

TRIBUNE



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Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER, this week, is one of the few ever sent to us by the Department of Information which we have thought suitable for our cover. Ordinarily, the Department concentrates on news-photos of Ministers, Deputy Ministers, MPs and other VIPs performing opening ceremonies or participating in tamashas of different kinds. *Tribune* has not, in recent times, used pictures of politicians or personalities basking in the glory of political power or scaling the heights in the Establishment or the Palace. We have confined ourselves to the pictures of unknown sons and daughters of the soil or to the sights and scenes off the beaten track in our little island. It is too much to expect of the Department of Information to take candid shots of life, living and environment in Sri Lanka or to have pictures of tamashas without the customary big shots. The picture this week is an exception. It bears the official caption "a procession of local dancers that conducted the President and other Cabinet Ministers to the special stage." The occasion was the recent Maha Wap Magul ceremony near Isurumuniya at Anuradhapura, and for the reason that the VIPs are not to be seen in this picture, the photogenic faces and figures of the young female dancers grace our cover. Female photogenity is not the main consideration for the choice of a *Tribune* cover picture. We usually hang a tale or preach a homily on what we think is the true significance of a picture. This week too we have a sermon. In spite of Presidential diktats that tamashas must be cut out, they continue to proliferate. To make it difficult for the President or the Government to question the expenditure incurred in getting up these tamashas, the organisers now operate under the smoke-screen that the money was "donated" by the "local public". What does this really mean? The organisers are really always top government officials and local political bigwigs and the monies they collect are really "levies" from blackmarketeers, traders, butchers, smugglers, kasippu kings, brothel keepers and a few innocents who want official favours. The local officials and politicians who collect these "levies" (euphemistically called donations) are thereafter under obligation to these "rich" elements who extract and extort what they want from the officials and politicians. Every Party in power since Independence has relied on such tamashas and circuses and downfall has come to them because of the corruption and bribery that stems from such donations and levies. Many had hoped that fifteen months after the UNP came to power, the tamashas would be stopped, but they have not been. They are increasing in number every week. Dharmista politicians, even the younger and still unspolited (and uncorrupted) ones, have been brainwashed into trotting out excuses that the tamashas are "spontaneous expressions of popular support". Unless the leaders of the UNP, with a sense of history and a capacity to comprehend the ever-recurring writing on the wall, refuse to participate in such invisible exploitation of the people by an elite and chalk out a new path, the UNP, in spite of all that it does for the benefit of the people, will end up where many parties have ended up before—in the dustheap of disgrace and defeat. If there is one thing the people of Sri Lanka abhor it is the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker in whatever disguise or camouflage he is hidden. The donations and levies from the "public" to finance these tamashas are really delayed action bribes which like time bombs explode at the most inappropriate time for the ruling party. The stampede of the buffaloes lined up for the Wap Magul ploughing (see box page 13) is an omen with a deep political implications. For the UNP to ignore it is to invite trouble. The buffalo stampede cannot be dismissed as an incident of no consequence. If a butcher is made a hero of Wap Magul, then something is really wrong with the UNP.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

President Jayewardene And Amir's TULF

PRESIDENT JAYEWARDENE will be in Sri Lanka by the time this issue of *Tribune* is out. He is scheduled to return from his two-week state visit cum pilgrimage to India and Nepal on Thursday November 9. As we had said he was received not only with the customary honours befitting a Head of State, but also with warmth and cordiality in New Delhi and Kathmandu and in the State Capitals of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu that showed that Sri Lanka's President was received in a special way as the leader of a country which has had intimate ties with the sub-continent from the beginning of time.

Mr. Jayewardene also seems to have established a rapport and friendship with Morarji Desai, Prime Minister of India, with King Birendra of Nepal and many Chief Ministers and other leading personages in all the places he visited. Apart from everything, his desire to fulfil his pilgrimage placed him on "the same wavelength" with many Indian leaders imbued with deep religious sentiments. As has been repeated *ad nauseam*, there are no outstanding political problems between the two countries today. All such problems had been "settled" during the regime of Mrs. Bandaranaike. The question of repatriation is going on without any difficulties and steps are likely to be taken to quicken the pace in order to keep to schedules.

On a political level, both Prime Minister Morarji Desai and President Jayewardene have agreed that they had identical views on nearly

all topics of importance from non-alignment to domestic economic policies.

On non-alignment, they both believed in "genuine non-alignment" "or being 'truly non-aligned'" that is, not tilting too much to one side as Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike are said to have done (this complaint had generally come from the West which had from the era of colonialism been used to homage and subservience from the dependent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America). In any case, the West does not complain anymore on this score, but both Janata India and UNP Sri Lanka have taken special care to see that the Eastern bloc do not have cause to damn them as stooges and satellites of the West although oppositional and dissident groups in India and Sri Lanka have begun to point out that both countries were now behaving as if they were client satellite states of the West.

EVERYONE is agreed that the stress in the Morarji-Jayewardene talks was on economic matters. G. K. Reddy, in a despatch to the Madras *Hindu* from New Delhi on October 29 (just before President Jayewardene had started out on his pilgrimage) had summed up the situation in the following terms: "...The official talks that the Sri Lanka President has had in Delhi with the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, and his Cabinet colleagues during his three-day stay here were of a general nature which did not deal with any specific problems. The whole emphasis was on increased economic co-operation by activating the Joint Commission. The last meeting of this ministerial-level commission, which is supposed to meet once a year, was held in January 1976 and it has not met again for various reasons. It was due to meet during Mr. Vajpayee's visit to Colombo

last June but was cancelled at the last moment. The External Affairs Minister Mr. Vajpayee, and the Commerce Minister, Mr. Mohan Dharia, will be going to Sri Lanka in the course of the next few months before the Prime Minister, Mr. Desai himself pays a return visit. It was admitted by both sides during Mr. Jayewardene's talks in Delhi that, though a lot was envisaged in the nature of increased economic co-operation, very little had in fact been done to identify the areas and work out the procedures for it. A number of economic agreements had been signed in recent years to provide Indian credit to Sri Lanka for the purchase of capital goods, and Indian co-operation was offered in establishing several technological and industrial projects, including the setting up of a micro-wave communications system. But due to the previous Sri Lanka Government's excessive political pre-occupations at home, no determined steps were taken to step up trade and intensify economic co-operation. The policy of nationalisation of the plantation industries—and the labour shortage caused by the repatriation of the so-called stateless persons of Indian origin—led to a sharp drop in the country's foreign exchange earnings by as much as 25 per cent. The grave economic crisis that had set in during the last years of Mrs. Bandaranaike's rule left little scope for increased Indo-Sri Lanka co-operation. The talks that Mr. Jayewardene has had in Delhi during the last three days were held against this general background, with a better awareness on both sides of the need for a concerted effort to restore and consolidate the historic links between the two neighbouring peoples.

The despatch then went on to discuss some of the implications of the questions that appear to be

political: "At the political level, an attempt was made to provide the necessary impetus by drawing a close parallel between the Janata victory in India and Mr. Jayewardene's triumphant return to power in Sri Lanka and the liberating role of the two Governments. But it was also recognized that the real basis for increased co-operation has been laid by India's continued policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka and the helpful attitude adopted by the previous Indian Governments in settling the problem of stateless persons and also resolving the dispute over Kachativu island which cleared the way for the maritime boundary agreement. There have lately been some reports that to overcome the increasing labour shortage on rubber, tea and coffee plantations, the Sri Lanka Government was trying to recruit on contract from India some of the repatriated stateless persons but this has been officially denied by both sides. What had happened was that the UNDP had been looking for some professional and technical Indian personnel to work in Sri Lanka on UN-financed projects, and this had led to totally baseless reports that Sri Lanka itself was seeking to recruit Indian labour for its plantations."

Reddy had concluded his despatch with the following: "The candour with which Mr. Jayewardene spoke about his efforts to bring about an emotional integration of the Tamil and Sinhalese communities has impressed the Indian leaders who particularly appreciated his idea of starting at the level of the plantation districts where the real frictions had developed in the past."

IN NEW DELHI and in the capitals of Indian States he visited the question that was most often asked of President Jayewardene was about

the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. At a press conference in New Delhi on October 28, he had stressing "the need is for trust and understanding between the Tamil speaking people and the majority group in Sri Lanka to remove the tension between them. Personally, he said, he had no racial, colour or caste prejudices and was prepared to extend his hand of friendship to all. Addressing a press conference, Mr. Jayewardene explained that as promised in its election manifesto his party was trying to remove all the genuine grievances of the Tamil speaking people which had given rise to the demand for a separate Tamil State within the country. Unfortunately there were some people who would not listen to reason. They preferred to use the gun."

He had explained the provisions in the New Constitution which conceded to the Tamils all that the Tamil leaders had wanted (and more) from the framers of the 1972 Constitution. He had also pointed out that he had done everything possible to solve the Tamil question. The Indian Tamils led by the CWC had welcomed the changes he had incorporated in the Constitution and Mr. Thondaman was now one of his Cabinet Ministers. Mr. Jayewardene also mentioned that he had done everything possible to bring the Ceylon Tamils into the mainstream of life, but the TULF leaders had not responded to his offers so far. He thought it appropriate to tell Indian audiences that some TULF MPs, especially from the Eastern Province, had shown a willingness to join the Government.

There is no doubt that nearly all TULF MPs south of Elephant Pass are anxious to co-operate with the government at least on the District Ministership scheme. The Colombo correspondent of the Indian Express had sent a des-

patch on November 2 stating that 7 of the 17 TULF MPs were anxious to join the Government and that they would oppose any move by the TULF leaders to follow a policy of total non-cooperation. It is not certain whether the story is true in its entirety, but Tribune is aware that at least 5 TULF MPs are "fed up" with the Amirthalingam line to the point of being willing to resign their seats if the TULF persisted in following negative anti-UNP line.

In the meantime, everybody is waiting for the Prince (Amirthalingam) to return to resolve the Hamletian TULF problem "to join or not to join". In our last issue we had mentioned that Amirthalingam was expected to return to Sri Lanka after a stop-over in New Delhi and Madras in the first ten days or two weeks of this month. This was on what in India is called "pukka" information, but he seems to have changed his plans and TULF sources said that he was coming to Colombo direct from London.

Whispers in some circles not very friendly to the TULF suggest that he had cancelled or postponed his trip to India because President Jayewardene had not shown any willingness to meet him in India. This may be a mischievous story to denigrate the greatness of the leader of the Opposition—as mischievous as the Daily Mirror story that Mrs. Amirthalingam was tipped for the post of Chairman, Leather Products Corporation.

The acting Leader of the Opposition Parliamentary group (and President of the TULF), had on November 1 issued a statement which read: "The news item with the heading 'Mrs. A. Amirthalingam—next Leather Corp. Chairman?' in your City Edition of October 30, 1978 and in your Provincial Edition of October 31, 1978 was

considered by the Parliamentary Group of the TULF today. The Group feels that this is false, malicious, an example of irresponsible journalism and is calculated to insult a respected Leader of the Tamil people. The Group further condemns this publication and requests you to offer adequate apology and give it the same prominence you have given to the news item."

The *Daily Mirror* with its tongue in its cheek published Mr. Sivasithambaram's letter with the following Editor's Note: "We only reported the fact that there was speculation in political circles about the possibility of Mrs. Amirthalingam being offered the post of Chairman, Ceylon Leather Products Corporation. Our report did not state that Mrs. Amirthalingam would accept this office. We reported this fact because it was very significant in the same way that we report statements made by TULF leaders outside Sri Lanka. We report news with malice towards none. We are sorry that we should have been misunderstood."

It is as lame and excuse as one can concoct to justify a "story" no newspaper will ever publish, but the TULF has today by its vagaries, vacillations and somersaults placed itself in a position where the TULF and its leading personages (and their wives) have become the butt end of cheap jokes.

Some Tamil dailies towards the middle of last week had said that Amirthalingam was by-passing India and was scheduled to return to Colombo direct from London on Sunday November 5. The *Daily Mirror* published this as one of its scoops on Friday November 3 (without acknowledgement to the Tamil papers). It would certainly have been most appropriate for the TULF leader to return on

Guy Fawkes Day—the British high water mark celebration to commemorate one of the most notable damp squibs in history.

But Amirthalingam did not return on Sunday. It was then revealed by "reliable" TULF sources that the Leader of the Opposition was in Paris on a visit and that he would reach Colombo only on Sunday, November 12, three days after the President's return. Whether this is a tactical move for Amirthalingam and the TULF to study the President's reactions to everything the TULF has recently done in and out of Sri Lanka is not clear, but knowledgeable political circles suspect that this may be one of the reasons for the delay in Mr. Amirthalingam return in spite of the growing opposition to his policies inside the Party. Explanations have been called from three TULF MPs for breaking "party discipline" in attending functions to welcome District Ministers, but if the TULF could not do anything about Thondaman's "indiscipline" and "revolt" it is not clear what the TULF High Command can do about the three MPs.

In the meantime, there was speculation that government may amend the Constitution in regard to defectors. Manik de Silva had raised this in the *Ceylon Observer* of November 3: "There was intensive speculation in Parliamentary lobbies yesterday about a possible amendment of the Constitution. The speculation was fuelled by reports from New Delhi which quoted President J. R. Jayewardene telling an Indian TV interviewer that he believed that two TULF parliamentarians representing Eastern Province elec-

torates wanted to join the Government. Under the new Constitution an MP quitting his party or being expelled is liable to lose his seat. However, in the case of expulsion? there is Constitutional provision to appeal to the Supreme Court to determine if such expulsion is mala fide. If this is so the Member will not lose his seat. In the Parliamentary lobbies yesterday the big question that was asked was whether Eastern Province TULF MPs who seek to cooperate with Government will be thwarted by the Constitutional provisions barring cross-overs. Authoritative sources said that there have been suggestions that a Parliamentary Select Committee be empowered to consider whether expulsions from political parties are capricious or not before a Member is considered to have vacated his seat. There was no comment available on Government's thinking on this proposals."

On Monday, November 6, the *Daily News* in a front page spread published the views of Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, a Minister who takes an extra hardline against the TULF insinuating that until and unless TULF publicly disowned Eelam, the TULF should not be permitted to "join" the government in any joint district minister scheme.

