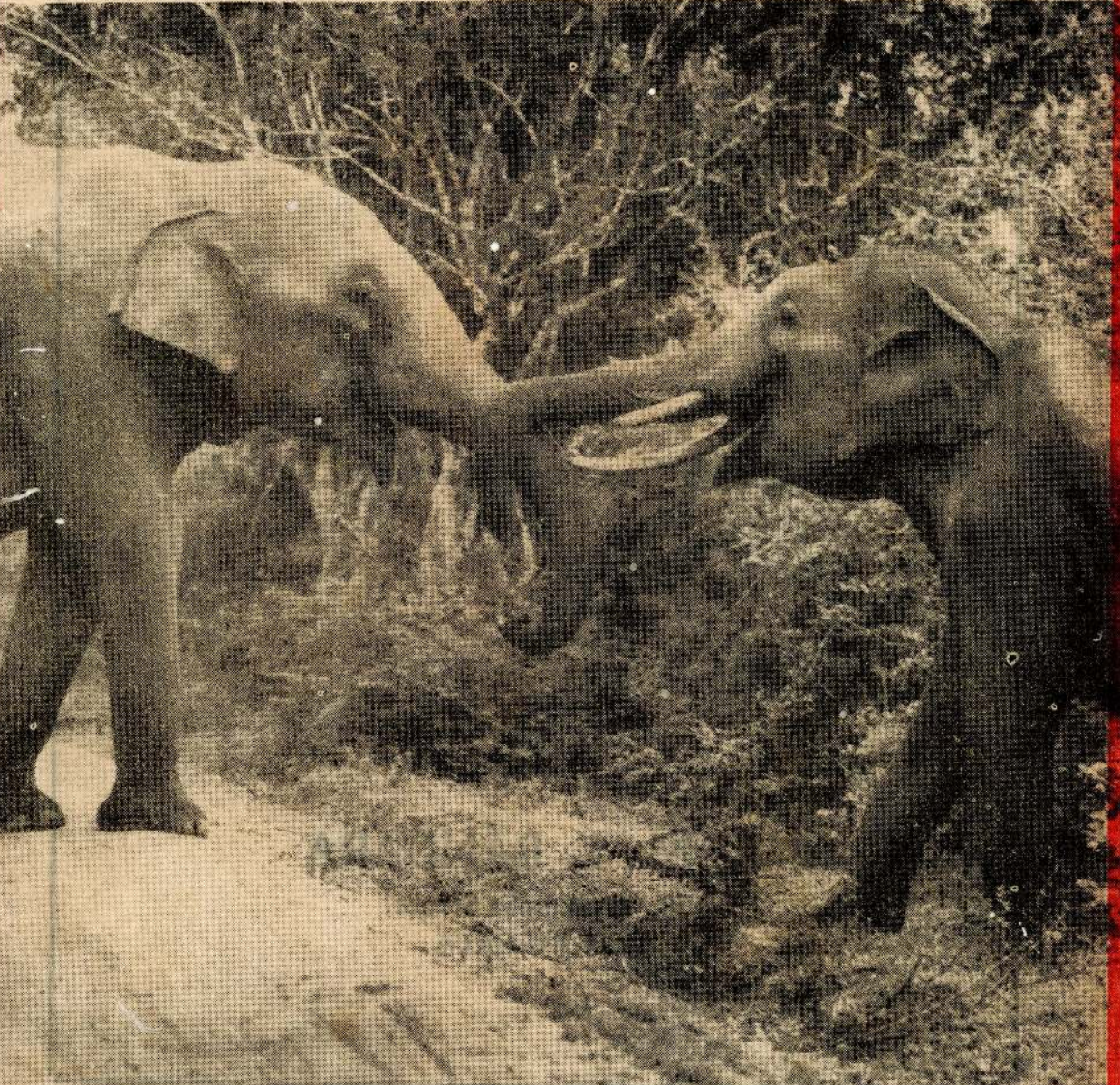


# TRIBUNE



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WEEKLY NEWS REVIEW  
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# Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a rather unusual picture of two elephants getting ready for a "fight". Not being trained experts in the ways of elephants we are not able to say just what sparring between the tusker and the other elephant means. Could it be a friendly tussle in a playful mood? Or could it be a spot of love-making? Or is it only the beginning of a battle royal of elephantine proportions? We do not know. Our readers may, therefore, wonder why we chose this picture for the cover this time. Was it because of the confrontation said to be building up inside the UNP on the Rukman Senanayake issue? But, we do not think that there is such serious difficulty inside the UNP on account of Rukman. If he had bided his time he would in the course of time have become an important leader of the UNP, but the vested interests in the UNP, which had sought to make Rukman leapfrog into top position in double quick time, have only done the young politician a disservice. The IR manner of curbing the ambitions of Rukman and his backstage promoters have no doubt lacked finesse and have left a bitter taste in many mouths, but this does mean that Rukman can upset the applecart for the IR-led UNP at this stage. Only the pro-SLFP press seems to think that the Rukman issue will afford an excellent opportunity to cause increased dissension inside the UNP, but such attempts have so far proved infantile. Take for instance, the editorial in the *Daily News* of Saturday, May 22, 1976, entitled RUKMAN. The first half (or more) of the editorial is a slanted and distorted history of the UNP praising it for what it was not and also making a romanticised "hero" of D. S. Senanayake. If he were all that the *Daily News* editorially now says, the question will be asked why S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike ever broke away from the UNP in 1951 and formed the SLFP? One has only read the speeches and writings of Bandaranaike to have a different view of the UNP. From this cock-eyed view of the UNP the *Daily News* editorial went on to proclaim that the UNP had now turned "fascist", because the present leader wanted to exorcise the Senanayake name from the UNP. After using bad names to describe the present dominant leadership in the UNP (not political analysis to reveal the "totalitarian" fascist trends) the editorial went on to assert "...nobody bred in the tradition of compassion, of respect for tradition and veneration with which gratitude is upheld in this land could act so swiftly to remove the Senanayake name (to which the present leadership owes everything) from its ranks for ever." Those who know the political history of the contemporary Ceylon know that if there was one name which was political anathema to S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike it was the name of Senanayake who had done everything to eliminate him from the political scene. But the present bosses of Lake House do not seem to know this. To come back to the picture on the cover, we did not, in using the picture, have in mind the political confrontations which have come into sharp focus in the last fortnight, like the ones centred on SLFP-LSSP clash or the Government-TULF conflict, or even the latest of the inner SLFP tussle which ended up in fisticuffs inside the NSA between two Ministers. We had a totally different kind of confrontation in mind when we chose this picture. It is a "wild life" picture—to use a colloquialism. Wild Life experts may tell us that the picture only represents a love-hate episode in the life of elephants. (But we are not concerned with this topic which is something for the Smithsonian Institute). What we are here concerned with is the unequal contest that has arisen in the *Wildlife Society in Sri Lanka*—it has a long and bombastic name which runs something like *Wild Life and Nature Protection Society (WLNPS)*. Here, longtime vested interests, armed with an anachronistic and archaic Constitution (Rules and Regulations good enough in a colonial era to enable a few Sahibs to keep the "natives" down, seem to be doing everything to prevent new life and new blood from having a say in the affairs of the Society. There are many lovers of *Wild Life and Nature in Sri Lanka* today who (very rightly) feel that the WLNPS has not done what should have been done to protect wild life or conserve nature. It was the main objective of this Society to prod Government into proper action for conservation. But in the last two decades or more there has been no protection or conservation or only destruction. A moribund Constitution cannot help vested interests in control of the WLNPS machine (however high the VIP connections) to withstand the storm that is arising about the neglect of wild life and nature conservation in this country. More Anon.

# TRIBUNE

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## Kandy And After

FROM ALL REPORTS received in the Tribune office, the crowds which had gathered in Kandy for the Republic Day celebrations last Saturday was mammoth in every sense of the word. Whether the crowds came to witness the parade or the other tamasha-like carnival turns (as some would be tempted to say), there is no doubt that the crowds were unexpectedly large. Republic Day is a political event on which the SLFP and the UF stake their claim for popular support. The UNP is cynical about the new Constitution and has announced that it will change those parts of the Constitution which the UNP think are not in the "best interests" of the country. The UNP, moreover, still believe that February 4 should be regarded as Independence Day and that May 22 was only an incidental landmark of the political history of the island: that Constitutions can be changed by the will of the people. But, that the fact that political sovereignty, even if allegedly limited or circumscribed at first, was restored to the people of Sri Lanka on February 4, 1948, is something that cannot be changed. The LSSP, which claims to be the father of the Constitution, now asserts that the SLFP has begun to go against the spirit of the Constitution (as understood by the LSSP). The TUF has no use for the Constitution which according to them does not constitutionally ensure fundamental rights for the minorities.

In these circumstances, the political content of the big turnout in Kandy on May 22 is basic support for the SLFP. A section of the crowd may have been tamasha-seekers who may vote anything but SLFP at a general elections. But the fact that the SLFP has been able to draw such a massive crowd for Republic Day last week in the hill capital is proof that the SLFP still wields a tremendous political pull in the areas which centre around Kandy. The Kandyan regions from Medawachchiya to Balangoda, from Bitenne to Bingiriya—and everywhere else—

have been the stronghold of the SLFP. Though many claim that this base has been shaken (and cite Kalawewa in support of this contention) the Kandy turnout is an indication that the SLFP still has solid and basic support in the Kandyan areas.

It is also a fact that the crowds to Kandy were not brought to town in the same manner that the "working masses" were brought to Colombo on May Day. All roads and buses had led to Kandy on May 22 (not to speak of special trains), but there was nothing of the packaged conducted tours to Colombo at subsidised rates as for May Day, 1976. It must be remembered that the SLFP and UF have directed the major part of their welfarism and benefits under the so-called "radical measures" like Land Reform, Agricultural Credit, etc., towards the "Kandyan area" peasants since 1970; and this will naturally have favourable impact so far as the SLFP is concerned in these areas. Even in the matter of providing employment to unemployed and underemployed people, the Kandyans (on the plea that they were a neglected community during British times), have received special attention.

**But students of contemporary Ceylon politics know that crowds at meetings and big governmental shows like the Republic or Independence Day celebrations are no indication of which way the voting will swing in a General Election. A four to five percent swing, in the kind of electoral system that operates in Sri Lanka, can cause a landslide one way or other. It is this marginal (and floating) vote that determines the outcome of General Elections. After the Republic Day turnout in Kandy on May 22, it is clear that the SLFP has not been "wiped out" electorally as some political pundits would like us to believe. The SLFP-UF government has some solid achievements to its credit and the beneficiaries thereof are not likely forget this during the 1977 elections. But the inability of the Government to provide basic essentials at prices within the reach of the people and in adequate quantities will influence the voting**

**of the marginal and floating voters who determine the destiny of Governments and the fortunes of political parties.**

IN THIS CONTEXT, the current attempt to control the prices of basic essentials through Emergency Regulations is to be commended, but we are afraid that mere bureaucratic fiat fixing "controlled prices" with the threat of deterrent and punitive punishment for violators of the new laws cannot solve the difficulties of the people. There is a great deal of bombast emanating from bureaucratic big-wigs about the control of prices in respect of sixty items considered essential. But the question is whether there is adequate production and supplies (even of items locally produced) to ensure that stocks will be available for the consumer.

People remember that not very long ago this Government had introduced draconian measures to control the sale and transport of paddy in the belief that there were "hoarded stocks" to be unearthed from errant traders and blackmarketeers. But it was soon found that the hoarded stocks were minimal—in fact there was no hoarding of any significant nature (as Tribune had asserted taking into consideration the real production achieved in paddy and not the bogus figures claimed by officials). Today, with regard to the sixty items, there is much talk about hoarding by traders and that the Emergency Laws were intended to bring the "traders" under control.

What is important is that the intended control relates to traders who subsist on leaks and thefts from the co-operative sector. Government has now been compelled to bring Emergency Laws to "register" all traders because a new class of unregistered and unlicensed trader has come into existence after the old traders were wiped out by direct measures (through state monopolies) and indirect measures (like punitive taxation). Very few of the old wholesalers and retailers exist today—some have gone into new avenues under CRA exports (and the like) and others have been pauperised and liquidated.

**But a new class of trader has come into being. These traders are a parasitic outgrowth**

of the state monopolies and the co-operative system. They are not licensed as the old traders were and are not subject to any kind of control or taxation. Their strength is their "political pull". With this "pull" they obtain supplies from nationalised undertakings, state trade monopolies and the co-operative sector. They operate in the blackmarket under various aliases. Goods supplied to the co-operatives which consumers cannot get from the co-ops can be obtained from these new traders who have proliferated in every area. These new traders are conscious that they have to make quick money in double quick time—before the next General Elections not knowing whether their "pull" will continue after that. These traders are unconscionable blackmarketeers. These traders do not have the ethics of the old trading class which had wanted continuity of their business (in spite of their greed). The new trader has no ethics of any kind. He thinks that political pull gives him complete immunity—and so far he was enjoyed such immunity.

It is ironic that after the Government had taken comprehensive measures to wipe out the old trading class in order to have a dominant public sector in trade, the Government is compelled to adopt Emergency Regulations to "licence" traders who are obviously new. The old traders were licensed in the old days in the normal way. The new "political" traders have never bothered to license their business. How far the new Emergency measures will be able to check the blackmarket is hard to say. It must be mentioned that if the the public sector trading system and the co-operative system functioned properly there would be no need for the new Emergency Laws to control "traders."

But in the ultimate analysis, it is increased production which can bring relief to the people. In her Republic Day message the Prime Minister stressed that people must work harder to utilise the benefits this Government has been able to provide the common people in the vast and sweeping

changes effected since 1970. Tribune has mentioned on many occasions in the past that the Prime Minister alone of the entire Cabinet has pleaded with the people that they should work harder. All other Ministers and politicians mention work only apologetically without emphasising that unless there was more work—and less holidays—the economic situation would go from bad to worse.

The Prime Minister's Republic Day message was published in all the papers, but strangely enough even Lake House papers did not report about the massive nature of the crowds at Kandy and comment on the political implications of the crowds which had gathered there. The art of political comment with objectivity is a lost art in the daily press of Sri Lanka today.

