number of them were gendarmes in Tshombe's secessionist regime in Shaba (then Katanga) which lasted from 1961 to 1963, and which helped bring about the downfall of Patrice Lumumba. During their periods of exile, which span more than a decade, the Katangese, headed by one Nathaniel Mbumba, hired themselves out as mercenaries to the Portuguese colonial regime, and as

a private army to the Diamang diamond mining company, owned by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa.

Anglo-American is headed by South African mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, Britain's latter-day Cecil Rhodes and the private army he employs to guard his diamond mines was custom-made for Anglo-American adventures by retired chief of British military intelligence Sir Percy Sillitoe. Oppenheimer's underlings, furthermore, still operate the Diamang concession in Angola. In addition to these incorporated bands of guns for hire there is a large pool of Zairean refugees in northern Angola from which Diamang or any other conveniently situated British-allied concern can recruit. One source in the US intelligence community bluntly told this news service yesterday that the invasion is a British operation; and even a State Department source emphasized to a reporter that there is "not a shred of evidence" of any Cuban involvement.

The "nation" that these "communist-backed guerrillas" allegedly invaded this week is not now and never has been a nation, particularly in the sense of having any universally recognized central government. Zaire consists of a vast protoplasm of under-developed rain forest, swamp, and bush inhabited by 200 tribes (of which only 40 are considered "major") speaking over 300 languages and dialects and subsisting mostly in the iron age. It has a scattering of mining settlements and bloated and diseased slums, dignified as "cities".

Here, by reason of superior firepower and the acquiescence of local tribal political leaders, the central government of President-for-Life Mobutu Sese Seko is grudgingly recognized. Until now, Mobutu has retained his seat—and his head—by virtue of the fact

that his clique in the capital city of Kinshasa controls, and dispenses, the revenues from the copper mines of the Shaba province, 1500 miles to the south-east. Until the price of copper collapsed Mobutu, was able to parcel out sufficient bribes and black market franchises to retain the loyalty of his ministers, regional governors, military commanders, and urban ward healers, and was able to pick off the few rebels and constrain those factions with connections to European political machines with a minimum of trouble. In the country's current economic straits, however, this mercenary consensus is threatened from all directions, and not by communists.

Zaire has an outstanding debt well in excess of \$3 billion, and debt service, according to the estimate of the World Bank is over \$300 million a year through the end of this decade. Inflation is 80 percent a year. Under the thumb of the International Monetary Fund, Zaire has slashed its imports of food, medicine and other essentials, has placed an IMF functionary on the board of its central bank and is delivering what revenues it does receive directly into a special Swiss bank account for payment of debt service—in return for a "rescheduling" of its enormous debt.

Under this regimen, the racketeering by which Mobutu buys, or rather rents, his political base is drying up. The precariousness of Mobutu's hold on nominal power was illustrated last year during the first "invasion" when several ward healers in Kinshasa withheld their support until it became clear that Morocco and France were going to bail Mobutu out, resulting in a singularly poorly attended and unenthusiastic "mass rally" in the national stadium. Subsequently, Mobutu has purged his foreign minister, reshuffled his cabinet,

executed more than 15 conspirators against his regime, and put down several revolts around the country, in increasingly desperate attempts to keep his regime going.

—*New Solidarity*

GROWING CONCERN IN WEST OVER ZAIRE DEVELOPMENTS.

London, May 29,

There is growing consternation in Western capitals about the fate and fortunes of President Mobutu's controversial regime in Zaire, in the wake of evidence of fresh disturbances in the Shaba province in southern Zaire. To say the least, President Mobutu is a desperate man. After talks in Paris, with the French President, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing and the Belgian Prime Minister, President Mobutu arrives today in Rabat, (Morocco) for discussions with King Hassan. King Hassan made an announcement prior to Mr. Mobutu's visit that Moroccan troops could only be sent to Zaire as part of a multi-national peace-keeping force. How successful was President Mobutu's visit to Paris is difficult to assess at this stage. However, it seems unlikely that France at this crucial stage will abandon President Mobutu. At the same time, no Western Power is willing to get bogged down in the jungles and on the plains of Zaire to keep the highly controversial dictatorial and corrupt regime of President Mobutu alive. It is also realised that minus President Mobutu, Zaire could be ripe for fragmentation. The mineral rich Shaba Province which borders marxist Angola would slide into the Soviet and Cuban orbit of influence. More local revolts in other parts of Zaire would follow. Anything could happen. President Mobutu's Army is notorious for indiscipline and its loyalty to

the Zairian ruler is questionable. Most analysts agree that on its own the Zairian Army is incapable of defending anything. Some also suggest that it may be President Mobutu's biggest liability. Latest reports from Kolwezi in Shaba Province suggest that Mr. Mobutu's men are looting shops and the property of foreigners. There are growing incidents of violence against Europeans in other parts of Zaire. There is panic amongst some 30,000 Europeans in Zaire and those living in the Shaba Province are preparing to quit the country. Zaire is also bankrupt and with the latest disruption in the production of minerals it is hard to say how the Western Powers could stage a rescue operation. There are also reports of clashes between Zaire and Angolan forces along the border. The Shaba rebels have moved north of Kolwezi and are hiding in the bush, waiting for further orders to recoup and attack. The Zairian Air Force base at Kamina is also threatened. Above all, incidents of violence against European expatriates are causing panic amongst the whites. If they quit Zaire, the economy will collapse overnight. President Mobutu's enemies in Angola know that his regime depends on the economic wealth of Shaba Province. This economic wealth is created with the help of the white expatriates. If they are knocked out, then the Mobutu regime could collapse like a pack of cards. In Western capitals there is growing concern about such a turn of events in Zaire. Most observers suggest that the communist powers are master-minding the second campaign to take over Zaire. The French Government has agreed to keep a force of some 150 to 200 paratroops to offer some guarantee to the native and foreign inhabitants of Shaba Province against future attacks by the secessionist rebels. Morocco

refuses to be drawn into the Zaire conflict on its own. President Carter's hands are tied by US Congress. The spectacle of Zaire troops looting shops in Kolwezi, rebels regrouping in the north, growing incidents of border clashes between Angolan and Zairean troops and above all the growing incidents of violence against all Europeans—to-day suggest that Zaire may soon become the world's hottest trouble spot. The late Mao Tse-tung once said that whoever controls Zaire and "that area" could dominate the entire Africa. It seems that the communist powers are taking Mao's prophecy seriously. The sort of situation that is developing in Zaire could have longrange strategic implications for India's relations with African States. It is a situation which needs to be watched carefully.

—*Batuk Gahani, Hindu.*

ZAIRE: NEO-COLONIALISM BEHIND THE RESCUE OF THE EXPATRIATES

London, May 31,

Zaire, through its corrupt and despotic ruler, President Mobutu, has lately been flirting with French neo-colonialism (and its Belgian side-kick). And France's involvement has been focussed on Zaire's vast mineral wealth—most of all, its cobalt, crucial to a "European" nuclear policy that is still partly under wraps. These are the distasteful truths behind the current equally distasteful events in Zaire. Yet much of Fleet Street has ignored them, preferring the distortions of emotive headlines along the lines of "British children flee massacre by black rebels."

At the root of the conflict was the attempt by Mobutu to annex, from Angola, the valuable minerals of Cabinda. That was his price for combined French, American,

South African and Chinese military operations aimed at overthrowing the infant Republic of Angola. The failure of that operation sealed Mobutu's fate. The existence and influence of Angola raised the political consciousness of the Zairean army—and had a similar effect on civilians, as did Mobutu's shameful reliance on South Africa and on mercenaries from outside Africa. All this helped to provoke France's decision to send in largely non-European paratroops. Of course the excuse was to "protect Europeans"—shades of Mobutu's original climb to power as the pawn of the murderers of Patrice Lumumba! But South Africa, too, had a direct hand in making up France's mind. It needed a diversion—from wars of liberation in Namibia and Zimbabwe, and from the world's attention to the last indignity of apartheid within its own borders. Indeed, some of President Carter's advisers have wanted him to join openly in the French action—to revive the global anti-communist fantasies and to improve his reputation domestically. These advisers are doubtless heeding John Vorster's statement on March 17: "If Zaire becomes the victim of Marxism no state in Africa is safe. And if it did happen, the Western world will have to accept full responsibility." As it turned out, it was the actual intervention by France that jeopardised the position of white expatriates in the copper-mining sector of Kolwezi. Three days earlier, the expatriates were enjoying fairly good relations with the true "rebels" (those who had not left Zaire after an earlier French military action in 1977) and with mutinous Zairean soldiers. The whites became targets in a war zone only from the moment that the paratroopers were known to be coming. There was then no Zairean pro-Mobutu faction in the field. Nor could

even the most fervid believer in Kremlin bogies allege a Cuban, or Soviet, or Angolan military presence around Kolwezi. Which comes back to the selective indignation of the media. No one seems to be asking who actually killed Europeans or Africans—nor does any one ask when. A true count will probably reveal that the "rescuers" provoked panic violence against civilians by the mutinous Zairean soldiers, who tried to use houses for street fighting. And it will probably also reveal that many of the deaths were in fact at the hands of the paras. We might remember that in the same fortnight more than 50 unarmed Zimbabweans were shot and killed, at a pro-Nkomo meeting, by forces of the Smith regime. There is nearly a Sharpeville (or My Lai, or Wiryamu) a month in war-torn Zimbabwe. But such tragic massacres rate only a paragraph or two in sections of the British press which gloatingly headline "African barbarism" in Zaire. One positive sign, though, has emerged. The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office has issued a statement disassociating this country from the French intervention in Zaire. The lessons of the Heathrow mercenaries' action in Angola have been learned. And now—not for the first time—the British Government is behaving more reasonably and ethically than Fleet Street. Clearly any future criticism of, say, Cuban military help to Ethiopia would be out of court—unless coupled with rejection of France's blatant propping up of Mobutu. In fact France is this week hosting a conference to be attended by several (unelected) African heads of state. The theme is military assistance to France's "friends" in Africa. One of these friends is the country of Gabon, sometime the African life-line for the Smith regime and for past chairmen of the organisation of

African Unity. And Gabon has been the object of four interventions from Paris over the past decade. Zaire, of course, unlike Gabon, was never a French colony. But its mineral wealth makes it suitable prey for a weak dictatorship reliant on outside military support. Even so, French public opinion is divided over the Zairean expedition. But Belgium's Government is euphorically relieved at an investment being "safe" for a while—though perturbed at being replaced by France as the chief neo-colonialist power in Zaire. Britain must without question distance itself from any French pretensions to "European" policies in Zaire (to which Paris has already laid claim, in 1977, despite a lack of consultation on its military actions). Britain needs to have full relations with Angola, and must continue to aim at a "zone of peace" in the African continent. Any exceptions should concern not rich and much-abused Zaire but the tensions of Idi Amin's Uganda and the settler-ruled South. In areas other than those, any British military involvement should be unthinkable. It cannot be forgotten that the French paras in Zaire have engaged in a murderous and ill-directed enterprise—which not only endangered expatriate and Zairean lives but badly damaged the moral standing beyond Zaire of France and France's allies.

—Nicholas Hyman, *Tribune*, UK.

IMPERIALISM'S COPPER—ZAIRES.

London, June 1,

What makes Kolwezi so attractive to France, Belgium, the US, Britain and West Germany? The one-word answer is copper. Supplementary answers include cobalt, zinc, tin, diamonds, gold, silver, uranium, tungsten and manganese. RICHARD CARVER puts the latest imperialism

incursion into some much-needed perspective.