The *Daily News* report read: "The Government is not contemplating amending the Constitution to permit parliamentarians to retain their seats after cross-over from one political party to another or following expulsion from a political group to which they belong, Justice Minister Mr. K. W. Devanayagam told the *Daily News* yesterday. Speculation was rife in political circles last week in regard to a possible amendment to the Constitution following President J. R. Jayewardene's statement to the press in India that

Whither Amirthalingam?

two more TULF parliamentarians were likely to join the government. Mr. Devanayagam said yesterday he was aware there was speculation but 'it is only speculation; there is no truth whatever that the government is thinking in terms of any change to the Constitution', he said. Under the provisions of the Constitution an MP who resigns or is sacked from his political party will lose his seat. Official sources yesterday said an Amendment—if it is moved at all—will negative the very purpose of the relevant provision in the Constitution. Besides, the sources added, such an Amendment could apply to all political parties represented in Parliament. In government political circles the thinking was that the government will not amend the Constitution for political expediency. A senior Minister commented: 'The position is very clear; if an MP—including a TULF MP quits his party he will be expelled by his party and another nominated from the party. Asked whether Mr. R. G. Samaranayake the Second MP for Beruwela was within his constitutional rights when he crossed over to Government ranks from the SLFP, Mr. Devanayagam replying in the affirmative said 'there is no question about that.' There was speculation in political circles earlier that Mr. Samaranayake may lose his seat since he crossed over after the then Speaker Mr. Anandatisa de Alwis had given his assent to the new Constitution. Mr. Devanayagam explained that the Constitution took legal effect only after it was officially promulgated—not after the certification by the Speaker. Mr. Samaranayake crossed over before the promulgation making a statement on the floor of the House as he moved in Government ranks."

As we go to press, there are no indications as what the TULF's

plan of action will be in regard to (a) the growing revolt within its ranks, not merely among the MPs but mainly among all its supporters in electorates south of Elephant Pass; (b) the district ministership system which has become a reality in all but two electorates in regard to which no action has been taken by the grace of the President at the request of the TULF wanting him to delay the decision until the return of Mr. Amirthalingam who has stayed away from the island for nearly three months.

The President and the Government, on the other hand, have also many questions to ask of Amirthalingam and the TULF. For one thing, he must explain the pro-Eelam campaign he carried on abroad. It is one thing to carry a political campaign against the policies of the government inside the country, but it is a different matter to carry this campaign to outside countries especially when one is travelling on a diplomatic passport and with the blessings of the President.

If anyone wants to be a rebel and a guerilla fighting for a separate state he is welcome to do so, but he cannot expect to travel on a diplomatic passport as the Leader of the Opposition (in which capacity the governments of countries like the UK, USA and Canada invited him as a state guest). The trouble with the TULF and some of its leaders is that they want to have the cake as well as eat it. The "militant Tamil youth" are correct that one cannot fight for Eelam from within Parliament.

The TULF leadership game of hide and seek, or Jekyll and Hyde, cannot go on for much longer. Mr. Amirthalingam and the TULF High Command have to make their decisions here and now—and the President too cannot postpone the decisions any longer. More-

over, the President now has the TULF leadership where he wants them. It is not 7 TULF MPs who are in revolt—these 7 are open rebels threatening to resign to force the hand of the TULF High Command—but the fact is that only a small minority want to pursue the negative policies the TULF followed so far. Rhetoric about Eelam, they want to relegate to the same place that the religious-minded folk have for 'Heaven'—and such talk about heaven does nobody any harm.

Peradeniya

On Ragging

Is it not a fact that the unnecessarily tough law and order over-kill policy on fresher initiation is having its inevitable back-lash? That one does not use a sledgehammer to crush a gnat, but one is forced to if the sledgehammer is the only instrument declared publicly for the purpose? That in medical language if one employs antibiotics for a headache, the side-effects are bound to show? That the policy of quick punishment (suspension, dismissal) without proper inquiry is against all the known principles of natural justice, even if students are viewed as beyond the pale of polite and genteel campus society, which moves on well-sprung and affluently oiled materialist devices, including 7 or 8 Sri cars? That some campuses did not have the basic structure of student welfare and counselling systems established before the academic years opened? That even the customary medical examination of new students is being most causally and unprofessionally conducted?

Quidnunc

PARTIES & POLITICS

SLFP's New Constitution

—family power or unity
or split?—

PRESS REPORTS indicate that an All-Island Executive Committee of the S.L.F.P. will meet on Saturday, November 11, to adopt the new draft Constitution prepared by a Special Committee. Among the leading party personalities involved in drawing up the Constitution, according to rumours in political circles, are said to be Mr. Shiniya, Attorney-at-Law and former Ambassador in Indonesia, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, former Speaker, Mr. Rohanadeera, a University don, Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, former M.P., Mr. Lakshman Jayakoddy, former Deputy Minister of Defence & External Affairs, etc. etc. and also selected members of the Family (described by some cynical critics as the Young Turks of the SLFP Establishment or Palace Caucus).

We have received a copy of the original Sinhala version of the Constitution. Efforts are being made, we are told, to have English and Tamil translations ready before the Meeting on Saturday.

Readers will recall that some months ago an attempt was made to adopt a new Constitution to streamline the organisation of the SLFP as a political party. There had been strong opposition to that draft Constitution which had attempted to set up two "parallel" organisations—the old village groups and district branches, on the one hand, and strengthened Youth League (Anura) units, on the other—which would come together only at the apex of the High Command. Old guard SLFPers had declared that this party Constitution was devised only to give Anura a head start to capture and control the leadership and machinery of the Party

even before the present party President, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, faded away from the scene.

Opposition to this two-parallel-units SLFP was so great at the Ex-Co meeting that it was dropped and the announcement was made that a fresh draft would be prepared. The present draft is the outcome.

This draft in Sinhala consists of 15 foolscap-size sheets typed on two sides. There are 50 articles, sections or clauses in the new draft Constitution. The last article, No. 50, relates to the Interim Arrangements until the new Constitution, if adopted, comes into operation. We publish below an English translation (not official but ours) of this article 50—Interim Provisions—for the information of our readers:

"With the adoption of this Constitution, the old constitution of the Party will become null and void and the following interim provisions will come into force:

i. The organisations and office-bearers provided for in this Constitution shall be formed and appointed within nine months of the adoption of the Constitution.
ii. Within nine months of the adoption of this constitution, an All Ceylon General Congress of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party shall be called in terms of Article 33 of the new Constitution and a revision of Party policy shall be effected.
iii. The Party President holding office at the time of the adoption of this Constitution shall continue to function as Party President until a President is appointed under this Constitution.
iv. Until the Political Bureau provided for in this Constitution is constitutionally established, a special body under the Chairmanship of the President will be entrusted with the powers of the Political Bureau as provided be the Constitution, the powers necessary for the implementation of this Con-

stitution including the power to make changes in the period of time mentioned in Articles i and ii above.
v. One of the members of this body will be elected by the body as Secretary until a Secretary is appointed under this Constitution.
vi. The manner in which this body is appointed shall be decided by the All Island Executive which ratifies this Constitution.
vii. This body will take measures to establish District Offices and will appoint District Organisers and District Administrative Secretaries for the implementation of the Constitution.
viii. This body will establish a temporary Party Standing

Notice Under Section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as Amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964.

Reference No:- 11/7/4/44

The Government intends to acquire the land described in the Schedule below, for a public purpose. For particulars, please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 10. (Part III) of 10th November 1978.

SCHEDULE.

District : Anuradhapura
D.R.O.'s Division: Kekirawa
G.S.'s Division : 47 A Tulana
Name of Land : Mahabadapothana, Mahawattepothane.
Plan No. : F.V.P. 1110 (Supplement No. 1)
Lot No. : From 166 to 299.

W. M. Jayathilaka

Acquiring Officer and
Anuradhapura District Land
Officer.

The Kachcheri,
Anuradhapura.
19-10-1978.

Committee, dealing with membership and Party branches as provided for in this Constitution for reorganising of membership and branch organisations according to the New Constitution. ix. until the Board of Trustees appointed under this Constitution, the persons who functioned as the Board of Trustees of the Party at the time of the adoption of this Constitution will continue as the Board of Trustees. x. The movable and immovable property of the Party, its assets and liabilities, will be transferred automatically from the hitherto existing Board to the newly appointed Board of Trustees in terms of Article 48 of the new Constitution. xi. The deed relating to the Party Headquarters in the name of the President and Secretary of the Party shall be transferred to the board of Trustees as provided for in Article 48, sub-section iv."

Old guard SLFPers have apprehensions that the all-island Ex-Co which will meet next Saturday will be heavily packed with loyalists and adherents of the Family. Under the existing Constitution, the President (Sirimavo Bandaranaike) has been authorised to nominate 50 persons to the Ex-Co, the Youth League chief (Anura Bandaranaike) 20 and the Women's League boss (Sunethra Bandaranaike) 10. The reason why the special powers were given was that in the last general election a large number of Ex-Co members had become turn-coats and had helped the UNP to victory. It was felt that the SLFP High Command should have the right to nominate an Ex-Co consisting of faithful SLFPers.

But, SLFPers disillusioned with the Family and the satellite Caucus it had engendered and sustained, feel that the Ex Co that has been summoned to meet on Saturday has been packed with family loyalists. **Whether this**

is true or is in reality only an unjustified fear is yet to be seen.

Various claims and allegations are floating around. From the side of the Family it is said that: (a) the Party structure has to be first strengthened and brought up to date; (b) all bad and weak elements should be eliminated; (c) new policies must be formulated and (d) a leadership must be created and stabilised that will faithfully follow the tried and tested Bandaranaike policies. Those who oppose the perpetuation of the Family Caucus say that the new Constitution is another disguised attempt to make the SLFP a sole monopoly of the Bandaranaike family and to utilise the power, influence and control still wielded by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike to ensure this.

These persons fear that the whole exercise is to push old guard SLFPers who will not stooge for the Family out of the Party: to neutralise or drive out of the Party men like Maithripala Senanayake and to hand over the Party to persons who will continue to enthrone the Bandaranaiques in the seats of power.

The meeting of the Ex-Co next Saturday is likely to be interesting. It may even be stormy. Those opposed to Family Power will, it is reported, make a last ditch stand against accepting the Constitution in the present form. For one thing, there will be strong opposition to Article 50 which makes provision for the Interim period. This article, it is pointed out, will enable the Family to rule the roost for at least nine months or longer if the family so desires. Under the new system of proportional representation on party lists, it is felt that the Family will manipulate nominations in such a way as to eliminate, for sometime at any rate, all old-guard SLFPers who are opposed to Family Power.

Will the SLFP Ex-Co meeting on Saturday next resolve the inner-party problems inside the SLFP and help to create a new and unified party composed of all "genuine" SLFP elements? Or will the Ex-Co allegedly packed by the Family, only succeed in setting up a "new" SLFP which will enthrone Family Power for the foreseeable future? Or will ultra-strong insistence on Family Power lead to a split in the SLFP and the creation of two parties where there was only one from the time S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

Narada

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SCHEDULE

District: Anuradhapura
D.R.O.'s Division: Kalagam Palatha
G.S.'s Division: Tulane No. 53
Name of Land: Pahalamakale, Pahalamawatta, Bhogahamulawatta, Weehena, Nivithigama Thimbirigahayaya, & Nivithigamakumbura.
Plan No. F. V. P. 1005 (Sup. No. 1)
Lot No. From 53 to 77

W. M. Jayatilaka
Acquiring Officer and
Anuradhapura District
Land Officer.

The Kachcheri,
Anuradhapura,
26/10/1978

THE WORLD TODAY

Iran, West, East & Southeast Asia

IRAN: WORST POLITICAL CRISIS

Teheran, October 31,

TWO ministers yesterday resigned from the two-month old government, already battered by widespread street unrest and violence in Iran's worst political crisis in 25 years. They were Justice Minister Mohammad Baheri and the Minister of State for Executive Affairs, Manoucherhr Azmun. Prime Minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami has named Hossein Najafi as Minister of Justice and Mostafa Paidar, Minister of State, an official statement said. He presented the two new ministers to the Shah the statement said. Mr. Baheri and Mr. Azmun were the third and fourth ministers to leave the "national reconciliation" cabinet formed by Mr. Sharif-Emami on August 27. There was no immediate statement from Mr. Baheri and Mr. Azmun on why they had resigned. Mr. Baheri's resignation came as a surprise, but Mr. Azmun disclosed earlier that he had resigned five days ago. Trouble in Mr. Sharif-Emami's cabinet has sparked widespread speculation that he may step down, but information Minister Mohammad Reza Ameli-Tehrani said yesterday this had not been considered and the government would continue its very difficult task.

There has also been speculation that the Premier might seek to include moderate opposition figures in the government. But both new ministers appointed today were senior judges. Mr. Najafi, 55, was state prosecutor general.

The new cabinet changes, which followed resignations earlier this month by the Ministers of Health and Higher Education came on the eve of Mr. Sharif-Emami's reply in the Majlis (lower house of parliament) to a censure motion tabled last week. But the government is expected to win a confidence vote easily as only less than 90 of the 268 Majlis members have so far voted against the government.

In continuing violence in Iran's provinces, 11 people have been shot dead in clashes between security forces and anti-government demonstrators in the small town of Paveh in West Iran, near the Iraqi border, Radio Iran reported last night. Police opened fire and used teargas in several other towns to quell demonstrations, but no other deaths were reported. The violence in Paveh brought the death toll in the provinces this month to more than 80.

Demonstrations against the Shah and the authorities were reported yesterday from about 20 provincial towns, there were also students demonstrations in Teheran. In the holy city of Mashhad in the north-east, an estimated 25,000 people demonstrated outside the city's shrine over the local martial law administration's plans to extend the overnight curfew by four hours. Martial law authorities later announced the curfew would go back to its former starting time of midnight, following assurances from the public that peace and order would be maintained. Street demonstrations have been banned under martial law regulations in 12 cities clamped under military rule last month.

—PTC Reuter.

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IRAN: Trade Union Story — I

We have recently received a booklet entitled IRAN IN STRUGGLE published by the Liaison Commission of Iranian Trade Unions. We will publish the booklet in three parts. Repression has not stilled the protest struggle. The fact that the US, UK and the FRG have publicly proclaimed their support to the Shah and the continuance of his regime seems to have added fuel to the fire of protest against the Shah and invested the Iranians with nationalistic determination to fight foreign intervention.

Comrades, Brothers, Sisters, Men Women Workers of all tendencies, of every organisation throughout the whole world, it is to you that we dedicate this brochure. From it you will learn about the inhuman repression from which we are suffering and the unremitting struggle which we are carrying out. Brothers and Sisters, we are oppressed by a dictatorial regime on the orders of American imperialism. Like our brothers in other countries who are suffering the same repression, we have need of your solidarity in our struggles. We count on your fraternal support.