A VERY SIGNIFICANT SPEECH was made by the Prime Minister at Dambulla on Sunday May 23. Whilst the Observer of May 24 had reported this speech with some prominence, the Daily News played it on a low key. For the record we reprint the PM's speech as reported by Premaratne Ratnayake in the Observer of May 24th.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday said that she would brook no attempt by any quarter to divide this tiny island or to create dissension among different communities for the narrow political gains of a few. "I would not hesitate to take the most severe steps legally possible to thwart such attempts", she said. The Premier was addressing a public rally in Dambulla which followed the inauguration by her of the issue of diverted Mahaweli Waters from the Kandalama tank to 4,000 acres of paddy lands. A large crowd never before seen in this area, assembled to listen to her. The Prime Minister referring to the arrest of some Federal Party MPs and their supporters said that the FP had for a long time campaigned for a separate Tamil State. They had even carried out propaganda abroad to tarnish the image of this country. When they openly flouted the laws of this country to press for their demands she had to order the police to arrest them, she said.

Learned and intelligent Tamils all abhorred the narrow sectarian policies of these people who are bent on dismembering this country.

Tamils in South India agitated and got Tamil Nadu. But, due to their misuse the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, had to dissolve that government. At this point her speech was interrupted for a few minutes when the audience shouted: "Follow Indira", and "We do not want elections in 1977". The Premier interjected that she was not afraid of elections and was confident of complete victory." Somebody in Parliament had cast aspersions that I travelled by helicopters because I could not go on the road. For the services I have rendered to this country the people will protect me wherever I go. Today I travelled by road. I have no fear to go on the road. But, when the exigencies of my office demanded I have to go by helicopter too.

The Premier who said that political independence without economic independence to follow it was meaningless said that it was towards achieving the latter that the government had launched massive development projects like the Mahaweli Development Scheme. However much the government tried the country will not prosper if the people are not prepared to co-operate with the government and make these development plans real through hardwork, she said. The Premier observed that contrary to expectations the immediate benefits of the Mahaweli Diversion had been minimal. It was due to a poor flow in the river consequent upon a protracted drought experienced in the catchment area. Indiscriminate felling in the montane has had an adverse effect on the weather which had brought on this chaotic situation. If this large-scale felling of our jungles continued our country would one day end up as a desert. When our rivers were replete with water there was no plan to harness them. When we are working on a definite plan to make maximum use of it there is no water. That is the irony of it. If the river flow improved we would be able to give more water and help farmers produce more. Our dependence on foreign markets for food had contributed to the rising cost of living. The answer to that lay in achieving self-sufficiency in food. The government had planned to stop the import of rice from 1977. But due to factors

beyond the control of the government, this could not be achieved. Let us pray and hope that before long we would not only stop the imports of rice, but also export it in our own ships, she said. The Prime Minister who appealed to the farmers to exercise the utmost care in using the little water available told them to eliminate waste and make the best use of it.

Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, said that the credit for implementing the Mahaweli Scheme should go to the Prime Minister and that as Irrigation Minister the role he had played was that of midwife. The river which brought precious water to the Raja Rata flowed through the Kandy and Matale districts. But, the people in these areas have not benefited by it even though they had to sacrifice a lot. There fore when alienating land under Stage I of the Mahaweli Scheme preference will be given to them. After the Mahaweli Diversion the farmers of Kandalama will be able to cultivate during Yala for the first time since 1968, the Minister said.

Mr. T. B. Tennekoon, Minister of Cultural Affairs, said that 20 years ago in Parliament he had advocated the Diversion of Mahaweli. The late Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, envisaged the diversion not only of Mahaweli but also of Kelani,

Walawe, Nilwala ganges and Ma Oya. The reactionary plot that led to his assassination had disrupted his plans. But, it was the good fortune of the country that Mrs. Bandaranaike heroically and selflessly came forward to lead an orphaned nation. "Today, with the loving care of a mother the Prime Minister had inaugurated the issue of diverted Mahaweli waters to the Kandalama peasants who were suffering under drought conditions, Mr. Tennekoon said.

There are a few important matters the Prime Minister has stressed in her speech. She had stressed that action had been taken against some FP MPs because they had continued to carry on propaganda in favour of a separate state for the Tamils. She mentioned that "learned and intelligent" Tamil people were not for a separate Tamil State. It is well to remember

that even the minimum demands of non-FP Tamil leaders and people have not yet been met by the Government—the basic essential being that the fundamental rights for the Tamil minorities should be enshrined in the Constitution. In this connection, *Tribune* has always stressed that "learned and intelligent" people in all communities in the island do not desire that any confrontation should develop on the question of the position of the minorities in this country, chiefly the Tamil minority. It is the failure on the part of the Government, to solve the minority problem that has led to demand for a separate state; and the sooner the Government is able to respond, unilaterally, to the desires of the "learned and intelligent Tamils" in regard to their legitimate grievances and demands, the sooner will the present Tamil problem will be solved.

The second matter of importance is the stress the PM laid on the need for hard work. And the third, and most important, (from our point of view,) is the warning that the Prime Minister has given about the indiscriminate felling of forests and trees in the catchment areas of rivers. This is a subject on which the *Tribune* has written a great deal over the years and it will be a subject to which we will revert often in the coming months. But, the fact that the Prime Minister has thought it necessary to issue this warning—better late than never—is an indication that Government has at last awoken to the problem of the destruction of montane forests.

\* \* \*

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY KAUTILIYA

### India, Pakistan, Vietnam

ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT developments in May was the accord reached in Islamabad between India and Pakistan to normalise the relations between the two countries. The negotiations had begun on May 12, and the two delegations had signed agreements on May 14. Embassies, which had been closed since 1971,

will be re-opened before July 24. The other points of agreement were: (1) the resumption of air, road and rail links; (2) the sending of a joint letter to the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organisation) withdrawing claims and counter-claims which had stemmed from Pakistan's futile claim against India for damages arising from India's refusal in 1971 of airspace and airports to Pakistani aircraft following the hijacking of an Indian aircraft which was later blown up at Lahore airport, (3) Indian agreement to link its railway lines with those of Pakistan which has restored them up to the border post of Wagah near Lahore; (4) resumption of overland goods traffic for places within and beyond Pakistan with provision that Pakistan would provide transhipment, warehousing and customs' clearing facilities at Wagah for India's transit trade with Afghanistan, Iran and others in the West; (5) extending the scope of current governmental trade to include private commerce; (6) exchange of detainees from each other's jails; (7) providing visas and the promotion of cultural and scientific exchanges.

It was also agreed that all the agreements will become operative simultaneously at the latest by July 24, 1976. Prime Minister Bhutto has claimed that it was he who had taken the initiative to bring about this rapprochement by writing to the Indian Prime Minister on March 27. The Indian Prime Minister had replied on April 11 and talks were fixed thereafter for May 12. Though Prime Minister Bhutto claims the credit for breaking the deadlock by writing on March 27, it must be realised that it was Pakistan's obstinate adherence to the case it had filed before the ICAO that stalemated the normalisation envisaged in the Simla Agreement. It is an admitted fact that the two countries could not reach agreement on normalisation on the resumption of civilian air communication and overflights because of Pakistan's claim at the ICAO. However, there is no doubt that Prime Minister Bhutto took the initiative in his March 27 letter to Premier Indira Gandhi to say that "to impart the normalisation process the impetus it needs, and in keeping with our sincere de-

sire to improve relations with India, we would be prepared to go to the length of withdrawing Pakistan's case from the ICAO. How else can the impasse be broken?" Accepting the offer, Mrs. Gandhi in her reply on April 11, stated that she would instruct her Foreign Secretary to contact the Pakistani counterpart in order to arrange a date for a meeting of the two countries officials. The meeting was fixed for May 12 at Islamabad.

Though formal normalisation has now been achieved, it is clear that one essential element for cordial relations is still lacking. So far as Pakistan is concerned, the Kashmir dispute is an open question, but India regards the matter as closed. "Both sides admit that some discussions about Kashmir had taken place, but the outlook for any agreement seems to be as dismal as ever. The Pakistan Foreign Secretary had declared after the talks that of all the issues listed under the Simla accord, only Kashmir now remained to be resolved. Speaking to troops about 100 miles from the Chinese border, Premier Bhutto on May 13 had said that Kashmir was a basic issue on which there never could be a compromise, for the destinies of Pakistan and Kashmir were unbreakably tied to each other. All the same, he proposed that to avoid sullyng the present atmosphere of seeming cordiality, both countries should avoid shouting against each other's defence efforts."

In Islamabad, at the conclusion of the agreements, Premier Bhutto's spokesmen had said that "discussions between Shahi and Mehta would nail local allegations that Premier Bhutto had bartered away Kashmir under some secret agreement at Simla. Also, it is being argued by the ruling party that Kashmir was the sole remaining topic for discussion at the high-level Indo-Pakistani talks that should logically follow the recently concluded agreements."

Even this formal normalisation of relations between Pakistan and India ushers in a new era in the region. This comes fast upon India's resumption of ambassadorial level diplomatic relations with China. It will thus be seen that diplomatically at least there is a new normalisation in the South

Asia region. India has restored her diplomatic and other links with both China and Pakistan. It is said that Yugoslavia had smoothed the way for the Sino-Indian rapprochement whilst Iran had been greatly responsible for bringing about normalisation between India and Pakistan. As late as mid-March, Prime Minister Bhutto had shown great reluctance (even after India had normalised relations with China) to re-open negotiations with India. But, suddenly, there was a change, and Bhutto was willing to withdraw Pakistan's case before the ICAO. Many diplomatic observers have hinted that Iran may have had a great deal to do with all this.

Prime Minister Bhutto has shown that he was earnest in his desire for better relations with India when he had sought and obtained permission to overfly India when he set out on his journey to North Korea and China on May 19. This was the first time since 1971 that a Pakistani aircraft has flown across India. In the intervening period, Pakistani planes flying to Peking went over the Karakoram range while flights to Bangkok, Hongkong and Tokyo were routed through Colombo.

A new situation has arisen in South Asia, and the Pakistan Premier is no doubt anxious to discuss the perspectives of the unfolding situation with the new Chinese Prime Minister. Pakistan and China had enjoyed a special relationship ever since relations between India and China were strained after the 1962 clashes on the Himalayan border and the Indo-Pak wars of 1965-66 and 1971. Diplomatic observers have spoken about a Pak-China axis against India, and on this cold war confrontation many smaller states like Nepal, Sri Lanka, (and now) Bangladesh had worked out some aspects the dialectics and imperatives of their foreign and domestic policies. All these countries are now faced with a new situation. Sri Lanka's deputy minister of foreign affairs, Laksman Jayakoddy went to Peking last week, no doubt to review the intricacies of the current situation on the eve of the Nonaligned Conference. And it is also well to remember that Iran has catapulted herself into the vortex of South Asia and Indian Ocean politics.

JUST AS A NEW SITUATION has arisen in South Asia, an even more interesting situation has arisen in South East Asia with the end of the war in Indochina and the emergence of Vietnam as a major power in the region. The elections are over in Vietnam and the unification of the North and South is an accomplished fact and this ends one of the strategic landmarks of Dullesian cold war politics which had led to the division of the country into two parts. Now, under the impact of the Second Development Plan (which will be extended to cover the whole country and not merely the North), Vietnam rich in natural resources and manpower will emerge as a new power to be reckoned with in Southeast Asia.

The Geneva Agreement of 1954 had divided Vietnam into two "nations." But this has ended and Saigon has ceased to be a capital. On May 8, which marked the 21st anniversary of the Vietminh victory over the French in Dien Bien Phu, all diplomatic missions in Saigon and foreign news agencies closed operations. They will be shifted to Hanoi. This step legalises the de facto unification of Vietnam which took place on April 30, 1975 when North Vietnam and Viet Cong forces took over Saigon and South Vietnam. Since that time, the South has progressively been brought under the northern system. A conference was held in Ho Chi Minh city—the new name for Saigon—between November 15 and 21, when North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese delegations of 25 on each side had "achieved identity of views on the procedures for reunifying the country on the state plane and holding general elections." The elections were held on April 25 to choose 497 deputies (249 for the north and 243 for the south) out of 599 candidates. One deputy was elected for every 100,000 inhabitants and one additional for the remainder exceeded 50,000. The basis of the elections was "universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot". All Vietnamese citizens over 18 were entitled to vote, without any distinction of "nationality, sex, religion, academic knowledge, profession, birth place, residence duration..." The candidates had to be over 21, and in the south former officials and soldiers of the Thieu government were al-

lowed to vote but a distinction was made between those who were "forced to serve the regime" and those who "deliberately acted as the valets of American imperialism." Among those who voted in the South was Gen. Duong Van Minh, who was the last President of the Republic of Vietnam, for 48 hours, before ordering the surrender to the liberation forces.

All the Government and party leaders in both north and south were returned with overwhelming majorities. The total poll was 99.32 per cent in Hanoi. The exceedingly high percentage of 99 percent votes for the total as well as individual candidates can be understood from the fact that under the communist system only approved candidates were allowed to contest. The voters were also urged to make their selection among the approved candidates "on the basis of socialism", and they were also warned that any votes against the establishment of socialism would have a "negative nature". Campaigning by the candidates was not allowed "as it would provide the candidate with an opportunity to brag about himself and make empty promises and seriously mislead voters in their choice. The mere fact that a candidate is not allowed to campaign for himself is a guarantee that he has a good record in the revolutionary struggle." Deposits were not required of candidates as they "would only debar virtuous persons who in Vietnam are traditionally understood to be poor and without power."

The deputies are expected to meet in June at the National Assembly opposite the marble mausoleum of President Ho Chi Minh (embalmed in a glass coffin) and they will determine the "state system, elect leading organs, decide on a new constitution, the name of the country, its national anthem and the flag." It is said that all these procedures fall under the Paris Agreement of June 27, 1973 which had laid down that the re-unification of Vietnam should be effected through peaceful means "on the basis of discussions and agreements between North and South Vietnam." In the joint discussions last November there were no really no serious differences between the North and South—primarily owing to

the fact that the war had been concluded by the military victory of the Northern and the Vietcong forces.

Many historians have already speculated what the history of the Indochina peninsula would have been if the projected 1956 elections (under the Geneva Agreement) had been held in the communist North and the anti-Communist (Diem regime in power) South. The results may not have been very different from what has taken place now. It was because Dulles thought that the majority in the South too would vote in favour of Ho Chi Minh that the USA violated the Geneva Agreement and embarked on the disastrous war which led to the death of 4 million Vietnamese and 50,000 Americans, apart from vast destruction in the country. Whole generations of Vietnamese today know only war as normality and American "pacification" programmes will also mean that millions brought up on anti-communism will have to undergo "re-education".