The Cold War rhetoric about Soviet imperialism in Africa conveniently masks the real source of Western concern over Zaire. Imperialism is terrified of the potential mass opposition to dictator Mobutu. Little mention has been made of the widespread support for the rebels of the Congo National Liberation Front (FNL), precisely because any anti-Mobutu movement is automatically guaranteed popular sympathy. Mobutu is important to imperialism for two reasons. Strategically he represents a solid reactionary buffer in the middle of Africa. His army is startlingly incompetent and badly organised. An incident from last year's war is indicative. Troops at Ludumbashi in southern Zaire threatened to desert because they had received no provisions for weeks. Mobutu responded by ordering 1,560 sandwiches from a local hotel. But political motivation counts for more than competence. Zaire is the largest recipient of US military aid and has proved its worth a number of times. Imperialism backed Mobutu in the 1960s. It was he who handed over radical nationalist Patrice Lumumba to be murdered by Katangan rebels. When the imperialists withdrew their favours from the Katangans it was to Mobutu that they turned. He has proved a consistent ally against Angola. Zaire regulars fought alongside the Western backed FNLA against the radical post-colonial regime. Mobutu still provides sanctuary to the FNLA and the right-wing FLEC, which aims to 'liberate' the oil-rich Cabinda enclave from Angola. Just before the 1977 rebellion it was revealed that the West had plans for a full-scale invasion of Angola from Zaire, codenamed "Operation Cobra 77". It was to have been led by a former US Green Beret called

Colonel Johnson (no relation). Mobutu's strategic value is reinforced by his brutal internal regime. 220,000 refugees have fled over the border to Angola just since the April 1977 war. And a Belgian refugee from Kolwezi related the barbarous revenge taken by Mobutu's troops: 'Even the Moroccans were disgusted.' Zaire's other attractive feature is its vast mineral resources. It is the world's fourth largest copper producer and provides 60 percent of the world cobalt. Management of the economy is not Mobutu's forte: the country is generally described as the poorest rich country in the world. But his policy of 'Zaireanisation' of the mineral resources—the creation of state holding companies—has had the desired effect of playing off one imperialist power against another. Belgium is still the largest investor, with 40 per cent of the state copper corporation. Britain and the United States have considerable interests and the concession of a large portion of Shaba province to a West German rocket company has boosted Bonn's interest, as well as having a considerable military importance. But now France makes the running. The Zairean economy has all but collapsed with the fall in the world price of copper and the Angolan closure of the Benguela railway. This has given French investors the chance to increase their hold. This process was speeded up by French military intervention on Mobutu's behalf in 1977. The French Government denies that any such base consideration entered its mind when it sent in the paras this time. Information about the FNLC rebels is scanty and a political evaluation difficult. The press portrays them as the same Katangan gendarmes, Belgian-trained, who fought for the right-wing Moise Tshombe in the 1960s. Their political aim can thus be reduced

to the secession of Katanga, now Shaba province, Zaire's richest area. This explanation has the virtue of being superficial journalistic shorthand, as well as showing up the perfidy of the Cubans, who are prepared to use such politically unsavoury forces to further their own ends. The truth, as always, is more complex. FNLC leader Nathaniel M'Bumba was one of Tshombe's gendarmes, though a very young one. After their defeat in 1965 the Katangan troops fled to Angola where they worked for the Portuguese colonialists against the liberation movements. The FNLC, founded in 1968, continued this tradition, for all its fine phrases about 'militant' solidarity with the oppressed of the world." The end of Portuguese colonialism posed the FNLC with a dilemma. Probably for opportunist reasons it lined up with the MPLA Government. The relation of the present Shaba rebels to the gendarmes is tenuous and seems to centre wholly on the person of M'Bumba. If the press stopped to think about it, they would realise that this is at least partly because Tshombe's troops are now old men. Angolan backing for the FNLC can be explained by the consistent Zairean incursions into Angola. Quite apart from any internationalist considerations Angola has a clear and defensible interest in destabilising Mobutu. For all the doubts that can be raised about the FNLC, their popular support cannot be questioned. The FNLC is probably only a petty bourgeois nationalist organisation at best. But against Mobutu and his imperialist backers they deserve our unconditional support.

Richard Carov.
Socialist Challenge London.

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IN DEFENCE OF THE
SRI LANKAN BUREAUCRAT—4

Job Satisfaction

—What Next—

by A Special Correspondent

A Tribune Special Correspondent, in a series of four articles writes spiritedly IN DEFENCE OF THE SRI LANKAN BUREAUCRAT. This series, we hope, will provoke discussion on the following questions which the writer has raised: (a) Why is the bureaucracy in this country under fire? (b) What could be the net result of this unrelenting attack? (c) How can this be contained? (d) What is it that compels the bureaucrat to hold back something of himself—what are the problems? (e) How and in what manner does the bureaucrat feel that political power can help? and (f) What kind of environment (including incentives) will make the bureaucrat contribute more than he does at present?

Tribune will welcome comments, criticisms and suggestions in regard to the questions raised. There cannot be an Administration without a bureaucracy, and without an effective administration with an efficient bureaucracy there cannot be development, growth or prosperity in any country.—ED.

In the preceding paragraphs, the discussion has been on the identified problem areas. Many senior officials, technocrats, professionals, middle level officers and officers in clerical and allied grades, with whom I discussed this subject before commencing writing the article, referred to lack of opportunity to find "job satisfaction" in their work. This was a major frustration according to them.

This expression is very nebulous and means different things to different people. It is a cliché carried by most people, not necessarily bureaucrats, in their intellectual baggage as a kind of safety valve. But each man must discover his own way. Job satisfaction is an ideal state, and an "idealist is one, who on noticing that a rose smells better than a cabbage, concludes that it will also make a better soup." Job satisfaction, which in other words is self-actualisation and the self-realisation, of fully developing one's potential, is on the list of hierarchical needs of the worker. But this will be achieved if the problem areas already discussed are met four square and resolved. It is therefore not intended to discuss this aspect in this article.

There is an abundance of bureaucrats in every establishment of government. Some spend a lifetime in performing their duties without recognising what they are trying to do! It becomes a mere rat-race, where one is attempting to overtake the other, by fair means or foul. In the process, there is bureaucratic escalation, causing concern everywhere. Balzac has stated that "There is only one giant machine operated by pygmies, and that is the bureaucracy". It can destroy individual freedom—as pointed out earlier in this article the Conservative Party leader in Britain was opposed to any controls that would involve "unacceptable increase in bureaucratic control."

Bureaucratic frustration can be replaced with satisfaction when competent employees are clothed with sufficient authority to do his job and manage his institution or division focussing his attention "on realistic objectives rather than upon ritualistic procedures. Improved effectiveness follows when administrators show respect for competent people and translate

that respect into patterns of freedom to use individual initiative. This satisfies the need for self-fulfillment and for feeling esteemed and valued"—this is job satisfaction in actual terms. The bureaucrat should not be attacked if the environment that can nourish him best is denied. In a healthy climate he will build bridges and not too many walls as he is now being charged.

Administration is a bureaucratic exercise. One vital ingredient to which very little attention is paid is the way of working with people. It requires attributes which are conspicuous by their rarity. Top executives should find ways by which association and communication with everyone are encouraged and promoted. This satisfies a basic human need and the discussion in this article will now be on how this can be achieved.

It is the considered view of social scientists and psychologists that in order to enhance, humanise the impersonal bureaucratic outfit, officials, in any case senior officials who help to shape policy and advise Ministers, should be put through a process of "socialisation", which means: (10)

- (a) learning attitudes of mind;
- (b) familiarising themselves with accepted codes of behaviour;
- (c) knowing what is done and what is not done; and (d) affording each such official the opportunity to form in his own mind a fairly indelible mental picture of an ideal, civil servant.

This process can even be more fundamental. It may instil acceptable codes of behaviour which can be applied to the bureaucratic use of power. It can temper possible-excesses, help to develop "an unemotional concern in relation to individuals and circumstances, a peculiar tact and, sometimes, an inscrutable caution" (11)

Socialisation, through formal training for the Administrative Class of the Civil Service in Britain is achieved in four ways: (12)

- (i) Departmentally, either by some form of training on the job including programmed instruction or by a departmental course;
- (ii) A central course sponsored by the Civil Service Department;
- (iii) By sending Civil Servants on external courses arranged for and attended by students from other occupations (Administrative Staff College at Henley and the Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham);
- (iv) By commissioning outside organisations to plan and run courses specially for civil servants.

It was reported that one of the participants was given the opportunity to work at lower levels and she "found it most helpful". The participants clamoured for more meaningful training about "modern techniques of management and training".

The higher civil service in Britain and France have much in common. Let us therefore see what happens in France. Anthony Sampson in the *New Europeans* says: "In both countries the higher civil service has been a respected profession, served by some of the ablest men, and rewarded not with high salaries but with social prestige." The social prestige is further enhanced by the conferment of honours. In Sri Lanka public servants on retirement, in exceptional cases while in service, were awarded knighthoods and other imperial honours. My personal view, is that this form of recognition must be restored to this country. Neighbouring India introduced a system while abolishing the imperial awards. The only award of any social interest in Sri Lanka is a JP ship. JPs find

themselves in strange company at times!

France trains her top administrators through the prestigious *Ecole Nationale D'Administration*, ENA for short. "From this building, each year, will emerge seventy-odd young men who will take up key positions in the French senior civil services" 3) The ENA is only thirty three years old now. In 1967 it is stated that ENA graduates held seven of the eleven top jobs in the Ministry of Finance and headed sixteen out of the twenty-nine cabinets of Ministers.

"In its two-year course ENA gives its students more practical experience of administrative problems than the British civil service. In the first year they have 'training in the field', attached to a Prefect of an Overseas Department. In the second year they have seminars, study-groups and lectures about administration, finance or economics" (14) They are taught that all problems have a single rational solution: "the fundamental assumption is that disagreements occur not because people are bound to differ but because they are misinformed"(15).

The ENA was set up after the second world war by Michael Debre, who later became Prime Minister of France under President De Gaulle. This institution was intended to make the top civil service in that country, both more efficient and more democratic.

Writing of the aims of the ENA, Debre says:(16) "*The school (ENA) must teach its future civil servants the sense of the State; it must make them understand the responsibilities of the Administration, make them taste the grandeurs and appreciate the service of the profession. It must do more. By a sustained effort of its best teachers, by recalling the great examples and great men of history, it must give to its pupils the awareness of some master qualities; the*

sense of humanity which gives life to all work; the sense of decision which allows them to take risks, having weighed them, the sense of imagination, which is not afraid of any boldness, or any grandeur".

This sums up admirably what form the process of "socialisation" of our top administrators should take.

We are nearing the end of the discussion. It is time that attacks on the public service cease. If it was a foe, it is now a fallen foe. The service is flat on its face, biting the dust, destroyed by inequity. It cannot survive further blows. What is now needed is what the Prime Minister has advocated, let the political power stretch out its hand and raise the fallen foe—once and idol.

There is a multiplicity of training institutions in this country, each specialising in its particular field. These should not be emasculated, but helped to develop their specialities: if any attempt is made to bring them together, what happened to the Planning Commission in India and complained of by the Prime Minister of that country could happen to any such monster. A well considered, balanced programme of "socialisation" should be prepared for all recruits and "training" for those in service already, and mounted by the institutions in charge of training programmes in the various disciplines.

The intellectual elite this country produces is second to none in any part of the world. These are the men who help our governments to determine and shape policy. They cannot do so effectively without proper training and without the socialisation discussed. They should therefore be helped to learn to rely on themselves and when to rely on others, when to think for themselves and uninfluenced. What has been dished out to our young men, on the threshold of their

career falls far short of what Michel Debre had proposed and introduced to the ENA in France. Having failed to provide this how can the administration expect its servants to act as Debre envisaged for his country?

A succinct piece written by Dr. Laurence J Peter in Peter Prescription on the bureaucracy, shows the danger inherent in its escalation—(7) "Pollution can be the result of excessive noxious matter that poisons the system, or it can result from mindless escalation of something which in appropriate quantities was beneficial. It can simply be too much of a good thing. One form of pollution that has not received sufficient attention from social ecologists is caused by bureaucratic escalation. Just as air and water pollution create an unfavourable physical environment, organisational pollution can create an unfavourable social environment. Victims of pollution of the physical environment are often unaware that they are being poisoned until it is too late. This occurs because the build-up is gradual and the lethal dose is not easily detected. Similarly, in the case of bureaucratic pollution red tape gradually accumulates until the fatal day arrives when an organisation is helplessly strangled. Some government agencies that originally produced a useful service now produce only forms and procedures for processing the forms they produce. For all practical purposes the agency has died from red-tape poisoning."

This untimely, and unnecessary emasculation and premature death is portrayed with infinite subtlety by the illustration drawn for Time by John Alcorn and printed in that magazine of 6.3.78.

I have, in this article attempted to do justice to the cause I undertook of my own volition. The brief was difficult and the case for the defence weak. Quite often I sensed that I was slipping; wonder-

ing on which side I was battling after undertaking the task. Advocates do not refuse every case that seems weak to them. It is that in spirit that I undertook this task. I did so because I felt persuaded that the creation of a first rate public service is in the national interest and also because as citizens of this country we should seek every opportunity to bring to the notice of government whatever infirmities that may come to our notice.

