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From Our Desk

The concept of the GNP, about which there was some reference in this column last week was a creation of Western economic theorists. It was exported to the Third World by the Think Tanks of the capitalist world. It is not bungling GNP ineptitude that makes it see no difference between real producers of wealth and paper wealth. GNP, looked at from a Third World's point of view, is a device to keep the suppliers of raw materials and primary commodities (and the buyers of surplus manufactured goods from affluent countries) in a fixed and controlled state of economic stasis. Technology and its transfer, according to GNP ritualists, would create *disequilibrium* and upset the world economic order fashioned by the Bretton Woods system after the Second World War. GNP was the brainchild of Wesley Mitchell from Chicago. Milton Friedman is his most famous disciple. *Marginal Utility* on which Mitchell's GNP is based was invented by British economist William Stanley Jevons in 1871, who enunciated the theory of 'equilibrium'. Wesley Mitchell took Jevon's equilibrium and set out to build a series of statistics that would chart how well the economy was equilibrating—reaching pure entropy—at a given time. This was called 'institutional economics'—again, not in reference to the place where its proponents ought to have been interned in padded rooms, but to Mitchell's success in convincing governments around the world, starting with the Wilson administration, to institutionalize those statistics as the basis for government policy. Mitchell's 1913 'Business Cycles' was the first real GNP study. He agglomerated all the statistics he had gathered to prove that as long as new technology was being introduced to society, we were doomed to continuous boom-bust cycles of credit crises. These are "not disruptions... but fluctuations systematically generated by economic organisation itself". Since we cannot possibly understand the economy, Mitchell and his followers say, and since the very existence of industry means continuous economic crises, then the job of economics is to collect as much empirical data on prices, wages, production, money supply and so on, and use that information to show what policies can smooth out the disequilibria. Once the Mitchell method became hegemonic in US government and business circles, the planners of Mitchell's National Bureau of Economic Research were in a position to dictate policy: "The statistics show that unless we smooth out the disequilibrium with tax increases here, or government spending there, we will have a crisis." The results of applied GNP economies in the USA and the capitalist world are evident today in the wreckage of the Bretton Wood and its economic systems. The rich nations are faced with inflation, recession and depression. The poor Third World countries are being driven deeper into debt and poverty. The adoption of new technology, nuclear for instance, by too many countries is condemned as bad because it would cause "disequilibrium". Such technology according to GNP hegemonists was taboo for the Third World. Cannot the world produce thinkers who can map out new strategy for development after redefining terms like "progress" without being blinded by concepts like the GNP and the Quality of Life which have been conceived and connected to make the rich richer and poor poorer?

TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review

Founded In 1954

**A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs**

Editor, S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

September 22, 1979

Vol. 24 No. 11

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET
COLOMBO — 2.

Tel: 33172.

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COVER STORY

Fraud And More Fraud

We have a picture on the cover of a tractor-trailer loaded to capacity with bags of paddy. We have used this not to show that paddy is pouring into the stores of the PMB. We have picked on this picture for a totally different reason. The massive fraud in tractor spares which was recently detected made us spotlight the tractor with a laden trailer on the cover.

The *Ceylon Daily Mirror* ran a series about the fraud in tractor spares. The *Daily News* and the *Sun* also focussed a great deal of attention on this fraud. Srimal Abeywardene in the *CDM* of August 8, had an excellent piece entitled MULTI MILLION RUPEE FRAUD IN TRACTOR SPARES: "A multi-million rupee fraud in tractor spares belonging to the State Trading (Tractor) Corporation was uncovered by the Maradana police yesterday. A police party led by Inspector Nalin Perera of the Crime Detective Bureau recovered Rs. 7½ lakhs worth of tractor spares—part of a shipment ordered recently—from a house at Agalawatta. According to the police, the value of the spares ordered was around Rs. 1.6 million. As they were duty-free items imported by the Corporation, the local market value was in the region of Rs. 3 million. The lid was blown off this massive fraud following a tip off that valuable tractor spares were hidden in a house at Wadduwa. The police after questioning a wharf clerk who normally clears goods for the University, recovered the spares from a house at Agalawatta.

"Police said four consignments of spares had been ordered by the Corporation in early 1978, and the agent abroad had written to the corporation that the goods had been shipped and would arrive in Colombo in the Lanka Shanthi. The Corporation on receiving this letter had checked with the Port (Cargo) Corporation who had replied that the goods had not landed in Sri Lanka and it may have been off-loaded elsewhere. The Tractor Corporation then put in a claim to the Insurance Corporation. Police said investigations had revealed that the master plan had been hatched by a grill clerk working in the Port Cargo Corporation, a local Wharf clerk, his assistant

and a motor spares broker. The grill clerk is reported to have got all the necessary forms cleared and the wharf clerk and his assistant and the broker had removed the goods from the port to the house at Agalawatta. The broker had arranged to sell the goods to a mudalali from Kelaniya and had collected an initial payment of Rs. 55,000. Police said the first instalment of the payment had been shared by the suspects and about Rs. 7000 had been incurred as expenses."

The tractor spares scandal is only one of the many—one that has spawned from the total liberalisation of imports. With so much coming into the country, even government corporations are unable to keep pace with orders they have been placed.

Take another case—a longtime longstanding fraud that has grown old with the times. The *Ceylon Daily News* of July 30 had a report entitled CONCESSIONARY SEASON TICKETS MAY GO—GOVT. TO WITHDRAW SUBSIDIES. "The Railway will soon revise its scheme of issuing heavily subsidised season tickets to government employees. Railway officials said that public employees will have to pay about 70 per cent more on the price of subsidised season tickets. Concessionary season tickets are subsidised by the government by 75 per cent. In a single month 6.5 million persons travel by train. Some 3.5 million of them travel on season tickets. Annually the government spends Rs. 800,000 to subsidise season tickets issued to public officers.

"Railway audit officials checking on a month's issue of concessionary season tickets to public officers recently reported that tickets had been issued for travel to Colombo from places like Matara, Kandy, Gampola, Matale and Galgamuwa from where no suitable office trains were provided. For example 219 season tickets have been issued for daily travel from Matara and 141 from Kandy but the first train

NEXT WEEK

HAVANA DIARY

—Inside Story Of Sixth Summit—

by S. P. Amarasingam

to reach Colombo in the morning comes in well past nine o'clock. When a normal commuter pays Rs. 6.50 for a single journey from Matara a public officer's season ticket for travel during the whole month costs only Rs. 30."

"The spokesman said that this was a clear indication that Heads of Departments had not satisfied themselves that officers authorised to be issued the subsidised season tickets were using them for genuine travel to and from their places of work and residences. Railway audit men have detected public officers selling or lending their season tickets. Many use these tickets for travel during the week-ends on public holidays and when on leave.

"Chapter 29 of the Establishment Code lays down that Heads of Departments should their places of work hours tickets to public officers who travel a distance of over 30 miles from their places of residence, when such travel will not impair the officers efficiency or interfere with his or her work. This rule was obviously not being adhered to when Heads of Departments authorised the issue of concessionary season tickets to officers who take trains that reach their places of work hours after 8.30 in the morning. A public officer now pays 25 percent of the cost of eight to twelve return journeys from point of residence to their place of work. The revision the railway will shortly put into effect will now mean that the officer will have to pay 25 per cent of the cost of 20 such return journeys constituting roughly a 70percent increase. To prevent transfer and sale of such tickets the Railway will also introduce an identity card system replete with photograph and counter signed by Heads of Departments and the holder. Every application for concessionary tickets will have to be made individually and not in the form of the present list system. This was being done for the twin purpose of better scrutiny by Heads of Departments and also to prevent the introduction of names of outsiders into such lists, the spokesmen said."

It is time that something is done to end this kind of cheating. Fraud of this kind must be out of the public service. With all the other concessions public servants have got in the last Budget, there is no need to subsidise them through perennial season tickets on the railways. At least, such a concession should,

at no time, be allowed for distances more than thirty miles.

The other menace on the Railway comes from the vast multitude of public service holiday warrant travellers who edge out all cash-paying train travellers during weekends and other rush periods. Special trains should be run for warrant holders during the heavy rush periods. This will remove one of the major complaints of the ordinary cash paying commuter—underprivileged compared to the warrant holder.

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BELIEVE IT OR NOT

Tenders

Believe it or Not, in his interview with the Editor of *Tribune* on August 3, the President had said: ".....If everybody is corrupt, what can anybody do? There are so much tenders now, so much development, so much money floating around, more than ever before there is room for corruption. What people seem to think is that because a man gets a commission he is corrupt. Every big tenderer has a Commission Agent. They see people, may come to see me, they can, provided he does not try to bribe me....." The President has touched only on the tip of the ice-berg of the Tender Scandals.

Migara of the *Weekend* has written a great deal about this tender business. In one piece (12/8/79), he called *The Tender Age*: In a preamble he said: "In recent times Sri Lankans were exposed to the big time tender business particularly prior to the sixth non-aligned summit conference in Colombo. There was such over-ordering of food-stuffs and beverages from Singapore that unsold uneaten meats were ultimately given to the dogs. Millions worth of airport equipment was ordered and 504s were imported from France. Today there is a brave new world that is being carved out. Trade liberalisation, the FTZ, and accelerated development projects like the giant Mahaweli scheme are all telescoping us to the 20th century thereby attracting the attention of multi-nationals and big foreign companies. It has brought us to realise what Koreagate and the Tong Sun Park affairs which erupted

into a scandal at Capital Hill is, and how the Lockheed scandal even involved Presidents, Prime Ministers and Ministers in several countries like Japan, Italy, USA etc."

Then he goes on to analyse the mechanics of awarding a tender: "There are several state sector projects which involve private sector participation from foreign lands. Almost every such business combine has a number of local agents. Competition is feverishly high. Each time a local agent smiles the others feel their necks because cut-throatism is a trade mark. Larger the number of agents, stronger the bids for success. There are no scruples among some bidders. For them each man has his price. If one needs proof to emphasise this point it could be illustrated by the study of the flow of tender documents then and now. Much of what goes on in the whirl and twirl of the tender business of the commercial world hardly meets the attention of the public. Inducements are offered in various forms. Trips abroad—with all the perks, 'pleasure pads' with unlimited whisky and 'honey'. How many can resist these temptations? This is where the sifting process takes place. If you take a hundred people how many would come out clean? Ministers and MPs, Corporation bosses etc., no longer need an income qualification to serve the people. Not that the rich are by habit and repute honest either. But how do these persons maintain the social status that their coterie of side-kits, friends and supporters demand of them?"

Then he goes on to explain how politicians fall into the net: "Politicians fall prey by getting entangled in the web of a viscous circle for other reasons as well. If they can wield their influence in clinching a tender it need not merely be a source of personal benefit for them via a commission—which during the Lockheed scandal was not considered a bribe by international business, but part of the quotation. The award of a tender might mean a haven of jobs to their supporters or a promise for a small-scale industry in his electorate. Now some of us know that these things are happening, what does one do about it? Allow it to explode in the form of a scandal? We hear that one well-known Sri Lankan gentleman threw a lavish party last month in a flat in London for clinching a million rupee

deal for a massive irrigation scheme here. The Electricity Board keeps changing tender specifications under the advice of their consultants in London. Local agents of a South Korean multi-national firm dealing in agricultural machinery acts as the postman between the chairman of a local corporation which deals with such machinery and the press once a news item adverse to the firm is published. What is the inference any prudent person would draw? There was a report that a Minister entertained the head of a state limited liability company for lunch at a star-class hotel and threw in a request for a contract for his private firm. Are these fact or fiction?"

Believe it or Not, every one of the matters mentioned is fact. And one can add many more of the same kind. It also can happen that a business tycoon leaks to the press a true story—say, about a man who did not come to dinner—and when impact of the story has had its desired effect in the right places, the tycoon will save the VIP who took the man away from the dinner by swearing that the dinner-hijack story wasn't true and that the newspaper had been fed with wrong information. And so the games goes on. The man who did not attend the dinner brought the warring parties together and many deals were struck thereafter. Cut throatism is a virtue today. *Migara* has this to say: "If one is to understand the cut-throatism in this vast octopus-like network of the multi-national one clear cut illustration is how a few years back the then Government tried to catch people—those people living champagne lives on toddy incomes. There was a case of how even the highest official machinery was used to intimidate an honest Government servant who bravely refused to co-operate with a massive local syndicate. This Government servant one fine day found a declaration of assets form on his table presumably to ascertain whether his was a champagne life with his toddy income. That is intimidation. The Government of the day must protect these honest men. In the meantime, the public is given doses regularly of how some hospital watcher is caught for accepting Rs. 2 bribe for allowing a person to see a patient or how a port worker was arrested for accepting Rs. 5 for allowing a vehicle owner to take a hub-cap without any hindrance. Yet, powerful rich men are al-

lowed to go scot-free with millions in their bulging pockets. The attack on graft is taking place where it hurts the least. While poor men are thrown to ravenous wolves, everything is done to hush-up the rackets of crooked men who wield some influence. People involved in a recent scandal which hit the headlines still jubilantly talk of their exploits and carry on regardless. One of them likens himself to 'Alibaba' saying, 'I have 40 thieves who do everything for me'. It is time for reconsideration of the terms of reference of the proposed permanent Presidential Commission that will inquire into any complaints made about Ministers, MPs and those who hold public office in trust and on behalf of the people. The terms should extend to private companies, local agents for multi-nationals and others who hold temptations to our people in order to undercut everybody and clinch a deal for themselves. Such a Commission should not merely give "Mr. Clean" certificates to the higher-ups but go a little further into these other matters as well."