Liaison Commission of Iranian Trade Unions.

For a developing country, Iran has a long trade union tradition. In fact, trade unions first appeared even before the first world war, the first among them being that of the print workers. After the first world war, the victory of the workers of Tsarist Russia, Iran's neighbour and the creation of the first socialist State strengthened the Iranian workers' struggle. As early as

1920, Iranian workers put forward the slogan for an 8-hour working day.

In 1925, May Day was widely celebrated for the first time by trade unionists. Meanwhile, the dictatorial regime, established in 1925 with the direct help of British imperialism under the direction of General Ironside, forced the trade union movement to become clandestine. After the abdication of dictator Reza Shah in favour of his son in 1941, the trade union movement came out of hiding and appeared in all its force since it embraced almost all workers in the major industrial centres such as Teheran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Meched, Abadan, etc. In 1944, these trade unions, united in order to form a united centre, the Central Council of United Iranian Trade Unions (CCUTU). We cannot cite here all the struggles and activities carried out by this important centre in the workers' interests, but we will mention a few examples which are particularly significant.

In 1946, after a long struggle the CCUTU won a piece of legislation long desired by workers by obliging the government to pass for the first time a Labour Code which gave them substantial guarantees in respect of wages, social security, working hours, pensions etc., Also the CCUTU took part, as the representative of Iranian workers, in the WFTU founding Congress in Paris in 1945. In 1946, more than 600 workers celebrated May Day under the CCUTU banner. In 1950, the CCUTU still active despite the arrest of its leaders and in spite of its semi-legal existence led major strikes of Iranian workers, particularly that of oil workers. In this way, it contributed to the coming of power of Dr. Mossaddegh in 1951 since among its main objectives was the nationalisation of the main resources of the

Iranian people — oil, and the ending of the domination exercised by British Petroleum, a concessionary company since 1908. However, the nationalisation of oil in 1951 and the anti-monopolist position taken by the Mossaddegh government, backed by the workers and people, represented a serious threat to imperialism, particularly for American imperialism. This is why the latter, through the intermediary of the CIA and in collaboration with Iranian reaction, fermented the bloody coup of 1953. The regime's first act after the coup d'etat was to denationalise oil above all to the profit of the American companies. The coup d'etat in question had two objectives: (1) to safeguard the stranglehold of imperialism on all the country's riches, particularly oil; (2) to preserve the strategic base of imperialism represented by Iran, a country which is situated at the crossroads of capitalist Europe, by the Arab countries and Asia in the neighbourhood of the Soviet Union.

Every means was used to win these objectives; bloody repression, massive arrests of patriots, democrats and trade union leaders, torture and assassinations. These measures were, of course, accompanied by the abolition of trade union rights and of democratic rights and liberties in general. Since that date, the CCUTU was outlawed and trade union activities absolutely forbidden. Today, after 24 years of dictatorship, there are, according to many sources, tens of thousands of political prisoners in Iran. During the last three years alone, more than 200 patriots have been executed according to official sources. This figure obviously does not include the "discrete" assassinations which is a method often used by the regime. In 1957, in order to maintain and strengthen its repression, the regime, under

the direction of CIA experts, created an all-embracing police body, the Savak now controls all political, social and cultural life in the country. Whilst carrying on its anti-popular and pro-imperialist policy, the Iranian dictatorship set up a pretended programme of reforms which, since 1962, officially calls itself the White Revolution. It has been forced to resort to this subterfuge because of the development of forces in the world following the anti-fascist victory in 1945 and the progress of the process of decolonisation in Third World countries. The White Revolution in principle had as its objectives agrarian reform, industrialisation and the cultural, scientific and social progress of the country.

AGRARIAN REFORM. After a long so-called preparatory period, this pretended reform came into force in 1962 and was to finish in 1971. All in all 5% of cultivable land was sold to peasants who were more or less well off. The largest proportion of this land was put at the disposal of the agro-industrial corporations whose majority shareholders are former landowners linked with foreign capitalism. Presently, about fifteen large companies each own more than 10,000 hectares of land which is exploited to the benefit of transnational corporations, often North American which are associated with Iranian capitalists. These immense farms are supplied with American or Japanese agricultural machinery. The feudal Iranians who couldn't or didn't want to keep their land received compensation in the form of shares in State-run industrial corporations. They are now shareholders in assembly plants created within the framework of the White Revolution.

The various laws passed during the period in question have allowed

foreign capitalists to invest in the agricultural and industrial fields.

About thirteen years after the beginning of the reform, results are far from brilliant: a general increase in poverty can be noted among peasants and a sizeable decrease in agricultural production due to the bad economic policy of the regime. Let us look at what the regime's official spokesmen say. The economic review 'Teheran Economist' which is almost the organ of big businessmen, gives the following description of the agricultural situation: (a) there is lack of spare parts for agricultural machinery; (b) there is a shortage of repair workshops; (c) there is a lack of means of communication between the rural agglomerations; (d) there is no law whatsoever concerning the wages of agricultural labourers; (e) the competent authorities make no effort to improve the peasants' lot and (f) the falling prices for agricultural products, because of the so-called open door policy, which encourages foreign agricultural imports, is impoverishing the peasants and devastating rural areas.

Similar accusations were made in Parliament by the vice-chairman of the Commission for Agrarian Reform. Thus, after 12 years of agrarian reform, rural areas lie washed, peasants are invading the cities in search of a crust of bread and the national agricultural product is falling drastically in comparison with the period preceding reform. These days, Iran imports thousands of millions of dollars worth of fruit, vegetables, meat and cereals every year, whereas in the past there was no need to do this.

(To be Continued)

IRAN: FROM THE US PRESS
Washington, October 31.

This administration inherited a deep American commitment to the Shah and to his heady view

of the importance of Iran in the strategic scheme of things. A vision of disintegration across the whole tier from Turkey through Iran to the Asian sub-continent, with Moscow ultimately making sport with the pieces, flits fearfully across the minds of high officials. Jimmy Carter's support of Iran and the Shah has emphasized political liberalization. The rationale is that unless it is given a chance, chaos or an unworkable string of coups are the only alternatives. Political liberalization involves, of course, a great gamble. Who knows what really will work? The place is in many respects still feudal; it is not what you would call Thomas Jefferson country. But the Shah, or whichever combination of his lieutenants is really running Iran, seems to be taking that gamble. At least for as long as he does, the United States has no good choice but to help him see it through.

—Washington Post

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Washington, Oct. 31.

The Shah has failed to build popular support because of his reluctance to share power. He began liberalization of his autocratic regime too late and has given too little. Hence he has managed to alienate virtually every segment of the population, both to the right and the left. It is a dangerous situation and how long the army will permit the demonstrations to go on before ruthlessly cracking down is the big question. In these circumstances the West cannot abandon its support of the Shah, given the absence of democratic traditions in Iran, the likely alternative to his rule would be a right-wing dictatorship which would be even more repressive and, in addition, perhaps hostile to the West. But certainly the United States

above all must try to keep the Shah from going back to a full-blown autocracy and encourage him—more than it has in the past—to continue his policy of liberalization, with its promise of elections for a new Parliament next year. At the same time some serious soul-searching ought to be done in Washington about whether pouring such inordinate amounts of money, arms, and technicians into Iran has not in fact helped precipitate today's disturbing events. That is a sobering lesson.

—Christian Science Monitor

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Washington, November 1.

It is a recurring irony of history that revolutions come when things are getting better. The really oppressed people are too preoccupied with bare survival to storm any bastilles. If what usually happens at this point in the history of modernizing nations is inevitable, Iran is due around now for either a coup by a military junta or a takeover by some variety of Marxists. Neither holds promise for the strategic interests of the United States. Neither holds promise for the well-being of the Iranian people. Consequently, we'd like to think it doesn't have to happen. Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi is not a town-meeting democrat. He is the son of a tough montagnard chieftain who hoped to establish a dynasty. He wants to carry the dynasty forward in a nation raised to material prosperity worthy of its resources and to cultural greatness worthy of Persia's past.

His persuasions, like his father's have included the strongarm kind as he has undertaken land reform, industrial development and social change. He has cultivated magnificence for the dynasty and made

possible quick fortunes for a mixed crew of foreign and local business people. He has not been able to pace all transitions for minimal human dislocation or to mollify every group his changes discomfited. But he still looks like the best leader the situation affords. If either oil or geography matter, it has to matter to us that Iran stays oriented toward the West, which means continuing present forms of aid to the Shah—and may mean increasing them.

—Washington Star

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Teheran, Oct. 31,

The most striking feature of the troubles still spreading here in Iran is the limp attitude of the Government. Despite mounting violence, Prime Minister Jafaar Shariff-Emami, with the apparent support of the Shah, has maintained an open throttle for liberalization of the regime. The permissive policy may in time calm the country. But so far it hasn't, and it is a question how long matters can be allowed to drift before chaos precludes any good way of regaining mastery. Along with this liberal tactic, the Government is pursuing a divide-and-conquer strategy. Virtually all public figures express disapproval of the demands made by the exiled religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, and his radical followers for the establishment of an Islamic Republic in place of the Monarchy.

At the same time the Government has been making behind-the-scenes contact with the more moderate religious leaders notably the Ayatollah Sayed-Maderi of Aum. The theory is that when the time is ripe—that is to say, when the troublemakers exhaust themselves—the Government will align itself with the moderate clergy and crack down on the radicals. It is

possible, just possible, that that strategy might work. Certainly it ought to be given some time. The best of all possible outcomes would be an easing of the tension, new elections and a more democratic regime—all accomplished without active intervention by the Shah.

—Columnist Joseph Kraft in despatch to *Washington Post*.

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WEST ASIA: NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AND CAMP DAVID: SRI LANKA PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

New Delhi, October 28,

Press: President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. How would you respond to it?

His Excellency Mr. J. R. Jayewardene: Well, if I were in that awarding committee I would do the same.. ..

Press: Mr. President, coming back to the question of the Nobel Peace Prize which was presented to Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat, would you like to elaborate on what you have said? Do you think this will further the prospect of peace in West Asia or how do you think it would affect the situation? *H.E.:* Well, if the peace treaty is signed and implemented, certainly it is a step towards peace and however helps in establishing peace. I think, they should be complimented. I am myself totally opposed to any form of violence. I don't see how people can kill each other. For what purpose butcher each other—kill children, no nation, no human wants violence. What matters is Israel lives or not or Egypt lives or not—in the long history of humanity. Nations possess, nations die, nations exist, empires dissolve out nothing in my mind justifies the use of vio-

lence for the killing of innocent people. We had a war about 300 BC between an invader from South India who was ruling Sri Lanka. He was called the Just, Elara the Just—is a good man. The Sinhalese in the south reorganised themselves and fought and came right into the capital. And the two people said we won't let the armies fight. Let both of us fight. Why should armies destroy each other? Why should men and women destroy each other? We will see who will win and they fought. That is how people should fight if they want. Not let innocent people go to war and be killed. I think Begin and Sadat had said that in a certain way and had said that they would

Letter
Sir,

Welcome Back Diogenes!

I join many of your old readers to welcome back old columnist Diogenes (*Tribune*, 30th September 1978) after a six year sojourn on the woollack sans scarlet and ermine. The last we read from Diogenes in late 1970 curiously enough was his satirical sketch on the glamour of scarlet and ermine to satisfy the whims and vanities of those near and dear. Without doubt before Diogenes entered sanctum sanctorum, he was a lover of the City (Polis) and its men (Plebeians). He still seems to love to have his feet nostalgically back on the terra firma and we welcome him. As a philosopher, he is only compassionate to the devils who in their insane fury of new found power want to drink blood, before they face the deluge.

S. Ponnambalam

Lusaka,
Zambia.
10.10.78

discuss it and debate. I don't see why anybody should oppose it. We should all welcome their meeting and their decision and not go into the merits of it. If it's peace, I am all for it. And those two kings fought and one lost. Not one man was injured.

I am a man of peace and I follow your great teacher Gautama the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi. I think your Prime Minister too is the same. That seems to be a bond that binds us. I would not like anybody in any country to say that violence is justified. Who is the leader who can say that? Who is the nation that can say that? If so why do you blame Hitler? Why do you blame Napoleon? You can't measure violence and say this amount of violence is good and you can't say non-violence thus far and no further. This great country should give a lead and I am happy the Prime Minister thinks as I think. And he has said at the Australian Conference when I was there that even if it means that we will be defeated, I will not use nuclear weapons for war. It is a noble step. So between two men like that what is there to discuss. We understand each other.

Press: But is there agreement?

H.E.: The agreement is there. Only minds are on the same wave length.

Press: Did you find identical views on this subject of West Asia....?

H.E.: Absolutely identical.

—From Report of Press Conference in New Delhi, Ceylon Daily News, 30/10/78.

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WEST ASIA: U.S. PRESS OPINION

Washington, October 30,

It comes as no surprise that the Nobel Committee chose to honour President Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin for their

efforts on behalf of peace. Perhaps the Egyptian leader more than Mr. Begin has displayed the largeness of heart and boldness of imagination needed to break the unrelenting hostility of 30 years. But certainly both men now are walking down the road to peace rather than war. This makes it all the more imperative, if the Nobel Peace Prize is to have real meaning, that they actually get there. As the Nobel Committee itself noted, the hopes for peace have been kindled but the "practical solutions", that would give reality to those hopes, remain to be worked out. Perhaps there were grounds for legitimate misunderstanding of the Camp David Accords. Even so Israel knows that its decision to go ahead with a multimillion-dollar program of adding some 300 new housing units on the West Bank and building a network of roads linking the settlements with Israel can only be viewed by the United States and Egypt as an extremely provocative act. It feeds the fears of the Arab world that Israel is indeed bent on keeping control of the West Bank and Gaza strip indefinitely. Nor does the coinage of a new term—"thickening" of settlements—disguise a suspiciously expansionist intent. True, there was agreement at Camp David to allow some enlargement of the Jewish communities but this was to be, at most, limited to additions of single individuals or homes—not 300 units. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had every cause to react sharply to the Israeli move.....