Re-unified Vietnam will have a population of about 50 million people and is the third largest socialist country in the world after China and Russia. Its population is the second largest in Southeast Asia after Indonesia with an area of 125,000 sq. miles. In natural resources, the North has coal, iron ore, phosphate, manganese, titanium, chromite, bauxite and some gold. Its reserves of apatite is said to be one of the biggest in the world. In the South there are limited coal bearing areas and possibilities of iron ore and other minerals. The continental shelves are rich in oil. In agriculture, the South leads with rice, tea, rubber, maize, sugarcane and coffee. The North has cotton, silk and the like. The North is covered with mountains and forests, the South is mainly deltaic. There is production of textiles, silk and cement in the north whilst consumer goods are manufactured in the South. Before the unification conference, Saigon Radio had stated that "the South Vietnamese market in the past was a perfect symbol of a declining economy in which the US life style and corrupt consumerism had dominated. Unification would create favourable conditions for northern and southern markets

for exchange of goods, supplement each other and create a prosperous and steady market. It would lead to stabilisation of prices, proper distribution of goods to consumers and promote industrial and agricultural production."

The Vietnamese are very conscious of their 4,000 year old history and the many feuds they have had with the Chinese—Mongols as well as Hans. At a rally to celebrate the victory in May last year in Hanoi, the Mongol invasion of Vietnam and the Vietnamese wars against the Chinese were stressed along with wars against the French and the US. There is also a dispute with China over the Paracel Islands which is rich in phosphates but this is not likely to lead to any serious trouble—China having been one of the countries which has helped Vietnam to fight the US.

However, present indications are that whilst Vietnam will maintain close ties with all socialist countries, it will seek to be equidistant politically between Russia and China—although the USSR is in a position to give far more material help in reconstruction than China. Hanoi supports Moscow in regard to the irreversible nature of detente (which China has denounced as "bogus sham"), but Vietnam seems to be with China in its support to third world and nonaligned nations' opposition to super power hegemony.

It must be also realised that Vietnam is today a major power in Southeast Asia with the strongest armed forces in the region after China, well equipped in Russian and captured American arms. Vietnam has given assurances that it will not become a military threat to other nations: that it will give priority to economic development plans and that in its foreign policy it will not be a satellite of any country.

It is also significant that Vietnam has set out to resolve its stupendous economic problems as a military exercise. The Defence Ministry in Hanoi has now been put in charge of the economic development of the unified country. The fact that the military are in charge of economic reconstruction have many implications: (a) the power and prestige of the military establishment acquired during the war is so great that civilian depart-



ments will operate under its command in peacetime; (b) Vietnam's armed forces will not be demobilised—they will be kept in a state of combat readiness. Giap has recently announced that he favoured the building of a modern army capable of repulsing the most massive attacks. Giap had warned that the world was undergoing vast violent and complex struggles to resolve the problem of who will triumph over whom, between socialism and capitalism and national independence and colonialism; (c) that the war has left the social and political structures of the country disturbed

and distorted and that the organisation and discipline of the armed forces were essential to maintain social stability.

It is expected that Vietnam's armed forces will engage in all fields of industry, agriculture, communications, transportation and capital construction. They are to be encouraged to practice thrift, increase labour productivity, lower production costs and improve profit and loss accounting. Official proclamations have stated that the "army will become a large school for training youths to become an entirely new man who defends his fatherland and is

a good socialist worker". This means that Vietnam will utilise its huge army beyond its basic role as a purely military wing.

The new and unified Vietnam is a country to be watched. Its impact on Southeast Asia is bound to be tremendous. The Hanoi government had earlier blasted the ASEAN set-up, but has now modified its stand to stress that it was only intended to insist that Americans should stop exercising their pressures and influence in the ASEAN countries. Where all this will lead to is problematic, but it is the new history in the making.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

## May 2 — May 12

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

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

**SUNDAY, MAY 2:** The *Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated* quoted political observer as saying that the UF May Day rally and the procession was the biggest ever May Day rally held in the country: the procession which started at noon from Havelock Park was winding its way to the Galle Face Green even after 9.30 p.m., upsetting all schedules: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, began her speech only at 11 p.m. at which time the tail end of the procession reached Galle Face: a bus carrying UF supporters to the May Day celebrations met with an accident at Ayissawella: one person died and several others were seriously injured: the UNP procession started from Sugathadasa Stadium and the rally was held at the Hyde Park: the LSSP procession commenced from Campbell Park, Borella, and the rally was held at the Town Hall premises: the UNP procession which started at noon reached the venue at 7.15 p.m.: At the Galle Face a worker laid the foundation stone for erecting a bronze statue of late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike to be presented to the country by the Soviet Union—TOCSL, CO and VK. A resolution requesting the Government to release all those who are imprisoned for their involvement in the April '71 insurgency was unanimously passed by the large gathering at the LSSP May Day rally: the resolution said that few years have lapsed since the insurgency and as such the youth involved should be excused for their involvement and released—JD. The *Janadina* in its editorial wished the biggest ever May Day rally next year should be held under the proposed United Left Front. Post and Telecommunications Department will put out seven new stamps this week: six of them will be to mark the 2,600th birth anniversary of Prince Siddhartha which falls on

Vesak day: the seventh will be put out on May 6th to mark the opening of the Earth Satellite Station at Padukka—TOCSL. Ministry of Cultural Affairs has taken steps to bring back the things of archeological interest belonging to Sri Lanka and now kept in other countries—SM.

**MONDAY, MAY 3:** Mr Rukman Senarayake, MP for Dedigama, who was sacked from the UNP, issued a statement on his expulsion: Mr Senarayake in his statement posed a number of questions on charges of disloyalty to the UNP: he posed questions on Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's "loyalty" to the party including the latter's speech soon after the UNP's defeat in 1970 in which he said that the UNP has no future in this country: Mr Senarayake referred to Mr Jayewardene's proposal that the UNP should support the Government and that if the party rejected his proposal he would join the Government, if the Prime Minister invited him to do so: the MP for Dedigama alleged that it was Mr. Jayewardene who initiated the power struggle in the party which ended by his taking his own leader to the courts—CDN. The Minister of Education following representations made to him by the Staff of the University has made order that in future all Campus Presidents should be appointed from within the staff of the Campus—CDN. Referring to the UNCTAD conference that begins this week in Nairobi Dr. J. B. Kelegama, Secretary to the Ministry of Trade, told the *Daily News* that there are encouraging signs that the confrontation between developed and developing countries will give way to co-operation: Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Home Affairs and Public Administration, leads the Sri Lanka delegation to the Conference which leaves the country today—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a massive UF may day rally at the Galle Face on Saturday said that the working class should show the same enthusiasm that they showed in the procession and resolve to come to the rescue of the Government when the reactionary forces threaten the Government: she further said that the massive crowd present shows the faith of the ordinary masses in the Government: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, addressing a vast May Day rally at the Hyde Park said that in 1977 the UNP would usher in a revolution of the youth: he said that the revolution would be bloodless and through the ballot: Dr. N. M. Perera, Leader of the LSSP, addressing a large May Day rally at the Town Hall

premises said that the only expectation of the LSSP is to gather all socialist minded people under one banner and to create a new socialist society: he further said the time is now ripe for a new plan to make the people march along a new path that will give happiness—CDN. CDM and JD. According to the *Virakerari* the Tamil United Front's May Day celebrations in Jaffna were more a festivity of Tamil culture a workers' celebration. All major political parties commenced their election campaigns starting with the May Day—VK.

**TUESDAY, MAY 4:** Heads of States who will arrive at the Bandaranaike International Airport for the Non-aligned Conference will be received by the President and the Prime Minister: all other heads of delegations will be received by Cabinet Ministers—CDN. Government gave orders to all local bodies along the Negombo road from Katunayake to Colombo to put up pandols and other decorations during the Non-aligned summit time—JD. The *Janadina* in an editorial said that section of the Sri Lanka Communist Party still refused to believe that the Prime Minister Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike has taken several anti-working class steps and done several things to help the capitalist, and imperialist class: the paper further said though the Premier at times publicly and indirectly indicated that she was "responsible for the destruction of the United Front" this sector of the Communist party shamelessly tries to cover the shortcomings: the paper requested this section of the Communist Party to first know whether the Prime Minister is in the Left, Right or Middle, before making an invitation to patch up the differences of the ex-UF Police probing the Ward Place incident got another statement from Mr J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP: this has been done on the instructions of the Attorney General—VK. Mr. Joseph Michael Perera, MP for Ja-ela, will take his oath in the National State Assembly today—VK. Mr. Kamal Karunayake, Registrar of the University, has ordered that no mutual transfers among students of various campuses should be allowed: the Registrar has made this order in view of a large number of students storming the Registrar's Office seeking mutual transfers—VK. *Daily Mirror* and *Lankadipa*, the English and Sinhala dailies of the Time of Ceylon were not published today owing to a strike of the employees: according to a spokesman of the employees the company has still not paid the April salaries due to the workers—JD.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 5:** Prime Minister, Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing the 21st anniversary of the Ceylon Institute of Scientific and Industrial Research at the BMICH yesterday urged the scientists that they should keep the common touch and inventions should be made for the improvement of the common man—CDN. Mr. E. G. Wikramanayake, Q.C. now in Australia, was yesterday sentenced by the Criminal Justice Commission (Exchange Frauds) for three years rigorous imprisonment and was fined sums totalling Rs. 105,000 for his involvement in exchange violations—CDN. At a meeting of the Colombo Rotary Club Dr. Dahanayake, MP for Galle, said that this country has not benefited in any way by a system of several parties ruling it: he suggested a one-party system Government is the best for this country—VK. Mr. Hector Kobbe-kaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, told the NSA yesterday that compensation at the rate of Rs. 663/- will be paid to estates taken over from sterling

companies: he further said that payments will be in local currency—VK. Five Ministers of the Cabinet are presently abroad: Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Mexico, Mr. Ratnasiri Wikremnayake-Rome, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalla-Hawaii—Mr. T. B. Tennekoon—China and Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne—Nairobi—JD. According to the *Janadina* the speech by the Prime Minister at the UF May Day rally regarding the inability to implement the tax proposals presented to the NSA by the then Minister of Finance Dr. N. M. Perera, in 1974, has not revealed the actual fact: the paper said this speech by the Premier has given rise to suspicion whether the Premier made attempts to hide the facts from the masses: the paper further said Dr. N. M. Perera, has made a clear statement to the NSA regarding the inability to implement the tax proposals in his Budget presented in 1974. Police investigated into complaints of pelting stones and damaging the house of the brother of the Mayor of Colombo by the UNP May Day processionists—DM.

**THURSDAY, MAY 6:** Following reports that certain utterances by a Minister who went abroad has earned the displeasure of that Government Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has warned that UF Ministers who go abroad should maintain utmost restraint in their pronouncements on international affairs while they are abroad—CDN. Mr. George Rajapakse, Minister of Health and Fisheries, left for Geneva yesterday to attend the World Health Conference: Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of parliamentary Affairs and Sports will leave for India today on an invitation by the Government of India—JD. Dr. N. M. Perera, yesterday complained to the Speaker of the NSA, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne that in spite of the order by the Speaker that all conversation between Dr. Perera and the Prime Minister regarding the "American Troops" that took place in the House when it met last time should be reported without the bias the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation did not mention his name in their reportage: Dr. Perera wanted the Speaker to reprimand the Corporation for this lapse—VK. Dr. Gamin Corea of Sri Lanka, Secretary General of the UNCTAD, on the eve of the opening of the UNCTAD conference said that the participating Governments will see in this conference an opportunity to get some kind of result: Dr. Corea also told that he hoped that industrialised countries would realise the political importance of securing constructive results in Nairobi as any failure would gravely jeopardise negotiations in other international forums—CDN. According to the Ministry of Health five people in the Colombo area died of cholera since February—CDN. Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne has been appointed the Chief UNP organiser for the Dedigama electorate—DM. Four thousand rice ration books have been stolen from the Barnes Place Office of the Food Commissioner and it is suspected that these books have been sold to non-nationals at the rate of Rs. 500/- each—DM. Inquiries into the dismissal of an apprentice on whose behalf employees of the Government Press went on strike for over a month has been completed by the Commissioner of Labour—ATH.

**FRIDAY, MAY 7:** Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, said yesterday that in future government will confiscate all fishing trawlers and vessels which reach the shores of Sri Lanka illegally: Mr. Jayakody further said that warnings to this effect have already been sent to fishermen

of all neighbouring countries—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, replying to a question by the LSSP MP for Agalawatte, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, told the NSA yesterday that the Government has acted swiftly on every complaint made against the Police and has interdicted, dismissed and even got convictions for policemen found to have violated the laws—CDN. An earth satellite station which linked the country with space age was declared open by the Prime Minister at Padukka yesterday—CDN. The Commissioner of Archaeology addressing a seminar yesterday told that the possibility of antiques being smuggled out of the country under cover of diplomatic immunity cannot be ruled out—CO. Professor Senaka Bibile, Chairman of the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation, addressing a seminar said that all firms dealing with the manufacture and import of drugs should either be taken over by the Government or their activities controlled—JD. The Department of Education owes Rs. 2.4 million to the Railway for railway warrants used by teachers—JD. Government decided to deploy police personnel to all branches of the People's Bank in the country following incidents of robberies in the branches of the banks in isolated areas—DM. A series of seminars relating to the Non-aligned Summit Conference will be held at the BMICH starting from 19th of this month—ATH. When the NSA met yesterday several MPs of the UNP and the SLFP accused each other on certain incidents on May Day—VK. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Health several cases of Cholera has been reported from areas where action had been taken to vaccinate people—VK.

**SATURDAY, MAY 8:** A report on Sri Lanka presented by a World Bank team to the Aid Ceylon Club which met in Paris recently states that the "Sri Lankan economy has been in chronic contention with long term difficulties arising from structural over-dependence on a few primary commodities with steady deteriorating terms of trade and inadequate growth capabilities"—CDN. Following protests from Opposition members Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, Speaker of the NSA, ruled that the House could not proceed with the business without an Order Paper; however after disposing of certain important bills with the consent of the members, the NSA was adjourned—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, told the NSA that the Government was watching the situation regarding the effect of the rupee with its present link to the sterling pound—CDN. The People's Bank will soon inaugurate a scheme to provide daily loan for small-time traders: this scheme of providing daily loans has experimented in the Dompe and Mahara electorates and according to the Bank this has been a great success—DM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, replying to a question in the NSA yesterday said that the Government did not spend large sums of money on her recent trip to Yugoslavia: the Premier further said that she spent her own money for medical treatment she underwent in Yugoslavia—VK. Commissioner of National Housing has instructed his officers to take stern action against owners and tenants of houses who gave false information to the department about the rent and relevant particulars of their houses—ATH. Following instructions from Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, working hours of all night staff of the Government Press has been cut down by two hours—JD.