Believe it or Not that there will be universal approbation if the President extends the scope of the Presidential Commission on corruption to cover the private sector firms and commissions. It is one thing to collect a commission after the usual above-board lobbying, but it is a totally different matter to resort to cloak and dagger tactics, to win tenders. We are in the era of TENDERS in which the government has to take tough ruthless methods to ensure that corruption and cut-throatism do not overwhelm the development proceeds and bring ruin to Jayewardene's virtuous society.



AN ACCELERATED MAHAWELI —2

Prospects

by R. Kahawita

We are told that the studies are in progress. If so we may not be any where near to work out details of materials, machinery and equipment requirements. There are general indications of require-

ments in the NDP reports, but they may change with final designs and priorities. NEVERTHELESS equipment etc. are being delivered regularly. How the equipment and machinery are being selected without the final plans and a commitment to a work programme is somewhat puzzling. We are not without examples where machinery was imported to work only for a couple of hundred hours when the life of the machine may be thousand times more. They may, after a few hours use, end up in a junk heap or be left in the jungle to decay as spotlighted by the *Davasa* reporters. They said that some of the equipment they photographed decaying in the jungle were stalled after 500 hrs. work because some essential replacements were not available. In another site, the machines were idling for months till the studies and plans came off the boards. These are instances of lack of thinking ahead.

It is possible the machines are being sent from the Aid giving countries to keep their production lines moving to sustain their economy. The danger is, that these machines may not fit into the final work programmes when they are ready for execution. This can happen if we are still at the drawing office level. Those who know how to plan equipment for construction can tell us that it would be months after the final construction plans are ready before one could shop for suitable equipment and may be months more before going into procurement. These are factors and the publicity given to short-comings that throw doubts in an accelerated programme.

The above referred "Lead Group of Consultants" should be able to monitor the construction equipment that should be brought into the country by the various construction Agencies. We pay for them, so we must have the choice. It is up to us to see that such equipment, after use in the Mahaweli area, can be used in other development work. There are many more being planned. There has to be intensive investigations and planning in the procurement of equipment, machinery, and materials to fit an accelerated programme to replace the thirty year programme.

On the same line of thinking, another serious break-down was referred to by His Excellency the President, when addressing a meeting on the 22nd July to celebrate the second Anniversary of His stewardship. He

said that various development programmes are behind schedule due to shortages in construction materials.

We drew the attention of the Authorities as far back as December 1977 that supply of such materials as cement, steel, timber etc. would be a problem to push through an accelerated programme. When this question was raised some officers of the Mahaweli Group said:— "Oh! we will have plenty", as Moses said to his people when he wanted to lead them to the Promised Land. Of course Moses had a faith in a God to pray for manna and get help. We have only a gullible listener to convince. So difficulties in keeping to an accelerated programme seem to mount. Let us see how the progress can be maintained to achieve success.

The whole operation, starting in 1946 to date is to be able say "we have succeeded in creating a new concept of farming and a new farmer in our country. Success is not measured, in a venture of this nature by jungles of dams, road-channels, and miles of power lines over this 6000 square miles of the country covered by the Mahaweli activities. The measure is; have we settled a farming community better off than they were, before they came into the area? Have we produced more food to meet the needs of the growing population? Have we increased and added to our economic growth so that the average wage earner can live within his earning capacity, and spare something for a rainy day? Can the farmers, settled under Mahaweli, service and pay for the facilities, after meeting his own needs, he is provided with? The responsibility of the Government to create that kind of self-sufficient farmer is increasing daily with every move of Government to give "life support" to those millions below the starvation line. The theoretical income level to be on the opposite side of the starvation line is Rs. 300/- a month. There are rumours that this limit may be raised to Rs. 450/- a month due to the ever increasing cost of living. Thus increasing the Government's liability to 8 millions and a proportionate financial liability around to 2500 million rupees a year to give this life support to the needy.

ARE WE GOING TO CONSIDER this aspect in deciding on the unit of holding and the

possible income there-from? Do we intend to shift the needy from where they are now to Mahaweli area and say "Produce or Perish"? Answers to such questions are the norms to be adopted in evaluating success. These are the facets of development most difficult to achieve, and the main reason to programme the work over a period of thirty years. There are other reasons too. But what is the use of having a high dam if the waters behind it cannot be used for the benefit of the people. Raising a structure here, a structure there may be a boastful achievement. We can point out many an achievement of this kind. But again the question is "are we producing sufficiently commensurate with the expenditure"? This cannot be a five or six year target. It is the work of a generation and therefore a National commitment which must be continued through every kind of vicissitude—political, economic, social or even religious bigotry. So if we fail to reach the target, even in the technical development, which is the area most talked of now, and may be the only picture we have in mind, when we say that "we can now go to the people confidently for a second term." Technical development, whether high or low dams is only the background to the final picture—The final picture can best be described in the words of that great man, D. S. Senanayake. He said, "As a matter of fact see that peasant's cottage; a teapoy in the verandah, a bulath hepuwa on it, a curtain or pelmet draping the door, framing a coy damsel with two chubby children is what I want to see in our Colonies. That is why the Government decided to give each family five acres wet land and three acres dry land for a homestead." A homestead with a happy and content family living in it, is the final touch to the picture. Such is what is meant by success in any settlement project. The story does not end there but for us it may be so.

According to the latest statements, various countries have undertaken to share our promises and problems, Kotmale, Victoria, Maduru Oya etc. are committed. Now five years, six years or any time target in an accelerated programme depends on how much money, materials and men they can pump into each's share. It is not for us to say or dictate. Their Governments will decide as much as

our Government decided to go ahead with an accelerated programme, without a cent in our pocket. That is the difference in the respective commitments. Since making the above observations two events have taken place. One the President in a speech has defined what was meant by "An accelerated programme"; instead of a phased programme dragging over 30 years. The Engineers have said that the work could be done simultaneously and in five years. As explained by the Administration the Accelerated programme is to construct the three dams Kothmale, Victoria and Maduru Oya and settle 100,000 farming units. This is not the whole cake to be baked in 30 years. It is only a sizable slice, nevertheless by itself, it is a herculean task to perform in 5 or six years. The balance of the cake has to go on baking as explained by us in Part I. The second is a Radio news item announced on 28.8.79 that the British Government has undertaken to design finance and construct Victoria Dam at an estimated cost of 500 million rupees. The work would be started in 1981 and programmed to completed in 1986. This is a realistic and practical programme for a work of this magnitude. This is quite a different proposition to the advice given by the officials to the Administration.

The Second Part in the accelerated programme as announced by the President, is to settle 100,000 families in the area. This is the Presidential order and the task facing us today. While the Aid giving countries are deciding on the rates of progress and programmes, we have also a much more major task to perform. Generating the correct atmosphere and environment to settle that "happy and content family" to put into productive use the resources created at such enormous cost. Our politicians do not speak about this aspect at all in their orations. But this is the field in which we can do "hell of a lot", while the technical details are being worked out on the drawing boards by the Foreign Consultants. We should be able to steal a march over them by getting through our share in five or six years. That is how we can keep to our promises. But are we geared to that kind of action now? I am afraid we are not. As I understand from the press reports and statements by the Ministers etc. we are only concerned with the construction of dams etc.—that too not the full complement of structures covered by "the Master Plan" and included in the 30 year programme. What we are going

to do is only a part. There is lots more to be done—a life's time work as explained in Part One of this article. There must be specialist groups working full time on hydrology, land reclamation and improvement, maintenance of soil fertility, River flow patterns and water management, conveyance and distribution problems and their corrections, agronomy and agronomic problems as a result of irrigation, water logging and drainage of irrigated regions, reuse of over flow of irrigation water, Agricultural extension work to break the new farmer to new crops, socio-cultural problems of the new settlers and "purana settlers" arising as a result of mixing the new with the old, employment problems of the younger generation of the settler, they will not remain young as the settlements attain socio-economic stability. This is only a partial list and as studies and investigations, and as the water is being distributed and used for various purposes other problems arise. We must be prepared for it and be ready with the answers. What about the other stages of the Master Plan? These also must be brought to the construction stage and be ready to be implemented at least at the end of the five years or at least to follow on. These also must be investigated, studies made, designs prepared and brought up to the construction stage and not wait till some aid giving country comes along to do what should be on the boards today to take after the five year commitment to construction stage. If we do not do this it will not be thirty years, may be sixty years before we can complete the Master Plan and reap the benefit of what we are committed to do today. Now that our technical officers have handed over their responsibilities, expertise and their know-how as if they did not possess any, let them get busy to complete the balance projects in the Master Plan.

IN THE FIELD OF HYDRO - POWER DEVELOPMENT, there are other potentials apart from High Dams. For example take Badulla Oya. From its source to Badulla it has a drop of about thousand feet within, a run of about 16 miles. It is possible to have three hydro-power plants using the same discharge flow in a cascade system of development. They are small and not financially glamorous. Their development does not go into hundred millions. Yet they can pump into the National grid a steady quantum of energy through-out

the year. There are several other tributaries of Mahaweli in similar physiographic locations that lend themselves easily to hydro-power development with the minimum of storage. These are included in the Master Plan and in the 30 year programme but outside our thinking in the accelerated programme.

There are also included the larger concept of flood protection aspects of Mahaweli Development. The present studies seemed to have ignored this aspect altogether. The developed areas that are effected by seasonal floods are, Nawalapitiya Urban Area, Gampola Urban Area, Peradeniya Campus (a part of it) Parts of Peradeniya Botanical Gardens and Getambe area. The undeveloped area subjected to floods is about 400,000 Acs. below the confluence of Ambanganga with Mahaweli. The Master Plan has taken these aspects into consideration in the final proposals. The first point in the river to deal with flooding is at Primrose hill gap at Peradeniya. The proposal is a flood diversion and power tunnel to by-pass the Primrose Hill Gap where the obstruction is causing flood in the upper reaches. Thereafter the several reservoirs in the main river and in the Tributaries were to be designed to absorb a major floods and then to be retained and released for development activities and in others to retain a second flood following the first flood—(which is quite a possibility with our rivers as experienced at Gal Oya within a few years)—and release that flood water to contain the river flow within its Banks. In the lower reaches of Mahaweli the construction of classical "flood Bunds" was discarded after the experiences in the Nile and Indus rivers. Flood bunds are dangerous in the flat alluvial plains of a river basin. These are some aspects of studies and development programmes covered in the Master-plan and visualised in the thirty year programme. And these are the studies, investigations and even construction we can do during the current five year programme while the overseas agencies handle Kotmale, Victoria and Maduru Oya. These are only three of the 49 structures in the 30 years programme.

We have a chronic disease of starting well and giving up half way. This is a disease we contracted after we lost the leadership of D.S. in 1952. As a result all the major development works in the country have suffered—starting

with Gal Oya Scheme. Not one scheme, whatever the projects may be, roads, buildings, agricultural development, settlement, irrigation projects, live stock development, education, Health Services, even Administration have and are experiencing the effect of the disease—We stop half-way and start another. A good example is our sugar Industry which involves several facets of co-ordinate activities. We started to develop sugar cane growing and processing in 1946 with Hingurana—Gal Oya—Kantalai, Polonnaruwa cane experimental station, Uda-Walawe. None of these were taken to their logical conclusion—manufacture of sugar which of we import 200,000 tons annually. Still none of these projects have justified the expenditure on them but we are now talking actively of growing cane at Moneragala, Wellawaya and Haldamulla and establishing a cane Research Station, (a start was made in 1966 with a foreign expert but abandoned in '70) before getting the two factories at Gal Oya and Kantalai into capacity production and before the machinery is just junk, if not already.

(To Be Continued)

Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act (Cap. 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 Of 1964.

Reference No. ATH 1/236

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette No. 55 (Part III) of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka of 21-09-1979.

Schedule

D.R.O.'s Division Colombo
 Situation: Ward No. 2 Modera, Colombo Municipal Council limits.
 Village: Kotahena
 Name of Land: Assmt. No. 93, Modera St.
 Lot No.: 1
 Plan No.: P.P. Co. 5140

H. C. Gunawardane

District Land Officer of Colombo District.
 The Kachcheri,
 Colombo.
 Date:— 31 August, 1979

Kudi-Makkal—3

—Domestic Servants—

by K. Arumainayagam

The Kudi-makkal played an important role in the social structure of Jaffna Tamils. In fact they were the life-wire of the high castes. Their presence is necessary for the successful performance of ceremonies connected from birth to death and in between for their physical existence. However, this system has now become obsolete with the march of civilization. Still you find the semblance of the system prevailing in some nook and corner of the interior but it has lost all its force and "sanctity" with which it was held some years back.

The Dutch documents and works of scholars like Philip de Melho, Simon Casie Chetty, give us a fair glimpse of their life and functions. The report given below, prepared by a Kachcheri Mudaliyar on the instructions of a Government Agent will be of interest to students of Social History. The mudaliyar was K. T. Kanagaratne Mudaliyar, and the reports came in the Ceylon Administration Reports—1883, pp. 144 A-147A.