—Christian Science Monitor

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Chicago, October 28,

The Nobel Peace Prizes have not always gone to the right people at the right time. And some may think that this year's award

to Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin might fall into the category of premature. But, it's also too early to come to that. Despite the present dispute over the Israeli settlements on the West Bank, the two leaders do seem determined to reach a Peace Treaty by the end of this year. And what they have achieved so far does merit the recognition and honour bestowed in them by the Norwegian Nobel Committee

—Chicago Tribune

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Los Angeles, Oct. 29,

..Prime Minister Begin and his Foreign Minister, Moshe Dayan, jolted the spirit of Camp David by declaring not only that the settlements will stay in the West Bank area and the Gaza Strip indefinitely, no matter what the United States says, but also that the 3,000 Israelis already living in them will be 'thickened' by perhaps 200 families more. While we may be properly indignant over Mr. Begin's and Mr. Dayan's statements, we must also hope that President Sadat of Egypt recognizes the circumstances which led to them and will be able to resist the pressure from other Arabs to use them as an excuse to drop the treaties. After all the Israeli settlements are going to be the subject of future negotiations, no matter what Mr. Begin says today.....

—Los Angeles Times

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New York, October 27,

..Israel's decision to 'thicken' some West Bank settlements raises a grave question whether the Israeli Government really wants to make peace with any Arab

nation except Egypt. Worse yet, it casts a deep shadow over negotiations with the Egyptians themselves. Perhaps Israel prefers a separate peace with Egypt to a wider settlement that jeopardizes its claim to the West Bank. But it would be incredibly foolhardy to risk losing even a separate peace by raking up this old quarrel at the worst possible time....."

—Newsday

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CAMP DAVID: IRAQI VIEW

Following is a translation of the first part of an interview given by Mr. Sa'ad Qassim Hammoudi, Iraq's Minister of Information, to Beirut Weekly magazine *Al Kifah Al-Arabi*, published in its issue of October 16-22. "If Sadat knew for sure that an agreement between Iraq and Syria could be reached against his initiative and its consequences, he would have revised the initiative itself", a Palestinian leader quotes Dr. Ismat Abdul Majid, Egypt's representative at the United Nations. Coming out of an Egyptian authoritative personality, such a statement reflects the actual influential role which could be achieved through the joint agreement between Syria and Iraq: it also reflects the actual catastrophic results of any difference between the two countries.

Initiatives announced in both Baghdad and Damascus—from the statement of both the Regional and National Leaderships of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in Iraq, the message of President Assad to President Bakr, the reply carried by Mr. Tareq Aziz to the Syrian President through to Syria's announcement that it will take part in the Arab summit confer-

ence from which Sadat has been excluded—are all encouraging signs in the direction of the sound pathway; nevertheless, the need is still there for an Algerian-Libyan Yemeni role with the object of strengthening such signs and leading them towards complete steadfastness front.

Having this in mind *Al-Kifah Al-Arabi* magazine correspondent visited Iraq and had the following interview with Mr. Sa'ad Qassim Hammoudi, Iraq's Minister of Information; What are the reasons behind the statement of both the National and Regional Leaderships, hence the call for an Arab summit, nothing that Iraq stood against calls by the Arab League under the pretext of Arab solidarity?

The basic reason is the critical situation arising from the Camp David conference grouping Sadat,

Begin and Carter; then comes Iraq's Party and Revolution's evaluation of the risks coming out of the implementation of such an agreement—an agreement which practically means pulling Egypt out of the nationalist battle and squandering national and Pan-Arab sovereignty of Egypt and the Arab nation, thus giving up the rights of the people of Palestine particularly as concerns their right to return to the fatherland and self-determination on their entire national territory, in addition to squandering other Arab rights in Golan, Jerusalem and the West Bank.

The Camp David results also mean a complete retraction of the summit conference resolutions, and surely represent a stab at the Arab economic boycott, in addition to the consequent harm-

THE BUFFALO STAMPEDE ?

WHY ?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the story in the *SLFP Nation*, 20/10/78 that the buffaloes in the Wap Magul paddy field near Isurumuniya in Anuradhapura had stampeded when the Presidential entourage had approached them to start the ploughing? That the *Nation* had tied up this incident with the collapse of a roof in another place in the same city? as a result of which one was killed and fifty injured to say that the omens for the Wap Magul for the current Maha were inauspicious? That a *Tribune* Quidnunc from Anuradhapura has another explanation for the buffalo stampede? That it is said that the organisers had invited the person, who had made the biggest individual donation towards the making of the silver-plated (royal) plough the President was to use for the occasion, to hand over this plough to the President in the field? That this worthy so invited on this occasion was a butcher by profession? That it is known to all rural folk that animals—cows, bulls, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc—sense the presence of a butcher or anyone connected with the meat business and immediately react by trying to run away as far away as possible from such persons? That whispers among peasants in Anuradhapura assert that it was this butcher who upset the buffaloes and the Wap Magul applecarr? That peasants say that organisers of such functions should take care in future to keep butchers out of the scene even if they donate the highest quantum of filthy lucre towards the expenses of any tamasha? That it would be far better for the organisers to get the Farmer of the Year—the Govi Raja—to hand over the plough? That rural lore has it that such a buffalo stampede might mean unprecedented floods that can ruin cultivation? That this might have been so in *Adharmista* times, but that it will not be so in the present *Dharmista* era?

ful psychological effects, after enabling the enemy the chance to deal individually with other Arab fronts as a result of the security granted him by Sadat on the Egyptian front. It is evident that the human, military and civilisational weight of Egypt is not a simple thing as far as the Arab nation is concerned. Understanding these new and critical circumstances requires a move rising to the level of such a challenge. Therefore, the Revolution Command Council's statement came as a result of long meetings between the two National and Regional Leaderships of the Party, and the RCC. During these meetings the Arab situation following the Camp David conference was discussed. In the light of all indicators and official and popular stands, the Council worded its historic statement to mobilise the widest condemnation and rejection against Camp David consequences. The Council is of the opinion that the call for an Arab summit is the minimum limit ensuring the strengthening of Arab steadfastness against such compromises and draw backs; consequently, this is aimed at developing such a step into a new leap through which the nation would be able to regain her self-determination and repulse risks surrounding her. The Iraqi call was a comprehensive and practical one with a Pan-Arab nature, free from deadlock conditions. Thus, the material, economic, military foundation could be worked for, to ensure steadfastness and challenge. Within this concept, it differs from previous calls which aimed at backing Sadat's policy, giving it an Arab cover, while the Iraqi statement gave a last chance to the Egyptian regime to pull back from Camp David agreements.

*The statement includes three points. Is there such a link among these points that the failure of one

eliminates the implementation of others?

*In fact, the link is in terms of comprehensiveness of the statement, which aims at ensuring elements for a comprehensive Arab stand.

The summit is a political framework for a common Arab action. Thus, we endeavour to ensure that Arab parties—as a whole and disregarding their viewpoints and stands vis-a-vis the settlement—reach a common stand as a start rejecting the consequences of Camp David decisions. Such a rejection should inevitably ensure the military power strengthening confrontation lines as represented in effective forces from Iraq at the Syrian front.

In addition to the military backing, the steadfast stand against aggression and conspiracy requires huge material and economic expenditure; a good military position is one based on a good economic foundations. As we see, the statement includes various levels for common action; and there is a minimum level which we hope to agree upon, namely to reject the approaching vast danger as represented in the implementation of the resolutions of Camp David conference in the sense of establishing a peace treaty between Egypt and the Zionist enemy. If we ensure an Arab unanimity on this matter, we would be achieving a decisive Arab stand forcing others to revise their calculations. This is due to the fact that those who planned and prepared for Camp David conference know that a unilateral armistice between Egypt and the Zionist entity, notwithstanding its importance, is not enough to secure the peace they aspire for—ie surrendering to the enemy's conditions and securing American and imperialist influence and interests in the region.

This means that Camp David is a first step aimed at expanding and generalising to include new parties. If the Baghdad conference managed to foil this plan and its first link, the failure will be reflected on the rest of the conspiracy's links.

In harmony with our principled and permanent stand in rejecting the settlement, both in content and form, as forwarded in the light of the Security Council resolutions, we aspire to expand the condemnation circle of settlement and its retraction tendency, and push the parties adopting either a neutral or backing stand of the same to adopt a rejection stand protecting the national rights of the nation particularly the rights of the Palestinian people.

Emanating from this, I would like to tell you that we, in Iraq, do not reject the possible as long as it leads to the aspiration. We are not for the concept of "either nil or one hundred." and see that ensuring a healthy start liable for development in any stand or measure is a practical and objective understanding under the current Arab conditions. Therefore, the failure of a point does not necessarily lead to the elimination of others.....

—Baghdad Observer, 18/10/78

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CAMP DAVID: IRAQI-SYRIAN ACCORD

Iraq and Syria have concluded a charter for joint national action between the two countries. This followed the visit of Syrian President Hafiz Al-Asad to Iraq on an invitation by Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr. The two leaders made a comprehensive and careful curefew of the current situation in the Arab world and relations between the two countries. The resolutions adopted in

the joint proclamation between the two countries condemned the Camp David Agreement between Egypt and Israel as a treasonous one and emphasised the necessity to guarantee the effective militant requisites for countering these dangers which are threatening the very destiny, dignity, sovereignty and future of the Arab nation.

The two leaders in the Baghdad meeting have agreed on a charter of joint action between the two countries in the political, military, economic, cultural, information and other fields. The charter embodies the determination for unflinching advance within the framework of a relentless scientific plan in the endeavours to achieve the closest possible forms of unitary relations between the two Arab countries—Iraq and Syria. The resolutions taken by the two leaders have constituted a prominent turning point in the relations between the two countries on the road of Arab unity—the lofty objective of Arab masses. The two leaders underscore in particular the comprehensive and deep militant essence of this historic agreement in relations to the just struggle mounted by the Arab nation against the Zionist usurper in the quest of liberating the land and the restitution of the legitimate rights of the Arab nation. Both countries will form a joint higher political commission comprising the leadership of the two countries entitled with supervising all bilateral affairs in the political, military, economic, cultural, educational and information fields and for realizing co-ordination and integration towards unity. The technical co-operation and economic affairs committee will be in-charge of achieving co-ordination, integration and co-operation between the two countries in all economic and technical fields and for enhancing and developing relations in fields of agriculture, in-

dustrial, irrigation, trade, transport and all economic and technical fields.

—Iraqi News Agency, Baghdad,
October 27, 1978.

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EAST ASIA: US-CHINA: AGREEMENT ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

Washington, Oct. 24,

The National Science Foundation described Oct. 20 the general framework of an educational exchange between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The agreement was reached during discussions held between delegations from the two sides October 12-20, 1978. Ground work for these discussions was laid during talks in Peking in July this year between Frank Press, Science Adviser to the President, and Fang Yi, Chairman of the PRC Commission on Science and Technology. The Chinese delegation was headed by Chou Pei-Yuan, acting Chairman of the Science and Technology Association, PRC, and the US delegation by Richard C. Atkinson, Director of the US National Science Foundation. The educational exchange program will involve students, scientists, and visiting scholars of both sides. The Chinese side has expressed interest in studies and research primarily in the fields of science and technology, including physical and biomedical sciences, engineering, and selected fields of applied technology. The US expects to send students and scholars in the social sciences, and humanities including history, philosophy, language and literature, archaeology, and art history; and in various aspects of natural and physical science, such as earth sciences, medicine, and agricultural science.

The Chinese delegation indicated it wishes to send some 500-

700 persons under this program in the 1978-1979 academic year. The first Chinese students are expected to arrive in the United States early in 1979. The US plans to provide for about 60 students and scholars in 1979 under a US government-financed program. It is anticipated that other American students under separate arrangements would also be studying in China. An organization will be selected shortly to co-ordinate selection and placement of US students and scholars to go to China. In closing negotiations Dr. Atkinson said, "we all agree that this visit of the Chinese education delegation has been a success. We have worked in the spirit of the Shanghai Communiqué and the friendship which has been traditional between our two peoples. We can now look forward to the smooth development on an exchange of our students, scientists and visiting scholars, and exchange which can only benefit both of us. In our discussions, we have reached an understanding of what is to be involved in this exchange. We have talked about the principle of mutual benefit. We have agreed that both sides will exert their best efforts to develop the program in such a manner as to ensure success for 1978-1979 and to lay the groundwork for an expanded program in future years."

—ICA

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EAST ASIA: PEKING AND TAIWAN

Hongkong.

We must Liberate Taiwan—used to be a popular and oft-repeated slogan in China. While the slogan is still alive as a matter of official policy, it is rarely used these days because of carefully planned benign neglect on the part of Peking. Without giving up its option to

liberate Taiwan by force. Peking is trying to build bridges with the island republic ruled by the Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party, which moved its seat of government to Taipei after the Chinese Communists came into power on mainland China in 1949. Peking's new policy is a sign of confidence and flexibility of the Hua-Teng regime resulting from China's improving ties with Washington and Tokyo. Just over two years ago, Chinese Communist sources, while maintaining the militancy over Taiwan, used to privately concede that they were not sure about a longterm policy over Taiwan.

Those were the days when Richard Nixon who had opened up China for the West, was in disgrace and his successor in the White House, Gerald Ford, uncertain of his future, had not made much progress in Sino-US ties. Jimmy Carter, the Democratic contender for the American presidency, was an unknown entity. And the talks over the Sino-Japanese peace treaty had been stalled. According to unconfirmed reports, Peking had twice sent indirect feelers to Taiwan for negotiations in the 1970s, but the Nationalist regime in Taipei which still had come hopes of continuing its umbilical ties with the anti-Communist Washington, had rebuffed these overtures. Since then, Sino-US ties have improved considerably, although full diplomatic recognition has got bogged down in domestic American political considerations. However, the Chinese view normalisation of ties with the US is only a matter of time. And the Sino-Japanese peace treaty has become a reality.

More importantly, Peking, Tokyo and Washington have a congruence of interests in containing the spread of Russian influence in the Far East. The only external hindrance to the eventual uni-

fication of Taiwan with China could be Soviet interference. A military venture against Taiwan to pre-empt any Soviet option would not only prove too costly for Peking, but it would also endanger the newly built ties with Tokyo and Washington. Instead, Peking has decided to build unofficial bridges to Taiwan. But such overtures can only bear fruit after Washington severs its ties with Taipei and abrogates its defence treaty with the Nationalists. To hasten such a process, Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping told an American Congressional group led by Lester Wolf in July, that the Communists and KMT had been allied in the past and that there is no reason why they should not hold negotiations in the future. Teng's signal was clear: China would negotiate if the conditions were right; that is, if and when the US-Taiwan defence treaty were abrogated.

As this led to speculation in the American press that China was willing to negotiate, Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien issued a rejoinder to visiting Japanese pressmen. Li merely reiterated Chinese official position of not giving up the option of use of force against Taiwan but did not contradict Teng on the possibility of negotiations. Early September, Teng once again told a Japanese press delegation that China would seek to solve the issue through "appropriate measures" taking into account the island nation's reality.