It is my hope that this article will provoke a discussion. I would like to suggest for continuing this exercise the following questions:

- (a) Why is the bureaucracy in this country under fire?
- (b) What could be the net result of this unrelenting attack?
- (c) How can this be contained?
- (d) What is it that compels the bureaucrat to hold back something of himself—what are the problems?
- (e) How and in what manner does the bureaucrat feel that political power can help?
- (f) What kind of environment (including incentives) will make the bureaucrat contribute more than he does at present?

May I invite the Tribune to open its columns for this discussion. It is left to the authorities concerned to take action and save the public service, which is an indispensable imperative for execution of state policy. If they fail to do so, history will not accept difficulty as an excuse.

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ON THE C. G. R.

Travails Of Long-Distance Travellers

—need for three-tier fare structure with restrictions on free holiday warrant holders—

by C. P. Vairamuttu

This article is based on a memorandum submitted by the author to the Railway Committee now investigating the problems of the CGR.

Almost two decades ago before the present day Express trains came into the scene, long distance travellers had to wait interminably long for their trains which were uncomfortably crowded. To overcome this the "Udarata Menike" and the "Yal Devi" were initially introduced. With the passage of the years were added more and more Express trains on nearly all the different routes. But, this did not improve matters. Even with more and more of these Expresses in operation in addition to the earlier normal trains, the public outcry against overcrowding began to grow in intensity. Hardly a day passed without complaints about the difficulties suffered by travellers in the "jam-packed" compartments of long distance trains.

This is what a gentleman from Nugegoda said in the *Daily News* (17.5.78) of his trip to Nanu Oya by the Udarata Menike: "I was

travelling second class but the compartment was invaded and monopolised obviously by third class ticket holders. I do not wish to comment further on this matter. There are the much advertised posters displayed in all railway stations urging the public to travel by our national transport, the Railway, for speed, comfort and safety, which now appear to be meaningless and only a gimmick to deceive the people". This is only an extract of what he had written but how very true is every word of what he has complained.

As a further eye-opener is another letter that appeared in the same paper a week before on 10.5.78 by a lady traveller from Colombo. To quote her own words: "I must get this off my chest, what a nightmare it was my recent journey to Jaffna. Do you wish to see human beings herded like cattle, without any elbow space, falling on one another? Do you wish to experience the utter discomfort of being unable to ease yourself when the need arises? If you wish to experience these horrors and more, all you have to do is to buy a ticket and board the train to Kankasanturai. The Northern line is the most paying and yet it is the most neglected. Nobody seems to care."

The Present Minister of Transport, as has usually been the case with his predecessors too has assured everybody that he would now bring some order into this mess by the import of more engines and more coaches, all because the earlier govt. in power had left a backlog of unserviceable engines, decrepit railway carriages and the like. The mere putting into haulage of even more carriages and engines to end overcrowding may turn out to be nothing but a mirage.

I also feel it necessary to narrate a couple of anecdotes in which I was personally involved. The first

of these was that almost a decade ago whilst travelling from Jaffna to Badulla with my family on a holiday excursion. We broke journey for a day in Kandy and were on time at the Nawalapitiya Station the next day to catch the oncoming Udarata Menike to Badulla. As the train came to a screeching halt, the compartments were all jam-packed and over-flowing that it proved impossible for my family to creep into any of the compartments. In the midst of our frantic search here or there for at least some standing accommodation, the train moved off leaving us stranded on the platform—not only my family but many others too. This large train exodus, I guessed, was caused by the seasonal pilgrimage to Sri Pada as well as the migration to the hill towns to avoid the scorching April heat of the Low country. So I went to the booking office immediately and asked for an endorsement to make my tickets valid for travel the next day. The officer said he could do nothing about it "as one endorsement had already been made on the tickets. I need not relate here the rest of the story as to how my family went to Badulla to keep our appointment the next day. Surely it was not by rail because I did not want to make any further unwarranted payments to our CGR by purchasing fresh tickets for the next day's travel only to find my family left behind on the platform the second time.

The second episode is the one of only a few months ago when I had occasion to go to Kandy from Anuradhapura by train. Instead of getting down at Kurunegala and going to Kandy by bus from there, I thought it all the better to travel through by rail. I detrained at Polgahawela at about 1 p.m. There was an announcement soon afterwards over the public address system that the next train to Kandy

from that station would leave at 2.30 p.m. When the time approached for this train to move on, I got into it along with the other passengers. Imagine my surprise and utter disgust when what turned out to be a goods-cum-passenger train, which after jogging its way along at leisurely pace, besides doing the shuttlings and shuntings at every station enroute took exactly five hours to dislodge me on the Kandy platform at 7.30 p.m.

Now the third of these took place only very recently. Being a pensioner at the moment and leading a somewhat nomadic life with my son working there or my daughter residing here, I had to be at the Vavuniya Station last week at about 5 p.m. to meet a friend of mine urgently who was on his way from Colombo to Jaffna by the Uttara Devi that afternoon. While on the platform I noticed a fairly long passenger train, with only a handful of passengers inside it, halted on the second line. As I was casually surveying the scene on the fairly crowded platform I was greeted by the Guard of this train who happened to be standing near me and who was also an old acquaintance of mine. In the course of the conversation that followed I was told this train which leaves Colombo Fort daily at 7 a.m. reaches Kankasanturai at about 7.30 p.m. This train was halted here he said to allow the oncoming Uttara-Devi to overtake it. Our conversation at this stage was disturbed by the expected Uttara Devi thundering on to a halt on the platforms with the infamous Rumanian coaches attached. The scene that followed even before this train came to a standstill, between the detraining and entraining passengers, was reminiscent of a rugby encounter between two teams where flying catches and the like were the order of the day. On

my own, it turned out to be a case of the proverbial search for a fallen needle in a haystack, because all my efforts to spot out my friend amongst the sea of heads inside the compartments proved futile, as the train pulled out soon on its way to Jaffna. On my way back to the exit gate in a rather dejected mood along the new deserted platform, I came face to face with the same guard. A further few minutes of conversation supplied me with the very interesting information, amongst other things, that some passengers who were earlier in his train going to Jaffna had now shuttled themselves into the Uttara Devi express that had just moved off the station.

It is quite evident that before an express train completes even a small fractional part of its full journey it is filled to capacity, making it almost impossible for passengers entraining at the intervening stations, to find a seat or even standing space. Even First Class ticket holders travel standing in the third class due to lack of any sitting accommodation for them. It may be argued by our Railway administrators that there are detrainees passengers at every place these expresses stop. Seated in ivory towers in the metropolis, these officials do not seem to know that in the earlier intervening halts the entrainers simply outnumber the detrainees. Judging by what took place at Vavuniya, there is no doubt that train travellers, prefer the express trains even at great discomforts and even greater risks in clambering on to overcrowded trains.

This being so, with the expected arrival sooner or later of the new engines, it is likely that one or two super-speed trains will be put into the service on all routes to solve the current problem of overcrowding in the Express trains? But this remedy will prove to be worse than the present disease of overcrowding itself.

Every person will thereafter rush to travel by the super-speed train in preference to the little slower expresses. This will bring more overcrowding in the fast trains.

How then can this problem of overcrowding be solved? Before mentioning the remedy I have in mind, it must be pointed out that based on descending order of speed the three modes of passenger traffic in operation today by our CGR are by (i) the Express Trains (ii) the Passenger Trains including Mail Trains, and (iii) the Goods-cum-Passenger Trains. It is indeed strange that our railway administration has thought it fit to levy the same fares for travel by any of these three trains. Which fool of a passenger, let me ask, would willingly spend five weary hours for a ride from Polgahawela to Kandy by a goods-cum-passenger train while at the same expense it would take him there in less than two hours to travel in a faster train. Hence the rush to board the express trains.

What must be done is to restructure the rail fares in a three-tiered system, progressively reducing the fares from the speedier to the slower passenger trains. The nett result of this three-tiered fare system would be for every one to choose his or her own train to travel, based on the ability or willingness to spend a larger or smaller amount of money.

In other words all persons of the higher income group normally travel in a special hurry will naturally travel by the Express trains and others of the middle income group would prefer the passenger or mail trains, whilst those in the lower income group would go for the goods-cum-passenger trains. But what the single-fare structure that is in force today is for the pavement hawker

with his bundles of haberdashery and the fisherman with his basket of smelling contents within it to take the ride by the Expresses.

Every one will admit that this three-tiered rail fare system is naturally bound to bring in its wake the welcome chain reaction of re-distributing the passenger loads from the over crowded express trains to the less crowded passenger and slow trains. When the giant-sized Indian railway is successfully doing this with acceptance as well as profit, why cannot our pint-sized CGR also do the same?

The next question concerns the travel facilities enjoyed by public servants and their families on free holiday warrants. Some months ago in view of strong protests made by CTB commuters in the metropolis that in the morning and evening rush hours many CTB employees with concessionary season tickets were found coolly seated whilst paying passengers had to precariously straphang. Some remedial measures were soon put into force by the CTB hierarchy.

There is now a silent but explosive resentment amongst the long distance railway passengers about the monopoly exercised by warrant holders. Just imagine the case of an upper class passenger with his family travelling on paid tickets, say to Badulla, entering into the Udarata Menike at Veyangoda having to travel standing all the way whilst the compartment is full of public servants on holiday warrants with large families occupying almost all the available seats. At one stage only the public servants and their families were entitled for free holiday warrants. But nowadays are included the families of local government employees, corporations and even unemployed husbands if their wives are in public service;

Hence with such a wide liberalisation in the issue of free holiday warrant facilities and also in the absence of any reliable statistics to fall upon, I think, I will not be far off the mark if I say that nearly 25% of those travelling these days by express trains are the free railway warrant holders.

This being so, is our Government fair by its paying passengers in the express trains is the question. Certainly not. There cannot be any doubt about this.

So some fresh thinking must be done about it. The best thing to do would be to debar the free holiday railway warrant holders from travelling by the express trains and permitting only those with duty warrants to do so. The holiday warrant travellers may however be allowed to travel by Express trains on surrendering their free railway warrants and paying in cash the difference between the express and passenger train fares in the suggested three-tier fare system.

So if the above suggestions are brought to an early implementation there is bound to be a great sigh of relief all round, because of the consequential reduction in the passenger loads of all express trains. Yet another very desirable thing to do would be to entitle only the first three children to be entitled for the free railway warrant facilities. Even if public servant has a dozen children to feed and clothe, the Income Tax Department gives an allowance only for three children. So why not the CGR also follow suit and restrict the issue of warrants only for the first three children?

In pursuance of the islandwide planned parenthood programme of the government requesting every would-be parent to have only three children and no more, why not

henceforth restrict the issue of free railway warrants to only the first three children? Such a reduction in the issue of free warrants is surely bound to act as a psychological pill on all prospective parents to restrict their offsprings to only three and no more, if possible.

* * *

CARAVAN FAMILY—II

On To Kayts

by Inna Trimmer

There was a house some distance away but the doors were closed for it was unoccupied. Amidst the enormous branching mango trees already laden with fruit, was a well with the usual palmyrah tree and basket attached for drawing water.

"Oh! I like this, said Mummie.

"It belongs to an old school friend, Mr. Rajendran a lawyer who lives in Colombo."

Mummie bathed at the well, so did the children, the water gurgling over them while the palmyrah tree creaked as it swung up and down bringing the water in the dripping basket.

From here they made trips all over the northern Province. They saw the famous well of Puttur, the well that rises and falls like the tides of the sea.

"Why does it do that?" asked Ranjit.

"No one really knows. Some say there's an underground connection with the sea because the well which is 150 feet deep has 100 feet of salt water at the bottom, and only 50 feet of fresh water on top."

They went to Kankesanturai and saw the cement factory, and from there to the Keerimalai Spring which gushes out fresh water on the sea shore itself.

"Some say this is the outlet for the well of Puttur, but no one knows," said Daddy.

Then one morning they packed up and set out again along a sandy narrow road that led through vast tracts of almost desert land.

Thirteen miles they travelled thus, when suddenly they saw the lagoon again, shining in the sun, all silver and blue. The children who were bored with the flat, uninteresting country began to sit up and take notice.

"What's this place?" asked Ranjit.

"Do look at those white birds in the water, with long legs and funny flat beaks" said Varuni.

"They are spoonbills. They are fish eaters and are found mostly in salt water lagoons", answered Mummie.

"This is a lovely place. Water everywhere" said Nila, jumping from one window to the other.

"We are now entering Karaitivu" Daddy said, as Jason crossed over a causeway with water on either side. "You'll hear the word 'tivu' wherever we go now. It means Island in Tamil. We have left the mainland and we'll visit islands now.