15. *Carpenters*—This class of people is now found in almost all the villages of Jaffna, and they belong to the class called Kudimakkal proper. The obligations of this class of people to the Vellala class is to make all agricultural implements without any hire, except food for the days they actually cook, and the Vellalas in return at the season of harvest give for the support of the Carpenter and his family certain quantities of grain, vegetable and fruits. The Carpenter must build houses, &c., also for the Vellalas, without daily pay, simply for meals, for all the days he works. When the building is completed, a day is fixed for entering the house, and on that day the Carpenter does certain ceremonies and delivers the house to the owner for occupation, and gets in return from the owner as well as his friends rice, fruits, gold, silver, cattle, cloth, &c., nearly equal to the amount of hire he would have earned by daily wages.

The Carpenter is also bound to attend the Vellalas house on all joyful and mournful occasions. On joyful occasions he has to prepare arecanuts for the guests and to sing jointly with other Kudimakkal verses of benediction, and after the ceremony is over he has to take his meals with other Kudimakkal, and to return home with the present of rice, fruits, and cakes for his family at home. Likewise in funeral houses, he has to attend the house and accompany the corpse to the burning ground. On the 3rd day he has to attend again and to take his meals with others. He is also paid a Cubits length of cloth with a few fanams of copper coin put into it. The Carpenter who adheres to the rules of the Kudimakkal is entitled to the services of the barbers and Washermen of the Vellalas.

This class of people are still adhering to the customs in the Country Villages, but very reluctantly, seeing that in the gravets of Jaffna, particularly in Vannarponnai, their fellow Carpenters have already thrown off the obligations, having far improved in workmanship and amassed wealth to such an extent as to enable them to live independent of the protection of the Vellalas.

16. *Blacksmiths*—This class and the above class are one, and they have inter-marriages; the only difference is, one works on wood and the other on iron. The mutual obligations between them and the Vellalas are exactly the same as those of the Carpenters, and the account I have given above as to Carpenters equally applies in all points to the Blacksmiths also.

17. *Barber*—He has to shave the Vellalas, the inmates of the house, and all Kudimakkal except Veddiyan and Washerman. These two classes have separate barbers. He is required to do other duties than shaving. In wedding houses he has special shaving, preparing milk-plate with aruku grass, milk &c., The barber with the permission of the principal person who presides on the occasion, takes some milk from the cup and anoints the head of the bridegroom. He is to sing verses of benediction with others. In the funeral houses he has to prepare a kadjan with a green coconut leaf for the bier decorated for the carrying of the corpse, accompanies the corpse to the burning or burial ground, leads the son of the deceased in going

round the corpse placed, and makes three holes in the earthen jar called "kudam" (குடம்). The barber must invariably attend the joyful and mournful occasions, and eat in the house of the Vellalas with other Kudimakkal. He has a special fee for everything he does on ceremonial days. For the ordinary services he is paid in grain, vegetable, and fruits for his and his family's supports. This class of people still adhere to the rules of Kudimakkal, and it is no wonder that they do so; their calling is one that does not admit of much improvement towards bettering their condition, the tendency of modern civilization being rather to discourage the barbers, several educated Tamils having amongst other things adopted the European habit of shaving themselves, or of growing their beards and moustaches, so as altogether to dispense with the barber.

18. The Washerman is bound to serve as a washer to the Vellalas and their Kudimakkal (as long as they adhere to it) except for Veddiyan. He is expected to decorate the wedding and funeral houses by tying white clothes. If it be the house of a person of rank, the washerman spreads white cloth along the road to walk upon. She prepares a canopy to be held over the head, and provides for the decoration of the bier in funeral houses. He has a special fee for everything he does on the ceremonial days, and for ordinary services he is paid in grains, vegetables, and fruits at the seasons of gathering. He must invariably attend all joyful and mournful occasions, and take his meals at the Vellalas house with others on particular occasions.

The attendance of Kudimakkal proper, particularly of the last two classes (Barber and Washer) is considered very necessary. They are required to attend not only at wedding and funeral houses, but even on occasions of some less importance, such as on the day of wearing earrings, purification day of women after the child birth, on occasion of adoption, to make the proceedings legal and to add to the respect of the Vellalas.

1. *Barber and Washers* attendance on wedding ceremonies is required by the customs of Jaffna. See Case decided in 1820 in the Provincial Court of Jaffna patam under Nos: 1, 180 and 1, 103.

2. *In adoption ceremonies*, See *Thesavalamai* under the head "Ceremonies and Adoption".

"Although there are other witnesses, it is nevertheless the duty of the barber and washerman to be present on such occasions."

3. *The barber and washer* are bound by customs to attend even the ceremony of wearing earrings, and for refusal to attend a case for damage was instituted in the Court of Requests at Jaffna (No. 6,989) in 1850, and the custom and obligation was well proved and judgement went in favour of the plaintiff, but in appeal the judgement was set aside under the English law, on the ground that the defendents were not obliged to attend by any special contract.

Certain customs of Jaffna founded on *Thesavalamai*—the slavery and certain taxes and regulations introduced and enforced in this country by former rule—served as a formidable check on the advancement of the people and enjoyment of liberty and freedom; but since it happened to be placed under the benign Government of the British, almost all the hindrances above attended to have passed away, as the people have the benefit of the English laws and of a liberal Government. Most of the hindrances to the exercise of freedom and endeavour on the part of low classes of people to improve their position were based on the stupid system of caste and Kudimakkal peculiar to Jaffna. The disappearance of these hindrances to a considerable extent is to be attributed mostly to the great attention bestowed on the question of the late Mr. Dyke and his successors who steadily pursued the like course. By reference to the monthly report of the Principal headmen it will be found that an enquiry into the welfare of the class of people known as Kudimakkal is one of the chief items on it.

Concluded

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FROM BATTICALOA—2

Towards Greater Concord

by K. Kanapathipillai

IN A SITUATION OF THIS NATURE where man is at the throat of brother man, where human life appears to have been denuded of its true significance, why doesn't man-groaning under a heavy burden of doctrines and dogmas and empty ritualistic practices of racial, of

linguistic and caste and credal prejudices, of the putrid sense of a quondam white-man's burden to lord it over the smaller, less influential and less affluent groups, of a cramping burden of 'avidya', ignorance, and inadequate ideas, of an inability to view situations as a whole and not in parts,—free himself of all these shackles and think as if on a mountain, and live in peace and amity, making a concerted effort, to solve what might be considered to be, and in reality, are, his genuine social problems like the dangers of an ever-increasing population, and the inadequacy of food, clothing and habitation for the several members of society, thereby providing them with all the amenities requisite for leading an average, happy, contented and meaningful life.

Now, how can man set about this serious business of re-building and restructuring the disrupted human community in this remote corner of the globe, and thereby set an example to the bigger nations of the world? Let it be known that in the matter of organizing and husbanding a nation's great thoughts and aspirations, considerations of super powers and of minor fry do not arise, for the term 'powers' used in this context carries a very low and derogatory connotation, since it refers to the power of destructive nuclear weapons and power of self and vastness of territory. Man will have to know that there are far greater powers than the power of armed might and the power of material wealth and that which accrues from the possession and use of mechanical appliances. A nation, misguided by a distorted and inadequate and garbled notion of its greatness, merely because of the fact of its possession of the aforesaid material circumstances, cannot last long. Sooner or later there will come a time when it will have to bow down its head in shrinking shame to nemesis and bite the dust. A nation, however great it may be by dint of the fact of its vast possessions and ample technical knowledge and expertise in the various fields of economic activity and intellectual achievements and scientific progress and weapons of destruction, but scant in wisdom, perishes sooner than later. Nations, individuals, shall, therefore, have to learn to read into the life of things, and discover for themselves the genuine bond of 'RITA', that system of social ethics and morality and a feeling of rightness that binds all mankind in one, single enduring bond of filial piety and

parental love.

Let those of us who have chosen Sri Lanka as our permanent home accept this assertion: that we are all children of the same benign mother, and that we have to live here in perfect peace and harmony and 'realize ourselves in the perspective of the infinite. Let us rid ourselves of 'Ahankara', the egoistic and conceited notion of self, tinged with a false sense of the superiority of colour and creed and race and clime, and sacrifice this incomplete idea, this negative notion, on the altar of a genuine nationhood, and repose perfect confidence in each other; and rest assured that this nation shall henceforth, proceed from progress to greater progress, from morality to greater morality. Says Spinoza in this connection: 'Minds are conquered not by arms but by greatness of soul'. Here is a semblance of the light of 'Ahimsa'—the spirit of love—that once shone in all its brilliance in the Deer Park of Benares and on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Human endeavour shall have to be so mobilized so mortised and tenoned as to enable one to understand fully one's neighbours, to love them and to make compassion prevail over and pervade every single human action.

We have to face the brutal truth that all our history, however much we may value it and cherish it, all our traditions, have been written in water, just as all our goods and evils, all our virtues, and our vices, all our benedictions and maledictions, get dissolved in the ocean of eternity. They are like unto a salt doll that, puffed up with conceit, plunged itself into the depth of the ocean to determine its dimensions. More often than not, caught in the ancestral tornado of impulses we tend to lose our mental balance; and then we are at each other's throat. Since we are fundamentally impulsive and criminally partial in our estimate of situations, and fail to see the entire problem—the total situation—our thoughts tend to be unjust, unsound and inadequate.

The human milieu in Sri Lanka being one of a multi-denominational, multiracial, and multilingual nature, it is imperative that Herculean efforts and titanic sacrifices will have to be made with a view to enabling the 'RITA'—social justice and collective morality—to evolve; the harmonious moral bond to form. This would eventually make man more human, and keep him away from all negative and disruptive trends

in his behaviour. The be-all and end-all of human behaviour being the unification of all human minds, in an omega-point of a collective mind, all shattering trends in human behaviour shall have to be eschewed.

Now, let us be more explicit. There shall be no more hide-and-seek evasive thinking in this matter. If we in Sri Lanka wish to live as one people, we have to make tremendous sacrifices. What are they?

* Our narrowly sectarian religiosity will have to be completely transmuted into an all-embracing catholicity; the religion of Man.

* We have to think of ourselves, and our welfare as sober human beings would, and not in terms of this denominational group or that, this tradition or that. Perhaps this may be considered to be bad political thinking, but admittedly, it is sound human wisdom.

* Our clergy will have to re-think and re-organize a human system, a divine millien of life's great values; and our people will have to unlearn all that they have learnt all these years in a parochial way, and be ready to be tutored to take a correct appraisal of them and to give recognition to the newly found, 'Rita': the divine bond of life's great values: love and beauty and truth and justice.

* Since the extant democratic systems of government and even the tolerant totalitarian creeds have been found to be a thorough failure, for their conflicting policies are tending to plunge the world into an impending nuclear holocaust, this country, and even the great powers of the world should have recourse to the system of being guided, directed and governed by a body of wise counsellors—philosopher kings—assisted by a permanent body of experts in various fields of the development of the country's wealth and its moral health.

* As far as possible the country's natural resources shall be cautiously, prudently and wisely availed of in the re-building of its economy which shall not be suffered to be decked in borrowed plumes.

* Since any country, however affluent it may be, can have only limited natural resources, its population, that has to be so adjusted as to be in keeping with its natural resources, should not be permitted to increase beyond reasonable limits.

* 'Richam Vadhisayami': Life shall have to be lived rhythmically, harmoniously, peacefully and meaningfully, guided by the supreme notion of the total welfare of all and the total moral stamina of the nation. A clear notion of this noble upanishadic precept shall see to the lodgement of the perennial philosophy that is the lowest common denominator of all creeds and human values in the heart of the nation.

* Thus, man shall neither mock nor hate, neither lament nor execrate, neither scoff nor scorn. He shall make a genuine effort to understand his neighbours, aiming at consensus in all his social dealings. Then shall all our social and racial problems cease to be; and in that happy state, there will prevail the supreme idea of a single people and a single nation, with common national aims, and common national aspirations. Since the true index of a good and just government shall not necessarily be the number of summit conferences that a country might have participated in, nor the degree of dependence of its economy on foreign loans and IMF aid, nor the imminence of its natural resources and of the 'power' that it could wield in the comity of nations, but the overall welfare of the people, the preservation of their 'Graha Dharma'—family virtues,—and the sentiments that attach to their family hearth, the government of a country—the council of elders—shall devote more time and pay greater attention to the proper maintenance of happy homes than to any other subject. Thus we shall evolve into a great nation: 'Bhumaiva Sukani'—Greatness is happiness itself.

(Concluded)

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SHORT STORY FROM NIGERIA

The Marksman

by Sita Selvadurai

Ciwake, ever since he joined the First Division of the Federal Army as a private, was renowned in military circles for his adept marksmanship. When the others in the ranks saw his well proportioned six foot figure approaching, clad in full uniform as he most commonly was, while they themselves were

content to be less flamboyantly attired, they stood to attention and saluted him, as they would an officer.

Ciwake believed the belligerent nature in him to be hereditary. "It runs in my blood," he told his colleagues in the ranks, who liked him as much as they admired him. His grandfather, in his younger manhood had been a soldier, who had fought against naked savages. Later, he had followed the flag of his tribe into civilisation, and settled down in a hamlet on the outskirts of the town of Sokoto in the north. His father who was eldest in the family, had carried on his father's farm. But even in the peaceful life of a farmer the warrior spirit in him had survived, for once kindled it is never extinguished. The old man had loved military books and pictures, and no sooner Ciwake was old enough, he had made himself a catapult and started aiming at all and sundry. Ripe mangoes on the trees, birds, and his father's cattle had been his targets.