**SUNDAY, MAY 9:** The *Sunday Observer* posed the question whether Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, will scrap the Convertible Rupee Account scheme: according to the paper this question provoked intense speculation last week in both political and business circles: according to informed sources the CRA introduced by Dr. N. M. Perera, former Minister of Finance, has given room for many glaring abuses than the desired benefit. When the Peradeniya Campus opened for freshers recently for the first time in several years there were no incidents of ragging: instead the new and old students participated in a shramadana within the Campus—CO. University authorities asked for further details from the Foreign Ministry and other sources following report that a don of a local campus has been found guilty in UK by a court for shop-lifting—CO. According to the *Virakesari* several leading Tamil citizens in Colombo had formed a association to have discussions with the Government to solve the problems facing the Tamils of the country: this association is said to be opposed to the demand of the Tamil United Front for a separate state for Tamils—VK. The Department of Education will launch a campaign to plant trees, at least one by each school going child, on Vesak Day; under this campaign jak, bread fruit, coconut and orange trees numbering over several lakhs will be planted on Wesak Day—SM. According to the *Aththa* CID personnel visited the newspaper office recently and took statements from the staff of the editorial regarding a story published recently about certain alleged misdeeds by a top official of a state owned bank. According to the *Janasathiya* the crash food program initiated by the Prime Minister sometime ago has been a failure and nothing is spoken now about this and no interest is taken.

**MONDAY, MAY 10:** Government decided to impose strict legislation on private contractors who fail to keep to deadlines and delay the development of government's projects: according to a Government spokesman one of the deterrents to be brought in will be the confiscation of assets of defaulters—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the number of motor vehicles in the country topped the 200,000 mark by the end of April, 1976: according to these statistics one in every 65 in the country owns some type of vehicle and only one in 165 people owns private car—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* Sri Lanka's export earnings—traditional, non-traditional and industrial exports—are expected to be over Rs. 4,500 million this year. Several left leaders in the country will meet next week to discuss the proposed United Socialist Front: the leaders of these left movements are expected to have discussions with leaders of the Communist Party (Moscow Wing), Communist Party (Peking Wing), C.M.U. and the LSSP (R)—VK. A new program of work for the Tamil United Front will be drawn up on May 14 and 15 on which dates a conference of the TUF is scheduled at Vadducottai—VK. According to the *Janadina* all important Government printing works have been handed over to the Lake House on the orders of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. R. S. Perera: the paper in an editorial warned the Government not to allow the Minister concerned to act according to his whims and fancies and instead take appropriate action to stop entrusting the work of the Government Press to Lake House:

the paper farther said that the Minister has acted even without any consideration for printing the Order Paper of the NSA in time from the Government Press. The Rumanian Prime Minister, Mr. Manea Manescu, will arrive in Sri Lanka on May 24—ATH. Most wanted criminal in the country, Jayalathge Sirisena known as "Cheena" was yesterday arrested by the Police in his village in Dompe after a minor exchange of fire—DM. The Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, will return to the island today after his tour in Mexico and the USA.—LD. Mr. George Rajapakse, Minister of Health, instructed the Commissioner of Ayurveda to register all ayurvedic physicians under the Department of Ayurveda as medical practitioners—LD. The Petroleum Corporation has informed the political authorities and Government Agents that the corporation has got only limited facilities and as such it will be impossible to maintain an efficient distribution service of kerosene to all parts of the country—JD. Mr. William Gopallawa, President, assumed duties yesterday after a brief leave owing to illness—JD. According to the *Aththa* things have taken shape to a point that the Government Press may have to close down soon: the paper editorially said that if the Government fail to take swift action to heal the sore (Government Press) it will ultimately overpower the Government itself and create serious damage.

**TUESDAY, MAY 11:** An armed gang of four youths yesterday robbed the Multi-purpose co-operative rural bank at Puloly, in the Northern province, of Rs. 3 lakhs worth of jewellery and cash: police are conducting investigations—CDN. After preliminary inquiries four employees of the Government Press were interdicted in connection with the delay of printing the Order Paper of the National State Assembly—CDN. A World Bank team in its latest report on Sri Lanka said that substantial investment programs to increase the irrigated area and rehabilitate the capital stock in agriculture have been under taken by the Government with the assistance of a number of foreign donors: the Bank report recommended more tractors to step up production as the tillage power was inadequate—CDN. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, representing the country at the UNCTAD IV in Nairobi called for collective efforts by all developing countries to solve their own problems—CDN. Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, MP for Akuressa, and the President of the Communist Party told a public rally at Kandy that his efforts to bring about a unity of all anti-imperialist progressive Left parties would be a success—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* over 1,800 exporters of gems, industrial, agricultural, fisheries and other products are now operating in the country under the Convertible Rupee Account scheme and up to the end of December 1975 CRA holders have earned Rs. 259,959,471/-. The Peoples Bank has drawn up a program to provide a sum of Rs. 100 million as loans to farmers under the Mahaweli Scheme and these loans will be provided without asking for sureties from the farmers—DM. The first public meeting by Mr. Rukman Senanayake to explain to the masses about the present UNP led by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, will be held on May 30 at Dedigama—DM. Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, told the *Virakesari* that he himself would lead a struggle to obtain Mahaweli waters to the farmers of the Northern province—VK

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 12:** Police will have a sharp eye on all puppet shows and other plays during the Vesak and any one of these shows with a political aim will be banned—CDM. UNP's Sinhala daily, *Dinapatha* said that the party has decided to reorganise its Women's organisations to rid them of the influence of Colombo 7 women and give pride of place in its activities to the rural women and the common women folk—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* the United Nations Development Program which approved 15 million dollars for Sri Lanka for the five year period 1972-76 has now increased the aid to 18.2 million dollars. Ministry of Co-operative and Small Industries will soon hold competitions among various co-operative societies, stores and organisations in the island on a island-wide basis and will give large amounts of cash prizes for best ones chosen: this is one of the steps taken by Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives, to create a competitive spirit among the employees of the co-operatives in an effort to make the co-operatives function efficiently—DM. According to the *Janadina* the report of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, to probe the valuation of precious stones and gems has been proved false: according to the paper this committee was appointed by the present Finance Minister to sling mud on the former Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera: the *Janadina* further said the committee reported that the gems of the State gem Corporation had been valued in such a way to show a loss of Rs. 24.4 million but actually these gems have been now sold to a much higher price than the valued amount. Mr. N. Wimalasena, MP for Senkadagala and Mr. Faleel A. Gaffoor second MP for Colombo Central informed the UNP that they will quit politics at end of the term of the present NSA and as such will not contest their seats at the next general elections: Mr. Jabir A. Cader is likely to be appointed to the Colombo Central Seat in place of Mr. Gaffoor—JD. *Aththa* quoted the employees of the Government Press and said the non-availability of the Order Paper of the NSA last Friday was the culmination of a move by Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, in an attempt to make permanent the black-legs he employed during the strike at the Government Press.

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## INTERNATIONAL DIARY

May 3 - May 9

**MONDAY, MAY 3:** US Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger arrived in Nairobi at the end of a seven nation tour of Africa to address the fourth UN Conference on Trade and Development: in his address to the UNCTAD on Thursday Dr. Kissinger is expected to propose a creation of an International Resources Bank. Demonstrators in Thailand continued to protest against the presence of Malaysian troops in the Southern town of Betong. It was announced in New Delhi that the Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will visit Moscow on June 8. Muslim rebels in Philippines attacked a bus killing 16 passengers. Peking reported that three counter revolutionaries who took part in the demonstrations on April 5 at the Ten An Min

Square riots have been sentenced to camps for re-education. Chief of Staff of the Bangladesh Army, told a public meeting in Dacca that India should share the waters of the Ganges "justly and equitably". An eight member parliamentary delegation from the United Arab Emirates visited Kashmir to have discussions with Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

**TUESDAY, MAY 4:** Former South Korean President Yun Po Sun and ex Presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung went on trial in Seoul on subversion charges. It was reported in Bangkok that Thailand served quit notice on the Malaysian troops on Thailand's Southern border. India signed an agreement with the United States for the delivery of 500,000 tons of grains. The UN World Food Programme's governing body said that in Bangladesh over one million people were working on "food-for-work" programmes. Owing to tight diplomatic schedules of the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan *Hindu* announced that the projected Indo-Pakistan talks for the resumption of the Simla dialogue may not take place this month. Rhodesia's army is said to be ready to launch a big offensive against black nationalist guerillas in the 700 mile border with Mozambique.

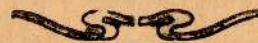
**WEDNESDAY, MAY 5:** The Malaysian Government called back its Ambassador in Thailand for consultations on border friction between the two countries. The Student Union of Australian University demanded the expulsion from the country of an Indonesian Embassy official for pro-Timor activities. The Government of India has taken action to sue five major American grain exporting firms, charging them with fraud in foodgrains they shipped to India during the last 15 years. Heroin worth more than one million sterling in the black market was seized by Customs men at the London Heathrow airport. According to American officials accompanying Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, in his current African tour, the US will consult the NATO on the best way to settle the crisis over white-ruled Rhodesia. USSR denied allegations that it influenced Ghana to call off the visit of the US Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger.

**THURSDAY, MAY 6:** Mr. Malcom Fraser, Prime Minister, of Australia, said that he expects to sign a friendship and co-operation pact with Japan next month. Following anti-Indonesian demonstrations by Australian students, Mr. Adam Malik, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, warned Australia to keep out of Indonesia's internal affairs. Singapore and Cambodia established ambassadorial level relations. Challenger of President Ford for the Republican Presidential nomination, Mr. Ronald Reagan, defeated Mr. Ford in three primary elections in Alabama, Georgia and Indiana. The Indo-US Sub Commission on education and culture will hold two seminars during 1976/77 on linkages of education and agriculture and educational technology. British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland assured China of Britain's support for NATO and its determination to safeguard Western European security. US turned down an offer by Saudi Arabia last year for military and economic aid to Somalia because such aid would have made the US Congress to disallow a sanction of nearly \$ 14 million which US obtained from the congress by citing the presence Soviet naval bases in Somalia: Saudi Arabian aid was intended to eliminate the Soviet military presence in Somalia.

**FRIDAY, MAY 7:** British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland, told in Peking that Chinese leaders have expressed doubts about the US's commitment to Western European defence. The Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan will meet in Islamabad from May 12 to 14 to have discussions on matters of DPL ties, resumption of air links and road and rail communications. US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, said in Nairobi that the United States would not give weapons to "confrontation states" bordering white-ruled Rhodesia: he told this after having talks with representatives from Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia all neighbours of Rhodesia. Malaysia's former Premier, Tunku Abdul Rahman, said that his country's decision to establish diplomatic ties with China had encourage Chinese communities in Malaysia and attracted Soviet Union towards Malay Communists. In an interview published in Sydney Prime Minister Malcom Fraser of Australia supported US naval presence in the Indian Ocean.

**SATURDAY, MAY 8:** Following charges by the former US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia that the Ford administration had refused to accept that country's aid to Somalia where Soviet Union had built naval bases, leading democratic party Senators called for a six-month suspension of US naval build up in the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia until the charges were investigated. In a speech to news reporters in Paris, the US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, pledged American support for development of Africa by the Africans without outside support: he also said that he did not consider it impossible for a war between the Soviet Union and the United States. Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto will visit Afghanistan next month. At least 243 people died in an earth quake which hit Northern Italy on Wednesday night and more than 250 people were seriously injured. At the UNCTAD conference currently held in Nairobi the US proposed to put forward a far-reaching program for boosting the economies of developing countries with an International Resources Bank as the centrepiece.

**SUNDAY, MAY 9:** British Foreign Minister, Anthony Crosland, arrived in Tokyo from Peking. Lebanon's Parliament elected Mr. Elias Sarkis (52) as the new President of succeed President Sulaiman Franjeh: Mr. Sarkis defeated the Leftists-backed candidate Mr. Raymond Edde 66-3. Air Vice Marshal M. G. Tawab, who resigned as Chief of Staff of the Bangladesh Air Force on April 30, left for London the same day. A Soviet military delegation led by a Deputy Defence Minister will visit Jordan later this month for talks expected to centre on an new missile defence system. Death toll in the Northern Italian earth quake increased to 700 and large parties of rescue workers have been rushed to save number of people buried alive under debris. Indian President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed will pay a state visit to Iran next month in response to a long-standing invitation.



MAHAWELI—6

## Summing Up

By R. Kahawita

THE PROGRAMME OF DEVELOPMENT is spread over 30 years. During this period if the country still remains a democracy there is bound to be changes in Governments. But the scheme should not suffer as a result of these political changes as it has happened up to now in the earlier schemes. To ensure continuity of development, the project must be placed above politics.

It was for this reason that the advisors to the Government recommended that the Mahaweli Development should be placed with in an administrative control of a Cabinet Committee with the Prime Minister as chairman, and the committee members to be Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highway Minister of Home Affairs, Leader of the Opposition and two other members from the opposition groups. This body will be the topmost policy follow up body next to the Cabinet. A set-up of this nature is very necessary to place the project at a National level and to safeguard its progress and development, irrespective of what the political weathering be over the years.

This will prevent vengeful destruction of what a previous Government did and start the same thing over again under different political patronage. It will also prevent politicians from condemning what was done in an earlier era and blame them for the present politicians' inability to move forward. We hear this even today after being in harness for six and a half years. We cannot change our politicians but we can change their meddling activities in a national venture of this magnitude.

From the above suggested body, implementation directives will flow down to Statutory Bodies of which we have had Gal Oya Development Board, River Valley's Development Board and now Mahaweli Development Board. All these boards get deeply involved in technology but not the human aspect of the

settlers who were going to work to targets of production. These targets must be achieved if the country is to pay back the massive loans taken to finance the project. Therefore, it may be suggested that these should be greater attention paid to the human aspect of the settlers and their welfare as well as concentration of assistance, in money supply, in new technology, in marketing the produce. These must be given and given at the farmer village level.