The very word thrilled the children. They couldn't sit still and when they arrived on the other side of Karaitivu and saw more water brighter and bluer than they had ever seen before, with large dhoney's tossing up and down, their impatience knew no bounds.

"Daddy! Mummie! we want to get down" they shouted.

A large ferry boat was waiting, and Jason was manoeuvred on to it.

"Where are we going?" asked Ranjit.

"To Kayts or Velanai, as the Tamils call the island you can see in the distance."

Even Mummie was excited.

The road led almost through the centre of the island of Kayts, or Velanai as the Tamils call it, but after they had gone some distance, Daddy directed Simon to turn right along a rough path over which they jolted and lurched till Mummie was compelled to ask: "Richard where ARE we going?" Before Daddy could reply they caught a glimpse of blue water between shrubs and palmyrah palms.

"Here we are", he said. I know this spot of old. The water in the well is excellent and the sea is excellent for bathing".

They ran down almost to the water's edge and stopped under a grove of margosa and tamarind trees. In less than the flicker of an eyelid the children were on the narrow beach where tiny waves were splashing gently. Mummie joined them and looked round appreciatively.

"This is heavenly", she said, "and how cool!"

"Yes", answered daddy. "This little sheltered bay is well-known here in the North. There's something in the air currents blowing in from the sea which keeps it cool throughout the year even on the hottest day. Besides it's also a very sacred spot for Mohammedans, Hindus and Christians. See that building over there?"

They all turned to look. "You mean that little house close to the warer?" asked Mummie.

"Yes, That's a mosque, very ancient. Within those dilapidated walls is a tomb regarded with great reverence because in it lies buried a Mohammedan saint, Abdul Abubakar. Miracles are said to have taken place here.

"I'll tell you more tonight but now we must be moving. Simon, get on with the unpacking and put up the tent. We'll stay here three days. I'll walk back to the jetty and fix up for a boat."

"A boat!" shouted the children. "We are coming too."

"What about me?" asked mummie, "Are you leaving me alone?"

So they all walked down to the ferry from where they started.

"I'm going to look for someone I knew when I was stationed in Jaffna", said Daddy. "Perhaps he's dead, or maybe he has left the place, but if we can find him, Soosaimuttu is the man for us, as fine a sailor as ever sailed the Indian Ocean. And I means ail. No steamers for him. He has crossed the seas and gone to the Maldives Lackadives and even Arabia in sailing vessels."

They found Soosaimuttu in the market place. Suddenly a voice was heard calling excitedly—"dora! dora!" Daddy looked round—"Soosai, you old rascal! where have, you been all this time?" It was indeed a glad reunion of friends. long parted

"Can you fix up for a boat to take us around?" There are my children and this is my wife".

Soosaimuttu salaamed. "I have a very nice boat. One GA gave me a present. What calling Jolly Boat. I will take you wherever you want to go."

"Good!", said daddy. "There's no one I could trust these with better than you," pointing to the children.

Soosaimuttu smiled all over his face. "I'll look after them like my own life." Then after a few minutes, "where are you staying dora! Rest Houses?"

"No! we have a caravan. Come with us and we'll show you our home on wheels".

They trooped back to the lovely little bay. How cool after the dusty road and the crowded market place. How tempting the water, so calm, so clear!

Within a few minutes mummie and the children were racing down the white sandy beach in their bathing costumes and splashed into the glowing cirulean water. But

daddy brought a chair out and sat under a feathery margosa tree, stretching his long legs in sheer relaxation and contentment. Soosaimuttu squatted on his haunches close by, two old friends ready for a long "jaw" of reminiscences.

"Dora!, won't you take your family to Hammenheil? It used to be your favourite resort and you cannot visit our islands without going there."

"I did think of it. I hope you'll take us in your boat tomorrow afternoon."

"Dora! that won't do. You must stay even one night".

"But how? we've no beds. There's no water in the Fort. How are we to manage?"

"I'll borrow two camp cots from a friend, He's a big business man who often goes shooting in the jungle. The children can sleep on mats on the ground and I'll bring three or four small casks of water in my boat. Only one night dora! Give me that one night with you and your family".

"All right! But I must ask my lady what she thinks of it. Villa! called daddy.

Mummie came running up from the sea.

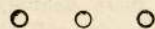
"Soosaimuttu suggests that we spend a night at Hammenheil. It won't be very comfortable, but—"

"Oh do, do let's" broke in Mummie eagerly.

"That settles it." Daddy turned to Soosaimuttu with a whimsical smile "Fix it up old man. I'll leave all the arrangements with you. We'll bring the food and our sleeping kit."

Soosaimuttu salammed low "Poitu Varen dora!. We'll meet at the jetty tomorrow morning."

"Poitu varen" replied daddy. It was indeed *au revoir* that they wished each other.



The School And Principal

by James Goonewardene

THE STORY SO FAR

Deva, on his return to Sri Lanka from England, held two exhibitions of his sculptures, but failed to make good. He travels to an outstation town in response to an advertisement for an Art Teacher for the local Maha Vidyalaya. Before he went for the interview he stopped at the Rest-house for a rest, change and a meal. Deva was drawn to the rest-house keeper, one of the new genre called *manager*, who "looked like a mendicant who had found refuge in an abandoned rest-house, and the other (Deva himself) an artist running away from his calling to find obscurity in a far away school.....it was, however, the beginning of a strange friendship and also events that seemed to have no beginning and no end.....".

Now read on.....

The school, a collection of rectangular buildings stood there looking as nondescript as a centre for the manufacture of plastic combs; adjacent to and slightly to the front of it was its playing field overgrown with weeds, and running round it a wire fence backed-up by a hedge of overgrown trees; bisecting the ground was a neglected gravel footpath, leading to a quadrangle. There was no name-board to the school, It was just a building with nothing to indicate its functions.

He stood outside the wooden gateway—the gates themselves had long since disappeared—only the gate-posts were there. He had not expected anything more imposing, but when confronted by it he felt his dreams of escape suddenly dissolve. This had sometime in its life set out to be a school—the only one in the district, and then like many other things had lost its way.

He stood there debating whether to go on with this thing or

turn back, but he felt a sudden compulsion to go on. This is what fortune tellers ascribe to destiny, fate, the influence of the planets or whatever it is that controls the life of a man.

He tossed the cigar butt into the hedge and walked in, and came to what was obviously the Principal's office. Here, at least, was a sign-board. He stood outside it and waited. Destiny and the planets, once more, intervened and a curious little individual in a long, loose shirt and veti suddenly materialised out of nowhere and curtly jerked up his head at him. Deva stared back at him a moment and decided it was wise to interpret the gesture as expected.

"I've come to see the Principal" he said.

"The Principal," the man replied, "the Principal can't see you. He's in the classroom."

"I'll then wait for him."

"What for—what do you want with him?"

In the time he was back home Deva had immunised himself to those minor forms of annoyance and irritation and he replied as patiently as he could.

"He wrote asking me to come and see him."

"Where's the letter?"

He drew out the letter as demanded and showed it to him.

"Mhn," he grunted. "He's in the classroom. Don't know whether you can see him..but never mind—go inside and sit."

He took Deva into the room, jerked back a chair and said: "You can sit here." Having performed his day's most important task he went away. Deva sighed with relief. That, at least, was over.

It was the kind of Principal's office one would expect to find in a school of this size—modestly furnished and cluttered with odds and ends, stacked all over the place—boxes of chalk, a globe with the map of the world on it, old registers, cash ledgers, competition cups, shields, all collecting dust and cobwebs on the tops of the cup-boards and walls. These shields and cups and other evidence of prizes, won at inter-school competitions, seemed to belie the size and appearance of the school. This was the thing that now intrigued him. At sometime in its life, the school had achieved some success, but that was clearly in the past. His eyes went to the contents of the bookcase—a bookcase always interested him. It told you a great deal about the man who owned it. This bookcase had been abandoned and forgotten. The volumes of fiction—Tolstoy, Stendhal, Flaubert, Hardy, Dickens

together with books on philosophy, science and the arts seemed to belong to another age and another time. At sometime these books had mattered to their owner and now they had, in some strange way, become meaningless. There was something desolate and forlorn about the way the bookcase stood there in the corner covered with dust. A smaller cupboard, obviously used more frequently, stood in the light, and appeared to contain the usual departmental regulations, circulars and other documents that customarily found themselves in a school Principal's office. He looked at his watch. He had got used to the craze for punctuality. This was something he had, once more, to reorientate himself to back home, this apparently natural and human indifference to time. He had come to dislike the European obsession with it, and he had been glad to be released from their time schedules and to come back to what he thought was a more humanised approach to it; but he had come on time now because of an old habit and this feeling that the Principal himself would want it that way. A principal would, certainly, want his school to keep to a prescribed programme and time schedule. A school without a time table was an impossibility.

From an adjoining room he heard the buzz of voices. Then a bell rang somewhere in the building and echoed down the passages followed by the sound of tables being pushed, feet being scraped, jokes being bandied—along with it laughter and chatter exploding sporadically. The Principal's own class was now, no doubt, over, and soon he would be confronting him, his future employer—at least, that is what he hoped he would be—his employer, the man who would give him the job he had come seeking here, or send him on his way again.

He heard the shuffle of feet along the corridor—students moving to another section of the building. The block he was in was an L-shape and had an upper floor, and the rest of it were just elongated rooms partitioned at convenient points and enclosed with low, cabook walls. A frail, nervous individual with a pair of prominent ears shuffled into the room, started at Deva, picked up something that looked like a register from the top of the cupboard and went away.

Silence descended on the school. He looked at his watch. Not far off he heard the whistle of a train and its slow jangle as it began to leave the railway station. He listened to it pick up speed and then to its sound getting lost in the distance. After it was gone there was silence again. He settled down to another long wait; it was beginning to irritate him. A moment later there was at least the heavy confident tread that heralded the Principal. The man who entered was certainly the Principal. He had the air of one—a light skinned and slightly potbellied man, past middle age. Contrary to what Deva had expected he was dressed in western clothes, complete with tie and jacket. School teachers had been changing from western dress to a kind of local one that politicians favoured and had become the fashion among teachers. The Principal here had not bowed to this unexpected demand for sartorial change. He was like a monolith that had withstood a bomb explosion in a street while everything else round it had been flattened. He was a symbol of another age, of another set of beliefs and values. He wore a moustache, a brush like adornment on a thick upper lip like a man wears an amulet round his neck, a protection against evil. Without it he would have been taken for what he really was, a kindly, good

A scanty head of hair had been cropped shortlike a policeman's.

He glanced at his visitor as he came in, went round, pushed his chair back and taking his place behind his desk took another look at the visitor. "Yes", he said, "what can I do for you?". He asked his question in English. He had a clear, cultivated accent, an old world Principal who had refused to bend under the pressure being exerted on the staffs of schools. He had, no doubt, been educated in some school run by missionaries who had insisted on a high moral tone from their pupils and had gone further weight to their injunctions with the free use of the cane for errors in conduct.

"You wrote to me about a vacancy—the post of art teacher."

"Oh yes, yes, that's right, yes oh yes...I had forgotten about it... my appointment book...now where could it be? I can never lay my hands on a thing when I want it—hidden under these papers' no doubt—that peon of mine—most indifferent, insolent little fool..." He began to rummage among the piles of paper on his desk. "Ah yes, here it is."

He took the book into his hands and looked at Deva. It was as if he had seen his face somewhere and was trying to recall where.

SNIPPETS

All progress is based upon a universal innate desire on the part of every organism to live beyond its income.
—Samuel Butler.

* * *

Life is made up of sobs, sniffles and smiles, with sniffles predominating.
—O. Henry

* * *

A bad book is much a labour to write as a good one; it comes as sincerely from the author's soul
—Aldous Huxley.

He turned his eyes down to the book and started to turn the pages over. "Ah yes, here it is. Let me see... what date... 25th... yes, that's right—post of art teacher... Deva Sumanadasa."

"Yes, I am Sumanadasa."

"Oh yes, I know that."

He brought out a file from under another heap of papers. Deva examined the face of his interviewer—the close-cropped head, the bloated cheeks, slightly flushed, like a potato hooked on a diner's fork, greyish brown and delectable. The similarity the head had to a potato was funny thought Deva.

"Yes, yes", said the Principal. "We need a good teacher here. These, of course, are mostly village boys. They need a good education—that's what they need, a good, liberal education—never had a chance—these boys."