Ciwake himself hailed from a prolific, polygamous family of 26, his mother being the third of his father's six wives. As was the belief then prevailing in Hausaland, a man was 'Blessed by Allah', if he sired as many children as the sands of the sea. Ciwake's childhood years had been happy ones. His home was a round hut with mud walls, and a conical roof thatched with corn stalks. The compound contained seven such huts in all—his own, five belonging to his five step mothers and the children, and a large one in the middle, where his father took refuge and rest. His father's hut was out of bounds for everyone, including his wives and children. No one ever went there except at his father's bidding, or under exceptional circumstances.

Ciwake's special friend and childhood companion had been his brother Dari, born one year before him to his own mother. Everything during their tender years they had done together, and when school days were over and it was time to work on father's farm, again, it was Dari and he, who had been constant companions. With the coming of the hot season, together they had cleared the land of shrubs, gathered them into heaps and burnt them. Then when the first heavy rains had fallen, they had dug the softened earth with their long handled hoes, and sown the millet and the guinea corn. They had shared the joy

of seeing the first ears of corn appear, harvested them when ripe, tied the dried ears into bundles and carried them home together to be stored in their corn bins. Thus they had grown, sharing each other's joys, sorrows and secrets, until Dari who had an inherent business acumen, decided to part ways and become a tradesman. He left Hausaland for the eastern region of Eboland.

A habit of the heart is not easily broken, and for a time, long letters full of each others experiences passed between them. But these gradually became less frequent. The letter Ciwake had had from Dari, was an year ago. In it he had stated that the Ebos were showing signs of hostility towards the Northerners settled in their area. Ciwake was upset at the news. It was something his hospitable understanding could not comprehend. "It wouldn't do to trample your fellow countrymen in the dust," he speculated.

An year ago, the Ebos of eastern Nigeria had declared their state independent and renamed it the State of Biafra. The Federal Military Government imposed economic sanctions and declared that secession was an illegal act. A battle was undoubtedly in the brewing.

A month later the rebels started their onslaught on villages on the border of the eastern region. Bridges were blown up, and dynamite attempts were made on shops and houses. The Federal Military Government organised all the troops it could requisition, to crush the rebels. There was a country wide call for new recruits to the Federal Army, and Ciwake saw a chance to give vent to his pent up war-like spirit. He made no hesitation in enrolling, and after a brief spell at Army Headquarters in Lagos, where he was acquainted with the military knowledge in which he was seemingly lacking, he was flown in a small executive aircraft to Enugu. The town of Enugu, once the capital of the breakaway Biafra State, had by then been recaptured by the Federal Army, but as the rebels still made sporadic attempts to recapture it, a tight grip was still kept at strategic places. Most parts of the city were deserted and houses were overgrown with weeds. But in other parts life was trickling in. The civilians who had fled to the bush no longer believed the rebel propaganda that if they came back the Federal troops would shoot them. On the contrary, the emaciated re-

fugees who streamed in were given food, clothing and shelter. It was heartening to see little children in resettled areas romp and play, oblivious of the bloody conflict around them.

Ciwake was soon fighting many fiery battles in the front ranks of the 22nd Battalion—the invincible Jet 22. “Ready, Aim, Fire?” the voice of his commander used to thunder, in cold, mechanical and measured tones, and he would crouch and fire, shot after shot, never missing his target. The exhilaration of battle was something very agreeable to him. His ego had been amply boosted when his battalion had recaptured the cement town of Nkalagu, and the University town of Nsukka, within the short space of a month.

But the last battle, in the precincts of the ninth mile corner was the worst: he had yet fought. For two whole days, the fighting had been hard and continuous. In the bush where the undergrowth was thick, most of the fighting had been on foot. Bullets from both sides flew thick and fast, remitting nerve racking, ear splitting sounds. Many brave men were struck down and still others wounded. Now and again, through the din of the crackling fusillade, the strong voice of authority was heard to command, “Attention! Take Arms!”, which was in turn followed by the rattle of unlocking bayonets. Then the artillery on both sides had joined the battle. The resulting rattle and roar was punctuated with deep earth shaking explosions. The rebel troops came in locally made armoured trucks christened “Red Devils” all of them bearing the inscription B.A. (Biafran Army). In the canorous din that followed, the trees of the wood were splintered and spattered with blood. Then at last, in the envelope of smoke and dust the enemy had begun to withdraw—and now all was over for a while. But the very taste of battle was in the air. As far as one could see, through the bush, among the splintered trees, lay wrecks of men and machinery. Among them the stretcher bearers moved noiselessly, gathering and carrying away the few, who showed signs of life. The Army regulations required that the wounded must wait. The best way to care for them is to win the battle. Though victory was a distinct advantage to a man requiring attention, sadly many did not live to avail themselves of it. The dead were

collected and buried in graves dug in the battlefield.

The day was done and so were the soldiers who had withdrawn to the tents they had pitched, in the vicinity. As the level rays of the setting sun straggled redly through the open spaces of the wood, Ciwake took his post at the north end of the camp. It was his turn to do sentinel duty that night. Overcome by the langour of the day, he seated himself on a log, and for greater ease loosened his belt, and laid his rifle by his side. Then throwing military prudence to the winds, he struck a match and lit a cigarette. He would that he could sleep. But he did not. To have done so, would have imperilled the interests of his country. Instead, he took a puff from his cigarette, and began his unremitting vigil.

Gradually, darkness took over the earth. From the vast invincible moonlight overhead, a small slender stream trickled through the intercepting branches of the trees to the ground below, forming white pools. But these patches only seemed to accentuate the blackness of his ominous environment. To him, in the portentous conspiracy of the night, even the most commonplace and familiar objects, seemed to take on another character. The trees of the wood themselves, seemed to group differently, and draw closer together as if in fear. The very silence of the night had another quality. It was full of half whispers, and ghosts of sounds long dead. He was also conscious of a vague undeniable feeling that was new to him. It was not fear, but a sense of the supernatural, in which he did not believe.

He felt his right eyelid twitching. It twitched intermittently for a few minutes. There was no mistaking it. They used to say at home that the quiver of the right eye lid was the ominous forerunner of bad news. Ciwke wondered why his imagination was plagued at this moment by such uncanny, menacing and grotesque thoughts. “Superstition,” he said to himself, “I have inherited it, and it will perhaps be thousands of generations before humanity outgrows it. What we inherit as a superstition our barbarous ancestors must have held as a reasonable conviction, and doubtless they were justified in their beliefs. As civilisation moved on, new conditions of life resulted in new belief. The old beliefs

may eventually be lost from the creeds, and even perish from tradition—but it will leave in its wake the heritage of terror, which will be transmitted from generation to generation, as much a part of us, as our blood and bones.”

Ciwake shuddered back to reality, when he realized he had heard the stir of leaves and the snap of fallen twigs. He turned with a stilled heart in the direction of the sound. There in the gloom, in the patches of moonlight, he saw the indistinct outlines of a human figure. “Halt”, he shouted, as he jumped up, backing his command with the metallic snap of his rifle, “Who goes there?”. There was no answer. After a few minutes hesitation was heard the report of his own rifle. In the silence of the night the sound was deafening. The soldiers in the tents began to stir. Ciwake made haste to find the mortal remains of the intruder, whom he had the marksman’s intuitive sense of having hit. It was not long before he came upon his victim. He lay dead upon the ground, his dirty white shirt stained, with a single spot of blood upon the breast. On the closer look by torchlight, the face seemed familiar. A purse was protruding out of his shirt pocket. Ciwake took it in his hand, and turning it over stood staring at the photograph on it. He read the name.

A look of tenderness was on his face, as he dropped on his knees by the dead body, still holding his rifle in his right hand. With his left hand he stroked the still warm, white face of the corpse. His dark eyes were full of appeal. “My Brother,” he sobbed, emotion choking his utterances, “I ha-ve sh-ot my bro-ther.”



BOOKS

Knowledge Of Self

THE GITA: A WORKSHOP ON THE EXPANSION OF SELF. By Dr. I. P. Singh, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, New Delhi, 1977 pp 154. Rs. 30.

This book by Dr. I. P. Singh is not a commentary on the Gita in the traditional sense. It is actually an attempt to highlight the central theme which runs throughout the dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna on the battle-

field of Mahabharata. It explains the philosophy of life as propounded in the Gita in the light of the socio-ethical and scientific thought of our time. The effort represents a searching analysis of the sermon on the battlefield in its application to the life and personality of the modern man. The scientific manner in which the author examines the relevance or irrelevance of the tenets enunciated by Lord Krishna, is objective. They are presented in a focus which is enlightening and convincing to the mind. At no stage, even a serious student of philosophy of life, will find the author writing in the style of a conformist to the sayings of the old sages. The Gita attempts to take the self to a higher level of an expansive enterprise through action—the Yoga of Action.

The word ‘Yoga’ is defined as:— ‘Equanimity in the midst of the pulls of opposites; excellence in actions; cessation of suffering and looking upon all things even apparently contradictory forces, with an even mind.’ Yoga is the technique of expanding the self. Expansion of the self through the cognitive process is called the Yoga of Knowledge. In the field of affection, the circumference of human personality is widened through the Yoga of Devotion. Finally, the three disciplines can be assimilated through the Yoga of Integration. The end-product at each of these levels is a stage at which the self expands and becomes co-terminus with Reality. As corollaries to this consummation, the Gita expounds a number of hypotheses, such as, the immortality of the soul, the indestructibility of spiritual attainments, rebirth, etc. The author has tried to show, thanks to the strides that the natural sciences are making in various directions, that these hypotheses are tending to become scientifically verifiable facts. According to the author, the main efficacy of the Gita is the guidance it provides to us in life. The Gita shows that life, being the expression of Universal Reality growing in all directions, is a thrilling adventure. Man, being the author but not the sole arbiter of his deeds, should perform actions without worrying over their results, concentrating solely on performing them with excellence.

THE PHENOMENON OF DEATH which has dominated and daunted the thinking of man since the origin of the human race has seldom been dispensed with in a more confident

manner. The last Chapter of the book on "The Gita in Every Day Life" unfolds the unparalleled efficiency of the Gita in removal of afflictions of day to day human life such as, removing boredom, dissolving unconscious fears, banishing a lingering sense of guilt or helping in decision-making and the like. The values that appear breaking before our eyes may not be as numerous or as fundamental as those of Arjuna. But the moment of indecision, as Dr. Singh says, does cause an anguish from which we all want to escape. The irony is that very few of us have the remedy for the situation. Perhaps the greatest lesson of the Gita is that it enables us to liken every little disappointment and indecision tormenting the participants of Mahabharata and, using the technique of the Gita, we can argue with ourselves in an effort to find a way out.

INCREASING RELEVANCE. The author critically examines the theory of identity between man and the ultimate reality behind the Universe in the light of developments in modern science. He dispassionately points out the shortcoming of the arguments in the Gita. He has compared the validity of Gita's theory of life with the philosophies propounded by T. H. Green and Jean Paul Sartre. He clearly visualises that any controversy about what is real and what is unreal is at worst confusing and at best redundant. In an age when the life of a human being is becoming more and more complicated, one could easily see the increasing relevance of the Gita. It is an immortal source—surpassing all epics—of inspiration, guidance and solace to the modern man. Dr. Singh's work, besides being an interpretation of the Gita, is also an enduring contribution to the existing knowledge of the expansion of self.

L. N. Piparsania
Indian & Foreign Review.



The Asian Theological Conference 1979

A Review of Dialogue Vol. vi. Nos. 1 & 2

This issue of "Dialogue" publishes a collection of addresses, documents and final statement of the Asian Theological Conference

held at Wennappuwa in Sri Lanka in January 1979. The theme of the Conference was "Asia's struggle for Full Humanity" and it was organized by the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians and supported by the Christian Conference of Asia and the Federation of Asian Bishops Conference.

Such conferences normally take place in posh tourist hotels in the capital City. So the first thing worth mentioning is that this Conference took place in a comparatively simple building in a comparatively obscure place. Also, the Conference was preceded by "live-ins" where 80 delegates from almost all Asian countries and fraternal delegates from other continents spent about 4 days sharing the life of the masses in various ground-level situations in different parts of the country.

The next thing worthy of mention is that a number of distinguished and mature Church leaders and scholars, whose Christian credentials cannot lightly be questioned, have gone on record with some radical declarations. This is clear evidence that the radical movement in the Churches has gone well beyond the early pioneering and experimental stages. But, of course, it must be remembered that it is still far from being accepted in normal church circles.

The Rt. Revd Lakshman Wickremasinghe, Bishop of Kurunegala, set the tone of the Conference with his opening address as one of the two co-Chairmen of the Conference. (The other was the Rt. Revd Leo Nanayakkara, Bishop of Badulla). It was a balanced talk on the necessity both for community as well as individual renewal:

"The struggle was against structures in society and religious establishments and also within ourselves. It was a continuous struggle against personal attitudes and values within us."

He ended with a quotation from a Tamil poem by Ismalika Dawood (English translation):

"It is our task to kindle
A flame in the eyes of the poor
No longer shall we live as cowards
For our thirst will be quenched with victory".