A beginning has already been made about these "appropriate measures." Among them are: (1) Peking showed flexibility in opening diplomatic relations with Libya recently without requiring that Libya sever its ties with Taiwan; (2) It made an open drastic departure from past practice by allowing Chinese scientists to attend a high energy physics con-

ference in Tokyo alongside scientists from Taiwan. Last year a Chinese group visiting the Philippines used the services of interpreters from Taiwan at College of Agriculture in Las Banos, Philippines; (3) Peking recently approved Thai International airlines' request to fly both to Peking and Taiwan; (4) Left-wing businessmen in Hong-Kong have been given a green signal to trade with Taiwan. Chi Feng, Deputy Director of the China News Agency in Hong-Kong, told a gathering of Left-wing businessmen that they should take note of the strong Taiwanese demand for Chinese products and "patriotic" businessmen in Hong Kong could well accommodate this demand. Chi also praised the economic progress made in Taiwan.

LEFT-WING CIRCLES informally even hint at the possibility that Taiwan could remain in its present state for the foreseeable future, say 28 to 30 years. "Even Chou En-lai said that the Taiwan problem can wait," one source points out. They even speculate, although somewhat futuristically, that a mutually beneficial arrangement for a swap of Taiwan's capital and technology with China's oil and coal as a possibility.

Given such an economic arrangement of mutual dependence, China might even allow the KMT rule in Taiwan to continue for a time just as it is willing to shelve the Hong Kong situation, these sources speculate. The only proviso would be that the KMT should maintain that Taiwan is part of China and no moves towards Taiwan independence or ties with the Soviets are made.

A clear historical parallel was recently drawn by China in its press. A museum in Fukein province facing Taiwan was recently reopened. It so happens that it is dedicated to a 17th century hero called Cheng Cheng-kung.

known to the outside world as Koxinga.

Cheng is honoured by the Communists because he expelled the Dutch colonialists from Taiwan in 1961. The KMT honours him because he was a loyalist to the Ming dynasty, who fought against the Ching of Manchu emperors who eventually took over China and founded the Ching dynasty. Cheng dreamt of returning to the mainland after overthrowing the Manchus.

While Cheng died with his dream unfulfilled, his son took Taiwan and vowed to return to China. However, Cheng's grandson after he came to power surrendered to the Manchu dynasty and China and Taiwan were reunited. The historical parallels between Cheng or Koxinga and Chiang kai-shek, his son President Chiang Ching-kuo—the present ruler of Taiwan—are clear. So is the Chinese hope that Taiwan will return to China someday. Hua and Teng are merely smoothing the way by their pragmatic measures by building bridges with Taipei.

—V. G. Kulkarini, *Mainstream*,
New Delhi, 14.10.78

SOUTH EAST ASIA: SOVIET VIEW OF ASEAN

Moscow, October 4,

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations has assumed a significant role in international affairs for the most part over the past few years, although it was set up way back in 1967. At that time American imperialism, engaged in a war of aggression in Vietnam was seeking to use the Association to further its own military and political plans, thus hindering the development of its normal contacts with other countries in the region.

At present the members of the Association are becoming increasingly aware of the need for mapping out independent ways of development.

They face a number of problems. Despite the relatively high rates of industrial growth, they remain an agrarian and raw materials appendage of the capitalist world—colonialism has cultivated such a division of labour throughout centuries and neocolonialism is trying to preserve the status quo. Foreign monopolies invest, above all, in the spheres which yield maximum profits at minimum expense. Usually the lion's share of foreign capital is channelled into the mining, oil and timber industries, whereas agriculture gets only a few per cent of the total. The five remain tied up to the capitalist markets. Their export (above all, raw materials) to Japan constitute 27 per cent of the total, to the United States 18 per cent and to the Common Market 13 per cent. Imports from those countries, mostly manufactured goods, are constantly going up in price. Monopoly capital is trying to consolidate its domination in the area. At present American capital investment there amounts to 4,500 million dollars, while Japan, according to observers, has already outpaced the United States.

The developing countries, which have to attract foreign capital owing to the lack of domestic resources, at the same time take measures to curb the exploiter nature of imperialist capital. For instance, the economic policy for the next few years to come that is being mapped out in the Philippines lays emphasis on national resources and provides for the phasing out of foreign investment. The Bangkok government issued a directive in line with which all foreign mining companies which had concessions in

Thailand were to be registered as Thai companies with foreign capital not exceeding 40 per cent of the shares. According to Chatikavanij, Minister of Industry of Thailand, the Thai cabinet is examining the question of levying increased pay for the right of foreign companies to develop the resources in regions rich in minerals.

It is natural that in order to reduce their dependence on developed capitalist countries, the ASEAN nations strive to promote co-operation between themselves. At the ASEAN Summits held in Bali, Indonesia, in 1976 and in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in 1977, the leaders of the five worked out a comprehensive programme for building major industrial enterprises, one in each of the member states, so as to ensure a market for the Association: a Diesel engines factory in Singapore, a Soda Ash factory in Thailand, a Superphosphate plant in the Philippines and two Urea-producing factories in Malaysia and in Indonesia. It was assumed that 75 per cent of the capital investments involved in the construction of these projects were to be covered by foreign investments and 25 per cent by the investments of local jointstock companies. According to the Asian press, the implementation of these plans has encountered serious difficulties above, all, the unwillingness of foreign investors to finance projects which would strengthen the economic independence of the developing countries.

Certain progress has been made at the talks on tariff preferences inside the Association. In January 1977 Singapore and the Philippines agreed upon a 10 per cent reduction in the tariffs on 1,700 items. Later a similar agreement was concluded between Singapore and Thailand. Other ASEAN coun-

tries also expressed their consent to reduce tariffs on a number of items by 10 to 30 per cent.

A 100,000,000 dollar Exchange Fund is being set up in ASEAN on the basis of equal contributions by its members. Each member State of the Association which has a deficit in its trade with any of its partners may borrow a short-term credit to the tune of up to 40,000,000 dollars from this fund.

The desire of the ASEAN countries to learn to co-operate on regional scale is understandable. A series of negotiations which the Association has had with capitalist countries and groupings over the past eighteen months has shown that only by joint effort the ASEAN countries can force them to make tangible concessions in such matters as the liberalization of trade, the elimination of the "price scissors" and the channelling of investments to the development of industrial and agricultural production. The political leaders and the ASEAN press also urge unity.

Nonetheless, not everything is clear in this very important field. There are proposals on promoting integration on the basis of the Association as it is at present and working for the conclusion with the capitalist countries of agreements similar to the Lome Convention which regulates trade, economic, financial and customs relations between the EEC and the former colonies of its member states. The number of those who support such an idea is constantly decreasing because it is becoming more and more clear that the Lome Convention is aimed at the preservation of inequitable relations between the capitalist and developing countries. It is also proposed that the Association should be expanded by admitting some neighbours and even that a kind of Asian Common Market be set up

with the participation of all states from Iran to Australia. As a matter of fact, such proposals are neither based on any serious ground nor win any broad public acclaim.

The situation in Southeast Asia and around it prompts the five to adopt a realistic way for development. Vietnam, Laos, India and Bangladesh, which have already established trade and economic contacts with ASEAN are willing to develop them. The recent visits of the Vietnamese Prime Minister to Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia and the agreements concluded during them show that the development of good-neighbourly relations between countries with different social systems opens up good opportunities to effectively work for economic progress.

It is indicative that the need for promoting co-operation on a regional scale is realised in the ASEAN capitals, thus, the Philippines Foreign Minister, Carlos Romulo, said that "the establishment of constructive and mutually advantageous relations with the neighbours by means of an initiative based on reciprocity and in the spirit of peaceful coexistence is ASEAN's long-term goal."

Such aspirations are quite realistic. The process of clearing the air in the region, started off by the victory of the Indo-Chinese nations in the struggle against imperialist aggression, has enabled the majority of the Southeast Asian countries to overcome within a mere three years the distrust and prejudice left over after the war, to normalise relations and to start building mutually beneficial contacts. The only exception seems to be Kampuchea, which has found itself enmeshed in Peking's policy. The basic factors of the turn for the better are the relaxation of international tension, constructive peace initiatives of the socia-

list countries in Indochina, the goodwill of all nations in the region and the realistic positions of the leaders of the developing countries.

ASEAN has a certain positive experience in relations with the Soviet Union. The leaders of the association have found out in practice that the Soviet Union does not seek one-sided benefits, nor strives for political domination, but firmly adheres to the principle of mutual benefit. Co-operation with the Soviet Union enables the developing countries to further their economic independence. ASEAN has considerable scope for deepening contacts with its neighbours and with the socialist countries.

—Pravda

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GEORGE MARZIPAN —6

Reinstated

by Glucorasa

My telephone rang. My Assistant took the receiver. "Are you the man who spoke to me the other day" barked the chap at the other end. My Assistant sharply removed the telephone as if a laser beam had struck him. "Hello—who is calling?" I asked. "This is the Operator of the Switch Board at the Ice Corporation". I recognised the voice. "What can I do for you today" I asked him, rather impatiently.

"Nothing. George Marzipan is on his way to your office. He wanted me to inform you" he shouted again and rang off.

As always my discussion with the Assistant proceeded aimlessly. His main pre-occupation this morning was how he could track down Vaihunthavahanoff, Working Director of a Corporation. The

objective—to secure a job for his offspring. It seemed to me that the Working Director was avoiding my Assistant. Somewhat pensively he asked me “Sir, do you think any oiling will be necessary to get my boy into the Ice Corporation?” Everyone knows what this kind of oiling means. It is simple logic. Lubrication is necessary for wheels to move. The Working Director was an oily fellow alright, but since I had never undertaken such a hazardous operation, I told my Assistant that I was unable to advise and that in any case he should know better about oiling. In his earlier department, I had come to know that he was regularly oiled.

It was around tea time when George walked in. “Good morning Sir. You must forgive me for not seeing you for some time. I was very unhappy in the Corporation. It was utter humiliation. This Corporation has now come to be known as the Ice Corporation. But just as you assured me, the Minister reversed the order and I am now back in the former department.”

“My dear fellow, what did I tell you? It is very much easier to work with a politician than with a bureaucrat. The politician moves with the people and is more human” I said.

My Assistant cannot hold his tongue. “A politician only wants to be popular. He wants his pictures in the newspapers every morning.”

“True” said George “And pray what is wrong about it. At least let him see his pictures for all the sacrifices he makes for the benefit of the people.”

I thought my Assistant had something to say, but Walrus, our cook, walked in with that extra cup of tea for George. “Good morning Walrus” George wished

the man. There was a crash. Walrus had dropped the tray containing the cups of tea. I knew why. The cook did not know he was affectionately referred to as Walrus by us. I went over to assure him that all was well and he need not be disturbed. It was just a joke which George and I shared...

“I am not worried about the joke Sir. I like jokes. Life itself is a joke. Have I to pay for the broken cups and saucers?” wailed Walrus.

“Forget it man—forget it. These belong to government. We will write them off the inventory—see, just as simple as that. It’s not your money, nor mine either.” Walrus smiled again. We all smiled. Not the Assistant. “According to Financial Regulation 121(a)(i)(b) we cannot write them off, because the damage was due to negligence” he said. “Forget the Financial Regulation, man. It was not negligence that caused the damage, it was the joke. And there is no provision in your FR for jokes. Is there?” I said rather sharply. George was amused, but Walrus was not. He thought he would have to oil my Assistant. I made it very plain in the language even Walrus understood. “You will do as I say. Write them off. I will give you my approval in writing, my dear chap and I will be responsible. Get that clear and write them off”. Walrus was relieved and he vanished to bring some more tea. My Assistant too left.

Pushing him my packet of cigarettes, I asked him “Tell me my dear chap, how was the return of the prodigal taken. Were they happy to have you back?”

“Until I got back from my exile, I little knew how much I was loved”

“Loved? What do you mean?”

“I mean that all my colleagues showed much appreciation. They greeted me with garlands and the man who transferred me was

there to wish me too. Actually, as a matter of fact, I had quietly paid for the garlands myself, just to make an impression.”

“You are indeed a remarkable fellow George. ‘Why don’t you join a political party, if you like garlands so much’ We both laughed.

George continued “That rascal who transferred me to the Ice Corporation was the first one to receive me! Chameleons, there are plenty of them Sir,” “Indeed—yes George, You are quite correct. And the worst part of it that glib politicians believe them. Now let’s leave the politicians aside and let me know what happened—other than garlands.”

“There was a fine spread—I did not pay for that anyway—we all had a good time. I noticed that the chap who got me out went out of his way to be nice to me.”

“Naturally, George. He knows you are influential. I am certain he will at least leave you alone”. “Yes, Sir, I am certain of that. I devote all my time to Union work. I understand from the newspapers that Government intends to ban strikes and what not. We, the workers, will bide our time and as the situation unfolds, we shall evolve our own strategy to meet Government’s moves” “Good—how are you going to show your appreciation to the Minister who has saved you from the humiliation Marzipan?”

“We shall present him an address paper, extolling his virtues, existent as well as non-existent, and express our solidarity with him. That’s all he needs—not forgetting the newspaper reporters and photographers to cover the occasion” “That’s indeed a fine gesture. But take care, my dear fellow. You should uphold the principle of non-alignment as well. You never can say when the people will turn out a government. Remember you and

I work for the nation and not for a particular government."

"Thank you, Sir. I had not thought of that. We could of course change colours when the time is opportune, but that is a hazardous operation, unless you have powerful relations in every political party. This is a weapon some officials carry in their luggage."

It was getting late. "Well, Marzipan, I must now ask you to forgive me. I have a meeting to attend. When do I see you again?"

"In about a week. I am off to Amparai to address our branch union. I shall see you when I get back." "Good luck, George Marzipan" I said and got ready for the meeting, where much will be spoken and very little done—as usual.

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IN THE TUB

by Diogenes

The Camphor And The Self

Diogenes refused to answer his friends who endeavoured to engage him in conversation relating to the affairs of the city and its great little men. To the Master, it was time wasted without purpose to squander one's precious thoughts on heroes born to die and things bound to change in an ever-changing scene. It was his desire however to lead his friends from delusion to truth, from darkness to light and from death to immortality.