He paused here, cleared his throat, adjusted his tie and sat up. "You think you can fill the role, teach these boys—not just how to draw—tell them what art is about—help them to understand what it sets out to do—a kind of aesthetic course—within limits, of course. One cannot ignore the requirements of the Education Department—they are strict in there now—no nonsense from anyone these days....."

Here he turned and waved his hand in the direction of the cupboard in front, as if everything was there in the circulars piled up in neat stacks inside the cupboard. "There are excellent officers in there—most patriotic—its not the old days anymore"—Suddenly a twitch appeared over his left eye.

He was getting warmed up to his subject now, and when warmed up he appeared to lose what had seemed like a fear he had had a moment earlier of being overheard;

earlier there was something conspiratorial in his manner, his need, as it appeared then, to constantly glance over his shoulder—this was gone; he was suddenly talking as if to an audience, a larger, invisible audience.

"Of course, we must not neglect the local traditions—the temple paintings—coming from way back in our great history—the stone sculptures of the historical cities—these things must not be neglected. They have a great artistic and historical value—they are the past from which one must draw one's inspiration... the folk arts, for instance—there is a great wealth of folk art—of great significance and value—the folk arts—a great heritage there. The boys must have their feet planted in the soil. They must dig into the culture of the country, otherwise, they just become imitators—just imitators—imitators of the decadent west—no foundation, no background—they... they become... what's the word... cosmopolitan, without a national... no national bias; that's what it is—no national bias..." He began to trail off here, and suddenly the effort had exhausted him. The nervous tick Deva had noticed before had started over his left eye. He passed a tired hand over his head in a gesture of deep fatigue. He smiled rather vaguely and spent a moment trying to get back the trend of his thoughts, and then started again. "It must become the art of the people. Its the popular cry now—the people's art. We must pay heed to what the masses want. I have a teacher on the staff here who has strong views on the subject. You'll meet him soon. I always tell people that you can learn a lot from him. That teacher has a great patriotic streak in him. He has a strong national feeling. Sometimes, he makes me feel as if I have missed something in life. Well, as I have

said to him—its never too late to learn."

He paused a long moment as if he had uttered a piece from memory, and needed time to collect his own, more natural thoughts. "Well, you think you can undertake the task. Its a great responsibility."

Deva felt a wave of great sorrow sweep over him. The lengthy lecture on art made him feel like an inmate of a delinquent's home being lectured to on good behaviour, but he fought the feeling of depression that came over him as a result of it. It had all got so bewildering that he found he could not trust himself to walk erect anymore, or think clearly or even find his direction back to the rest house. It was possible that someone had changed the sign boards in the time he had been away or the rest house, by order of some powerful person, had been shifted immediately to another site.

"You don't think you now want the job?" the Principal said.

"No, it is not that... I don't know what to say," said Deva.

His brain had closed up, withdrawn, momentarily, at least, into the twilight world it had learned to withdraw into when faced with challenges it could not meet. The man before him seemed so full of contradictions. Was he a fraud or just a mixed-up fool who was caught in the middle of a cross-current? He looked up, into his eyes now, suddenly, and thought he saw a look of great sadness come into them, and he looked terribly old and withered. It was as if he had been cheating for a living, and now in his old age he realised it was no good; it was not the way to do it, but it was too late now to change. It was this constant changes of mood in the old man that worried him. If he would only stop talking I might be able to make a decision, he thought. Sud-

denly the old man was off again. He had brightened up. "It's a great opportunity, if you have the courage to take it," he said, taking a different approach. "I would offer you a higher salary, if I could, but this is what the post carries. I know this place does not offer much for a man of your background. Its no bed of roses, I grant, but you begin at grass roots, as it were... an opportunity of service to the community....."

Deva roused himself, at last thinking he'll take the step, the decisive and, maybe, fatal step. His future boss was, perhaps, a fool or he was just a frightened bewildered man who was being forced to leap from one ridiculous stance to another. "Yes, I'll take the job, if you want me," he said trying to disguise the boredom and indifference he felt. The old man leaned back and sighed. "Good, that's good", he said with relief. "Its what I thought you would do. Of course, your appointment has to be approved by the department, but that will be no problem." He paused here and reflected a moment. "I suppose, you have plans of where you are going to stay."

"No," said Deva, "I have no plans."

"You know, of course, that you can stay at the hostel. There's one attached to the school. Some of the members of the staff live there."

Deva stared back at the Principal while he considered the proposal. No, he thought — he only wanted a job, not in the process of getting one, to become a school institution.

"The rates are reasonable".

"No," said Deva firmly. "Thank you for telling me about the hostel, but I'll take a look around for some other place."

"Of course, you know punctuality is important. Living out-

side creates problems—it isn't easy finding a place to live in nearby."

"I won't be late." v.a.eDsda!

The Principal pushed his chair back and rose. He stared at Deva for a moment, a bit unsure now of the prodigy he had acquired for the school. He didn't seem like an easy person to deal with, and a bit of his first enthusiasm had started to leave him. Deva, on the other hand, felt nothing. It was a step he had taken the meaning of which he had not yet properly understood. He was caught in two minds. Yet he had taken the decision and there was nothing more he could do about it. He had come here like a wounded animal would creep into a jungle, thirst-ridden, pursued and gasping for breath, ready to drop in exhaustion at the first safe place he came to where he could rest while his wounds healed. He did not want to think about what he had done. It was enough that he had taken the decision and acted on it. That was all he wanted to think about now and nothing else.

"You would like to be shown round the place, of course?" said the Principal breaking into his thoughts. Deva didn't care whether he saw the school or not, but he nodded and they rose and went together.

"This is the teachers' room," said Piyaratne, stopping before a small, dark room. They moved from here and coming to the staircase they started to climb. "The senior forms are up here. We are a little handicapped, not having proper science facilities. We need a science block here. I've always had ambitions for the school, but things don't always turn out as one wants it. They got to the landing and went down the corridor passing a couple of classes in which lessons were in progress, and reaching the end of the corridor the Principal stopped.

"This is where you'll have your classes," he said, indicating the twin of the previous classroom. There were about twenty desks and chairs, and a blackboard beside the teacher's desk and chair. There was a cupboard full of objects—squares, triangles, vases, boxes of chalk. On one of the walls were displayed several pastel and crayon drawings—past efforts of students; on another wall—a large scale map and pictures of animals, birds, reptiles and insects.

"This room is also used for geography and natural science," said the Principal. Deva stared ahead, bored and uninterested. The Principal stared at his several times with a look of disappointment. At length they returned to the office.

"Can I get you a cup of tea?" asked the old man, thinking, perhaps, that a cup of tea would put this rather bored and sullen new number of the staff into a better frame of mind.

"Yes, thank you," replied Deva.

They then sat and stared at each other not knowing what else to say. Deva waited. The tea came and they drank it silently. "I am glad you decided to take the job," said the Principal when the silence began to lengthen out. Deva looked up and smiled. When the tea was drunk the old Principal rose and so did Deva. The old man scrutinised Deva's face for a moment and then suddenly held his hand out to him. "Well, I hope your coming is going to be good for the school and also that you'll be happy."

Deva shook the old man's hand and smiled, and then he left.

Next Week:—

STRANGE HAPPENINGS

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* * *

BOOK REVIEW

A Commemorative Volume

by B. A. Jayasinghe

TO HONOUR THOSE WORTHY OF HONOUR. FIVE DISTINGUISHED AND ILLUSTRIOUS SONS OF SRI LANKA: A COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME.

By B. A. Jayasinghe pp. Lxii+86 plates II. Colombo 1978 price Rs. 50/-

This commemorative volume was published in connection with the unveiling ceremony of the portraits of the President His Excellency J. R. Jayawardene, Prime Minister Hon. R. Premadasa and late H. A. Jayawardene, late Justice Eugene Wilfred Jayawardene and late Col. Theodore Godfred Jayawardene. They were all ex. Councillors of the Colombo Municipality and who have contributed yeoman service to the Colombo Municipal Council.

Colombo Municipal Council serves the needs of the inhabitants of the metropolis and has therefore been considered to be the most prestigious local body of the Island. Within its jurisdiction it encompasses a little Sri Lanka. The various linguistic and religious communities of this Island are well represented here and one often finds members of various groups holding the very high office in the Council. Serving such a council has had always been an attraction to all those who were interested in public welfare and it is therefore no wonder that many of the leading public figures of this country, before they entered the national legislature, have cut their teeth in the management of public affairs in this Council. There were host of them. Besides those

selected to be honoured by this author in this instance, there were S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Dr. N. M. Perera and a host of other members of parliament past and present.

This volume is valuable for the general reader as well as for others who are interested in writing biographies and history, in that it gives brief biographical sketches of all. The author, in his capacity as Special Commissioner and Municipal Commissioner, has had long association with the Council and should be relied for the materials on which he worked. Though the biographical sketches are too brief, since the writing and printing has been done in four weeks, yet they are comprehensive enough. The biographical sketch on the Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa is very useful, because one does not find such an organised account anywhere else. The story of the Prime Minister is well analysed and his steady rise to power was well illustrated in Chronological order. A person with no aristocratic or "family" background, by sheer dint of perseverance and dedication has achieved a unique position in which he is today. It is not to say the accounts of others are less important but there are enough materials on others. The bibliography given in Sinhalese and English in the last two pages will be of immense value to any research student.

Another very important merit of this book, and author must be praised for that, that he had chosen such quotations from the speeches of eminent men, worthy of inspiration for others and has published the book in all three languages emphasising the plurality of the country, yet still citizens of one country. This is something very often overlooked. It is worth quoting a speech made by J. R. Jayawardene (then Minister of State)

on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the Colombo Municipal Council.

"I am also happy that in this City of Colombo, there are people of various nationalities who are proud to call this their City and themselves as its citizens. And the people of these various nationalities have, during the last one hundred years, chosen their representatives irrespective of race and community, to be Members of this Council. They have chosen men and women from among them, again irrespective of race and community, to be Mayors and Deputy Mayors of this City. That is an example that the whole of Ceylon should be proud and emulate."

When compared to developed countries and even India there is certainly a void in biographical writings on distinguished men in Sri Lanka. This work points to the direction in which such works should be undertaken—a notable addition to Sri Lanka's biographical literature.

The quotations selected from the speeches of those who were honoured in this book are not mere fillers in printers parlance; they have a duty by the younger generation, to inspire and emulate those distinguished and illustrious sons of Sri Lanka.

The book is printed in glazed paper and has eleven plates, six in colour adding lustre to the book. This is a book that should be in every library.

Special Commissioner Jayasinghe has done an excellent job of work in the short time in which he had to get up this book. Only in rare instances have administrators and bureaucrats been able to produce books of significance and this is one such instance.

* * *

LETTERS

Loquacity

Sir,

In view of the recent increase in the price of flour (which was inevitable, and for which no sane person will blame the government) isn't this news item from Sun of 13.1.78 worth reproducing for the delectation of readers of your widely-read journal?

HARD LINE AGAINST 'LUXURY' TRADE.. DY. MINISTER AMARASIRI ISSUES STERN WARNINGS.....

"Mr. Amarasiri also said that the present price of flour would not be raised."

And this was just four months ago!

Would it not be better if loquacious government MPs, Dy. Ministers and even Ministers keep their lips sealed outside Parliament and so save themselves as well as the government the approbrium and consequent embarrassment which the exasperated public is bound to subject them to when they make public utterances like this on behalf of the government and the latter acts differently not so long afterward?

I am sure you will agree with me Sir, that it is time the President stepped in and put a stop to this sort of thing once and for all. Surely he realises that the public is in no mood today to tolerate such arrant nonsense from government spokesmen, whoever they are, who do not seem to know what they are saying or doing.

That the people want is tangible proof of the government's good intentions to alleviate their suffering, which has become intolerable today. Not glib talk, high falutin speeches (which are at times nauseating) in a vain efforts to impress the public, false promises

and propaganda stunts. It is certainly time the 'NATO' government, as you have so aptly called it, settled down to work, honouring all the pledges given before the Election.

C. E. J. Alles

113, Anagarika Dharmapala Mawatha, Dehiwela. 25.5.78 I

* * *

Sansoni Commission

Sir,

I refer to my previous letter under the above caption which appeared in your journal (Tribune 13.5.78 page 25). I have to make the following corrections to same:

1. Out of Sinhala Dailies, *Davasa* published by the Independent Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., regularly publishes the proceedings of the Sansoni Commission.
2. Sinhalese population is 72% of the total population and not 75% (source, Fergusson's Directory) I am unable to state exactly what percentage of Sinhalese population could understand English.