An outstanding and profound paper was presented by Fr. Aloysius Pieris S.J. It needs to be read and re-read! Fr. Aloysius has made a deep study of Buddhism. Firmly rooted in

Sri Lanka he also regularly lectures abroad in Rome and elsewhere. His paper was entitled "Towards an Asian Theology of Liberation: Some Religio-cultural Guidelines." He speaks of "the Marxist embarrassment in the face of Asia's indestructible religiosity" (we may go to Mihintale on Poson Full Moon Day to understand this!) and says:

"A 'Liberation-Theopraxis' in Asia which uses only the Marxist tools of Social Analysis will remain un-Asian and ineffective till it integrates the psychological tools of introspection which our sages have discovered." He quotes the Russian Marxist Parfionovich in support of his thesis:

"Well, didn't Lenin say that Marxism, far from repudiating the past, should absorb and work on it as the only sure foundation of a proletarian culture?

"Who can deny that Buddhism has been not simply a religion, but a way of life for millions? That its cultural and historical values have moulded the spiritual heritage of mankind?"

A comment of his own on the Buddhist scheme of things is worth including here:

"Buddhist monasticism is, therefore, never neutral to the socio-political reality. The dialectics between withdrawal from the world and involvement with the world—or contemplation and action—is nowhere so clearly attested as in the political role that spiritual men play in a Buddhist culture".

He then goes on to speak of the "Asian sense of theology". Here is one of many sayings worth noting:

"The Theology of power-domination and instrumentalization must give way to a theology of humility, immersion and participation."

So the New Society in Asia should be a new creation which draws from the depths of the ancient religions and integrates them with the realities of modern ideology.

The Philippine delegation, perhaps the most lively delegation at the Conference, presented a background Paper on "Faith, Theology and the Church" written by the "Theology Writing Collective", an activist group. Obviously speaking out of direct personal experience of their comrades of

struggle, persecution, imprisonment and even martyrdom, they pull no punches:

"Faith is subject to class analysis....."

"Faith must take on a revolutionary character....."

"Church renewal through participation in the struggle is imperative if we are to be true to our people and the demands of the Gospel."

"We, as Christians, now understand more clearly that the "neighbour" Christ talks about in the Gospel is the people who want to liberate themselves from all forces that enslave them."

Dr. J. R. Chandran, President of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians and Principal of the United Theological College in Bangalore, India, spoke on "The Role of Theology in Asia":

"Theology should help the Churches and Christians to stop being mere silent spectators and to participate in the struggles of the people for regaining their full humanity. Theology should also participate in the understanding of the nature of oppression and the struggles of people against oppression, using scientific methods of socio-political analysis. Only by doing this can theology help the churches which have often contributed to maintaining and justifying the status quo."

Other papers included are "Biblical-Theological Base for a Relevant Theology in Sri Lanka" by Fr. Dalston Forbes, O.M.I., one-time Rector of the National Seminary, Ampitiya, "A Buddhist Perspective to Socio-economic Problems of Society with Special Reference to Asia" by Dr. Piyasena Dissanayake, Director of the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies at the BMICH, Colombo, and "Rethinking Theology in the Context of Buddhism" by Dr. Lynn A. de Silva, Director of the Ecumenical Institute for Study and Dialogue, Colombo.

The Final Statement of the Conference faces squarely the issues involved and the future tasks of the Church. Here are a few excerpts:

"While not necessarily condoning the use of violence which is most often unavoidable, we question and object to the enforcement of 'law and order' which consolidates the

control of the power elites while thwarting the organized conscientious objections of the deprived majorities."

"Our fellow Christians who have become regular inmates of the Asian prisons bring us new elements of fidelity to our people inspired by Jesus. To them we too send a message of humble solidarity and prayerful hope. May the suffering of today's prisoners in the Asian jails give birth to a genuine renewal of ourselves and our communities of believers."

"Our theology must lead us to transform the society in which we live so that it may increasingly allow the Asian person to experience what it means to be fully alive. This task includes the transformation of our church structures and institutions as well as ourselves."

This issue of *Dialogue* deserves serious attention not only from clergy and people of the Christian Churches but from other religious and secular groups and institutions.

Incidentally, 3 other collections of theological writings published about the same time as this issue are worth mentioning here. They are published in the Journal *Logos* under the heading "Theology in Asia":

Logos Vol 17

No. 2 October 1978. Asian Face of Jesus. 1

No. 3 November 1978. Asian Face of Jesus. 2

No. 4 December 1978. New Pathways. 3

They are important documents. *

Yohan Devananda

Devasaranaramaya, Ibbagamuwa.

July 1979

*They are available at the Centre for Society and Religion, 281, Deans Road, Colombo 10. The issue under Review, "Dialogue" Vol. VI. Nos. 1 & 2, is available at the Ecumenical Institute for Study and Dialogue, 490/5, Havelock Road, Colombo 6. The full Report of the Asian Theological Conference, which will be a bulky collection of numerous documents, papers and addresses will be out shortly and will be available from the Centre for Society and Religion.

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SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Sept. 6 — Sept. 12

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

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

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6: Leaders of poor nations at the Non-aligned Summit have called on the oil-rich countries to give more effective economic help to the rest of the developing world. The Government has decided to pay extra allowances to the State's medical personnel; nurses and Public Health Inspectors will be paid Rs. 100 annually as a shoe allowance and Registered Medical Practitioners and Assistant Medical Practitioners will be paid an allowance ranging from Rs. 75 to Rs. 175 a month. President J. R. Jayewardene told the first business session of the Havana Summit "My party has 140 seats in Parliament; if President Fidel Castro had addressed the meetings during the general election campaign in 1977 we would have won all the 168 seats." A new Resthouse is to be built at Kalkudah at a cost of Rs. 1,200,000 in place of the old Rest House which was destroyed by the last year's cyclone—CDN. Radical leaders denouncing the West are beginning to dominate the stage at the non-aligned summit. Britain yesterday said farewell to Earl Mountbatten, first member of the Royal Family to be assassinated by Irish guerillas, with the most solemn funeral seen in London since that of Churchill in 1965. The government has fixed the retail price of a bicycle that will be imported by the Ministry of Transport at Rs. 490—CDM. Sri Lanka, the outgoing Non-Aligned Chairman is being besieged with requests from several leading members of the Movement to intervene in resolving the deadlock on Kampuchean

representation and the move to suspend Egypt's membership. The Economic Committee of the Non-Aligned Summit embroiled in serious political confrontation today elected Sri Lanka as Chairman of a new drafting group to work out possible compromises that would ultimately lead to a favourable economic declaration before Friday; Chairman is Susantha de Alwis. There have been firm offers by big Singaporean industrial concerns to invest in labour intensive industries in Sri Lanka mainly in the fields of electronics and manufacture of machinery, Minister of State and Cabinet spokesman Anandatissa de Alwis said yesterday. Interpol has alerted the Sri Lanka Police to the possible entry of key figures in the international drug smuggling ring into Colombo Government yesterday approved Rs. 305,000 for the purchase of a Benz car for the use of Speaker M. A. Bakeer Markar; the use of an official car for his Private Secretary was also approved—SU. The government has decided to establish a new agricultural development bank which will grant loans to cultivators without others having to stand surety. Though the Food Stamp scheme came into effect from the 1st many co-ops in Colombo have not distributed bread and kerosene oil to consumers—DP. The Ministry of Health is to provide photographs of doctors who have not completed their 5 year compulsory service to the department of Immigration and Emigration in a bid to stop such doctors from leaving the country. Interpol has informed Sri Lanka Police to look out for a group of top drug traffickers who are expected to come to Sri Lanka—DV. The government has decided to set up 50 handloom factories in different parts of the country and set up a joint company to export textiles produced in these factories. The Essential Public Service Bill has been gazetted—DM. The Cabinet decided yesterday to hand over 70 textile mills now under the Textile Corporation to the private sector. The FTZ which was set up by the government to solve the youth unemployment problem has become not only a place of slave labour but also a place of sexual harassment; girls working in factories at the FTZ are not only forced with working for 12 hours in humid conditions but also have to agree to provide the needs of the top people in the establishment if they are to keep their jobs; over 200 people resign every month but managers do not find

it difficult to find replacements as there are thousands to fill the vacancies—ATH. 16 trade unions of the Joint Trade Union Committee are going to fight against UNP governments steps towards dictatorship such as the Essential Public Services Bill which banned strikes, withdrawing all subsidies, anti-terrorist bill, and cutting holidays of public servants; as the first step an island-wide picketing scheme to be launched from the 12th—JD.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7: Public Administration Minister, Montague Jayawickreme yesterday held out a promise of better welfare, health and holiday facilities for the country's half a million strong public service; Major Jayawickreme said these facilities will come along with the measures his ministry was taking to streamline the public service to make it more efficient. The Food Department's rice stocks have come under severe strain with the introduction of the food stamp scheme from September 1. President Suharto of Indonesia is expected to come here in November; informed sources said he was due in Sri Lanka on November 11. Fifty delegates from some 16 member-countries of the Asian-Pacific Coconut Community begin a five-day conference at the BMICH on September 10 to discuss problems of production, processing and marketing of coconut and its by-products. The CTB's re-enforced ban since September 1 on footboard travel and smoking inside buses has so far not had the desired effect due to inadequate police co-operation according to a CTB official. An ideological battle over which direction the 96-member Non-aligned Movement should take has emerged into the full glare of plenary sessions at the organisations Summit Conference in Havana—CDN. A major shake up of the staff of Sri Lanka's Embassies and High Commissions in the more important capitals of the world is in the offing; this is sequel to a report submitted to the government by the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa after his recent visit abroad. The Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa in Parliament yesterday said the only way to tackle the menace of public servants drawing salaries for little or no work done was to send such idlers to Uihitiya or Mahiyangana in the Mahaweli area to perform compulsory manual labour as a punishment—CDM. While the give-and-take of political rhetoric continued in the open plenary of the Sixth Non-aligned Summit

the Foreign Ministers of the member countries went into a special session today to thrash out some form of consensus on the deadlocked issue of Kampuchean representation. Textile imports are to be cut down by 50 per cent from next year, according to Textile Industries Minister, Wijayapala Mendis. The system of marketing and distribution of food commodities today is outdated and has been a complete failure, Agricultural Development Authority (Marketing) Director Upali Nanayakkara declared yesterday. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs is to shortly introduce a new scheme of economy priced pilgrimages to India. The country's coconut industry is threatened with a production drop of more than six million coconuts next year, Coconut Industries Minister Harold Herath disclosed yesterday—SU. Radical leaders took a strongly pro-Soviet position at the Non-aligned summit yesterday and insisted this was compatible with the movement's principles of independence. The government plans to keep the lid on Sri Lanka's fuel consumption by imposing a ceiling on next year's oil imports to a maximum of 2 million tons, authoritative sources revealed yesterday—CO. Prince Claus of the Netherlands who is an International Trustee of the World Wildlife Fund has presented a cheque for \$ 10,000 to assist the country's Department of Wildlife Conservation in its management of the five National parks. The Government of Finland has appointed Mr. Risto Ilmari Antero Hyvarinen as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Finland to Sri Lanka with residence in New Delhi—IDPR. Floor prices will be determined for chillies, onions etc., that are locally produced; in this connection the government is taking necessary action to help the producers and the consumers. Resulting from the increase in the price of gold in the world market the cost of a sovereign in Colombo has risen to Rs. 1,575—DP. "It has been stated in this house that there has been large-scale bribery and corruption in the appointment of teachers; this is a very important issue; if reliable information could be furnished to prove this, the government will be prepared to inquire into the matter fully"; this was stated by Premier R. Premadasa in Parliament yesterday—VK. The government is considering increasing the price of a pound of flour to Rs. 1.85 and a lb. of bread to Rs. 1.75 and the price of a gallon

of petrol to Rs. 48—DK. The government is considering setting up small hydro-power units in small water ways to generate electricity; these small units will be capable of supplying electricity to villages close by and would cost only a small amount; this was stated by Premier R. Premadasa in Parliament yesterday. The Executive Committee of the LSSP is unable to meet because of the leadership struggle inside the party—DM. The Minister of Mahaweli Development Mr. Gamini Dissanayake has informed all MPs to supply a list of 1000 families to launch a massive scheme to set up 140 farmer settlement schemes under the Mahaweli development scheme—LD. 15 ships bringing 97,000 tons of sugar, flour and rice are due at the Colombo Harbour next week; all these ships must be unloaded before the 15th and if not have to pay between 3000 and 8000 dollars per day to each ship. The government has decided to increase the subsidies on fertilizer to 75% to give tea, coconut and rice fertiliser at a nominal price to farmers—DV.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8: Cuban President Fidel Castro today angrily denounced moderate nations as "saboteurs, wreckers and imperialist stooges" at a Steering Committee meeting of the Non-aligned Summit Conference, delegates said; his words came in a stormy session which decided to recommend that the seat of Kampuchea remains vacant until at least 1981, they added. Non-aligned countries yesterday pledged some three million dollars in aid for emergency relief to hurricane-devastated Dominica following an appeal at the sixth Summit meeting by President J. R. Jayewardene with Caribbean community countries. Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned movement failed today to agree on whether Egypt should be censured or suspended for signing a peace treaty with Israel, informed sources at the group's Summit conference reported. Squatters on State land near streams, channels and forest reservations, will be the first to be evicted under the government's scheme to regularise encroachments on State land covering 505,420 acres. Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali yesterday said there was a great need to set up a Board of Investment outside the Free Trade Zone to service and centralise the business and industrial activities of the public sector. The University Grants Commission has drawn up a massive building program estimated at over