The Master's philosophy and his understanding of men and matters were gathered from his own experiences and to him the human mind had its own limitations. The rational mind of man could comprehend the men and matters of

this world with a great sense of awareness but that comprehension was limited by time and space as long as man allowed himself to be cribbed, cramped and confined to his little self, his attachments, his petty desires and hate. Love and humanism, he believed, helped this little man to expand and break out of his little self to experience the realisation of everlasting joy and peace. Supreme love and the highest humanism followed a total conquest of the self leading man to the supreme bliss which is beyond ordinary human comprehension.

The Master believed in a spirit and soul and his thoughts were echoed much later in the sublime poems of St. John of the Cross that the soul "afire with longings of love" goes on her great adventure "with no light or guide except that which burns in my heart." There is a light, it was the Master's belief in the heart of every man to be seen by him only when like the camphor he burns his self out in its totality. "Burn yourself out like the camphor" the master used to tell his friends "without leaving any trace of the self unlike the candle which never burns itself out without leaving some remnants of its destroyed existence." It is then that the soul of man in the words of the Gita "becomes a lamp whose light is steady burning in a shelter where no winds blow." That light that flickers not is the Christ-consciousness, the Supreme Peace, the Brahman, the Atman, God, Nirvana, Tao, Allah or Om in the religions.

To the Master all things on this earth and beyond were revealed in his meditations in the Tub. He made no journey outside except to walk the streets of Athens and he made no pilgrimage except within himself. He was wearied neither by the joys or sorrows of this transient world and his spirit

and soul rested with perfect equanimity in the centre of his own humility. To him, his friends were sleep walkers for whom he had the greatest compassion reluctant as they were to awake and sleep no more in their dream world of pain and pleasure, vanity and frustration like the travellers in the desert who continue to sleep regardless of the oncoming scorching heat and deaf to the sound of the camel bells.

Letter
Sir,

Who the hell cares?

Why do you waste valuable space on the details of the cost of production of Chillies and Onions? Surely you must have realised by now that we must first look after our Dept. of Agriculture and the Ministry officials who decide whether or not any specific crop is worth growing. We must then consider the Ministry of Trade and the effervescent CWE who are desperately trying to solve the problems of the burdened consumer with imports of what can be grown here.

Who the hell cares about the farmer? Only the Marketing Dept. which derives more than a living from him. Our plight in regard to cereals, chillies gram and onions is very little different to that of the dairy farmer. Let's wait till there are no more animals left to milk and then put up the price paid to the producer. Let's switch to tobacco.

Does the Dept. of Agriculture have any chillie production on their farms? Can the Ministry tabulate them with COP?

Dry Zone Farmer

Anuradhapura.
28.10.78

SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR
THE THIRD WORLD

Science, Scientists And Sovereignty

by S. N. de S. Seneviratne

Though we received a copy of a reprint of the Presidential Address from the proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual Session of the Sri Lanka Session for the Advancement of Science, 1975, sometime ago, we could not publish it owing to the exigencies of space.

The address was delivered by Dr. S. N. de S. Seneviratne and the title was **SCIENCE, SCIENTISTS AND SOVEREIGNTY—SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE THIRD WORLD.**

We are publishing the speech in three instalments because it is a brilliant exposition of the problems that have confronted and still confront scientists in this country. Some time ago, the brain drain of scientists was accepted as something about which nothing could be done. Today, the government wants the brain drain reversed, but as far as *Tribune* can see the conditions not only for the return of scientists but also for keeping those still here have not been created.

Readers will find Dr. Seneviratne's address of absorbing interest and *Tribune* will shortly take up some of the matters he has raised in his speech.

dress by thanking the membership for the honour bestowed upon him in his election as President. I wondered whether I should follow the custom. I was given approximately fifteen minutes notice that my name was to be proposed for this office. Having been persuaded by respected elders that this was an occupational hazard and an 'honour' which one had to accept sooner or later, I submitted. I had not consulted my crystal ball for the warning of the turbulent year that lay ahead, a year characterised by unprecedented trade union activity by SLAAS members, opportunism and humbug by scientists as well as borderline elements in an attempt to disrupt the Annual Sessions of our Association—a creation and an organisation of the scientific community. Nevertheless, let me express my appreciation for the honour you have done me.

It is also customary for a Sectional President to select as the subject for his address some topic closely related to his field of specialisation. My field is Plant Pathology, a discipline which, as you know, deals with diseases in plants. With some satisfaction I could claim that I was able to demonstrate, for the first time, that three biotypes of the bacterium *Pseudomonas solanacearum*, the pathogen causing bacterial wilt of potatoes, occurred in this country and that all the three biotypes infected potato in nature—a finding which was subsequently reported from Australia too. Or that for the first time, I was able to demonstrate the occurrence of two serotypes of a virus, the necrotic ring spot virus, in the same species of fruit plant, *Prunus domestica* which remains up to now, as far as I know, the only record of such an occurrence in fruit trees.

Such work will be of interest primarily to Plant Patho-

logists. But how many of them are there around? My immediate senior in the Department of Agriculture, G. C. Marks, sensed that the path ahead of the research scientist in this country was a frustrating one, and that a brighter future was assured elsewhere. After completing his Ph.D. at Wisconsin, he took a direct route to Australia. Another colleague in the Department, D. L. S. Wimalajeewa, returned after taking a Ph.D. in California and busied himself for a while at Maha Illuppallama. He trod on thorny ground and before long moved out to another station, Sita Eliya. There too he found little encouragement to pursue a career as a Plant Pathologist. He quit his job to go into the motor spare parts business, which presumably offered better prospects, before reverting to his speciality as a Plant Pathologist—in Australia. Another colleague, P. S. Y. Fernando, returned after post-graduate training in Hawaii to a situation hardly conducive to active research and spent a while in enforced dormancy. A domestic situation provided him a convenient escape route. He is now in the United States. Yet another colleague, K. Sivasithamparam, embarked on some pioneering work in this country but ran into trouble. He spent a while hanging around in corridors for want of a place to work and eventually found his loyalties to this country strained to the breaking point when, at the height of the insurgency, he was ordered to find his way from Peradeniya to Nuwara Eliya within a few hours before the curfew began, leaving behind a wife at child birth to face an anxious situation at Kadugannawa. He too has left for Australia where his research had already secured for him ample recognition. Dr. N. Shanmuganathan, formerly a Plant Pathologist at the Tea Research Institute, has also gone to Australia.

IT IS CUSTOMARY for a Sectional President to commence his ad-

So active Plant Pathologists are a vanishing species in this country while some have opted for positions as Administrators. But in this sphere their nerve centres sensitive to the feelings of scientists in active research appear to abort and my work will make little impression on them. It will be apparent, therefore, that if I deviate from the beaten track of the Plant Pathologist and reach out to a wider audience than the depleted ranks of Plant Pathologists, I have some justification.

And therefore, when pressed by my Sectional Secretary for the subject of my presidential address, I scrawled as the little "Science, Scientists and Sovereignty—Some Considerations for the Third World," a topic which might embrace some thoughts which have for some time engaged my attention.

AND AT THIS POINT, it is well to add a note or two by way of explanation. The subject as you will see, is not altogether free of political overtones, and one is often advised to keep politics and science, religion and similar subjects in water-tight compartments—not always a practical proposition. I remember the controversy aroused by a MCC cricket tour of South Africa. Basil D'Oliveira, classified as a 'coloured' South African, had been recalled to the England test team and celebrated his return with a competently compiled century. Shortly afterwards, the MCC team for the South African tour was announced. D'Oliveira was not included. Knowledgeable English cricket lovers were disturbed—perhaps this was the price of peace with the South African Government. The England Captain Colin Cowdrey's conscience

was troubled. He consulted a Bishop and decided that his role was to build bridges. Guileless old ladies pleaded that sport and politics should be kept apart. And the prestigious London Times commented—the way the world lives is more important than the way it plays!

Politics, after all, is woven very closely, into the stuff and substance of life and even science cannot be altogether insulated from its currents. I am no party man. As you can see, I am not wearing a green cap or a red shirt. The tie I am sporting is a shade of blue but it is the only wearable one I have and is in any case eight years old—purchased at a time when the party identified by a brighter shade of it was in the Opposition!

And if I trespass on ground out of bounds to Government employees, my defence is simple. I am a citizen of this country. I seek no home in an alien land but rather the sonship of my motherland. I would wish to make the words of Arthur Jarvis in that moving novel, Alan Paton's 'Cry the Beloved Country' my own—with Sri Lanka substituted for South Africa—"I shall devote myself, my time, my energy, my talents, to the service of Sri Lanka. I shall no longer ask myself if this or that is expedient but only if it is right I shall do this not because I am noble or unselfish, but because life slips away, and because I need for the rest of my journey a star that will not play false to me, a compass that will not lie.... I shall try to do what is right, and to speak what is true. I do this not because I am courageous and honest but because it is the only way to end the conflict of my deepest soul... I understand better those who have died for their convictions, and have not thought it was wonderful or brave or noble to die. They died rather than live, that was all."

I am also the father of two children. If my son were to pay

the price with his life in fighting a worthwhile cause in this country, I will be a sad but proud father. If he were to sell himself in an alien land and proudly present me with a pre-paid ticket, I will die a shamed and disappointed parent.

And so to Science, Scientists and Sovereignty.

I REMEMBER THE EXCITEMENT of that bright sunny day, February 4th 1948, Independence Day. A festive air swept the country. Crowds thronged into Independence Square, the scene of pomp and pageantry for here, a new nation was born. Of course the occasion had to be celebrated—with fireworks, illuminations and dazzling traditional art. As we jostled with the crowds that evening, a vociferous campaigner attracted my attention. "Fake independence" he cried, waving the pamphlets in his hand. My guide, nursed in the cradle of middle class conservatism quickly brushed me aside. "That's Colvin R. De Silva, Samasamajist, Come away." Years later, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike raised a similar cry. What independence could a country have if foreign bases were planted on her soil? And in another continent, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania questioned the whole purpose of independence—"the purpose of independence was not simply to attain political sovereignty, to participate in UN debates, or to provide the trappings of national prestige; it was to build a better life for the ordinary people, almost all of them subsistence peasants."

Twenty seven years after the event and a new Republican Constitution we might ask what all this has meant. We have secured our seat in the UN and our man there can aspire to that supreme post—Secretary-General of the United Nations! We have the trappings of national prestige—an international airport

although the operators may not always get your baggage on the plane; a Trident even though its sound system will make you strain your ears to hear the greeting in the official language!

But what of that better life for the ordinary people? Those immortal words from the American Declaration of Independence can be written into the constitution of every country—"All men are created equal.... They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. Among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

And to quote from another moving novel, Morris West's 'Children of the Sun'—"....a man is still a slave if he is forced to live on the edge of starvation, to live in fear of the whims of an employer or an underling, with no possible hope of sharing in the fruits of his labour or improving the lot of his children." And if these ideas confer substance on a citizen's independence, on human dignity, and on the sovereignty of a nation state, we have a long way to go the promised land.

RETURNING FROM THE RICE STATION AT AMBALANTOTA in early 1971, I was unsuspectingly confronted by three youths while alone in a compartment on that monotonous train journey from Matara. They were impressive, intelligent lads in deadly earnest. After giving me details about themselves, their background, educational qualifications and their capabilities, their spokesman fired a series of questions at me. "We want to earn our living by our own industry. Tell us where we could go for employment—without pulling strings, without offering bribes, without approaching influential people we do not know for recommendations and certificates. Tell us where we will be judged according to our abilities and given what is our due." I mumbled an unconvincing answer.

The next question followed. "If this is not possible now, can you give us an assurance that it will be possible next year, or the year after, or in five years time?" Again, I had to dodge the question. And the next quickly followed. "We in this country are blessed with fertile land, water and sunshine. We have people. If our resources are developed and utilized, need we be subjected to this anguish?"

Even the most hard-boiled cynic would have been impressed by the passion of their plea. Not long afterwards, the April 1971 insurgency burst upon the country.

To quote again from "Children of the Sun"—"A child has no politics. A child has no nationality. He has only the right to live, the right to hope. If these rights are denied him, it is a crime against humanity...."

I suspect that those young men and women who challenged the authority of the state, if only for a brief period, felt acutely the denial of those rights. For who would have thought that in this land of religious fervour and easy-going people, a generation had emerged—young men and women—who were willing to lay down their lives for a cause. "It is better to die fighting than to survive in anguish." I realised later in those dark days of the insurgency the meaning of those cries of anguish that appeared on streets and walls as slogans.

The younger generations are restive and bitter. The older ones fret and grumble and curse—for the cost of living is eternally going up. Yes indeed. Our sovereign state trembles each time the price of this goes up and the price of that goes up in the world market and the price of oil rocks the national budget.

THE FACT IS that we got our independence cheap.

Kwame Nkrumah once said, "Freedom has never been handed

on a silver platter to any colonial territory; it has been won only after bitter and vigorous struggles." We were an exception to that rule. The ahimsa weapon of the great apostle of non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi, the threat of fiery mobs in countless uncontrollable centres, and the accommodating mood of Clement Atlee and the British Labour Party had released India from her colonial bounds.

We were to benefit from the freedom struggle of our great neighbour for was it not said that we obtained independence without a drop of blood being shed? "Cheap grace is the deadly enemy of our Church," wrote Dietrich Bonhoeffer from Hitler's Germany. "Costly grace is the gospel which must be sought again and again, the gift which must be asked for, the door at which a man must knock".

And we may say, cheap independence is the deadly enemy of our nation, costly sovereignty is a state which must be fought for, an experience which must be won through sacrifice and commitment. We have to look beyond the Himalayas for sovereignty secured through effort, determination and sacrifice, for while we, as an independent state, were acquiring more status symbols after the initial festivities were over Mao-Tse-Tung was organising the Chinese people for what was to be their glorious liberation.

For they, unlike us, have released themselves from their bondage, youths and old men, peasants and workers, artists and scientists. A western commentator has said of China, "She has grown mighty by the efforts of her own people, and is too powerful to be pushed around by the West." If sovereignty means anything at all, it surely must mean the ability of a state to stand firm and self-reliant and not be pushed around. Each state must look at

its own resources and develop its own methods in achieving its liberation into a sovereign state.

The spokesman of that anonymous trio in the train I mentioned earlier identified our most important resources—land, water, sunshine and people. Yet, if resources alone had been able to achieve the transformation of societies and states from poverty and disorder to prosperity and stability, those countries now politely labelled "developing countries" would have been developed long ago.

Science is the key to that developmental process and it is the scientist who must unlock those national resources so that the sovereign nation state can emerge, released from the bonds of poverty, instability and exploitation. This simple fact is not a spectacular new discovery.