The above errors are very much regretted. But these errors do not affect materially the essence of my letter. What I stated there was that those who are responsible for publishing Sinhala dailies (subject to the correction (1) above), had committed a grave crime on the Sinhala reading public, for their failure to disclose the factual situation of 1977 communal troubles.

Nawala. 24.5.78

T. Q. F.

* * *

Yoga In The Classroom

Sir,

It appears the Minister of Education has decided to introduce yogic system of asanas and meditation in our educational institutions. Yogic physical exercises are as good as other physical exercises school students have all over the world. In no way yogic asanas are superior to athletics, gymnastics, swimming, weight-lifting etc., and games like football rigger, tennis, shuttlecock, netball, volley ball, cricket, water polo etc.

Eminent psychologists are scornful about the dubious claims made by some people about improving mental faculties through yogic asanas and meditation. Meditation, being a form of self hypnosis, can induce hallucinatory experiences in persons engaged in meditation and chanting of refrains. Such hallucinations are symptoms of mental derangement, and not of mental health!

The Minister of Education, as a person in sole charge of sound education for our children, should consult eminent psychologists like Dr. William Sargant, the author of *Battle of the Mind*, *The Unquiet Mind* etc., and Director of Psychological Medicine at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, before foisting the cult of yoga on our school children at the advice of some local yoga faddists. Even in India, where the cult of yoga originated, it is not a school subject.

In the book on "*The Science and Philosophy of Kundalini Yoga*" written by Dr. V. G. Rele, with a forewaord by no less a person than Sir John Woodroffe of Oxford, we read about many fantastic mental powers a yogi can achieve. Some such powers mentioned in that book are:—

1. "Yogi can acquire powers of telepathy and clairvoyance. Mind can be made both a transmitting as well as receiving station."

2. "All forces of nature will obey a yogi as his slave."

3. "Yogi can stop his heart beat at will."

4. "Yogi can materialise anything."

5. Yogi can get enlightened to know everything past, present and future."

6. "Yogi can transmute metals, acquire healing power and see adepts moving in space. He can travel in space."

7. "Yogi can purify his body from diseases and pains. He can live in perpetual youth for thousands of years."

8. "Yogi can gain all types of psychic powers."

9. "Yogi can leave his body and materialise in another place."

10. "Yogi can become light in weight to levitate in the air or to walk on water."

If all these supernatural powers can be achieved by man through the practice of yoga, all our former Ministers of Education should be blamed for not making yoga available to our youths earlier! Had yoga been introduced in our schools soon after the Colonial regime, today our country would have been the most advanced one in the whole world! One of our men would have been in space long before Gagarin of USSR, or on the moon long before Armstrong of USA! Instead of seeking financial aid from other countries, or establishing Free Trade Zones, our Minister of Finance could transmute all the scrap iron in the country into gold using his yogic power he developed at school!! Sri Lankans in perpetual youth could be seen today in all inhabitable planets in space! Death and disease could have been wiped off from our island!

I appeal to the Minister of Education not to take any hasty decision in this regard just because there are many misguided persons in Sri Lanka who foolishly believe that knowledge can be obtained, or mental faculties improved through yoga and meditation. You have a big responsibility to the parents of the children of this country. Instead of imparting knowledge to our children through the normal channels of education, let us not spoil their education by making them waste their precious youths on a dubious cult.

Introducing yoga in our schools and universities will be a great blunder like the introduction of the Poya calendar some years ago by some fanatics in their attempt to get rid of the "Christian" calendar!! It is better to be wiser before than after the incident!!

Abraham T. Kovoor

Colombo 6.
14.5.78

* * *

Minister Of Finance

Sir,

In recent times the Minister of Finance has come in for severe criticism in your columns. A little patience is required. It must be conceded that in our administrative framework the problems that he has inherited may take a generation to solve or even to ameliorate. It took the Minister eight months to clear the decks and remove the blunt instruments. This is the golden era of the Finance Ministers who are now providing the exception to the rule that no good ever comes of being the First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene one time Finance Minister is the President. So is Morarji Desai in India not forgetting Mr. Callaghan in Britain. Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardena is Minister for Plan-

tation Industries. Stanley de Zoysa & Wanninayake are dead. Dr. N. M. Perera will perhaps retire from politics if he cannot put Humpty Dumpty together. Of Felix Dias the least said the better—but who knows he can stage a comeback. Politicians like all of us live on hopes which is at any rate better than living on illusions. Mr. Ronnie de Mel, the darkest of horses emerges more and more as a figure of moderation and sound sense. He is a sort of reluctant debutante who has a sense of direction and is content to be Minister of Finance—not setting his eyes elsewhere at higher elevations.

Mohan de Silva

Davidson Road,
Colombo. 4
21, May 1978



REVIEW

The Whiff Of Mony

by jayantha Somasundaram

Having observed the unfolding of the Jayawardene Administration over three hundred days, it now becomes possible to evaluate with some degree of objectivity, the major trends. Having broken the Senanayake—Bandaranaike cycle, the Ceylonese electorate had indicated that it is able to go beyond" personality politics, in its quest for economic objectives. These objectives are undoubtedly, the preservation and improvement of living standards, by the provision of jobs and the holding of the price level. To what extent has the Jayawardene Administration being successful in its quest to meet these goals?

At the outset, the Administration attempted to consciously deflate the economy. This was done in several ways. First by tightening the money supply. Through

Credit control and the raising of the bank rate, a deflationary trend was launched in the immediate aftermath of the election. More important perhaps, was the increase in the supply of goods on the market. This was achieved by several complementary acts. Traders who had withheld goods flooded their counters as soon as the new Government assumed office. This was partly due to a desire on the part of traders to assist the Government. But it was also the result of government flushing out hoarded goods.

In the meantime, the SLFP election bonanza was still unfurling itself. The last government had stepped up imports in the closing stages of its term of office. The revaluation had served as an incentive to imports, the liberalising of imports under the CRA scheme and the directive to utilise CRA holdings before the end of 1976 resulted in a veritable flood of imported goods during 1977. Traders were prompted not only by increased imports, raids to flush out goods and sympathy for the new government; they were also acting in their own interests, they feared massive imports under the new set-up and were anxious to dispose of existing stocks as fast as possible. The Administration cannot be oblivious to the inflationary spiral they have set in motion. They cannot be unaware of the political consequences either. Why then do they seek to gamble with their political good will? What can they possibly hope to gain?

It would appear that the only possible beneficiary of the present economic policies of the Administration, would be foreign investors. Because foreign investment flowing into Sri Lanka, will be able to exchange their capital for increased amounts of local currency and therefore resources. The possible gains from such movement of funds it is expected,

would make Sri Lanka an attractive venue for investment. The whiff of money should serve to draw capital into Sri Lanka to finance industry and thereby create employment.



AN ELEPHANT STORY—2

Chairman NLDB's Statement

by Tribune Investigator

In our issue last week, we had outlined the good work done by the National Livestock Development Board (NLDB) as a backdrop to the charge by Ceylon Cold Stores Ltd., (alias Elephant House) that the frozen produce situation was bad because after the "take over", the authorities, (NLDB presumably), according to Elephant House, had made a mess of everything.

We had asked the Chairman, NLDB, for his comments on the Ceylon Cold Stores Ltd., advertisement blah blah on frozen produce—we will deal with the soft drinks and ice cream lamentations later—and he had said he had to speak to his Minister in the first instance.

However, shortly after we went to press, we received a copy of a statement by the Chairman sent to all the papers. We trust that even daily newspapers who receive large dozes of Elephant House advertising will publish this statement in full.

In any case, Tribune published the Chairman's statement below for the record. Our comments and observations based on our investigations will appear soon.

The following is the full text of the statement issued by the Chairman, National Livestock Development Board.

Messrs Ceylon Cold Stores has inserted a statement in the Press

on the shortage of frozen food both at Elephant House and their authorized dealers. Their statement commences as follows: "... place the facts about the current situation for your consideration". The advertisement closes with the magnanimous gesture that it is "inserted in the interest of our customers."

The plaintive note throughout this article blames everybody—the previous Government for having taken over Victoria Farm, the National Livestock Development Board (although not mentioned) for not maintaining the so-called former production norms, the Oils & Fats Corporation for the increase in prices of feed and thereby the article directly casts an indictment on the present Government's policies in relation to the removal of certain subsidies.

First may I comment on a few of the so-called facts and leave the reader to decide the truth. For instance, the figures provided before take over and after take over, in respect of pigs.

PIGS. The Victoria Farm was transferred to the National Livestock Development Board in October 1976 and the figures given below are in respect of the nine months immediately prior to take over and the nine months after take over.

These are:

Nine months before take over
2079 carcasses (Avg. 231 per month)

Nine months after take over
2187 carcasses (Avg. 243 per month)

In 1975 Victoria Farm supplied Elephant House with 3,591 carcasses, in 1976 the farm supplied 2,701 carcasses. In 1976 Ceylon Cold Stores ran Victoria Farm for nine months and assisted the National Livestock Development Board in the last three months of that year. The Ceylon Cold Stores' Manager was resident at

Victoria Farm for the whole of 1976 running the farm.

In 1977 it was necessary to cull a number of sows as these represented unproductive stock. In consequence replacements had to be found from available stock and anybody with an elementary knowledge of Animal Husbandry will realise that the same output cannot be maintained after sows have been culled. This is primarily the reason for the decline in the supply of carcasses for the latter half of 1977.

The average production over the past eleven months is 182, due, as we have stated, to culling which took place in April, May, June and July last year. The figures in respect of February, March, April and May this year reflect an upward trend at an average output of 215 carcasses per month.

It is interesting at this stage to place for the interest of all concerned the stock position, as at take over, and at the present time.

At take over	Suck-Sows	Bears	Weaners	Baconers	Gilts
556	267	25	5	2166	
At present	569	276	39	80	2289

It may be pertinent to add that 12 selected imported boars will be ready for use next month. The upgrading program to which the National Livestock Development Board is committed, will, therefore, be carried out. Negotiations are also taking place for new stocks under the Dutch Assistance Program.

POULTRY. Messrs Ceylon Cold Stores Ltd. state that Victoria Farm was supplying Elephant House with 30,000 lbs. of Broiler per month prior to take over and quote a figure of 397 lbs. per month subsequent to take over.

It is the intention of the National Livestock Development Board to produce day old chicks which are

being sold at a price well below other commercial strains to encourage broiler production by both large and small farmers. In fact the demand for our chicks exceeds supplies and this is being further supplemented by two additional importations of parent stocks in the current year:

Production of chicks	in 1976	242,659
Production of chicks	in 1977	277,338
Production of chicks	up to April '78	84,181

At the moment the National Livestock Development Board, through this unit, is issuing an average of 20,000 chicks per month and we understand that the majority of these broiler producers are achieving weights of approximately 3 lbs. per bird. Simple arithmetic, therefore, shows that by virtue of this operation, approximately 60,000 lbs. of broiler meat is made available per month to the general public. Perhaps, Elephant House can explain why they have not tapped the additional resources. In addition, our broiler operations were curtailed at the close of last year due to increased food costs and the reassessment of our policy in regard to small farmers whose demand for day old chicks increased. At the moment our Broiler Unit is fattening in the region of 2,000 birds per month. Trials utilising both our own mix and commercial mixers are in progress and the broiler operation enlarged due to the better prices being paid for broiler meat.

BROILER.

9 months prior to take over:	19,728 lbs. per month
9 months after take over:	28,677 lbs. per month
In 1976, the monthly production figures were	21,982 lbs. per month
In 1977, the monthly productions rose to	22,820 lbs. per month
Broiler Production 1976:	265,778 lbs.

Broiler Production 1977: 273,841 lbs

Production of day old chicks and thereby broiler meat production will naturally increase following the increased importation of parent stock.

As regards Turkey, the Board has no intention of importing expensive parent stock to cater for the elite consumer.

It will be observed from the foregoing that the Broiler activity has not come to a halt. Messrs Ceylon Cold Stores claim that the flock of sheep is no longer available on the farm. However, as at last evening there were 528 animals of which 315 represent breeding ewes. Lambing will take place as usual in September 1978 and based on last years' remarkable rate of 97%, I leave it to the reader to calculate how many animals will be on the farm by the end of the year.

In any event, of the original flock at Victoria, 490 animals were moved to Andigama Farm, Giriulla, for the purpose of starting yet another breeding unit. These too will lamb in September.