**It must be remembered that the would-be settlers come without any money, implements, planting material, not even domestic equipment. They bring only their capacity to perform manual work and nothing else. Farming needs capital and that too during a short period. All his requirements during the rehabilitation period must be supplied by the establishment and written off as an irrecoverable investment—the gain to the country, is we have set off a farming family on the road to success. This is the final goal of the vast investment in Mahaweli.**

On the assumption that we are able to settle a well trained and disciplined peasantry in the project area, what should be circumstances of present peasant population? They also must be improved to an economic level comparable to the new settlers. If this is not done the old settlers will migrate or abandon their *purana* villages. There are a number of ancient village settlements in the area which have not benefited so far by any development work. They are in the same backward economic condition as they were when their cause was championed by H. R. Freeman. Unless the Mahaweli development activities embrace them also we will be creating two socio-economic groups in the area as it happened at Gal Oya and Uda Walawe. All the benefits of development were diverted to the new settlers and the "purana settlements" were neglected to the point that the old settlers migrated elsewhere and became "squatters".

TO MAINTAIN SOME EQUITY in the distribution of social and economic benefits they also must be included in the project and

their condition brought to the same level as the new settlers and their amenities also improved or integrated with those of the new areas of development. In farming the fundamental ambition of a man who takes to it is to improve his economic status year by year. He takes to farming because he hopes to be a better economic individual by adopting that way of life. If he cannot he will migrate to urban areas or go into semi-urbanised forms of employment. This is happening everywhere and a survey carried out at Gal Oya revealed to what extent this has happened at the expense of agricultural development which was the primary objective of the investment.

As things are, there are no in-built incentives in the Government Policies relating to land holdings, land tenure and investment in land. Only one thing is clear in the Ministry Policies:— to bring everybody down to a fragment of a holding irrespective of whether the farmer can make good or not on that mini-holding. It forces the peasant to be always a subsistence cropper and be on the starvation level. The result will be that he will go in search of employment to earn a better wage than he can get by working his farm. He will put in the minimum of time at cultivation and give his best to the source from where he earns his regular wage to maintain himself and his family while the crop is maturing.

Farming connotes certain freedoms of which the most important to the farmer is the ability to expend if he succeeds in his efforts. Urge to better oneself is a common denominator to every individual enterprise, be it handicraft be it small scale industries, be it servicing trades etc., the desire is to grow and expand. This is a natural craving of man which cannot be suppressed even in the face of failures. In farming it is more so, successful or not the desire of the farmer is to expand and increase his capital investment. Present Government Policies do not encourage nor give such opportunities. This will be a handicap to farmer's progress.

The whole success of the Mahaweli investment depends on an enlightened and enterprising farming community whose members

can earn a per capita income of Rs. 1,400/- per annum at the 1969 level of commodity prices. Apart from their success, unless this target income is achieved the farmer cannot be expected to pay for the servicing of the loans, maintenance of facilities, and other services he enjoys in the community. If the new settlers are tied down to a subsistence level of income, then all the studies that preceded the implementation of the project will be only of academic interest and not a reality within the reach of the farming community which this vast investment is designed to establish.

What the farming community should be, cannot be more adequately described than visualized by D. S. Senanayake in a report prepared in 1935 for the Executive Committee on Agriculture of the State Council. "*The aim of Land Policies and Colonisation schemes should be such, that they bring into existence of a prosperous self-supporting and self-respecting multitude of peasant-proprietors.*" If such a plan was followed throughout the period of Sri Lanka's independence, the Agricultural picture today would have been different. However, by experimenting with ideologies quite opposed to the aspirations and the culture of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka, we have a multitude of poverty-stricken peasants depending on Government subsidies for their survival instead.

**IN MAHAWELI SETTLEMENT AREAS,** what the country needs is a self-supporting "landed gentry" who can, by their industry contribute towards the capital cost, servicing of loans, and the efficient maintenance of the technology and the infrastructure that serves them. The road we are following today will only lead us to poverty. The forecast in 1935 was, "*when one considers the economic condition of the Ceylonese people (n.t. Sinhala) no amount of optimism can conceal the gradual downward trend which has set in, or the signs of grave alarm for the future.*" The future is on us now and the gravity of the situation is alarming. The land and development policies of 1935 were to avoid this grave situation.

Before we rush new settlers into the areas, what the economic condition of an average settler should be under present day living

conditions and cost of living should be examined and settlement programmes adjusted so that the nation will benefit by this vast expenditure which may be around ten times the annual revenue of the country from all sources. Settlement should not be just counting votes before a general election but setting up an economically viable community in the region. Their progress must be a continuing study.

This brings us to the last aspect of the development and management of resources.

In summary the main points are  
(1) Storage of the bulk of the seven million Ac. ft. of water available in the project area is a prerequisite to the success of the scheme.

(2) All the machinery, technical know-how and the infra-structure to diversify crop cycle in a crop acreage of two million acres must be available at the village level.

(3) The "Purana" Settlements in the project area also must be raised to the ultimate economic level of the new settlers.

(4) The problems of the new settlers are many and to prevent heavy casualties, there must be a well-trained settlement staff with some experience in sociology, to receive and work with the new settlers at the village level.

(5) The selection of would be settlers must be rigid and to set norms so that they are conscious of the hardships and the responsibility of the trust placed in them.

(6) Setting up of an Agricultural University for training, participation and experimentation in diversification and rotation of crops.

(7) In the agricultural field there must be a band of extension workers, living in "the village" and working with the farmers to introduce new techniques, new crops and gradually break away from traditional crops and cultivation methods.

(8) Setting up of an effective and efficient marketing organisation to dispose of produce readily at fair prices to the farmer.

(9) On the policy implementation, execution and management side the project must be placed above party politics and political interference, so that it becomes a national venture in aspirations character, and in the ultimate

objectives. Should be immune to political changes over the years.

(10) The administrative set up must be vigorous, educative and alive to the progressive changes, social, cultural and economic and as such must be able to adjust and change the master concept of the project.

(11) The recommendations of the IINDP as endorsed by the World Bank should be followed subjected to any changes in priorities, content of development etc. as many become necessary due to changing circumstances. For this there must be set up a permanent advisory body to study, technical, social and economic problems as the development and settlement work progress. This body will be the advisers to the suggested cabinet sub-committee.

(12) Finally a suitable national climate must be created to involve "the Ceylonese" or Lankians in the undertaking irrespective of cast, creed, political colours or convictions. Investment opportunities in agro-based industries etc. must be available for channelling surplus cash of successful farmers. Without prosperity none can survive.

**POST SCRIPT.** The way we have gone bandying names and quotations, we may be accused of hero-worship. We are not. We have lived in this country and we have seen what has happened in the past, what is happening, and what is going to happen to *our country.* We are in a position to compare and evaluate who has contributed in the building and formation of the country and her people. As we are only concerned here with the development of Mahaweli resources which has followed decades of agricultural development and when we see green fields and glistening channels, where jungle was once, we cannot but pay homage and respect to those patriots and nationalists who, by their dedication to their people and devotion to the trust placed in them, made such an Agricultural regeneration possible.

To create new wealth so that many can share it, is a great achievement, to appropriate or take away what another has sweated and developed and distribute to others is no achievement. Governing is a sacred trust and in exerci-

sing that trust there must be justice and equity. It was to avoid such expedencies, political or otherwise that such a sound Land and Agricultural Policy was enunciated in 1935. Conditions have changed because successive Governments did not follow or adopt such a wise Policy or had the vision to forecast what the future would be if sound policies were not followed. So in the fields of development, actions were motivated by political expediency—Political expediency never built Nations.

As mentioned in our first article, the Potential of Mahaweli waters came to be taken notice of in the year 1909—incidentally the year in which the first Ceylonese Irrigation Engineer and Director of Irrigation came into contact with irrigation works. He is Mr. W. T. I. Alegaratnam who will be completing his 85th birthday this year. He is the oldest living Irrigation Engineer, still active and was responsible for steering through some aspects of Mahaweli Development.

D. S. Senanayake while commenting on the restoration works benefited by Mahaweli water in the ancient days, he said in 1935, "It is but fair to add that a beginning is now, twenty five years since Strange's \*report, actually being made to render useful to the nation the waters of the Mahaweli and its tributary streams." We should enshrine this promise to the nation forty years ago in our hearts today.

\*Reference is to a report of W. S. Strange an irrigation expert from India who submitted a report to the Colonial Government of 1909 on the irrigation works of Sri Lanka.

## BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—79

# The Two Imposters

By Herbert Keuneman

I hope this article is not going to appear to flog a dead horse; still less that anybody at all will interpret it as in any sense a rejoinder or an invitation to controversy; for, really, the matter with which it deals directly is long preterite, and properly so: Kumar's comment (*Tribune*: Vol. XX, No. 44) on my comment (XX, 40) on his desponding little piece (XX, 35) admitting 'failure' to have inspired

a rural revolution in his time. All of which is going pretty far back in inconsequential history for these swift-moving times and could not have been justified had I at the moment anything particular concerning which to write. But I have not, as it happens; and I should like to take advantage of this lull to correct one misunderstanding to which Kumar seems to have come ara with which I should not like to leave him. Or anybody else.

I do hope that Kumar did not judge my comments on his experience as sarcastic or patronising—they were not meant to be either, though I disagreed both with what he had set out to do and with his own estimate of how far he had gone towards doing it—but one paragraph in his comment on my comment I read as suspiciously aciuated!

*...He was hoping to write a book and, to use his own words, "mediate to the villager, if I could, by the tested kindness of friends more influentially placed than me." I have read earlier in the Tribune how he freely gave chits and how the mighty name of Keuneman created a stir. Alas! we are all aware of these chits: they descend on us all the year round like jak leaves and are much less useful. Jak leaves can at least be turned into compost. These chits more often than not raise hopes only to dash them and the higher they reach into the seats of power the greater the danger.'*

That was rather an unworthy jibe (if jibe it was meant to be) and in any case an inaccurate interpretation of what I had said. What I said perhaps I had better quote more fully: "...to try to mediate to the villager, if I could, by the tested kindness of friends more influentially placed than me, the many benefits to which he was theoretically entitled but which I already knew enough of the village to be aware he could not practically appropriate without disinterested help....."

To interpret this as meaning that I dashed off 'chits' to my cousin Pieter—irresponsibly, the suggestion seems to be, and presumably for my own aggrandizement—not only suggests I am more venal than in fact I am but also subscribes to a superstition that politicians (especially Ministers) are the only

usefully influential folk there are: a superstition I do not share. Certainly, I have on occasion recommended individuals to Pieter's notice—I am sorry to bring his name into this; but it is my name also, and Kumar's innuendo, pointed or not, leaves both to be cleared—but I have done so as I would make a similar recommendation to any friend in the likeliest position to help. Usually Pieter is in no such position.

Let me finish with this Keuneman thing. Only twice have I invoked 'the mighty name', both times for my own benefit, both times justifiably (I think) but tongue-in-cheek, and of both times I have given an account in *Tribune* pages. On the other hand, when I have canvassed Pieter's good offices on a villager's behalf it has been on the villager's good name and/or good deserts that I have depended; and all I have sought was not a favour to be done nor a point to be stretched but to bring about a contact which might or might not be fruitful between a citizen and his Minister (his Servitor, I would remind you as I would remind Kumar; but Pieter is one of those few politicians that do not need to be so reminded) to which, as a citizen, 'even' a villager is fully entitled although by the complicated and often corrupt route he must generally take he is usually precluded from achieving it. For me to refuse to take advantage, on a deserving individual's behalf, of my acquaintance with Pieter because that acquaintance depended on an accident of birth would be as illogical and as immoral as for a rich man to refuse to help a poor man on the ground that his riches were an accident of society for economics!

However, as I was saying, Pieter—and now the poor man may fade from what he might fairly count an embarrassing and unmerited imbroglio—has been far from the only friend 'influential' in the sense I meant that I have turned to. Nor was it 'chits' I offered (for bear in mind that—especially when a doctor uses the word—it can be a term of utmost opprobrium). What I set out to do—and did; but this was neither success nor failure—was simply to put as many villagers as I could directly in touch with those most likely to be willing and able to help



them solve a problem. I cannot imagine any other manner in which 'mediation' by a reasonably honest man (me, in case you didn't know!) would be useful. I will not offer a list; but let me spell out a single example of the kind of mediation with which I was—and am still—concerned, to finish once and for all and to show mediation is at least worth several Jak leaves!

Jayawardana baas, the same that so roundly diddled me in building my house, once owned a car that, like many another villager, he privately plied for public hire (but that technicality didn't enter into his problem). In the course of time the car disintegrated and was eventually to be found in a dismembered condition about his garden: the chassis as a sort of floral triumphant arch, the headlamps as hanging pots, and so on. Only, one thing Jayaawardana had omitted to do: either not knowing, or careless, he had not sent the Motor authorities Notice of Non-User. When the annual licence fee became due and was demanded he ignored it, arguing that the car being no longer an entity he was no longer a Car Owner and therefore not liable. When summons was inevitably served on him he panicked, as villagers so often do when faced by formal legal processes, and consulted a lawyer. Unfortunately, the lawyer he consulted was one recommended him by the *gode-perakadaru*, the lawyers' touts, of Kurunegala; and when I heard of his case he had already paid his shyster over Rs. 100 in fees—retainer; and for court appearances over a number of postponements he himself had wangled: 'Oh! I'll get you off,' he assured Jayawardana, 'just have patience'—in order to save the Rs. 60 which had been the whole of the original liability! So I sent him to a lawyer I knew, who explained (at no fee) that there was nothing cheaper than to pay the Rs. 60; and then I sent him to my friend the Kurunegala Government Agent, who arranged without fuss, let or hindrance such as *kechcheri* peons and clerks are skilled at raising against a small *pour boire* before they will transact for a simple man the simplest and most legitimate business, and he obtained the receipt to produce in court the final time; and that was the end of that 'mediation', and who could deny it was

worth doing and right to do? 'The higher they reach..the greater the danger.' What danger?

It is a sinister sign of our times that the moment some such term as 'mediation' is mentioned the almost automatically drawn conclusion is that there must be something underhand or *ultra vires* or partial and prejudicial involved in it. Will Kumar accept my word that when I spoke of mediation I implied no such thing? The Pihamy story I told long ago (*Tribune* XIX, 45-8) provides another example of the sort of thing I did imply. Was that effort at mediation blameworthy? or any the less worth trying because my effort failed?