Centuries ago, our forefathers realised it, recognised it, and were guided by it to positive action. For Minneriya and Parakrama Samudra are not merely monuments to our pristine glory and ancient culture. They are symbols of the fusion of national resources with scientific endeavour, for it was the spirit of scientific inquiry that conceived of the harnessing of the monsoonal rains to irrigate those vast fertile plains. It was the skill of the engineer that constructed those tanks and dams and channels and sluices. And the ancient civilisations flourished and man's creative genius found expression in those magnificent works of art and sculpture, Lanka's contribution to the cultural wealth of the human family.

THEREFORE, it is staggering that since independence, successive governments have failed to recognize the crucial role that science and scientists must play in the growth and development of this country.

Science has, as it were, been an optional extra, and scientists unnoticed oddities in the national life to whom the eminent per-

sonage invited to declare open the Annual Session of our Association every year pays a glowing tribute. It is not a matter for amusement that scientific affairs were once accommodated in a housing ministry !. National development without science. National development without scientists.

Once again, we must look beyond the Himalayas for a lesson we may learn even now, for this Government, more than any other, has looked to China for inspiration and assistance. China's commitment to science, education and technology has been confirmed by persons of international repute. Dr. J. Tuzo Wilson, an eminent Canadian scientist visited China as President of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics in 1958. He said, "The government clearly believes in, and supports, education and science. Many scientists from the old regime old universities and old institutes, are flourishing. They have never had so much support before...." And Sir Cyril Hinshelwood, who as President of the Royal Society visited China in 1959 declared, "Laboratories and equipment are good....the vast and well-equipped workshops I found a revelation. Library facilities, both in books and journals, are admirable. I have seldom, if ever, seen such extensive collections of scientific journals in all languages as I saw in several universities and Academic institutes...."

China considered support for her scientific effort such a priority that even in the difficult period after her liberation, she diverted substantial amounts in scarce foreign exchange to secure essentials for her scientific effort. It has been reported by Dr. John M. H. Lindbeck of Harvard that between 1956 and 1957 the Chinese spent nearly £3½ million to purchase scientific literature from non-communist

countries. A couple of decades after her 'glorious liberation' (words of our Chief Guest at the Twentieth Annual Session, Lord Caradon, formerly Britain's Minister to the United Nations) China, risen from the depths of degradation and exploitation, China restored, strong and confident, strides majestically into the community of nations. She has no internal or external debt. Presidents of the United States and Prime Ministers from the United Kingdom make the journey to shake her once despised hand.

Sri Lanka, a quarter century after the pagentry at Torrington Square and the fireworks at Galle Face Green, wears the 'MSA' badge. Her emissaries make the trek to the various capitals of the world with outstretched arms, for she is still heavily dependant on international aims. Had we too, as a nation, made a greater commitment to science and to scientists, perhaps, we too would have been today a proud nation, strong and truly free. We may not have joined the prestigious nuclear club, but our rising generations could have been spared the agonising choices they now have to make in seeking a means of livelihood.

To Be Continued



NEXT WEEK

- * BUDGET NOTICE
- * BATTICALOA'S DISTRICT MINISTER
- * SICK MAN OF AGRICULTURE
- * WORLD TODAY—INDIA, IRAN

Chapter Twenty Two

Insurgent Rule

By James Goonewardene

THE presence of armed insurgents on the streets; their constant movement from one check point to another made the townsfolk nervous. They were stopped and questioned repeatedly. Deva found the trip to the resthouse completely hazardous. He felt like a rat scuttling along a drain—when he took these scraps of food to Ariya.

A day after they had taken the town the villagers discovered and buried the corpse of the Principal. The significance of the discovery passed unnoticed. The townsfolk were too busy trying to survive themselves to worry about how the Principal of their school was found dead in the river. The news was brought to Deva by a student who had come in secret to tell him. They had found the body and had buried it under a tree on the bank of the river. Deva had come to expect the news. A day earlier they had learned from Mrs. Piyaratne how he had been kidnapped; since that time they prepared themselves for the news. Now it was two days since the insurgents took the town, and Deva and Ariya counted the hours and waited for the time when the insurgents would come for them too.

They had news about their activities—of how they raided shops for hoarded stocks of food, formed people's courts and administered their own forms of punishment, and how this terror spread through the town. One morning the insurgents brought several bags of rice and coming to the centre of the town summoned the people and distributed the rice.

"This is how we are going to do things," they said, "We'll distribute rice free to everyone. No one has to be frightened of us. Only those who have fattened on the poor people will be eliminated. The poor people need have no fear."

The town had been plunged in darkness the night following the capture of the town. At the point of a gun they compelled the few workmen left at the power house to take temporary measures to bring the lights back. The technicians had fled the town. This was the first snag they ran into. After a couple of days the drains began to stink and the garbage to pile up and the toilet buckets to choke. The insurgents got conservancy men to clean up the drains and clear the rubbish. They were slowly realising the problems that one ran into when trying to run a town, but they kept going. Now and then they had snags of another kind. It was mostly about the composition of people's courts and committees. They had arguments about it. The voice of the more illiterate of them was loudest whenever the problem got out of hand. This was particularly so when they came to decide who was fit to be a people's judge. One of them had been studying to sit his advanced level examination; he had read political science and government; he tried to remember things he had read in his books, but nothing he had read seemed to fit the present situation. They had handbooks on how to conduct a guerilla war; these too were consulted. They read everything they had, but they got very little guidance from these; they had had romantic notions of how everything would turn out once they started to hurl the bombs—how the peasants and workers, would come cheering them on in their fight, as Castro and Guevara were supposed to have been cheered in their liberation struggle.

A committee was appointed to deal with the problem of the repeated power failure. There was no one among them who knew enough about electricity to deal with a break. They brooded on the problem—some consulted hand books. The technicians had to be brought back.

"Bring them back by force," said one of the young men.

"You can bring them back by force—can you also make them work by force?"

"If they don't cooperate, shoot them."

"Dead technicians cannot be of much use, can they?"

They had simple answers to everything.

"There are people falling sick," said one of the committee members.

"What do we do with the sick?"

"We've got to get doctors. We must supply a free medical service—better than there was—that's how to win the support of the poor people."

"Where do you get the doctors from?"

"We must find them."

"Where do you find them—on trees?"

"This comrade asks too many questions," said the chairman menacingly. The comrade suddenly decided he'll shut up.

The district headquarters had been set up in the largest house in the town. Hemapala had moved in here and was keeping a tight nervous control on the situation; he had to do this until the whole island was overrun by the Peramuna. He was not easily accessible; people had to get past the tight security; he was the brains behind the district movement. A few women had moved into the headquarters to attend to cooking and other household chores; one of the women had

become Hemapala's mistress. There had been a struggle at first among them for this honour, and Hemapala himself had to step in to make his choice. His needs had to be met. They were revolutionaries; they could not wait on ordinary marriage customs; a man's needs had to be looked after, especially the leader's; revolutionary movements couldn't be kept going on empty bellies and hungry men. This was a scientifically organised movement, not a upasaka peramuna.

While these things went on round him Ariya had been reduced to living on coconuts and tender breadfruit and anything else he could lay his hands on in the rest-house garden. Deva, once brought him a jak fruit and stayed on to share it with him. They boiled part of the fruit and ate it.

You cannot continue to expose yourself to risks like this", said Ariya, as they sat to the meal. "coming through what is now occupied territory you run a risk."

"You really think so?"

"We all run a risk to think and talk and act differently from these young fellows. Its difficult to say what they would get into their heads to do. Eventually, I fear, if they stay long enough they'll go for anyone they don't like—to get some action. Now they are not sure what the future's going to bring. At the beginning it was just an adventure. Its one thing throwing bombs at police stations—its another when they are stuck up here alone, with no idea when there's to be a counter attack. They have no means of communication with other groups—no radio lips, despatch riders. I don't think they have a proper notion of how to run a real war."

"You think its this uncertainty and fear of what might come to them that's keeping us safe and others like us?"

"I am not sure of this, but they have now had two days to think about the enormity of the thing they have undertaken. If I was their leader I'd be doing a bit of serious thinking at this stage. You see, I am beginning to feel that they have had a promise of support from certain quarters, and we have no idea if this support has come or not—if they expect this support and it doesn't come they'll be in a soup."

"You really think this promise had been made?"

"Its just a belief. The more I look at all this the more I feel convinced of it. Someone, pushed them into this—helped to organise the movement and got cold feet when the thing exploded. In the meanwhile everyone puts on a garb of respectability and weeps over misled youth."

Deva brooded on all this—the pieces of the strange jigsaw puzzle slowly falling into place. It would, in the end, be a sad, tangled tale that would take many honest men many years to get all down. Now it was all there taking place before one's eyes, and one had to learn to survive all this. This is all one had to do now. One could not nod or fall asleep. One had to be as sharp as a rat in a hole, watchful, restless, learning where the traps were and keeping out of their way.

The breeze rattled a window somewhere in the empty, echoing resthouse, the sea pounded mournfully—weary, melancholy sounds that seemed to respond to a feeling of doom. It was as if a plague had struck the town and one heard a bell being tolled to announce the death of another, and another victim.

Ariya twiddled the dials of the radio in the secret of his room. The insurgents had been confiscating radios. They had imposed their own censorship, but, mercifully,

they had not yet come to the rest-house. Leaving Deva as a look-out Ariya went from time to time to the radio. At four in the afternoon there were only the crackles. Later the signals started and soon he got the time signal, and the announcer's voice and then just music. The news bulletin at last—Deva heard the theme and then the bulletin.

The army had counter attacked in some places. At last some action—thirty rebels had been killed at Kegalle, twenty five at Karavannella, three at Hanwella and ten at Avissawella. This in addition to the thirty nine reported earlier as being killed at Polonnaruwa. The airforce planes had been dropping bombs and firing into the textile factory at Thullhiriya where the insurgents had dug themselves in.

"Its a relief to know we are not totally cut-off here," said Deva.

"This radio is our only salvation now. It that's taken we will be as isolated as a man adrift in the ocean."

"We'll have more news when the cook returns from his trip."

"Get news from where?"

"Newspapers are getting through to some of the neighbouring towns; people go to these towns for food and come with the news, which they secretly pass on. Everyone is anxious to know what's happening—the insurgents themselves will be getting nervous—when there's action its all right; its the silence that's terrifying."

Another bulletin later that evening told of fighting round the Anuradhapura radio transmitter. It also told of an attack on the Bambalapitiya police station; it had been beaten back and several insurgents captured and others killed. This was the first attack in Colombo. Until then the insurrection had been confined to the provincial towns. The pattern was becoming clear. It had been organised as a simultaneous blitz on the police stations and

it had already begun to show cracks; neither Deva nor Ariya showed any jubilation—trapped as they were here with excitable, nervous insurgents tramping about the place. Deva sank into a long silence at one stage; at the end of it he stirred.

"I've been thinking about Gunapala's family," he said. "It seems so long since I heard anything from them."

"There's nothing you can do".

"But I am going to get through tomorrow morning."

Ariya stared at Deva.

The cook arrived with bits and pieces of news, mostly of how the police had started to torture the insurgents. An insurgent had been beaten up and strung alive from the roof of the police station at Balapitiya. Another report was about the call up of retired jailors, overseers and guards to man the jails that were filling up with arrested youth.

The following morning Deva risked a trip to Sedaraman's at Delhengoda. It was Kamala who came to the door, confused and standing there not knowing what to do; he took her into his arms and she let him do it; then she broke loose from him, and ran in confusion—one tender moment in a wierd, bewildering, terrifying situation. He did not see her again until the moment came when he had to leave; she appeared to stare at him as if she had just learned an enormous truth, her eyes full of tenderness and longing and confusion. He had spent a long time trying to talk to them, trying to bring some relief to their bruised battered and agonised minds and souls. They had been dazed and numbed, and finally, he had come away. He had learned how they had taken their son and shot him—he had come to his home in the night like a hunted animal, hungry, starved, frightened,

but, as if drawn to his doom, he had returned to his comrades and they had shot him—but the reason for it was steeped in mist. He and Ariya would have to put the pieces together some day to know how it all happened. This part of the tale would be revealed to them only later, but now Deva going back to his room, could only think of how he had held Kamala in his arms and she had stayed there like a captured dove, her heart thudding against his chest, and then breaking loose and running away from him.

He reached the boarding and seated on the veandha were his landlady and her husband, his shoulder still bandaged.

"I've been to Delhengoda," he said. I've been to Sedaraman's"

He didn't enter. He stood there on the step at the entrance.

They nodded.

"Did you know it, they've killed Gunapala?"

"Yes, we learned of it a couple of days ago."

A couple of nights later, around midnight the town was shaken by the roar of trucks and the rumble of armoured cars; not long afterwards there was the sound of gunfire. The firing came from the direction of the bridge. There was sporadic gun fire from the centre of the town too, but the shooting was mainly round the bridge. It seemed as if it was here the insurgents had decided to fight,

The townsfolk cowered in their houses terror stricken. From time to time there would be the sound of running feet followed by a rapid thud of boots and finally shooting. This was sporadic, but it erupted from time to time. The people, in their houses, didn't dare open even a slit in a window; they were like people taking shelter before the lashing of cyclonic winds. All they could

do was to huddle together and hope the thing would be over soon.

For two days it went on while the people stayed behind their barred doors. They wept for those whose sons and daughters were in this thing—these were the ones who were going to suffer most—shooting round the bridge stopped then. One still continued to hear shooting from near the river. They started then to round up the youth. Some of them they shot at once; others, they pushed into trucks and took away.

At the end of the second day the people started to venture out. What they saw was not pleasant. Bodies lay strewn along the street. It was like when one got to work on flies with a flit gun. Three more bloated corpses they found along a side street, shot in their backs as they ran. Those of the insurgents who had been able to escape had gone into the jungles or disappeared into neighbouring towns to mingle with the people of the place. These were eventually identified and taken away. For days afterwards they patrolled the streets looking for suspected insurgents. This was a time of terror for those who had teenage sons and daughters. Some of the army began to have their fun, their bit of sport.