I will not comment on the increase in price of mixed mashes by the Oils & Fats Corporation. Readers are aware of the policies laid out by the Government and Oils & Fats Corporation are by no means the only suppliers of feed in the market. It is pertinent to note that some broiler producers are now mixing their own feed.

Messrs. Ceylon Cold Stores then submitted a most encouraging price revision to producers which they claim has not been passed on to the consumer. Those increases, therefore, presumably form part of the profit margin retained by Messrs. Ceylon Cold Stores in their day to day operations. Increased prices to producers are most encouraging but it is a pity that this was not done earlier.

The final paragraph must necessarily be divided into segments—“We are negotiating with the Government”. At no stage, has Messrs Ceylon Cold Stores negotiated with me nor with the Honourable Minister of Agriculture and Lands. As regards yet another statement, “to get back the mammoth incubator, the blast freezer and the rotor pluck now lying idle at Victoria Farm”, these were up to last evening in operation and not lying idle. In this connection the Board will shortly obtain the services of a technical expert coming out from Australia to report on the faults in certain outdated but nevertheless, functioning equipment.

It is also pertinent at this stage to mention from Ceylon Cold Stores Circular No. M/102/MGG/sep dated 13th March 1978, to their retailers, in which reference is made to the revised prices of frozen food with the opening paragraph as follows, ‘Since prices of raw materials in respect of frozen foods have increased recently, we have revised the selling prices of those products accordingly. The new prices will come into effect as from 15.3.78.’

From October 1976 up till the middle of May 1978, the price paid to us for prime baconers produced at Victoria Farm and sold to Elephant House remained unaltered at Rs. 4/25 per lb. carcass weight.

Readers will appreciate certain other management problems that arise from the proposed construction of the Victoria Dam. It was first envisaged that the high flood level of the area which will be submerged when the dam is constructed would be 1420’. Some alterations may arise which will reduce the flood level to 1330’. In either case, two of the three pig breed-

ing sheds will go under water as will indeed some of the sheep sheds!

This statement by the Chairman NLDB is a straight forward statement of facts which challenges the veracity of some of the claims made by Cold Stores Ltd.

If the facts are as the Chairman says they are, the least the Cold Stores Ltd can do is to offer an unconditional and unqualified apology to the government, to the Minister of Agriculture and Lands and to the NLDB.

But the matter cannot be left to rest there. The Cold Stores Ltd. obviously resorted to this subterfuge to support the claim for imports of frozen produce and make easy money from the five-star hotels, hard currency-owning foreigners, and the side jet-set elite.

(To be Continued)

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SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

June 7 — 12

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; CM—Chintamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release; DK—Dinakara; DW—Dawasa.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7: Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel discounting mass media efforts to project a revaluation of the Sri Lanka rupee told the NSA yesterday that foreign aid had been doubly assured for our develop-

ment projects including the telescoped Mahaweli Project—yet what was important was the dedicated efforts of our people, the maximum use of our resources to turn our dreams to reality. The World Bank has approved a twenty one million dollar credit to Sri Lanka to implement its 30.8 million dollar Tea Rehabilitation Project. Island wide water supply, sewerage and surface drainage will be provided in the next four years; the Ministry of Local Government will direct operations which will be undertaken by the National Water Supply and Drainage Board as a phased program. The President presiding over the Government Parliamentary Group meeting yesterday said that although the People’s Bank was inaugurated originally on a co-operative basis, it had now become a ‘commercial state bank; he stressed the necessity for establishing a separate bank for the co-operative movement. A house to every family unit and a working man; a sense of ownership through the possession of a dwelling; this is genuine socialism and this is the aim of the government said the PM in the NSA yesterday—CDN. The Minister of Finance yesterday scotched rumours about the revaluation of the rupee. A Committee consisting of the Leaders of the NSA the leader of the oppositions or their representatives and the clerk of the NSA with the Speaker as Chairman will exercise the power to determine whether any part of the proceedings of the NSA should be excluded from publication in the Press when such proceedings touch upon the subject matter of the law proscribing the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and other similar organisations—CDM. A South Korean firm of construction engineers is to collaborate with the River Valleys Development Board in one of the major projects

of the Mahaweli Development Scheme. Legislation to speedily evict encroachers on state land will be presented in the NSA shortly. The President speaking on the amendments to the present excise ordinance said that drinking cannot be stopped by banning the sale of liquor. The 37 laws relating to environment are to be reviewed shortly with a view to modifying and amending them as necessary or introducing entirely new legislation—SU. The cost of living has gone up by 2.7 in May. A large number of government paddy mills are working under capacity because of the shortage of workers, fuel, electricity and water—DW. Government sources indicate that most of the junior ministers will be appointed as district ministers—DM. Senior officials from five Western countries last night agreed on undisclosed recommendations to aid African states especially embattled Zaire to preserve their territorial integrity against external threats—CDN. Liberal Party Presidential candidate Julio Cesar Turbgy Agala appeared certain of victory yesterday with 95% of ballots counted in the Colombian elections—CDN. The world will be running short of OPEC aid in the 1980's and there will be strong upward pressure on prices by the middle of the decade the International Energy Agency predicted today. India's Health Minister Raj Narain today called for major changes in the ruling Janata Party's hierarchy aggravating tensions among the feuding top leadership—SU.

THURSDAY, JUNE 8: A Bill to set up an Urban Development Authority, designed mainly to develop certain selected areas will be presented in the NSA by the PM soon: the authority would undertake the integrated development of specified areas named by the PM in his capacity as the Minister of Local Government. Self-

employment in craft and technology and jobs for young school-leavers and unemployed youth is the aim of the Ministry of Education. The PMB has purchased 17 million bushels of Paddy during the last four and a half months while the previous government had purchased 12 million bushels during the whole of 1977 said the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. The world must be made aware of the great epic of hydro engineering Sri Lanka has been famous for since ancient times; this was the view of Professor Joseph Needham, internationally famous scientist who is here in connection with the Martin Wickremasinghe celebrations this week. The Ceylon Hotels Corporation is planning to take over the Railway Catering services soon—CDN. Nearly 200 foreign engineers will be recruited for the Mahaweli Development project and UN agencies will assist Sri Lanka in the payment of their salaries. The Deputy Minister of Trade in his first ever meeting with wholesale vegetable dealers appealed to them to help reduce the price of vegetables. Proposals of officials selected for the transaction of government business in foreign countries should be carefully scrutinised; this is the directive sent by the President to all ministers. The Minister of Justice replying to a question by the TULF MP for Manipay said that 78 persons were arrested in connection with 67 detections made by the Bribery Commissioner's Dept during the period January to Dec. 31, 1977—CDM. The government has decided to recruit retired teachers for the teaching of science, mathematics and history in the English medium. The motion moved by the MP for Badulla to recruit young men and women to the Police and armed forces and engage themselves in work under the Mahaweli Development Scheme was passed yes-

terday in the NSA. The Queen Elizabeth Quay in the Port of Colombo is to be extended and world wide tenders are to be called for this purpose immediately. The Minister of Plantation Industries said in the NSA yesterday that it was high time Sri Lanka came to an agreement with India and the Philippines to ensure better prices for their coconut products—SU. The Parliamentary Select Committee considering Constitutional changes finalised its business yesterday; the report of the committee together with a draft constitution is expected to be presented in Parliament on June 22. The Price Control Department yesterday nabbed 38 errant traders breaking the law. The Minister of Finance will have complete authority over the appointment of the entire directorate of the People's Bank including its chairman, under an amendment to the People's Bank, presented in the NSA this week—CO. Five of the youngsters who were detained by the police have been released—VK. The President is taking steps to change the present government administrative system and make it suitable to meet present needs; under the new scheme workers will be appointed to Assistant Commissioners, Co-ordinating Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries of ministries, departments and corporations. The government is seriously thinking of prohibiting women from taking up jobs in the Middle East. 300,000 animals are slaughtered for food every year in this country—LD. The government has decided to build five warehouses close to major harbours in the island immediately. The CWE has imported 600 tons of Bombay Onions from India. 14 doctors who had left the country have returned and 20 more are expected shortly—DW. West German Interior Minister who in current widespread criticism for his hand

ling of the government's anti-terrorist measures resigned yesterday. Guerrillas burned five black villages as 'witchers' in Eastern Rhodesia on Sunday—*SU*. Colombian Presidential elections were thrown into turmoil yesterday when the Conservative Party on the brink of defeat announced it would not recognise the official results and charged that the results were being manipulated to favour the Liberal Party candidate—*CDN*. The US announced yesterday that it was preparing to fly troops from Senegal and Gabon to train Moroccan soldiers in an all-African security force standing guard over Zaire's rebel threatened Shaba Province—*CDM*. **FRIDAY, JUNE 9:** 'With the exception of a very few municipalities, I find that the administration during the relevant period and often during the preceding period which I did not go into as being outside my terms of reference, leaves much to be desired', states Mr. G. P. A. Silva in his report on malpractices in municipal councils which was handed over to the PM and President yesterday. The GDR will provide 500 railway waggons, 25 rice mills, a training centre for medium-level technical personnel and also equipment for the implementation of parts of the Mahaweli project under the trade protocol signed between Sri Lanka and the GDR in Colombo. With effect from today one person will be allowed to accompany a passenger leaving Sri Lanka to the terminal building of the Katunayake International Airport; similarly a visitor will be allowed to meet an incoming passenger at the Terminal Building. Shri A. B. Vajpayee, Minister of External Affairs of India will pay a three day official visit to Sri Lanka from June 29 to July 1 at the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs—*CDN*. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, one time Minister of Public Adminis-

tration, Local Government and Home Affairs and Mr. A. H. M. Fowzia, former mayor of Colombo were found guilty of the reprehensible exercise of giving false evidence by Mr. G. P. A. Silva, the one man Commission of Inquiry into malpractices of Municipal Councils—*CDM*. East Germany's Foreign Trade Minister Mr. Horst Soelle declared yesterday that his country had no interest in Sri Lanka's FTZ. A special unit to deal with cases involving hard core criminals is to be set up by the Director of Public Prosecutions immediately. Indian PM, Mr. Morarji Desai yesterday said in response to a query by Sri Lanka Tamils in London that India was not encouraging a move by the Tamils in Sri Lanka to press for federation with India—*SU*. One of the youths who surrendered to the police will be allowed to sit for his law examination the Minister of Trade announced in the NSA. The leader of the Opposition speaking in the NSA yesterday said that in the guise of maintaining peace and order many police and army officers in the North were harassing innocent and peace-loving people and thus creating unrest in the society—*VK*. The CWE, in the hope of importing chicken and beef has asked for quotations from Australia, New Zealand and India—*DK*. The government has ordered GA's to conduct immediate investigations to find out whether the 10,000 guns issued to farms in the Vavuniya and Mannar districts to protect their crops are being used by others for unlawful purposes. Sri Lanka's foreign exchange reserves have increased to Rs. 600 million. The Trade Ministry has decided to import 500,000 bulbs and 1 million transistor batteries immediately—*JD*. The Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs has decided to conduct a full scale investigation into the

misuse of fire arms in the country and take over those they feel should be confiscated—The Haputale Police has raided a factory which was forging bank notes and coins—*DM*. The Director General of UNESCO yesterday appealed for the return of cultural treasures to their countries of origin. Israel's ultra-nationalist Gush Emunin movement yesterday demanded the confiscation of Arab land to make way for hundreds of Jews to settle on the West Bank of River Jordan—*CDN*. The IMF yesterday raised about 196 million dollars to help finance a trust fund to provide low cost loans for about 60 of the world's poorest nations on the 22nd on a series of gold auctions. Ethiopia's Head of State Mengistu Haile Mariam yesterday offered full amnesty to Eritrean Secessionist guerrillas who surrendered to the Addis Ababa government—*CDM*. Israeli PM Begin and foreign Minister Dayan in another effort to be flexible without yielding Israel's basic positions today started thrashing out a new West Asia formula which they hope will satisfy both Israel's cabinet and the US administration. Australia is to admit 90,000 immigrants including Asians for the next three years according to a new Immigration programme announced in Canberra—*SU*. **SATURDAY, JUNE 10:** Tourist guest houses will soon be graded by the Ceylon Tourist Board, according to the facilities available and the quality of the services provided by them. The Minister of Transport yesterday appointed representatives of the Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya to the posts of Chairman of all the nine regional boards of the CTB which will be decentralised from June 10. Preliminary work in connection with the setting up of a television network in Sri Lanka will be started in October this year; Pidurutalagala, Kandy and Jaffna have been chosen as relay stations. Chinese

Vice Premier Keng Piao will pay official visits to Pakistan and Sri Lanka from June 15 in the latest of a series of trips to Asian countries by China's leaders. Four Lakhs of rupees have been recovered out of a total of Rs. 71/2 lakhs given as agricultural loans by the present government to the farmers in the Yapahuwa electorate. Government has approved a proposal made by the Minister of Plantation Industries to establish a National Institute of Plantation Management which will provide training facilities for all level of personnel employed in the plantation sector in various aspects of Plantation Management—CDN. An inter-ministry Committee which will include high level consultants from UN organisations will be set up shortly by the Minister of Irrigation to prepare and implement a co-ordinated plan to deal with the social implications and repercussions of the Mahaweli development scheme. A retired Inspector of Police Mr. Kumaru was shot dead yesterday morning at his hometown in Valvettiturai—CDM. Government has decided to permit engineers in the public sector to import cars; this is apparently part of a plan to curb the brain drain by offering the engineers various incentives to stay here. President has approved the setting up of an Evaluation Team with private sector participation for the purpose of evaluating the use of organisational resources in the sphere of agricultural development. Customs authorities are perturbed at the free flow of bars of gold into Sri Lanka from Zurich, Singapore and West Asian countries—SU. The Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education said that it was unlikely that a university campus or university will be established in the Eastern Province this year; he said that it was doubtful whether it would be a reality even next year.