Rs. 130 million to meet the rush of students seeking accommodation in the Universities Prof. Stanley Kalpage, Chairman of the University Grants Commission and the Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education said yesterday. Deputy Director of Medical Services, Dr. Malinga Fernando leaves on a mission abroad next week to recruit more UN volunteer doctors to work in Sri Lanka; the mission will take him to India, Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia. President J. R. Jayewardene has decreed that the Women's Army shall be known as Sri Lanka Women's Corps (SLWC); the SLWC set up on September 1 will be a Corps of the Regular Force of the Sri Lanka Army—CDN. Colombo will soon become the centre of a bullion exchange; it is understood that the Central Bank is studying the infrastructure for the setting up of a "gold market" in Colombo. Severe disciplinary action will be taken against students resorting to ragging, said Dr. Stanley Kalpage, Secretary, Ministry of Higher Education and Chairman, University Grants Commission yesterday. The Mayor of Colombo Mr. B. Sirisena Cooray has formulated a plan to run a mini bus service in the city in partnership with private entrepreneurs—CDM. Cuba and other radical member countries won a major victory at the Sixth Non-aligned Summit at Havana when the conference steering committee by a majority decision decided to recommend that the seat of Kampuchea should remain vacant until at least 1981. Bangladesh President Zia-ur Rahman will visit Sri Lanka in November on a state visit, Foreign Ministry sources, said yesterday. Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene left Havana today after successfully playing a moderating role in the crucial Sixth Non-aligned Summit which many had feared would turn the Movement towards radicalism and a pro-Soviet stance. A massive racket involving the altering of train tickets of repatriates to India has been bared by the Railway; the Sri Lankan and Indian Police are conducting a joint investigation into the activities of an organisation which is believed to have operated the racket. An outright grant of Rs. 1000 instead of the monthly dole of Rs. 50, is to be given to unemployed persons from next month, according to Social Services Ministry Secretary T. G. Gunasekera. The GCE ordinary level requirements for admission to universities will not be necessary in future;

hence university admissions will be made without considering a student's Performance at this examination, Higher Education Ministry Secretary Stanley Kalpage announced yesterday. Disciplinary action has been taken against approximately 60 forest officers—ten per cent of the field workforce of the department—for collaborating with illicit timber fellers, the Conservator of Forests V. R. Nanayakkara told a press conference yesterday—SU. The Panadura MP Dr. Neville Fernando yesterday demanded in Parliament that Ayurvedic Physicians should be given training in western medicine and surgery; and that the same rights given to the University graduates should be given to Ayur. doctors as well; the MP also pointed out that this would be a relieving factor to overcome the shortage of Doctors in the country—VK. At the Annual General Meeting of the GCSU held at the Veerasingam Hall in Jaffna yesterday, the Leader of the Opposition and the General Secretary of the TULF, Mr. A. Amirthalingam stated that if the Presidential Commission covering the Decentralisation of Administration is not favourable to the Minorities the TULF would reject the recommendations of the Commission—EN. A Sinhala Physician claims to have invented a medicine to cure cancer; this medicine invented by Dr. Ariyadasa Kumarasinghe is presently being prepared at the Gampaha Siddha Ayurveda Medical College—LD. The population in Sri Lanka at present is 15,300,000 according to the Bureau of Statistics—DM. Air Lanka which started its inaugural flight on September 1, may even not be able to recover its advertising expenses as the Boeing 707 aircraft leased from Singapore Air Lines has been grounded after 5 days; Airlanka was started with a capital investment of Rs. 500 million—JD.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9: Legislation requiring the private sector to fall in line with the Government decision to grant a Rs. 55 a month wage increase to all employees earning below Rs. 1,500 monthly is now ready, Labour Minister Captain C. P. J. Seneviratne said yesterday. President Jayewardene has left Cuba and is now on his way to Japan for his state visit; he will arrive in Tokyo tomorrow—SO. "No names" bank accounts are likely to be allowed shortly; Mr. Ronnie de Mel Minister of Finance and Planning, has asked the Central Bank to report on the introduction of such

bank accounts; the proposal to introduce "No Names" bank accounts was made to the government by Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of Trade and Shipping; according to authoritative sources what is envisaged is a scheme similar to the Swiss Banking system. Housing complexes with super markets, multi-storied apartment hotels, specialist centres, modern five storied shopping plaza and tourist restaurants will spring up in different parts of the City under the development programme undertaken by the City Council; this programme has been initiated by Mr. B. Sirisena Cooray, Mayor of Colombo on the instructions of the Prime Minister—*ST*. A National Security Service to provide maximum internal security to all corporations and institutions in the state sector is being considered by the government; this move comes in the wake of reports that independent security arrangements carried out by these institutions are found to be wanting. The Sixth Non-Aligned Summit went into its closing sessions yesterday with little definition as to the future directions of the Movement which encompasses nearly two-thirds of humanity, and back-stage negotiations yet continuing in attempts to reach consensus on several issues. Birth, Death, Marriage and Divorce certificates will henceforth be issued free to applicants by the Registrar General's Department. The districts of Mannar, Hambantota and Puttalam are in the grip of a severe drought—*WK*. Police investigations have revealed that seamen and workers of ships arriving at the Colombo harbour are carrying out large-scale smuggling in connivance with local smugglers—*LD*. Soho Trade Union of Japan which has a membership of about 4 million has sent a telegram protesting against the Essential Public Service Bill—*DK*.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10: More than 100 American firms, banks and potential investors are expected to attend the first ever Sri Lanka investment promotion seminar to be held in New York tomorrow; organised by the Manufacturers Hanover Trust, the second largest bank in New York and the Asian Society the keynote address will be delivered by Finance and Planning Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel. Cuban President Fidel Castro yesterday closed the Havana Summit of Non-Aligned Nations after a hectic all-night session which produced one of the stormiest debates in the movement's 18 year history; the debate ended

in a resolution condemning Egypt's peace treaty with Israel; Egypt's membership of the movement remained intact for the time being, although a committee was set up to examine the nation's future status. Public Officers must use official vehicles and public transport services when they travel about for official work; the government has taken this decision because it was found that the public services travelling bill has kept mounting since the recent increase of mileage rates—*CDN*. Six Customs officers, including a female searcher were arrested by officials of the Bribery Commissioner's Department on Saturday; they were nabbed as they set out from Talaimannar for Colombo in a van and had in their possession cash amounting to over Rs. 26,000 and undeclared sarees, soap, apples, bed sheets, joss sticks and other articles. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party will not enter into talks for the formation of a United Left Front with the Vasudeva Nanayakkara Group which is calling itself the LSSP; the replacement of Dr. N. M. Perera's place in the politbureau will take place when the Central Committee of the party meets shortly, according to a spokesman of the LSSP's Politbureau—*CDM*. Government will introduce a new law—Regulation of Encroachment and Eviction of Persons Bill—to deal with the large-scale encroachment on State lands, it was announced yesterday. President J. R. Jayewardene is due to arrive in Tokyo today for a five-day official visit; tomorrow he is scheduled to have official talks with Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira; the talks will be continued on Wednesday. The additional cost of oil imports to Sri Lanka following the increase in prices by the Organisation of Oil Exporting Countries will amount to Rs. 363.8 million—*SU*.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11: Sri Lanka President Junius Jayewardene arrived in Tokyo yesterday for a five-day state visit designed to increase economic co-operation with Japan. Twenty five thousand tons of cement are due here this month following prompt action by the Singapore government to meet the urgent requirements of the Sri Lanka government. The Supreme Court yesterday declared void the election of Mr. D. G. Albert Silva to the Galle seat in Parliament on an appeal by Mr. W. Dahanayake; the Court held that at the time of his election in July 1977 Mr. Silva held a contract with the Ceylon

Petroleum Corporation and was therefore disqualified from being elected as a member of Parliament. The 96-member Non-Aligned Movement yesterday looked set on a course independent of the two super-powers, but radical states led by Cuba appeared to have gained the upper hand on several key issues; the summit's final declaration reaffirmed the grouping's independence from either power bloc, but included severe criticism of the West and particularly the United States—CDN. The Cabinet has approved the deployment of 150 engineers from India to work in the Accelerated Mahaweli Programme; these engineers, who will be required to have over five years of experience, will receive salaries between US \$ 300 (Rs. 4,5000) and US \$ 600 (Rs. 9000) per month; in addition, their air passage and local accommodation too will be provided free of charge. The five Assistant Charges Officers of the Customs Department, nabbed by bribery officials on Sunday for the possession of a large sum of money at Mannar are to be charged by the Bribery Commissioner's Department. Teachers in private schools selected for state assistance by the Government, will receive most of the benefits now enjoyed by their counterparts in state schools. The first by-election for Galle will be under the provisions of the new Constitution. Japan will provide Sri Lanka with two loans of 5.8 million Yen (about Rs. 8.3 million) and 50 million Yen (about Rs. 71,700) under an agreement to be signed at the Ministry of Finance and Planning this afternoon—SU. The Commissioner of Co-operative Development has informed D. I. G. Sundaralingam to submit a full report on corruption and fraud in co-operatives in the last ten years so that he could make arrangements to collect Rs. 100 m. they have to pay. 130,000 acres of new land have been provided with water in the last two years from the Mahaweli Development Scheme and Rs. 400 million worth of crops were harvested from these lands—LD. The Minister of Education and Higher Education has decided to give a special allowance of Rs. 50 to teachers teaching in rural areas—DV. All Trade Unions in the country have given an open invitation to all workers to unite and protest against the Essential Public Services Bill—ATH.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12: Sri Lanka and Japan had always had excellent relations, Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene said

yesterday at a luncheon given in his honour by Masayoshi Ohira, Prime Minister of Japan. Speaking at the Imperial Banquet given in his honour in Tokyo last night by the Emperor and Empress of Japan, Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene said that he did not support wars or violence. Finance and Planning Minister, Ronnie de Mel told representatives of over 100 leading American firms, banks and potential investors yesterday that Sri Lanka, with the stablest Government in the world, was now recognised the world over as a dynamic country poised for a successful breakthrough to self-sustained development and growth; he was addressing the first ever investment promotion seminar in New York. Television advertising is catching on fast in Sri Lanka according to the government's technical consultant on television, Sunil Abeyesundera. The Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa has appointed a Committee to report and make recommendations for the Prevention of Water Wastage in the City of Colombo—CDN. President J. R. Jayewardene was received in audience by Emperor Hirohito in the Akasaka Palace, Tokyo yesterday morning. The Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs have decided to keep a close watch on all financial contributions received by local organisations abroad; they will ascertain whether these funds are being used for subversive activities which could tarnish the image of the country; this follows a conference of Ministry officials and members of the Security Council who discussed the matter recently—CDM. Venerable Suwaran S. Nepal Loke Daishan, Chairman of the Lumbini Development Committee of Nepal and Miss Ava Daishan are in Sri Lanka to have preliminary discussions with the Sri Lankan Government about the holding of a "Lumbini" Exhibition in Sri Lanka; this exhibition is intended to initiate Sri Lankans about the Lumbini development project sponsored by the UN at a cost of 60 million US dollars. Government has decided to introduce tough new laws to crack down on agents and representatives of foreign concerns who resort to corrupt practices to secure tenders and contracts; the Cabinet has directed Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali to take action to have these laws drafted early; it has also asked the Legal Draftsman to give priority to this draft law. If the Non-aligned Movement moves towards either of two superpower

blocs many of the members will leave, warned Sri Lankan President and former Non-aligned Chairman J. R. Jayewardene in interviews on Japanese national television today. The new insurance corporation will begin business on January 1, 1980; it has been named the National Insurance Corporation—SU. A few hours after the conclusion of the Non-Aligned Summit, Cuba was affected by a severe cyclone, as a result of this cyclone the Havana Airport was immediately closed and hundreds of foreign reporters who had visited Havana to collect information underwent difficulties—VK. Lakhs of-public workers will participate in picketing which is the first step in the protest against the Essential Public Services Bill—JD. 8 political parties have expressed their support for the protest against the Essential Public Services Bill—ATH. There will be far reaching changes in the administrations of government Corporations and Boards; the PM has pointed out to the government that without changes in the administration, governments' development projects cannot be completed; ministers are expected to hand over their proposals to the President when he returns from his visit abroad—DV.

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AT THE BANDARANAIKE CENTRE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,
ON MARCH 7, 1979.

Why Bureaucracies Fall Short

by Dr. W. Howard Wriggins

WHEN THE INVITATION was issued to me to speak to you today, it was made clear that it was despite the fact that temporarily I happen to be the Ambassador of the United States, and not because of that fact. I was being invited, I was told, as Professor Wriggins of Columbia University, a long-time student of matters Ceylonese. What I say today has nothing to do with American policy, but I believe it has a good deal to do with Sri Lanka, and its present condition as I, a student of government and politics, see it.

Members of the graduating class here today have been through a substantial course of lectures and seminars. And each has written

an important paper on a subject of his (or her) choice. Although these have all been related to the international relations of Sri Lanka, I thought it appropriate to discuss with you today a theme that on the surface does not seem directly connected to international affairs. In fact, however, it is crucial to how well Sri Lanka or any other nation copes with its international position and its ability to lead its own life and to participate in the international system in its own way. That theme is the common problems shared by all large bureaucracies, in both developed and developing countries.