This question of 'failure', which Kumar feels so deeply. Once again I urge him not to take an immediate upshot so deeply to heart (and once again I beg him not to interpret my doing so as patronizing). Not patronizing; but so deeply convinced that I cannot but say it. History itself has never been able to provide a consistent judgement between failure and success. Was Jesus Christ a success or a failure? at the Triumphal Entry? on the Cross? in 330 AD when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire? what is Jesus Christ in this, our day? Or was the Buddha a success or a failure? in the land of His birth and at the time of His death? in the same land under the Emperor Asoka? In the same land after the Hindu revival? what is the Buddha—success or failure—in this, our day, in this, our own land? It seems to me that often when we speak of success and failure we are concerned more with our immediate personal triumph, our image, than with any ideal or consummation we may have persuaded ourselves we are ultimately concerned with. In the first concern there is neither gain nor loss to humankind; only to an individual vanity. So I would say that if Kumar was sincere in what he ultimately sought—and I cannot doubt he was—his only 'failure' took place when he decided he had failed and gave up trying.

It was, of course, a tall order he undertook: to shape a village revolution (little use, be it said, without a national revolution to support it) merely by one man's presence and example in the vill-

age, however devoted and full of fortitude he might be. And the difficulties must obviously become compounded in proportion to the gap in credibility between the mass to be moulded and the would-be revolutionary. That was why I stressed the importance of thinking—and, even more important, of feeling, for it is the basis of thinking—like the villager on the part of one who hopes to stir in him a ferment from within. I see that Kumar disagrees very strongly with this attitude; but if his own attitude has brought him only to the point of confessing failure, then either his attitude is wrong or he has not been sufficiently faithful to his vision. In whichever case, there is remedy.

But it seems to me an even more crippling error that revolution—and, no less, democracy and parliamentary process—have got the bill for their infrastructure, so to speak, incomplete. It used to be a common taunt at the Church (at the time when it was topical) to quote:

After 2,000 years of Mass

We've got as far as poison gas! and everybody thought it—as it was—a just and logical sneer. But it is also as just and logical, even more so, to fling a similar taunt at our political systems; which after four times as long, 8,000 years, have been quite as unable to produce a model citizen as the Church to produce a model Christian. Is this not because politics has been satisfied (as the Church has been neglectful) with the *engagement* of the individual: with his cut-and-out *conversion*?

Politically this may be a ridiculously naive question, politics being concerned with the pragmatic and immediate rather than the deal and teleological as the Church should be. (I do not need to say, do I? that although I write Church' I connote every serious religion.) But leaving the Church, for the now, out of it: is it not true that even politics must come eventually (if mankind is not to destroy itself in more and more complicated conflicts of interest and commoner and commoner revolutions and fiercer and fiercer violence) to dependence on the 'converted' individual, the humane human, the man who will share by his own good will. Politics can-

not wait for him; but neither can it continue indefinitely to brush him aside as an irrelevancy. Selfishness, self-interest and the violence of whatever kind by which alone these can be prosecuted have their built-in systems of self-destruct.

That is why when Kumar sought 'a radical change' and sought it in the village 'at grass-root level'

he was, I believe, seeking in the wrong place; invoking a new kind of Pathetic Fallacy. For grass-root level is not just where the grass grows green (if the drought allows it). It is, after all, but a figure of speech; and the real grass-roots spring no more verdantly in the sward of village tanks than in the asphalt jungle. They spring only in each man's heart.

countries achieved a 5.5 percent average annual increase in gross national product (GNP)—a rate unequalled by nations of the developed world at any time in their earlier history. But in many of these countries, unemployment levels nevertheless continue to increase; the income gap between the poorest sector of the population and those relatively well off is actually widening; and urban squatter settlements are mushrooming because of massive emigration from the countryside. In many areas, these problems become more unmanageable every day because population growth continues unrestrained.

## AN AMERICAN VIEW

# DEVELOPMENT FROM BELOW

BY JAMES P. GRANT

The experience of the past two decades has taught us, writes the author, that the economic health of developing countries cannot be judged by simple statistics of "growth". If productivity enriches only the few at the top, the nation suffers in the long run. Dr. Grant urges that developing countries approach their problems primarily "from below", emphasizing small-scale business and farming, labor-intensive machinery, and government programs that spread the benefits of productivity to all classes.

James P. Grant is president of the Overseas Development Council, an independent research organization seeking to increase American understanding of the problems faced by developing nations. Earlier he served as an administrator for the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) and director of its programs in Turkey and Ceylon. His article is abridged from *Foreign Policy* magazine.

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A major rethinking of development concepts is taking place, compelled by a single fact: the unparalleled economic growth rates achieved by most developing countries during the 1960's had little or no effect on most of the world's people, who continue to live in desperate poverty.

This realization has stimulated an increasingly insistent theme among leaders as diverse as Indira Gandhi of India, Luis Echeverria of Mexico, Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, and World Bank President Robert McNamara: that we need development policies which benefit all strata of the population and not just a favored minority. Senator Hubert Humphrey has spoken of

...the veritable intellectual revolt among scholars of development who are turning against the long-held view that growth alone is the answer that will trickle benefit down to the poorest majority. (They) start from the proposition that the poorest majority must share in the work of building a nation and must share more equitably in the fruits of development at the outset.... Greater equity and greater participation, instead of taking a toll on growth, support and reinforce it.

The experience of several less-developed countries offers encouraging evidence that an effective mixture of domestic and international policies can create new jobs, increase social services, reduce income disparities, and check population growth—without deterring, and at times even accelerating, over-all economic growth. We are

learning that if small rural and urban producers and under-employed workers are given access to education, credit, technology, and health services, then they too can become highly productive, with a high capability for savings and effective investment. GNP AND HUMAN WELFARE. During the 1960's, the developing

The experience of most developing countries over the past decade indicates that a rising GNP growth rate alone is no guarantee against worsening poverty. Mexico, for example, has been very successful by traditional standards: its GNP has risen by 6 or 7 percent annually for the past 15 years. Yet, at the same time, unemployment in Mexico has been increasing and, the income disparity between the rich and the poor has been widening. This is not only because of Mexico's very rapid population growth, but also because government policies have bypassed the small, labor-intensive producers throughout Mexico and encouraged production primarily through large farms and urban-based factories.

Nor are these trends representative of Mexico's experience alone. A similar serious worsening of income distribution has occurred in many other countries, including the Philippines, Brazil, Pakistan, and Ghana. Socialist states like Yugoslavia and China have shared the problems of underemployment and unemployment which trouble most developing countries. Cuba, like Sri Lanka and Uruguay, has introduced massive welfare programs for the poor, but like them has found itself in great financial difficulty and has lost much of its capacity for growth.

USING IDLE LABOR FOR GROWTH. Many developing countries are beginning to learn that to measure development by GNP increases alone is to forget that, after all, the goal is human progress. Development planners need to be concerned as much with

how the GNP increases as with the rate by which it increases.

As a first step, most developing countries need to assign more realistic values to capital, labor, and foreign exchange. These countries are generally labor-rich and capital-poor, yet many have adopted policies which encourage wasteful use of scarce capital instead of making effective use of idle labor. Thus, foreign exchange often has been undervalued, with the result that labor-displacing equipment has been imported at artificially low prices.

Many developing countries also have largely ignored possibilities for increasing agricultural production by securing the participation of small farmers and of small-scale industry, while they have favored the development of large factories, roads, ports, and major urban centers. This is both inefficient and inequitable for developing countries, since the majority of their people live in villages and smaller towns—and will do so for at least the next generation. Yet improvement in rural and small town productivity and living conditions could make more food available; slow the flow of unemployed people to the cities; provide a mass market for labor-intensive products such as hand tools, textiles, and shoes, by increasing the purchasing power of the poor majority; and provide large numbers of non-farm jobs in small town labor-intensive industries.

Fortunately, there is growing evidence that policies which are carefully designed to raise the income of the poorest sector of the population, by increasing their ability to participate in the development process, can actually accelerate, not hinder, economic growth. These policies require more than a greater use of plentiful labor as against scarce equipment. They also involve providing incentives to encourage savings; establishing institutions which give small farmers and entrepreneurs ready access to capital and technology and ensuring the availability of rudimentary but meaningful education and health services to virtually all their citizens. Through such policies, some countries have made social justice a major ally of growth by putting idle labor resources to effective work and making more efficient use of capital and foreign exchange.

**THE ROLE OF SAVINGS.** The role of savings provides a good example. It has long been a premise of most economists that the rate at which poor people save is very very low because they spend any additional income on consumer goods and services. Hence, in most low-income countries, government policies designed to increase savings and investment—the necessary preconditions for economic progress—have generally been aimed at the higher income groups and larger firms.

But we are now learning a different lesson from the savings performance of urban workers and small farmers in a range of developed and developing countries. The savings rates and productivity of the poor on any increased income can be very high if they own or rent their own economic equipment and if governments encourage their participation in development with economic incentive.

In Singapore, for example, an imaginative and popular withholding scheme, requiring both the worker and the employer to contribute an amount equal to 15 percent of the worker's salary, finances the down payment for the worker's flat and subsequent mortgage installments. The benefits of these savings are not deferred until some remote retirement date. Through largely self-financing devices such as this, a majority of Singapore's slum-dwellers have dramatically improved their living conditions in the past 10 years. Meanwhile, in Japan, Egypt, South Korea, Taiwan, and Yugoslavia, small farmers—who have achieved extraordinarily high per-acre yields on farms averaging two to three acres with the help of credit and technical advice from effective farmers' associations—have shown that they can provide much of the savings for development.

**SMALL FARMS AND PRODUCTIVITY** There is a similar beneficial impact on per-acre productivity and employment where the small farmers has effective access to credit, marketing facilities, technology, education, and health facilities. We have long been told that the small farm is "inefficient" and "less productive" per acre than large farms. This need not be true. In countries like Egypt, South Korea, and Taiwan, and in those areas of Sri Lanka and India

where the small farmers also have access to credit and other facilities which are available in most countries only to large farmers, small producers are demonstrating a very high capacity to employ technology and labor on scarce land as complements rather than substitutes for each other. We also are learning that, when other factors are equal, small farms are more productive per acre than big farms because the small farmer devotes more hours and care in coaxing maximum production from his limited acreage—through careful land levelling, weeding, spraying, etc.—than is economically feasible for the large producer. Thus, even in India, average yields on farms of fewer than five acres are nearly 50 percent greater than on farms of more than 50 acres. In Taiwan, where small farmers have good access to needed inputs, farms with fewer than two and a half acres have far higher per-acre yields than do those with more than five acres.

Contrary to popular thinking, small-farm, labor-intensive agriculture can benefit greatly from mechanization by using machines that increase productivity and supplement rather than replace human effort — eg., seed drills, rotary tillers, and small irrigation pumps. Moreover, in large areas of the tropical and semi-tropical world, double and triple cropping becomes technically possible with the right kind of small farm mechanization.

Traditional or slightly modernized agriculture is now a part-time job. According to a number of sample studies, farmers in low-productivity agricultural systems work 1,000 hours a year or less (as compared with a normal work year in the United States of about 2,000 hours). However, in Egypt and the northeast Asian countries cited earlier, farmers have been increasing their work load in recent years to between 2,000 and 3,000 hours per year.

**ACCESS TO CREDIT AND MACHINES.** We are only now beginning to recognize that the crucial difference between countries in productivity and labor-intensiveness is not primarily a question of their cultural attitudes toward work, but rather depends on whether or not farmers have access to the

needed support systems. In the few countries and regions where small farmers do have this access, farming is a full-time job. Perhaps the most striking demonstration of this is to be found in Taiwan. Between 1911 and 1965, total agricultural production quadrupled in Taiwan, despite the fact that population pressure halved the average farm size to two and a half acres. The increase was accomplished through the use of irrigation, new seed varieties, small-scale machinery and diversified patterns of crops (including vegetables, fruits, and livestock). During this 54-year period the total amount of agricultural work doubled. The number of agricultural workers rose 50 percent and the number of days worked by each person increased one-third. Agricultural output per worker also rose by 250 percent during this period, so that the productivity and incomes of the growing labor force improved significantly.

The average small farmer in Northeast Asia—Taiwan, Korea, Japan—has become far more productive per acre than his counterpart in the Indian or Pakistani Punjab, primarily because the entire rural support system—credit and marketing institutions, agricultural extension, farm technology, and broadly available health and educational facilities—is designed to serve the small farmer. The Punjab systems, by contrast, are geared to providing effective support for larger farms. As a result, in these South Asian countries, most smaller farmers, frequently illiterate and in poor health, do not have adequate access to credit or appropriate technology and are far less productive than they could be. Their small farms are described as "inefficient," but the real fault lies with the system rather than with the farmer or the size of his farm. This view was confirmed during the 1960's, when effective support systems were made available to the small farmers of central Sri Lanka. Both yields per acre and labor-intensiveness rose just as they had in Northeast Asia.

In some industries (e.g., steel and fertilizer) the most modern technology used in the West may also be the most efficient for poor countries, regardless of differences in the structure of relative resource prices. A modern steel mill produces steel of higher

quality much more cheaply than does a small backyard furnace. Thus, during the Great Leap Forward, China decided to create employment by use of small-scale technologies in the steel industry, and found they were a very costly drain on resources.

(To be Concluded)

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## VIETNAM

### Testament Of Ho Chi Minh

EVEN though our people's struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, may have to go through more hardships and sacrifices, we are bound to win total victory.

This is a certainty.

I intend, when that comes, to tour both South and North to congratulate our heroic fellow-countrymen, cadres and combatants, and visit old people and our beloved youth and children.

Then, on behalf of our people, I will go to the fraternal countries of the socialist camp and friendly countries in the whole world and thank them for their whole-hearted support and assistance to our people's patriotic struggle against US aggression.

\* \* \*

Tu Fu, the famous poet of the Tang period in China, wrote: "In all times, few are those who reach the age of seventy." This year, being seventy-nine, I can already count myself among those "few"; still, my mind has remained perfectly lucid, though my health has somewhat declined in comparison with the last few years. When one has seen more than seventy Springs, health deteriorates with one's growing age. This is no wonder.

But who can say how much longer I shall be able to serve the revolution, the Fatherland and the people?

I, therefore, leave these few lines in anticipation of the day when I shall go and join Karl Marx, Lenin and other revolutionary leaders; this way, our people throughout the country, our comrades

in the Party, and our friends in the world will not be taken by surprise.

*First about the Party:* Thanks to its close unity and total dedication to the working class, the people and the Fatherland, our Party has been able, since its founding, to unite, organize and lead our people from success to success in a resolute struggle.

Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our Party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee down to the cell, must preserve the unity and oneness of mind in the Party like the apple of their eye.

Within the Party, to establish broad democracy and to practise *self-criticism and criticism* regularly and seriously is the best way to consolidate and develop solidarity and unity. Comradely affection should prevail.

Ours is a Party in power. Each Party member, each cadre must be deeply imbued with *revolutionary morality*, and show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness. Our Party should preserve absolutely purity and prove worthy of its role as the leader and very loyal servant of the people.

The Working Youth Union members and our young people in general are good; they are always ready to come forward, fearless of difficulties, and eager for progress. The Party must foster their *revolutionary virtues* and train them to be our successors, both "rid" and "expert", in the building of socialism. The training and education of future revolutionary generations is of great importance and necessity.

Our labouring people, in the plain, as in the mountains, have for generation after generation endured hardships, feudal and colonial oppression and exploitation; they have in addition experienced many years of war. Yet, our people have shown great heroism, courage, enthusiasm, and industriousness. They have always followed the Party since it came into being with unqualified loyalty.

The Party must work out effective plans for economic and cultural development so as constantly to improve the life of our people.

The war of resistance against US aggression may drag on. Our peo-

## Caste In Jaffna

ple may have to face new sacrifices of life and property. Whatever happens, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the US aggressors till total victory.

*Our mountains will always be, our rivers will always be, our people will always be; The American invaders defeated, we will rebuild our land ten times more beautiful.*

No matter what difficulties and hardship lie ahead, our people are sure of total victory. The US imperialists will certainly have to quit. Our Fatherland will certainly be reunified. Our fellow-countrymen in the South and in the North will certainly be reunited under the same roof. We, a small nation, will have earned the signal honour of defeating, through heroic struggle, two big imperialisms—the French and the American—and of making a worthy contribution to the world national liberation movement.

*About the world communist movement:* Being a man who has devoted his whole life to the revolution, the more proud I am of the growth of the international communist and worker's movement, the more pained I am by the current discord among the fraternal parties.

I hope that our Party will do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way which conforms to both reason and sentiment. I am firmly confident that the fraternal parties and countries will have to unite again.

*About personal matters:* All my life, I have served the Fatherland, the revolution and the people with all my heart and strength. If I should now depart from this world, I would have nothing to regret, except not being able to serve longer and more.

When I am gone, a grand funeral should be avoided in order not to waste the people's time and money.

\* \* \*

Finally, to the whole people, the whole Party, the whole army, to my nephews and nieces, the youth and children, I leave my boundless love.

I also convey my cordial greetings to our comrades and friends, and to the youth and children throughout the world.

My ultimate wish is that our entire Party and people, closely joining their efforts, will build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution.

Ho Chi Minh

Hanoi, May 10, 1969

### CASTE IN JAFFNA—2

## Protestant Missionaries Initiative

by K. Arumainayagam

UNLIKE THEIR PREDECESSORS the Roman Catholics, and Lutherans, the Protestant missionaries of the 19th Century refused to tolerate the caste system in any form. "The caste system was regarded" by the Protestant Christian missionaries as a denial of the belief in the potential spiritual and material development of the individual contained in the protestant ethic and the Americans and Wesleys, particularly the former adopted the view "that the struggle against castes was one of the most important tasks that confronted them" in Jaffna.

The missionaries attempts at conversion was also thwarted by the existence of caste system. Though at the start they were compelled to give in to the pressure of high castes, very soon they made it clear that they will not tolerate it for long. The American Missionaries for a time had a separate cook house for high castes students outside their school premises at Batticotta. But very soon they brought it within the school premises,

This problem was not confined to the Tamil districts alone. The missionaries in the South faced similar problems. The people of Jaffna considered even the beef-eating missionary as an outcast. Their efforts will be appreciated only when one realizes the fact that Catholic missions and the Lutherans were reluctant to take a stand on caste issue. Both were

socially conservative. They mostly concerned themselves as in Europe in church matters and were the quietest in social and political reforms.

As such during the Portuguese and Dutch period one witnesses the Church tolerating caste system. In fact they built and assigned separate churches for different castes. Dutch settled various castes in different localities.

THE PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES of the 19th Century, through the medium of English Education and Bible, appealed to the "intellect" of the local population. By this means they expected automatic conversion to Christianity. Though they did not request the converts to renounce caste as the Serampore missionaries did yet as a matter of policy they insisted children attending their schools to sit in one common class, drink water in common wells and partake in common meals.

There was to be no discrimination in seating accommodation provided for students. Such attempts appeared to be and in fact were revolutionary at that period of time. As a reaction the Hindu parents withdrew their children from mission schools, students themselves boycotted schools. In fact "native" teachers too joined the students and in one instance they tried to set up rival school.

The missionaries did not yield to these pressures. Such protests could not be carried for long. Students very soon returned. Because they were now not in a mood to fight social prejudices and if they persisted in their demand they would have denied themselves, the opportunity afforded by the missionaries to learn English. In Jaffna, unlike in India, there were at first no Government or "native" schools where children could obtain a good English education. Thus the higher castes for the first time in their history learned to sacrifice Caste consciousness outside their homes and put up with caste inconveniences.

**HINDU ATTITUDE.** The significance of the contribution made by the missionaries will be appreciated only when it is realised that nothing parallel or rather comparable has hitherto been under-

taken by the "men of the soil", lower castes or higher castes. Nor did they extend their support.

In India high castes leaders like Raj Ramohar Raj, through his Brahma Samaj, and Baba Padmanji and Dadoba Padurang, through their secret society, Paramahansa Sabha, not only extended their support but themselves engaged in the fight against caste prejudices. The Hindu Religious movements of Jaffna was not broadbased like the Indian religious movements. Indian movements were not concerned with the religious matters alone. They extended their support to the reconstruction of the social institutions such as caste hierarchy, sex inequality and untouchability. They felt these practices flourished because of the sanction and blessings of the Hindu Religion.

Such thinking was totally absent among the Hindu reformers of Jaffna. They in their turn not only criticised the missionaries for violating caste rules, but also ridiculed and held in contempt those parents who sent their children to missionary schools to acquire English Education. In their estimate whoever sent his children to be educated in such an atmosphere could not claim to belong to the high caste and not worthy in their estimate.

It is difficult to imagine the plight of these low caste children, if at all they were admitted in Hindu schools when they were opened at the close of the century. Even as late as 1930's of the present century the Hindus refused to provide equal seating facilities to lower caste children in their schools. Even teachers opposed such move when the 1929 Education Code stipulated that all schools receiving Government aid to provide equal seating arrangements to students irrespective of caste or other differences. As a protest nearly 15 schools were burnt down and number on roll dropped in several schools when parents withdrew their children. They even set up unaided schools.

Even men like Sir P. Arunachalam firmly believed that "caste cannot be abolished" because its badges of connubium (intermarriage) and commensality (eating together) are matters of private concern in which a Government could not interfere. That nothing was done to abolish caste was also evidenced

from the fact the Tamil Representative appointed to the Legislative Council till 1898,—a Dr. Rockwood was appointed—had been always a Vellala. It was rumoured that caste too had its place in the election of Educated Ceylonese member to the Legislative Council.

There were other indirect forces to bring about change. By the latter half of the 19th century the Government tried its best not to discriminate against people on caste grounds in matters of public appointments. Abolition of slavery and *Ooliam* gave the assertive lower castes an opportunity to seek employment elsewhere. They abandoned their traditional occupations and took up to occupations which provided them with good wages. Increased demand for labour in Government public works like road construction, building up of missionary schools etc. drew men of lower caste. The wages they received increased by fifty percent. Nothing happened to counterbalance this increase in principal agricultural products of the peninsula. Even craftsmen potters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths began to sell their goods for money. Hence, the total dependence on the Vellalas, to an extent, eased and they became men of some means and wealth. This kindled in them a feeling of independence and assertiveness.

Changes could be witnessed in the mode of dress and ceremonies conducted during weddings and funerals of the castes: especially the attempt of the lower castes to conduct their funeral processions with tom-tom beaters and cremate their dead, irritated the high castes. They reacted with force. Due to these causes serious breaches of peace and riots occurred at the close of the century. And they constituted one of the difficulties of administration in the north. Reports of Government Agents at the close of the 19th century and even upto the mid 20th century drew attention to this aspect of continuing caste oppression.

As observed earlier, changes occurred in the type of occupations performed by various low caste people. Pariahs no longer performed the work of grave digging and burning corpses. This had now been performed by Nallawas,

Pallas and Kovias. By tradition the masons caste was responsible for all buildings. But when there was a demand for such occupations with attractive wages, Kovias, Nallawas and Pallas readily took the work up. But none of the high castes took up occupations that have been traditionally performed by other castes. They took up to Professions and Government clerical jobs.

It was the pious hope of many that with the progress of civilization and education, the caste system will wither away. The Christian missionaries strongly believed in that maxim. That it failed to materialise does not in any way minimise the importance of their efforts. They were sincere. But their diagnosis of the system was wrong. Their attempt to mitigate the evils of caste prejudices failed to draw any widespread support among the local population.

And this happened in a place where western education was complete in its impact. This only proved, as Vivekananda said, that caste was not a part of religion. Rebels against the system from Gautama Buddha to Raj Ramohar Roy (perhaps this could be extended to include Christian missionaries) made a mistake in thinking caste as part of religion. The Christian converts themselves were among the greatest sticklers for caste. Even among the Buddhists where it is least expected the system prevails, though with less prejudices and abuses.

The Caste system was kept up by a pre-capitalist feudal economy based on social gradation. The changes that occurred in the 19th century did not basically change the economic structures and thinking of the people of the peninsula. It was true Government Service had become a major industry for the Jaffna man. But the trend was not towards the amelioration of circumstances but to establish and stabilize the newly acquired status. They concentrated their attention in imitating the life of Europeans. With money and status intermarriages and social mingling could have taken place. But Jaffna was too small a place to witness any such occurrence. The family ties

were very strong and a rebel against the system would have been ostracised and turned into another outcast. It is true high castes were compelled to travel with other castes when they left Jaffna. But back at home they stuck to their tradition.

Jaffna was yet to see "modernisation". There was no influx of foreigners as it happened in the Kandyan provinces to disturb the social life, nor was there any urban development worth speaking. From Federated Malaya and Strait Settlements, Burma and India and from Metropolitan Colombo, the Jaffna man returned to his village, which was his stronghold of social discrimination and found his caste bearing and status.

The low castes though they made occasional protests have not yet started organising themselves to abolish caste discrimination—i.e. they have not set themselves against the higher castes.

However a serious dent has been made on the system and had become more flexible. And this view was sufficiently supported by the statement of Sir P. Arunachalam. Writing on caste in his 1901 census report he warned the Vellalas for not realizing the potent forces behind the struggle of the low castes. "Political disturbances" said Aristotle "May arise out of small matters but are not therefore about small matters."

The true ideal of caste should be impressed on the people and they should be made to see that the *raison d'être* of a high caste is that it has higher ideals, higher spiritual and intellectual, culture higher devotion to duty than other castes and the doom of a privileged caste is not far off when it is no longer able to adopt itself to changing circumstances and loses the resolution

*"To build not boast, a glorious race  
No tenth transmitter of a foolish  
face"*

The situation at the end of the century was aptly summarised by a writer on the subject in the "Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon." "The latter day Jaffna is a very different place to the Jaffna of even a few years ago. Wealth is circulating and diffusing a spirit of independence amongst the masses". The matter is touched upon in his passage from a recent administrative report of the Gov-

ernment Agent. "Great changes are going on in Jaffna native society, which are bitterly resented by the conservative part of the population. The (so called) 'low-castes' are becoming more rich, and having acquired property, most of them naturally decline to follow old customs, by which they were prohibited from wearing jewels, riding in carriages, using tom-toms for marriages, and other social functions. Many of the lower-caste Nalavas and Kovias become converts to Christianity, and the Vellalas know that the next step in the progress of the converts will be that of wearing jewellery and assuming Vellala customs. Hence arises petty prosecutions and squabbles and cases in court and demand for police prosecution and often real riots and bloodshed."

\* \* \*

SAFARI—March 8-13

## On Thieves

by Alkardi Mugana

March 15,

A world shattered all right, shattered by man, each man's world, the world which is his life, but there is always a silver lining. That silver lining appeared when I was half-way through writing this sentence. The people who had the shoulder-muscle, the brawn, the person or persons who wielded the big stick, were not above calling in the majesty of the law, the policeman, the heavy weight of bureaucracy, to ensure that they had things their own way. The weight, the punch, was brought to bear on the lesser minions. One's turr had not yet come. When one did mention that fact, that it was a question of time, the word blackmail was flung about, as if to think such a thing was incredible, an impossibility, a sort of blackmail itself. Another person, who ought to know, took a more serious view of the matter, and he begged me to stay out of gaol—well he might since it is notoriously more difficult to get out than in, and gaol seems to cast a sort of stigma on even those who do not go in. Hence that expression, the son of a gaol-bird. So we face the morrow with a sort of trepidation, and

perhaps the crisis will occur day-after-tomorrow. Situations take time to develop. It will be the feast of St. Patrick, the patron of Ireland.

March 16,

Hail fell today some hours after a noon-day heat that was so intense that I noticed it and wondered how anyone could resign themselves to such a heat. I saw something dancing on the ground, and closer inspection revealed them to be small pieces of ice the size of half my small finger nail. I seem to have been the only one who noticed the hail. This was probably because I was so placed when the rain began, I had nothing before me but the ground and the rain. We are half-way between Kurunegala and Colombo, and well to the north of the Kandy road. It is with the greatest difficulty I write this. I slept a little and I am as sleepy as ever. What with the rain, it was dark ere we finished the cattle and it was close on nine p.m. when we laid aside the estate books. Our house servant had even fallen asleep. Our dinner was rice and sambol, as we were out of salt with which to cook the spinach grown on the estate. The two regular cattlemen were on leave, and I wondered how we would have managed without the two men I brought in, the regular men of just a few days before. My hand is running away again with sleep, but I have just to stick on and finish the course somehow. There is much to be said for the old style, and there, I have already forgotten what I wanted to say. We have eight beehives around the place, hives brought in by my brother-in-law, hives complete with queen bee. I even went on to sigh this safari for the day before I realised my my mistake.