395 students will gain admission to the medical faculty this year—DP. The Minister of Finance said that the age limit of estate workers should be raised from 60 to 70 years—VK. Deputy Minister of Defence, replying to the accusation of the leader of the opposition that people in the North were being harassed by the army and police stated that neither the police nor the army were harassing people unnecessarily and that they were only being questioned and vehicles examined within the precincts of the law—EN. The government will draft legislation shortly to provide permanent status and benefits to workers in private textile mills. The construction of the Canyon Power station which will cost Rs. 300 million and give employment to 100 persons will begin next month—DM. The government has allocated Rs. 80 million to build houses to alleviate the housing shortage in the Plantation areas—DW. The Pakistan National Alliance yesterday urged Chief martial Law administrator Zia-Ul-Haq to disclose his intentions for holding elections and returning power to the elected representatives of the people. Israeli forces raided a Palestinian Commando base on the South Lebanon coast yesterday destroying boats, rocket launches and houses. The Warsaw Pact countries yesterday tabled its first new proposals for over 2 years of East-West negotiations on cutting troop levels in Europe deadlocked for two years—CDN. President Carter was yesterday urged to take immediate action to help resettle thousands of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos—CDM. A car carrying former Indian PM Indira Gandhi was attacked with stones and bottles in the Eastern Indian city of Bhubaneshwar today but the veteran politician escaped injury by protecting himself with pillows. Former PM Mrs. Indira

Gandhi said that many members of her congress party had been killed in West Bengal in the last few months—SU.

SUNDAY, JUNE 11: Talking to peasants and officials in Kalawewa in the Mahaweli Development area the President who was accompanied by the LSSP veterans Drs. N. M. Perera and Colvin R. de Silva expressed surprise that compensation to peasants evicted from their 'purana' lands had been delayed by six months and ordered officials to expedite compensation and other relief to those who had been displaced. Legislation for the regulation and control of private sector finance companies is now being drafted by the Ministry of Finance and Planning—SO. A Job Reserve Bank will be set up shortly to put in 'cold Storage' as it were government and corporation employees who are inefficient, partisan, disloyal or un-cooperative; this is apparently being done to take account of excess staff in government and local government departments to avoid redundancy and also to send on compulsory retirement those proved incompetent or inefficient. Air Ceylon incurred a loss of Rs. 44 million last year, the highest since its inception 30 years ago. All members of the NSA have declared their assets and liabilities. The PM will open on June 24 Baddegama or the 'Awakened Village' in the Yapahuwa electorate it is an example of how ancient villages could be reconstructed as model villages with the help of modern country planning and co-ordination between various government departments—ST. A 'package deal' designed to ease the burdens of the consumer is to be introduced by the government shortly; this follows the President's announcement last week that the government would provide a basket of essential goods to every household on coupons.

Eminent environmentalists from nearly 30 countries in the Indian Ocean region will converge in Colombo in August for a conference that is likely to be of momentous import for the entire region. The PMB has made a record purchase of 7.4 million bushels of paddy during the first quarter of 1978—WK. The government has decided to export all the poultry food produced here and import cheap poultry food; local poultry food fetches higher prices in the world market—SLDP. Saudi Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki was quoted today as saying oil prices should be left to be determined by market forces which were bound to push them shortly—SO. The Malaysian parliament will be dissolved on Monday in preparation for mid-term general elections to be held at a date finalised later PM Datuk Hussein said today. The Soviet Union has accused the US of trying to intercept Soviet Communications with electronic spy equipment installed at its Moscow embassy—ST. The US has approved the sale to China of aerial survey equipment which has potential military applications and would not be exported to the Soviet Union administration officials said. Indian PM Morarji Desai told the UN general Assembly special sessions on disarmament in New York that India would refrain from either developing or buying nuclear weapons—WK.

MONDAY, JUNE 12: Our farmers were exploited by various sections of the administration and were made the whipping boys of the bureaucracy; they became frustrated and dispirited, caught in an economic stranglehold there was no escape from; today we must give our farmers confidence; they must have the assistance and cooperation of the banks and we must always mind the wisdom of the President who prepared a Cabinet paper embodying the sage thought that 'Prosperity of Sri

Lanka lies in the Rural Sector.' So said the Chairman of the Agricultural Development Authority when he addressed a seminar of bank managers. The President who visited the Mahaweli settlement area in Kalawewa on Saturday said he was happy that LSSP leaders had accompanied him accepting his invitation; he also showed surprise over the failure of the SLFP which was represented in Parliament to raise in the House some of the matters taken up by the LSSP. The services of several lawyers are to be enlisted to assist in the work of the Presidential Commission appointed to inquire into and report on misdeeds committed during the previous regime. The Minister of Education has decided to give a glass of full cream milk to students of government schools—CDN. The degrees of the 'Open University' would be on par with the degrees of the University of Sri Lanka said the Secretary to the Ministry of Education. A poster war between an ultra left group and LSSP supporters was clearly visible at Kalawewa during the inspection tour of the President in the company of Dr. N. M. Perera and Colvin R. de Silva; the ultra left group poster criticised the two LSSP stalwarts for going to Kalawewa while the LSSP's poster sought to champion the cause of farmers by spotlighting their alleged grievances—CDM. The Manaweli Development Board has drawn up crop combination for settlers being maintained under the scheme whereby each unit of a 2 1/2 acre piece of land will be ensured a return of at least Rs. 9000 from crop cultivation at the end of each season. One hundred and twenty one Maldivians found drifting in a boat 400 miles off the Maldivian coast were rescued by the American tanker 'Texaco Greenwich' and brought them to Colombo Port on Saturday night. Future District Ministers are likely

to have a Technical Secretary who will be a qualified engineer to assist them in the implementation of various schemes—SU. In the first round of talks held between Libya and Sri Lanka significant economic decisions were made; the Libyan government announced that they would not only explore the possibility of participation in the Mahaweli Diversion Project and the GCEC but also consider investment in any other viable projects—IDPR No. 102/78. A Central Fisheries Authority is to be set up to carry out the administration in the fisheries industry more efficiently—DM. A long-expected Cabinet reshuffle will be effected in the first week of this month; the present Speaker is to be made the Minister of State, with Plan Implementation, Information and Broadcasting, Shipping and Tourism under him—ATH. French and Belgian instructors will help bolster Zaire's armed forces by training infantry and air borne troops—CDN. President Ferdinand Marcos today cleared the way to free his political archrival Benigno Aquino reflecting a policy of reconciliation on the eve of the convening of the Philippines first legislature in six years of martial law. Cuban PM Fidel Castro told the US last month that he had tried but failed to halt the rebel invasion of Zaire's Shaba Province—SU. Malaysia's ruling National Front led by PM Datuk Hussein Onn is set for a sweeping victory in the mid term general elections now expected to be held on July 8. The death toll in the North Indian state of Bihar has now risen to 46. About 9000 riot police braced themselves for possible harassment yesterday by opponents of Tokyo's newly opened international airport at Narita police said—CDM.

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Confidentially

C.T.B. Goings-On

IS IT NOT TRUE that the new Central and Regional Boards of the CTB got off to a flying start on June 15? That one incident, however, in the Central Board's office has caused many eyebrows to be raised? That before we go into that, it must be said that there is universal satisfaction that the person appointed Chairman, Mr. Premaratne, is regarded as an excellent choice with a good record of work? That shortly after he was installed with due fanfare and trumpeting by the Minister, the Chairman had appointed a CTB employee, who had worked with him when he (Mr. Premaratne) had been in the CTB, as his private confidential secretary? That a Chairman or the Head of any organisation should have a person who enjoys his confidence as his personal secretary? That the new Secretary* was duly installed in his office? That thereafter the Chairman had left either for his lunch or to attend to some other work? That no sooner the Chairman had left a group of "activists" of the dominant trade union at the workplace had invaded the Chairman's office and threw this secretary out of the joint? That the grouse of these belligerent and rowdy activists was that the person chosen by the Chairman to be his confidential secretary was not to their liking? That these activists felt that the Chairman's Confidential Secretary (and the rest of his personal staff) should be persons acceptable to them? That the reason trotted out as the excuse for this action was that the person concerned was either a SLFPite or an LSSPite? That there is probably no truth in that allegation but that

does not deter such thugs from taking the law into their own hands? That what they want is to have "their people" near and around the Chairman? That this is the kind of "discipline" (or the lack of discipline), under cover of trade unionism, that has been rampant in the CTB (as in many other institutions) for a long time now? That this malady had begun in 1970 and many had hoped that with the coming of the UNP government in July 1977 there would be a change for the better? That from all reports, this desirable change has not come as yet to the CTB? That though reports are vague, it would appear that whilst the Chairman was willing to pick on another person to be his secretary—a person acceptable to the "unionists"—Minister Mohamed in a rare mood of righteous action had insisted that the person who had been chased out should be brought back and given the work? That the Minister had declared, it would appear, that discipline should be maintained at all costs? That if these reports are correct Minister Mohamed must be congratulated on his insistence for total discipline? That though reports indicate that the Minister was for taking a tough line, it was not known (at the time of going to press) whether the Minister's decision or the Chairman's compromise strategy had finally succeeded?

IS IT ALSO NOT TRUE matters have begun to look up for the better in the CTB? That sometime ago in the *Quidnuncs* column it was reported that a CTB VIP had planned to take a private trip to Europe and that he was interested in the firms with whom indents had been placed? That whether as a result of this revelation or for some other reason this VIP had cancelled his trip abroad? That a short time ago—before the new Boards were set up—the CTB

Head Office received instructions from a VIP (who, we will not say) to place orders for one thousand or more ticket machines with a particular firm abroad? That the cost of the order was nearly rupees ten million? That the "order" if placed, would have violated not only the usual tender procedures followed by the CTB but also the recent Presidential order that all tenders for over a million rupees should go before a Special Committee? That the person concerned had probably thought that if no tenders were called and a straight "order" placed, then there was no need to conform to CTB tender rules or the Presidential order? That in the new climate in the CTB the officials or functionaries who had to place the orders (in fact affix their signature to the documents) were unwilling, it is reported, to carry out the orders to place an indent for a thousand ticket machines? That it is not known, at the time these notes are being written, whether the person who wanted to place the order had got cold feet in the gathering storm and had backed out? That it is a happy augury that it is becoming more and more difficult for persons in the CTB to operate rackets on a grand scale? That the appointment of Mr. Premaratne as the head of the Central Board has generated a great deal of hope and confidence that at least in one sector matters would improve so far as the CTB is concerned? That reports from the other centres are awaited to know how the other Boards will fare? That the new buses will get on the roads soon and commuters are looking forward to a better service—even if the fares are raised? That the important thing is to see that new buses are better looked after than the ones imported before?

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from Sri Lankan waters

GOVERNMENT MUST ALSO CANCEL
• all other pending licences, if any, and not
issue any more new licences.

BUT MORE THAN THIS

GOVERNMENT MUST STOP THE EXPORT
of fish and fish products. Sri Lanka has no
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no benefit by export — only a few exporters,
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