In a developing country with the ambitious objectives of Sri Lanka, the tasks assigned to the bureaucracy are critically important. It is therefore imperative that the functioning of the bureaucracy be carefully analysed. Before focusing on the forces typically at work which divert a bureaucracy from its purposes or impede its performance, however, I would like to share with you some observations on changes in Sri Lanka since the mid-1950's when my wife and I first came here.

In undertaking this dual task, I fear now, as I did twenty years ago when I sent my manuscript on Sri Lanka to its publisher, that much that was germane for "explaining" what has happened—and is happening—in Sri Lanka has escaped my notice, or if not my notice, at least my comprehension.

It is so easy for a foreigner to apply his own yardstick rather than one that is appropriate. It is also easy for him to be misled—so many interests conspire to distract his eye, to color his vision, so many friends attempt to help him see only what they would wish him to see; lack of knowledge leads him to miss the important and notice the trivial.

So I do not intend my observations to be taken as a detailed analysis and evaluation of the role of Sri Lanka's bureaucracy in effecting the changes to be noted shortly. Even though other economic and political forces have obviously been at work, the bureaucracy nevertheless has been a principal influence on whatever has occurred here. That is why it deserves more attention today.

And now to discuss some of the visible changes.

Apart from Batticaloa, which last month when I was there still called to mind a war-torn land barely crawling out from under a great and destructive battle, Sri Lanka looks to me to be generally more prosperous than it was twenty years ago. In the cities and towns, more people seem well fed than before; clothes are brighter, cleaner, nearly everyone is shod. There are fewer visibly poor. The mobility of Ceylonese is remarkable. I doubt if there is another developing country with a per capita income such as Sri Lanka's where the average person travels so much—daily to and from work, weekly to visit family and monthly for pilgrimage. The buses are at least as crowded as ever, to be sure. But Sri Lankans are far more mobile now than they used to be.

While there have been lean years, my impression is that diets are more varied than before. There are many more vegetables in the market than earlier; a broader range of choice faces the housewife now, though certain products, such as prawns and lobsters are harder to come by. In village huts there are more utensils; metal utensils, easier to clean, are much more prevalent; there is more furniture, more places to store things off the ground. Even in what were once isolated chena areas, more houses are now of cement, many more roofs are tiled. Whole villages in some areas have gone from wattle and daub to blocks and tiles. Where there is sub-surface water, the well sweeps have gone, to be replaced by diesel or electric pumps.....the back-breaking day spent on the walking beam is a thing of the past.

We all know that intestinal diseases are still endemic; that the energies of the working farmer and the city man are sapped by these parasites, taken in through unsanitary water. But the statistics suggest that life expectancy of the average man and woman has been considerably extended over the past 20 years, so that it now parallels, for example, the experience of Americans living in our nation's capital. The changes in life expectancy here surely do suggest that something remarkable in the public health field has been accomplished in twenty years.

Also it is conventional to recall, usually with some irony, Mr. Kannangara's Pearl of Great Price, the drive for universal education.

Whatever its limitations, that ambitious enterprise has made Sri Lanka a country where a higher proportion of people have functional literacy than in any other part of South Asia and much of Southeast Asia with the exception of Singapore. Everywhere I go, I see people reading, even in small rural hamlets. That was not so twenty years ago.

There have also been changes in the relative position of individuals and groups in the social and political system. When we were here before, the privileges of a small group at the top, some owning thousands of acres of productive land and living a life of notable affluence, surprised me and my wife. I know of no other country where such an extensive transfer of land ownership was brought about so peacefully, without one death, I am told. This is a most unusual accomplishment. Structural changes brought by the land reform and other changes have tended to reduce the disparity between rich and poor, the wealthiest have been diminished and the poorest have been raised somewhat.

Finally, after several decades of hard labor by countless officials in the Agricultural and Lands Ministries, the research stations and extension services, and the universities, perfecting the strains of paddy, promoting modern methods of aligning rows, expanding irrigation systems, organizing schemes for price support and fertilizer distribution, plus, of course, most important, commitment and effort by hard working farmers, coupled with good weather, we are now experiencing quite unprecedented harvests. To be sure, the real test of all this will be when the weather is not so favourable. But surely, many can take satisfaction that the tide of increasing harvests is finally coming in. What a relief and joy it is for the principal problem now to be that of insufficient storage space, rather than too lean a harvest! There are still pockets of rural poverty. But the fruits of this new level of productivity are perceivable as one drives around the countryside and stops at village shops and boutiques. The goods are there, the buyers are there. There is a sense of prosperity in areas where before people seemed just barely able to scrape survival from the hard baked soil.

One sees more factories than before and statistics suggest a modest shift in emphasis towards manufacturing.

I do not want to suggest that all this brings happiness. Religious leaders and moralists have been asking "What is happiness?" from the time man first began to ask questions. Indeed, the works of the human imagination so far outrun our capacity to create what we aspire to, we can never catch up with our dreams. So even though there has been real improvement in some respects over the past twenty years, much remains to be done. Aspirations vault ahead of achievement in our nation's lives, as well as in our private lives. The major difference is that in the nation, there is a constant stream of fresh people pouring into young adulthood, with newer and impatient aspirations. As individuals, however, after a time, the fever of our ambitions cools, and we mellow, as they say, becoming ready to accept what is rather than strive to outdo ourselves in seeking what might be.

But after twenty years, other less affirmative observations also struck me. Most persons consider that in the name of equity the land reform was a good thing. Nevertheless, every time there has been a major land reform anywhere, productivity declines for a period—sometimes for a very long period.

But what has troubled many observers is that the national managing bureaucracies that have inherited much of the reformed land have not yet made the most of their opportunities to return that land to its full productivity. Despite good weather, tea production remains some 15% below what it should be. Coconut production is improving, but still lags. There are individuals struggling to set these matters right. Let us hope they succeed very soon.

THIS NEED to bring land to its fullest productivity is urgent because of another—and quite visible—change. There are more people, so many more people! When we were here before, the population was assumed to be roughly 9 million. It is now said to be 14 million. This is a 50% increase in only 20 years. In twenty more years, there will be 20 million Lankans. Can productive acres increase their output commensurately? Can the expansion of cropped areas keep pace? Water has traditionally been seen as a free good, a gift of the heavens. But you and I know, and the irrigation engineers and the Ministers and authorities concerned with the great tanks and the Mahaweli Basin know, that water is becoming

a scarce and precious resource costing the people substantial resources. How can farmers be encouraged to economize water, producing more crops with less water? What proportion of the population can continue to live in the comfortable unhurried old ways of their forefathers, when there are now so many more mouths to feed, bodies to clothe and persons for whom to provide shelter and worthwhile opportunity?

One notices the change in many public places. The streets of Colombo are crowded as they were not in my recollection. But more, it is the district towns that seem to be bursting at the seams. And we know the rural villages and colonization schemes are producing their own population surplus to export to other parts of the country.

We are daily reminded of the problem of unemployed youth. I wish I had more confidence in the data we have than I do. We do not know the magnitude of the problem, but we know it is huge. Each estimate, I am told, is built precariously on inadequate data taken before. We know that although some youths are already self-supporting, they hope for better jobs than the ones they have—and that is thoroughly understandable. We know that some families prefer to support an "educated" young man in idleness rather than have him accept a job deemed to be demeaning. I am struck by the sharp distinction that still persists between the jobs "an educated man" should accept and the work the country urgently needs to get done. Waiting for a white collar job in the bureaucracy is not what the country needs. How long will it be before respect and income will go to the man who labors in honest toil in difficult and fatiguing tasks? All this having been said, productive employment still does not exist for far too many young people.

I have been impressed by the changes wrought by the language policy. The Sinhalese, at least, appear to have a sense that their government is closer to them than was the case when everything was done in English. And it is obvious by looking at the new group of members of Parliament, university dons, and some diplomatic postings, that individuals from modest background now have access to distinguished positions which would have been highly unlikely during the old days when access to

English was assured only to the reasonably well placed or those lucky enough to be able to go to an English language school. **I would not have predicted, however, the renewed interest in learning English I find everywhere.**

I cannot help but note, also, that a quite predictable side effect of the language policy has been a sharpening of differences between the major communities on this island. Separating the students according to ethnic background appears to build ethnic competition into the minds and hearts of children from their earliest school days. And all too few institutions remain which draw members of all communities into mutually supportive and confident collaboration. Schools, churches and trade unions used to help transcend these differences. My impression is that far fewer opportunities for natural working together

ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE

About 5000 people in Britain make a full time living from practising medicine without any official qualification or approval. Hundreds of thousands of people visit these practitioners each year and many of them come away very satisfied with their treatment.

Fringe medicine is booming as never before, not just in the UK but in the USA and in many other parts of the world as well, but the patients who are tempted to seek the help of these operators have hardly any means of establishing whether their therapies are safe and genuine or dangerous and useless. What is more, many of the claims made by the practitioners of alternative medicine have never been investigated even in the most rudimentary scientific way. However, unorthodox medicine does often seem to work and more and more orthodox doctors are now looking again at the remedies provided by the fringe.

In this programme Barbara Myers looks at five of the less cranky areas of fringe medicine and asks how did they first begin, do they work, and if they do work how do they work? The topics covered are: Homeopathy 1st; Herbalism 8th; Osteopathy 15th, Acupuncture 22nd; and Medical Hypnosis 29th.

now exist. Recognition of both indigenous languages and the stated policy of teaching all three languages in the schools ought to make a difference if these measures are effectively implemented.

It appears to me that the population is more claimant now than it was when we were here before. Then, the MP's homes were filled with those seeking support, favours, help in a harsh world. But that was a mere visitation compared to the daily invasion the wives of MP's tell me they must cope with these days.

Expectations then were high, but the citizens appeared ready to wait with some patience. It is by no means so clear today that the bulk of the populace is as willing to wait on promises. In consequence, it is more urgent now than it was in those more leisurely, more comfortable days of 20 years ago, that Sri Lanka's productive and distributive systems work more rapidly and efficiently than they used to.

FINALLY, there is far more serious talk about economic development than 20 years ago. Then, it seemed, many thought that with just a little effort things would turn out right. After 20 years the mood is different. It will take a major effort—combining public investment of large dimensions as well as encouraging constructive activities by the private sector—if adequate development is to gain momentum.

And this final observation on economic development brings me to my general concern—the problem of a bureaucratic system, wherever it functions. We are justified to take a few minutes together on the bureaucratic phenomenon, I believe, because so much in Sri Lanka hinges upon its success.

We have often heard spokesmen for this or that political party, or this or that MP, businessman or professional, blame the “bumbling bureaucrats” for whatever goes wrong. The bureaucracy is said to be impersonal; it is held to be lethargic and cannot even spend the money allocated to it; it is wasteful and self-serving. But as de Rochefoucauld once wrote:

“Readiness to believe the worst without adequate examination comes from pride and indolence; we want to find culprits but cannot be bothered to investigate the crimes.”

The more responsibilities that are piled upon a state bureaucracy and the larger its size, the more complex these tasks turn out to be. The fact that there are nearly four and a half times as many people on the state payroll in Sri Lanka now as compared to 20 years ago is indicative. Nearly one million people now receive salaries from central and local government and state corporations. To induce these huge enterprises to function expeditiously and well is indispensable if the country's limited resources are to be adequately utilized.

(To Be Concluded)

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IFDA DOSSIER 4

We All Need A New International Order—2

by Jan Pronk

Text of a paper delivered by the former Dutch Minister for Development to the Dakar Bureau meeting of the Socialist International, May 1978. Jan Pronk is now a member of the Dutch Parliament and of the Council of IFDA. (International Foundation of Development Alternatives). He is also a member of the Brandt Commission, of the McBride Commission on Communications and of the Steering Committee of the IFDA Third System Project.

TURNING NOW to the second element to describe a new international order, the set of policies, it is important to stress from the outset the need for again an integrated approach. We have followed a piece-meal, haphazard approach, doing something in one sector, and nothing in other, complementary or more important sectors, with the effect that there is no result at all. The most striking example is international development-aid: rich countries, while on the average growing by about 3 per cent per annum, during the last 15 years on the average spent no more than 0.3 per cent of their national income to poor countries, very often in a way which was more beneficial to the donor than to the recip-

ient. At the same time the necessary fundamental steps to tackle the roots of inequality in the fields of international trade, monetary relations, private investment, labour migration, were hardly being made, so that aid became a marginal and often counterproductive instrument. Only within the framework of an integrated policy to fight the roots of inequalities can aid play a positive role. In the context of a new international economic order such an integrated policy should consist of at least the following elements:

A selective growth policy which should lead to a stabilization of material consumption of scarce irreplaceable resources, including energy, for the world as a whole, aiming at long-term equilibrium between world demand and world supply. This longer term stabilization has to be reached through a decrease in consumption in rich and an increase in developing countries.

A policy aiming at restructuring of productive activities in the world, leading to a better distribution of labour between countries in order to improve the development opportunities of the Third World. Thereby special efforts are necessary to speed up the industrialization in the developing countries in local industries, also to deploy local resources, on the basis of cost relations reflecting real scarcity. This all should lead to an increase in employment.