March 17,

It is not so difficult writing about my own misfortunes, even though it may sometimes appear to show others up in a bad light, at the worst, let us just say, heartless. It is worse writing about someone else's. We had a report there was going to be a theft on the estate tonight. I do not think it would have been possible to have caught the persons red-handed. I say this in retrospect. We came face to face with the crooks, and, for the life of me, I do not know why

we did not shine our torches in their faces. It was a lucky thing we did not, or we might have got a ready answer, an excuse for their presence that would have been hard to refute. Our dullness of wit worked in our favour, for we caught the culprits, saw and recognised them, making off to their homes with not so much as a word to us. How the matter will end I have yet to see. For our work tonight we thrashed about without torches, but there was a good moon. Normally, I would not do this because of snakes. Ireland is said to without snakes and that is attributed to St. Patrick, who was a Welshman. As a young man he was captured and made a slave. When he had served seven years as a swineherd, he escaped by crossing the Irish Sea back to Britain. Then he became a priest in Gaul or France, and returned to Ireland the scene of his captivity. His work there has been as enduring as St. Benedict's in another sphere.

March 18.

Some people are good at baiting one. They seem indignant, close to tears at one moment, laughing with abandon at another. They will keep you going at losing your temper for an hour quite easily and they are still waxing strong when you have had enough. You may think they are out of their mind, unhinged, until it dawns on you that they are probably drunk. To excuse them of being drunk seems to catch them in a sensitive spot, and if there is an atom of truth in the matter, it helps silence them. When a man says he loves his employer, or comes round to saying so, even if it takes time, then I think the fact of the absence of sobriety on his part is beyond doubt. Suppose there has been an attempted robbery, and the culprits are known beyond reasonable doubt and then word comes that one is to lay them off work, what is one to do when you have a sick animal on your hands, and one of the suspects is the only man around who can treat an animal according to a vederala's prescription? What if the other man involved is a hard worker? Suppose one is very short of workers, and the two to be laid off are key workers, very capable each in his own sphere. What is one to do? I think disciplinary action has to be taken as a

deterrent to others, but I do not think it need last many days. We had a new calf today, a bonny white one, a heifer, and it is already running around. The mother is no trouble at all.

March 19.

What a full day. Up, or rather awake, to send a message to those who do the milking that it is past 4.30 a.m. Then up oneself at 5.30 a.m. to be six miles away at 6.30 a.m. by bus. Then a succession of duties, more of them planned, until, exhausted, I get some sleep. There are teak trees a-cutting, an animal or two who will not get up. One has been lying down for several days, not ill, just hurt when she took a toss on the main road, borne down by the weight of a bull. With the lack of food around, the heifer was in no state to take or bear the strain. Later a budding cart-bull was found in a narrow ditch on its back or side, its legs up. He took some getting out. He fell many times later, and when I last saw him, he was on his feet. He had had to be lifted up each time, and this takes men and time. We have had difficulty getting the water tanks filled. On remote part of the estate, some nuts had been picked, but the poachers ran off leaving them behind. With regard to another case, statements had to be taken, and two men laid off, but one of them was the only one who could mix the medicines for our sick animals. Husks were sold. Enquiries were made about firewood and coconut stems for firewood. To cap everything there was no money from Colombo to pay weekly advances. Back went I to the estate, after spending the morning in the older part of Colombo, Mattakuliya. My going when I did was like an inspiration. I arrived to find that the sick animals had not been lifted on to their feet, each party of men who were responsible blaming the other for not giving a hand, for it required many men to lift each animal up. To my surprise, each animal was put on its feet, and they remained standing for a while, one for all too short a time, the other walking around a little. Only a fraction of the money for advances had set up this was my biggest headaches. Some men, big men for me, said they wished to leave because of the uncertain climate that prevailed.

I said that after my having undergone so much to detain them at work in the teeth of so much opposition, they would be letting me down if they left. Coconut thieves were at work twice more today. So far as we know they got away with four nuts. To cap everything, when I got back to Colombo, there was a letter asking me what cultivation I had done, or what I proposed to do. All efforts at subsidiary crops have so far been concentrated on the other half of the estate which is not mine. I would have thought that keeping a large head of cattle was effort enough.

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#### POINT OF VIEW

### That Fighting Spirit

By Nimal Saratchandra

I saw two dogs fighting on the road. One was a pariah dog, emaciated skinny and old. The other was of a higher pedigree and looked well fed, but after all both were dogs. Each tried in its own way to subjugate the other. Those around just continued to view this unusual spectacle, but no one dared to put them aside, most probably the fighting spirit within, urged them to allow the dogs to continue fighting so that they may derive pleasure and satisfaction in an indirect way.

This incident reminds me of an interesting quotation from Kingsley Martin's *War History and Human Nature*, he states,

"If you see dogs fighting on the road and if you ask yourself why they are fighting there are three possible answers all of them true at a certain level and each of them suggesting its own type of remedy. First you can say that fighting has begun because the dogs have not been kept on a leash or secondly that if there were enough bones to go round, they would all be peacefully enjoying themselves, finally you can simply dismiss the whole thing with a shrug of your shoulders and say that dogs delight to bark and bite."

In this respect there is hardly any difference between dogs and men. The unsatiable war between



while leading him to prosperity, through discoveries, inventions and furtherance of knowledge has on the other hand led to his own destruction because of his fighting spirit. History is more or less a sad story of the continuous rivalries and the fighting spirit of man at all times! Even the sacred religious scriptures as the Bible or the Ramayana or Mahabharata relate with eagerness, details of wars that took place between kings, nations and individuals.

The historical chronicles like the *Mahawamsa* and *Culawamsa* abound with narratives of wars waged by one king against the other or one nation against the other nation during the last two thousand five hundred years.

In the "Awake" of 22nd December, 1974 is published an interesting article titled "Should History be Re-written?" Though the author of this article has viewed history through a different perspective, there are few paragraphs worth quoting.

"Is there really a pattern of history, however? Well, many of the professed patterns in history exist largely in the minds of the creators. Oftentimes they seem contrived and artificial although some contain a kernel of truth. But there is one pattern on which nearly all students will agree. What is it?"

That human history has been mostly bad. Bloodbaths, economic crises, scandals and assorted forms of sadistic cruelties and tortures have been mankind's stock in trade. Few students fail to see this pattern. The fighting spirit has been with men even from the beginning of the created world. There was hatred, envy and enmity even between those of the same blood. Cain murdered his own brother Abel because of the fighting spirit. The crusaders went to the battle field with shields bearing cross, medallions of saints adorned their breasts. Fighting was encouraged and even blessed by the church if it was for its benefit. Religion, kindled the fighting spirit within men during the middle ages.

As long as men are men, the fighting spirit within them will never die, it will lie dormant within them until they are provoked and you can then see how soon they turn brutal and sadistic, re-

sembling dogs. If only you are alert you can observe the fighting spirit within men when they at bus queues, at co-operative queues, at cinema queues, and all other places where as Kingsley Martin says—there isn't enough bones to go round. You may call them sports, or give them some sophisticated name, but sports like boxing, wrestling, karate are only exhibitions of men's fighting spirit.

**While discussions are going on behind closed doors, for preservation of peace, in a factory, in another part of the world, armaments, and other dangerous deadly weapons are turned out in thousands capable of destroying man who created them. Why?**

**It is because of the fighting spirit within man that will never die, till the world lasts.**

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SUMMIT SEVENTY SIX

## Emphasis On Economics

By Jayantha Somasundaram

The fifth non-aligned summit conference will open in Colombo on August 9th this year. This is the first time the countries of the Third World will be meeting in Asia, and they do so as guests of one of the senior and pioneer members of this now powerful international bloc.

The host government in Colombo is responsible not only for drawing up the draft agenda, but along with the other members of the Co-ordinating Committee which consists of Algeria, Cuba, Guyana, India, Kuwait, Liberia, Malaysia, Nepal, Peru, Senegal, Somalia, Syria, Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zaire, for drafting the conference declaration, action programme and resolutions.

Sri Lanka is also responsible for issuing several pre-session documents which include a history of the non-aligned movement, and papers on the Indian Ocean peace Zone, the role of co-operation in economic affairs and international relations.

The draft agenda which is now being circulated among all member

countries by Sri Lanka's U.N. representative, Shirley Amarasinghe, has fourteen items. Special provision has been made on the agenda for the discussion of the political situation in South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, Angola, the Middle East, and Cyprus. Emphasis is being laid in the agenda on the economic situation with the establishment of a new international economic order, the charter of economic rights and duties, U.N. conference on food and population and the conferences of U.N.I.D.O. and U.N.C.T.A.D. IV.

LETTER

## The Snake

Sir,

Mr. Herbert Keuneman's account of how he found some excitement supplied by a cobra, appearing in your journal of 1.5.76, reminded me of a similar experience—it was more prolonged than his experience. I once owned a rubber property at Kalawana. The bungalow, though not luxurious, had a ceiling, in the main rooms. Snakes were found in abundance. We had a large Kabragoya, as a protector. Various species of Lepidoptera, birds, beetles and bugs, were frequent visitors. Several woodpeckers made their nests in decayed rubber trees. *Kohas* and *minas*, kingfishers, snails and rats were found in abundance—we also had a python who appeared during the waning moon. Unlike Mr. Keuneman who encountered a cobra, we had a pet rattle(?) snake, who used to make his bed, on the ceiling, just above my bed. I was told by experts on reptiles that he chose this particular spot, due to the warmth, from the bed side lamp. Occasionally he used to rattle if he smelt a rat. We could not do anything to get him out. He never slept till he heard the late news on the SLBC. Fumigation was of no use. Peace of mind, and a good night's rest was only restored when our benign government finally decided to acquire the property for a co-operative farm.

Deva-Aditiya

Colombo.  
5.5.76

\*

# Confidentially

## \* Condensed Milk

IS IT NOT FUNNY that the top bureaucratic hierarchy of the (National) Milk Board (MB, for short) has started a public relations campaign through the columns of the *Daily News* and other publications of Lake House that a "revolution" has overtaken it? That the *Daily News* of Thursday, May 20, had a frontpage story (small and insignificant) that the "Flying Squad" of the MB had detected adulterated milk in two booths and that steps had been taken to cancel the licences of these two franchise-holders (no doubt, as cynics say, these two booth-owners had recently tilted to the UNP or had been LSSP-types earlier on)? That the news report had gone on to say that the MB was now entertaining complaints and that dissatisfied customers could make complaints direct to the Hqs of the MB? That a telephone number was mentioned at the end of the report? That no sooner this report was published many people, including readers of *Tribune*, had tried to get this number to find that it was permanently "engaged"? That this phone was either permanently "busy" on official work for MB or that some of the romantic young people in the MB were using the phone for their flirtations? That some of those who had tried to get the number ended up with wrong connections (glory hallelujah to Kumarasurier who brooks no criticism about the telephone service believing it to be the best in the world)? That on the same day (20/5/76) the *Daily News* wrote an exhilarating editorial commending the efforts of the MB to provide consumer satisfaction? That the *Daily News* offered the MB some advice how it should deal with complaints? That the MB should maintain and respect the anonymity some complaints may want? That all this is good shadow-boxing on paper? That before going on to the question of this farcical charade the MB about entertaining complaints (why not look into the bad—not adulterated—pasteurised milk supplied by the MB direct to booths

and to customers through approved agents for a start?), it is necessary to pose a few questions about the MB's condensed milk? That last week we had raised this matter? That many months ago we had asked several pertinent questions which remain unanswered to this day? That the only reactions we had to our revelations was to be sermonised by do-gooders in the MB that *Tribune* had been "misinformed"? That requests by us to correct us and provide true facts evoked no response? That the condensed milk situation has so steadily deteriorated that there was a public outcry which will reverberate from now until the General Elections in 1977? That alarms (back to Shakespeare) about the condensed milk has begun to fill the Sri Lanka stage so much that the MB decided that something should be done?

That last week this column referred to an inspired piece in the *Sunday Observer* of April 25 about 3000 gallons being over-burnt about "two months" previously? That similar apologia had appeared in the *Daily News* and other Lake House publications? That this was followed up with an editorial in the *Daily News* on May 5 indicating that public was not inclined to believe what the MB said? That the *Daily News*, very correctly had pointed out that "although we hope there will not be a next time, what the Board should do is not to wait for complaints and press publicity but withdraw bad tins not by asking for their return but by going round and collecting them..."? That it is a good thing that the *Daily News* has woken up to the fiasco that is the Milk Board? That most newspapers, for many years now, have shut a blind eye to the Milk Board's antics and corruption because it is (and was) one of the biggest advertisers? That as a sole monopoly in this field it was able to command tremendous advertising expenditure and this is one way it has kept many newspapers blind (and silent) in regard to its activities? That today even the charm of advertising has begun to fade away with a General Elections around the corner and the credibility gaps regarding every nationalised undertaking getting wide every day? That it would be interesting to know if the *Daily News* will be willing to investigate some of the matters which

the *Tribune* has raised over the years in regard to the MB and which this column repeats once again this week? (That we will persist with these and other questions until "something is done")? That the MB's condensary was commissioned in 1968? That the unit was set up to handle 120,000 pints of milk per day, one third of which, it was "planned", would be supplied by the Polonnaruwa Farm, one third by Special Lease tycoons (a UNP nightmare), and one third the rural sector which was to be developed under extra special Extension Services? That the full programme was expected to achieve full capacity in five years? That the milk shed (our watershed in the hills has also begun to shrink with suicidal de-forestation) extended from Polonnaruwa to the East coast and included Thanalakaduwa? That the Farm at Polonnaruwa which in 1966/67 was producing 3,500 pints of milk a day still continues to produce the same quantity (a little more sometimes and little less at other times)? That in the meantime more than Rs. 35 million rupees had been spent on this Farm in order to push up the production to 40,000 pints as per Plan? That it is known that the Special Lessees' programme had turned out to be dismal failure (even during the lifetime of the last UNP government which had pinned so much faith on Special Leases)? That the present "rural sector" collection from about 9 Collection Centres in the Thamal-kaduwa area is in the region of 24,000 pints of milk every day? That in 1968, this area had provided 16,000 pints of milk a day? That the increase in 8 years was only 8000 pints of milk a day? That it will be seen that the three areas from which the milk was expected to come to make the Condensary a viable project have not even reached a quarter of the target? That the first step in any investigation into the tin milk fiasco is to find out why the plan for the milk supply went wrong? That the answers to this question will provide the background to the rest of the muddle? That instead of the 120,000 pints of milk a day to make 24,000,000 cans of 14 oz. nett content per annum, the Condensary has imported skimmed milk, butter oil and refined sugar to make condensed milk?