An international trade policy leading to a stabilization and to a real increase of the export-earnings of developing countries, and to an improvement of their terms of trade. Therefore an integrated commodity policy should be carried out, industrial products of Third World countries should be given free entry to the markets of the industrialized countries, and protection should not be accepted. A choice should be made not in favour of an overall liberalization of international trade, but of a planned increase of international trade, linked with a planned restructuring of international production.

*An international monetary policy which provides for greater international control over the creation and equitable distribution of liquidity.

*An international agricultural policy which results in food security for all people in each period, to the benefit of the poorest people.

*An international technology policy aiming at an equitable distribution of technological knowledge and at a choice of techniques which is adjusted to macro-economic, social and natural conditions and to the cultural situation of the society concerned. The application of technology thereby should be related to what are considered to be essential priorities the struggle against scarcity, contribution to employment and the provision of basic instead of luxury needs.

*A population policy aiming at a decrease of natural population growth, in combination with other resources based upon the view that this adds to the provision of basic needs of all people and that this in itself may lead to a lower actual growth rate of population.

An international aid policy which is based upon automaticity which leads to high transfers of income to be spent especially for the benefit of the poorest people.

*A foreign policy not being based upon national self-interests but aiming at disarmament, peace, decolonization and non-intervention.

MAIN ELEMENTS of this set of policies we find in resolutions on the new international economic order as accepted by the Heads of State and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries, and in resolutions of the 6th and 7th Special Session of the United Nations.

The negotiations in the framework of the North-South dialogue however have centred around only a few of these elements, especially the Common Fund to finance an integrated commodity policy and measures to deal with the debt problems of the developing countries. These negotiations, in CIEC and in UNCTAD, until now did not bear tangible results. It is important to renew the dialogue and to negotiate all the necessary policy instruments, not only the two mentioned. Some of them, for instance, policy instruments regarding the international trade in manufactures, are perhaps more important than those which by the developing countries have been considered test cases of the good will of their negotiating partners.

I would like to add—and socialists undoubtedly will agree—that in a new international economic order the leading principle on the international markets of capital, labour,

technology, commodities and manufacturers cannot be the so-called free market mechanism. This free market mechanism has quite a few drawbacks: (a) it does not prevent sharp short-term price fluctuations, and thus adds to uncertainty; (b) it cannot cope with the problem of absolute scarcity of non-renewable resources. (c) given the fundamental economic inequality between richer and poorer nations, it does not lead to capital accumulation, controlled by the poorer countries themselves; (d) it does not result in an allocation of economic means on the basis of real needs, but only on the basis of concrete purchasing power, which especially in the field of basic human needs (for instance food) has catastrophic results.

Therefore in the North-South dialogue agreement is necessary on other principles guiding investment, production and distribution. Such a principle must be a price criterion, and which in specific scarcity situation should be substituted by physical distribution.

DECISION - MAKING CHANGES. This brings us to the third main element of a new international order, the institutions determining the structure of international decision-making. For the sake of brevity I shall confine myself to some suggestions for change in the present structure, which still is being dominated by some super-powers, which either neglect the interests of the people in smaller or poorer countries, or even intervene in their domestic affairs.

In my view we should instead aim at: (1) a strengthening of the United Nations as the unique forum in which all people of the world via their governments are being represented; (2) the introduction of new procedures of negotiation between countries, in small negotiating groups with feed-back procedures, assisted by what may be called not supra-national but extra-national institutions with co-ordinating, advisory, executive and controlling powers and which fulfil catalytic functions; (3) the control of the activities of transnational institutions such as multi-national private companies; (4) the international guarantee of non-intervention, in conjunction with the territorial principle of pure and permanent national sovereignty, which might be substituted by a functional system of mutual rights and duties of nations.

With regard to this last proposal I would like to explain that, while in theory the prin-

ciple of non-intervention is accepted by all nations, in practice a lot of intervention takes place.

This happens both directly politically and militarily and economically (for instance by putting conditions on development aid by or taking decisions on prices, tariffs and monetary instruments without adequate international constitution) as well as indirectly, through transnational companies. Mostly this intervention takes place to the detriment of the poorest strata of the population.

Non-intervention means that more powerful nations should abstain from maintaining on purpose the international status quo in their own interest. This should be complemented by rights and duties of nations, internationally agreed upon, such as:

the international guarantee of territorial freedom;

*the right to self-reliance;

*the duty to implement policies for the well being of all inhabitants, including the poorest and minority-groups, guided by international criteria;

*the duty of international co-operation;

*the duty of international consultation as soon as a nation wants to take a decision which may affect the well-being of people abroad.

The review of the Second Development Decade, which is taking place now in the United Nations with the purpose of preparing a strategy for a third development decade might take principles and policy proposals like the foregoing into account. Such a strategy should differ from the earlier strategies in the following respects:

*It should contain an elaboration of elements of a new international economic order in a specific time period, for instance between now and the year 2000.

*It should not deal with only global policy instruments benefiting all developing countries in the same way. Instead a differentiated approach should be followed, the differentiation being based upon differences between developing countries due to their specific development situation. This, however, should by no means lead to a divide-rule approach. The only way for the richer countries to take the proposals on a new international economic order seriously, besides a good analysis of their own

long term self-interests, is a negotiation with a strong negotiation partner which has a real power to negotiate.

*It should not only deal with macro-relations between nations, but also with the translation of those changing international macro-relations into policies within both developing and developed countries benefitting especially the poorer and weaker strata of the population. In the last two sections of my speech I will elaborate on the consequences of a new international economic order for the domestic economic policies of the Southern and Northern countries.

(To Be Continued)

Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act (Cap. 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 Of 1964.

Reference No. ATH 1/130

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette No. 55 (Part III) of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka of 21-09-1979.

D.R.O.'s Division: Colombo

Situation : Ward No. 41, within Kirula - Colombo U.C. limits

Village : Narahenpita

Name of Land : Nawala Road, Assmt. Nos. 11, 25, 27, 35, 34/1, 84, 96, 100, 125, 127, 129, 135, 139, 141/1, 141/2, 141/3, and No. 153 Nawala Road, 185, Kekunagahaowita, Asst. No. 215 (Pt) Tuduwewala, Anderson Golf Links - No Assmt. No.

Lot No. : 1 - 22

Plan No. : P.P. Co. 5050

H. C. Gunawardene

District Land Officer of Colombo District.
The Kachcheri,
Colombo.

Date:- 31/8/1979

Inania

'For Goodness Sake! Stop Changing'

by Inna

It was lifeless, inert. It was a corpse. Now it would start changing for the worse, into a bundle of chemicals loosely held together. Soon, with all the due reverence in the world, they would insert an advertisement with the legend: "The remains of so-and-so." Death seemed to be the end of change towards the better.

Ask a philosopher and he would say that it is only the Absolute that is unchanging and yet not static. The Absolute is the Unmade, uncomposed, unborn, immutable, unchangeable. Some philosophers might take it further and say: if this Absolute is personal and related-to, then he is immanently in love with mankind and his world, beyond even pronoun and the grammar of being ("I am"). Yet others might say: He is within the process of being and becoming, "Et Verbum caro factum est" (from fieri, becoming, changing).

As far as I know, some christians talk of a *Magisterium*, a teaching authority of the Church. Safeguarding all that this *magisterium* teaches, some of them would accept the tradition of Trent (a council of the 16th century held in the catholic church) and probe beyond: *Creation is an ongoing process, a becoming, Redemption, or Total Liberation (Salvation) is an ongoing process until Christ has handed the Kingdom to His Father, in that final eschatological moment for which millions pine.*"

No. Not every change is an improvement. We can change for the worse, but we also presuppose an adult past-present-future people to change for the better. We are not for anyone who is slavishly attached to the same formula for the same ageless truth, but for a new expression that tries as far as possible to express the fulness of truth contained therein all along. The finest tribute a Christian could give to the Risen Christ and His Spirit is the removal of a slavish attachment to a dead-and-distant "magisterium" and the steady adoption of a deep attachment to a *living magisterium*. But the thief fears each bush

a police-officer. Those who pose as inspectors and sub-inspectors of the truth and tireless defenders of the Faith, without even listening to the Pope who said. "A man must be listened to and where he merits it, agreed with" (Paul VI in *Ecclesiam suam*), are already reading half of this and making up their minds to reply, unheeding. Here's for such malcontents, from a respectable review:—

"What does this undefined mass of malcontents reproach the Church with? Not so much that she has changed but that she is changing. Granted that a certain number of precise reforms have been made, they thought that after it, everything would have become immobile and immutable. The big sin is that permanent evolution has entered into the church. And for these dissatisfied people, ceaseless changes in the formulation of dogmas, criticism of bible texts, 'means change in revealed truth;' discussions in small groups all the better to deepen and formulate the faith are taken as denials of the teaching authority (*magisterium*); inventiveness and creativity in the liturgy signifies for them, denial of the sacraments; respect for the liberty of the human being in his search and research for the truth, means for these, malcontents that "all religions are the same"; to reckon with each individual persons' difficulties means admitting everything. What these malcontents want and desire, on the contrary, is a Church. —for them, it means a hierarchy. —which tells them exactly what to do and what to believe, or rather a Church which re-tells them what should always have been said and done. Infantile attitude for which the preconiliar church carries a great load of responsibility, an attitude deepened by the swiftness of changes in the modern world. One seems quite obliged to accept that the world can change, but for goodness, sake 'don't touch religion.'" (Inform. Cath. Internat. P.C. (Pierre Castel), p. 34, n. 512, 15 march 1977).

Here is an indictment on all those who cry 'halt' to change; on all those whose stability was based entirely on the letter and not on letter-and-Spirit. This makes more demands on the faith, hope and love of those who held on like grim death, to Penance only on Friday, Obligation on Sunday, and 'what-have-you' on Wednesday.

Confidentially

'Migara' Of The Weekend

IS IT NOT TRUE THAT one of the finest pieces of writing in the expose class was the superb *Migara* column *Men & Matters* with the heading CUSTOMS BLOWS LID OFF SRI LANKAN ODESSA in the *Weekend* of July 1, 1979? That this was during the time when the Customs had detected the attempt to smuggle expensive textiles and swim suits first as "personal goods" of an MP and later as "cyclone relief goods"? That the propriety of an MP being party to such a transaction is now the subject of an investigation by a Select Committee of the Parliament? That what *Migara* deals with is about the conduct of the Mafia-type operator behind this cyclone goods smuggling racket and no doubt behind the majority of other such instances of smuggling? That at the time the cyclone relief operation was being exposed, the film *Odessa File* was running in a Colombo theatre (it ran for several weeks)? That what *Migara* wrote is worthy of record? "Earlier this week, Sri Lanka Customs blew the lid off a highly organised racket which involved a highly placed Government politician, who has already identified himself. This particular incident involved the importing of luxury garments reportedly for cyclone relief. The garments included kiddies swim suits and 'skinnys'. These were possibly for the next cyclone and not for the last fateful one in Novemeber 1978. Talk of living on others misery? This however is only the tip of the iceberg and has prompted us to file a piece on the entire gammut of powerful and filthily rich Mafia-style syndicates which operate in the country spreading their Octopus like tentacles into every aspect of our life and society.

"One organisation behind some of this syndicate work is similar to the "ODESSA" of Nazi war criminals. But the Sri Lankan "Odessa" does not think so much of Aryan superiority. They in fact embrace every community!" They do not believe in murder and regaining power like the original 'Odessa'. They rather believe in hush-money and 'retaining' some powers that-be-personalities in

some of the highest echelons of power walking the corridors of the legislature, the judiciary, the press, the world of medicines, the world of business and commerce, the Government, the bureaucracy and even the Opposition. However, due to the limitations of the press considering privilege laws, contempt rules, etc., we are unable to name the true characters, but like in the Odessa file, compelled to interpolate fictitious names instead with due apologies to the public.....". That after this introductory preamble *Migara* goes on to unravel the mystery of the big man in the Mafia? "We too shall call the leader of one massive Sri Lankan Odessa Organisation as Rauschmann alias Kiefel. To add a local touch let us call him Lord Kiefel. It is an organisation so wide in activity and so vast in 'membership' that one 'member' is unlikely to know of another unless they met—to dine and wine at one of Lord Kiefel's plush abodes popularly known as *The Embassy* to the coterie of sidekicks.....Why is it designated *The Embassy*? Not so much for the diplomacy but for the whisky that flows except on one holy day of the year. Other eatables and drinks ranging from Ovaltine and Nescafe to liquor and liqueur are available free for the thirsty and the hungry. One local wag commented that *The Embassy* is a homely place to meet VIPs in a relaxed mood. The syndicate works so well that Lord Kiefel owns several air-conditioned houses in the city. Twentyfour hour service is the order of the day—and even the night, with the lights burning bright throughout....."? Amen.



OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATES

Official Exchange Rates of Commercial Banks to their customers for Telegraphic Transfers fixed on Tuesday this week were as follows:—

CURRENCY	PER 100 UNITS	
	Buying Rate	Selling Rate
U.S. Dollar	Rs. 1565.00	Rs. 1568.00
Sterling Pound	Rs. 3372.00	Rs. 3378.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 865.30	Rs. 866.90
French Franc	Rs. 370.15	Rs. 370.85
Japanese Yen	Rs. 6.9980	Rs. 7.0130
Indian Rupees	Rs. 189.30	Rs. 189.70

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