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HELD OVER FOR NEXT WEEK

* HANDBOOK FOR THE
CEYLON FARMER

—Book Review

* CATHOLICS AND
EDUCATION

—Concluding Part

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Oct. 22—Oct. 27

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

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

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22:

All co-operative offences involving forgeries, falsification of accounts, misappropriation of money and cheating are to be made non-bailable. A consignment of machinery, a pioneering pilot which will convert the mountains of coir fibre dust and paddy husks that goes to waste into briquettes that would be initially used for firing the tobacco barns operated by the Ceylon Tobacco Company is now in the Port of Colombo. The government has directed the Attorney General to explore the possibility of prosecuting certain persons against whom evidence has been led before the Special Presidential Commission. The Minister of Health has written to Sri Lanka's Ambassadors and Heads of Missions abroad seeking their co-operation to recruit Sri Lanka doctors working abroad for short term assignments here—SO. The country's Trade balance registered a deficit of Rs. 1,019 million from January to August this year compared with a surplus of Rs. 98 million during the corresponding period last year; imports during this period were valued at Rs.

9514 million and exports at Rs. 8495 million. There were 81 accidents on Galle Road between Bambalapitiya Junction and Wellawatte bridge during the past 20 months and police attribute it to careless driving and speeding. The leader of the Opposition is due back next week and not this week as expected. A soft drink manufactured from the sweet sap of the palmyrah tree is expected to compete with other bottled cool drinks from next year—ST. The government has ordered the immediate recall of a high ranking Sri Lankan diplomat serving in an important capital; the move follows reports that he had been in close touch with certain political groups which are now carrying on a smear campaign against the country. Government is exploring the possibility of introducing windmill technology into agriculture in Sri Lanka. The government has decided to throw open to the public sector postings in Sri Lanka's diplomatic missions abroad. A new Crime Detection System based on the American model is to be set up in the island from next January. The Justice Minister stated that all the problems of the Tamils will be solved within the next two years—VK. A law to make it compulsory for working mothers to have 42 days of maternity leave will be tabled in the Parliament soon—CM. The PM speaking in Galle stated that the Golden Age would have dawned in Sri Lanka before the term of the present government came to an end—EN. The government has decided to charge a water tax for users of Mahaweli water; the present land development tax will be removed when this is done. A number of trade unions have agreed with the deputy minister of public administration to form a national institute to solve problems of trade unions—SLDP. President Carter met

Israeli and Egyptian peace negotiators separately after submitting a revised draft for a peace treaty between the two sides and then announced that members of both teams would return home for consultation with their governments—SO. Visiting Rhodesian PM Ian Smith said he has achieved agreements with the US and Britain on holding an all-party Rhodesian conference. Rhodesian Nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo accusing the Salisbury government of attacking two more of his camps in Zambia said he would not attend the all-parties peace conference proposed by Britain and the US—WK.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 23:

The government has approved a proposal by the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs to 'weed out shirkers and undesirables' from the 450,000-strong Public Service; the scheme will start operating from today. Farmers in Sri Lanka may be able to cultivate paddy a third season shortly and increase the outputs of their existing fields; this is because of 'zero tillage' system. The Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Sri Lanka is conducting a full-scale probe to find out why a large number of its member firms have kept out of the Employment Expansion program in the private sector. The shortage and the high cost of poultry feed is ruining the poultry industry the Ceylon Veterinary Association has warned. The PM has asked MP's to inform him of the state land that could be made available for housing schemes under his plan to build 10,000 houses during the next five years. The price of poultry in the city has dropped by one rupee a pound following the availability of imported dressed chicken at CWE outlets—CDN. There would be no more cuts in government's social welfare commitments because the per capita in-

come of the people is very low said the Minister of Land and Mahaweli Development. The Minister of Higher Education has recommended to the Cabinet that either the government press or the State Printing Corporation should undertake the printing of research by University Dons at subsidized rates—CDM. Whipping is to be introduced as a form of compulsory punishment for a wide range of offences in Sri Lanka; this is to be in addition to any fine and/or term of imprisonment that may be imposed. Sri Lankans are taking full advantage of the liberalisation of foreign travel; in August this year a record number of 13,092 went abroad on holiday and for employment abroad—SU. A report submitted by the new Committee appointed by the SLFP has stated that the defeat of the last general election was due to the actions of four of the then ministers, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike and Mr. Badiudin Mahmud—VK. The government has decided to amend the fisheries laws to permit police or Fisheries Corporation officials to take over boats of fishermen who do not pay back their loans; so far there is Rs. 4 million outstanding. Private sector firms will be permitted to import and distribute fertilizer soon—DV. 6000 youths from each electorate will be recruited for Mahaweli work and they will be paid a permanent allowance—DM. Rhodesia said its troops had killed at least 1500 black guerillas in a three day thrust deep inside Zambia and the Zambian government said its forces had become involved in the fighting. The Soviet Union is threatening to block plans to keep more than 4000 UN troops in Sinai to another year. A happily smiling John Paul II was installed as the first non-Italian Pope in 457 years at a simple open air mass attended by 200,000 people in

front of St. Peter's Basilica—CDN. Israel and Egypt announced they breached agreement on the wording of a peace treaty which is to end the hostilities between the two countries. Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-Peng the first top ranking Chinese Communist leader ever to visit Japan arrived yesterday to open a new era in Sino-Japanese relations—SU.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24:

The previous government in order to eradicate the JVP took several steps to apprehend and incarcerate its members and even went to the extent of using physical violence on them; the government was not prepared to tolerate any kind of opposition to it, so said the Senior Counsel for state testifying before the Special Presidential Commission. Over 8,000 teachers will benefit from a salary increase from November this year. The government has removed the import duty on biscuits and slashed those of a number of other popular consumer items with a view to further reducing the cost of living and making those items freely available. The government will shortly set legal procedures moving to re-structure trade unions, regulate them and instil a sense of discipline among union members to ensure that the country's economy will not be in danger as a result of wild cat strikes. The Minister of Justice will open a permanent Sri Lanka air force base at Vavuniya on Friday morning. The number of Sri Lankans travelling abroad increased by 90.5% between January and August this year compared with the corresponding period last year—CDN. The DIG Crimes said yesterday that most of the 33,361 IRC's were today inactive but their place had been taken by the youth who were apparently smarter than their elders in the use of crime techniques. Government medical offi-

cers have requested the provisions of identical facilities as those to be extended to foreign medical officers when they take up appointments here. The Atomic Energy Authority and the University of Sri Lanka will use nuclear techniques to increase buffalo production through investigations on reproductive patterns, animal nutrition and health to increase the supply of meat, leather, milk and draught power. The LSSP is perturbed over the decision by the break-away section, led by Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara to call themselves the LSSP and using their trade union office—CDM. Certain provisions in the Universities Bill are inconsistent with the constitution, the Attorney General told the Supreme Court yesterday; among these provisions he said were clause 122 which refers to Auditor General submitting his report of accounts of the University to the University Grants Commission and the clause where students are required to join student assemblies in order to qualify for higher education. Airline tickets for domestic flights should be issued only on the purchaser producing a Sri Lanka identity card; this is a recommendation made by the Air Ceylon's Pilot's Guild. Mr. T. Sivasithamparam, TULF MP for Vavuniya yesterday announced he had decided to resign his seat in Parliament. He has been forced to take up this position as he knew there were no policies in the TULF to afford protective measures to Tamil areas he said—SU. Within the next five years the number of police stations will be increased by 150 and the cadre will be increased to 7,000—DP. With the situation that has arisen in regard to the District Minister's posts two or three TULF MP's will resign their seats—VK. The Minister of Rural Industrial Development indicated that steps will be taken to make

consumer items like milk, meat and eggs available to the public at reasonable prices—IDPR no. 59. The Ministry of Education has taken steps to provide radio sets to 400 schools next year for them to listen to education programmes—DV. Some of the strongest trade unions in India will handover a petition supporting the Sri Lanka Trade Unions in their action to fight against the government's policies against trade unions when President Jayewardene visits India shortly—ATH. The government hopes to create an open market to buy paddy from farmers instead of the PMB—LD. Egyptian and Israeli negotiators have reached an agreement on a draft peace treaty that would end three decades of war between the two countries. Soviet Union last night announced the death at 82 of former President Anastas Mikoyan one of the leaders of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution—CDN. Prospects for an early conclusion of a new SALT Accord appeared to be brighter as the US reported a constructive round of negotiations with the Soviet Union—CDM. Egyptian President Sadat is reportedly unwilling to sign the Egyptian-Israeli Draft Peace Treaty in the present form and is demanding revision according to the French Radio. Heavy fighting has broken out again between Vietnamese and Cambodian forces in their border war and both sides are claiming to have inflicted considerable casualties—SU.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25:

The Ministry of Industries has approved 805 applications to start 20 different types of industries; once these are in operation jobs for 20,000 persons will be available. Eight big stores capable of storing a million bushels of paddy will be ready by next March; the equipment for this purpose costing Rs. 40 million is being rushed to Sri Lanka from the UK. Two TULF Parlia-

mentarians have threatened to resign their seats if the TULF fails to take effective action to safeguard the traditional Tamil areas: they are the MP for Vavuniya, Mr. T. Sivasingham, and MP for Padiruppu Mr. Ganeshalingam.—CDN. A Sri Lankan employed abroad can now gift a car to every member of his family here; the restriction of gifting only one car to one member of the family has been removed. Heads of Narcotics Enforcement Agencies in 20 Asian and Far Eastern countries will meet at the BMICH on November 6 to consider ways and means of combating trafficking in narcotics. The PM will make an official tour of the Batticaloa district from today till October 28.—CDM. The driving standards of the police are shocking: this is the disclosure made by the police chief who found that most police vehicles are in bad shape. The President has extended the term of the Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry until September 20, 1979. A Sri Lanka State Trading (Marketing) Corporation has been established to promote and expand the market for trading in consumer articles produced in Sri Lanka.—SU. Under a new law to be promulgated shortly pensions will be granted for the private sector as well.—VK. From next January all tea that is exported will be shipped from Trincomalee and all cargo vessels carrying foodstuffs will come to Trinco—DP. Over 10,000 Ayurvedic doctors have protested against the idea of using ayurvedic doctors to promote family planning—DV. President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday dealt a blow to Anglo-American efforts to set up Rhodesia Peace Talks when he angrily rejected an all-parties conference along the lines agreed to last week by Rhodesian P.M. Ian Smith. Egypt said yesterday it had sent back the final draft of a peace treaty with Israel for future study because of what P.M. Mustapha

Khalil described as Technical questions over working the treaty to the future of the West Bank—CDN. Heavy fighting has broken out again between Vietnamese and Cambodian forces in their border war and both sides are claiming to have inflicted considerable casualties. The US and the Soviet Union yesterday entered two days of intensive negotiations without reaching agreement on the shape of a new strategic Army Limitation Treaty—CDM. Police fired in the air and used teargas to break up anti-government demonstrations in the Iranian holy city of Qom today condemning political unrest in other towns. Scores of people have reported seeing unidentified flying objects following the mysterious disappearance of a light plane which reduced it was being buzzed by a UFO—SV.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26: In August this year, 2467 buses were sent to CTB garages throughout the country for routine docking—maintenance and servicing—and of these, 1575 buses were not attended to as scheduled; this roughly means that 60% of the work that should have been completed in August by maintenance and servicing crew was not carried out. The Acting Auditor General has been sent on compulsory leave on the orders of the President. The government has suspended the implementation of a directive that special concessions in the choice of courses be allowed to students who have entered the university in the English medium; according to this decision admissions will be on old procedure. The Minister of Rural Industrial Development is working on a plan to set up a small scale solvent extraction plants in cultivation areas in order to make available sufficient quantities of animal and poultry feed at reduced prices—CDN. The Malaysian IGP Mr. Tan Haniff Bin Omar arrived in Sri Lanka on a four day visit. 350 charter flights carrying Haj

pilgrims to Mecca have been forced to by-pass Colombo and Sri Lanka will lose 3,192,000 US dollars because there is a shortage of aviation fuel at the Colombo airport—CDM. The government will next week announce a series of new incentives for the country's tea trade to export more packeted teas. The CTB will receive a world bank loan of US \$ 13.6 million with the prospect of getting some more to lift itself up. The Opposition leader has been holding talks for some time with the President on the subject of district ministers and these talks will resume on his return said the President of the TULF. A tourist hotel school complex, at a cost of 20 million rupees is to be set up at Asgiriya, Kandy. Liberalised marriage and divorce laws will come into effect from November 1—SU. The TULF MP, 1st MP for Batticaloa Mr. S. Rajadurai welcomed the PM when he visited Batticaloa and he stated that he was prepared to face the consequences of his action—DP. An internationally recognized Japanese firm is to start a gem cutting and polishing factory at Matala; it will employ over 5000 persons—DM. Labour officials have detected over 1301 employers in the Colombo district who have refrained from giving EPF for workers. The Minister of Agricultural Development and Research said a new Agricultural Banking system will set up throughout the country for the development of the agricultural sector—LD. The inter-campus students union of the University of Sri Lanka has protested against the proposed new Universities Bill—DV. The Milk Board has decided to increase the prices of Lakspray and condensed milk shortly—JD. India's official Congress Party seemed on the verge of a split over its backing for former PM Indira Gandhi in a parliamentary by-election next month. Former Indian PM Indira Gandhi received a boost following a decision by the official Congress Party to oppose

her rival candidate of the ruling Janata Party—CDN. Syrian President Asfees Al Azad began talks with Iraqi leaders which could provide a major boost for Arab resistance to Israeli Egyptian peace moves. Mr. Assad's visit was his first in five years—CDM. The Vietnamese government radio reported an alleged mass uprising of anti-government forces and rebellious soldiers in Cambodia. The Israeli cabinet approved by an overwhelming majority the US draft Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty subject to certain amendments. President Antonio Romalho named Professor Carlo Mota Pinto as PM designate charged with forming Portugal's 10th government since the 1974 revolution.—SU. **FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27:** The government has followed up a comprehensive package of proposals aimed at boosting Sri Lanka exports to a high level in the shortest possible time and thereby generated a sustained flow of foreign exchange for our development commitments the Minister of Trade and Shipping announced. President Jayawardene who left for Nepal yesterday expressed the hope that his visit to India at the invitation of the Indian government would be of immense benefit to Sri Lanka and her people. Drastic price reductions in cattle and poultry feeds and a payment of an increase of 30 cents to producers for every pint of milk produced were announced yesterday by the Minister of Rural Industrial Development. The PM was applauded by a vast crowd of people in Batticaloa on Wednesday when he spoke for 15 minutes in Tamil at a public meeting—CDN. The Government has decided to establish a reward fund under the Price Control Act to pay rewards to price control inspectors and informants who assist in the flushing out of hoarded goods, and successful prosecutions in Price Control offences. The President and his party arrived in Madras airport to a warm welcome; he was

received by Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Mr. M. G. Ramachandran—CDM. The top level probe on the orders of President Jayawardene has confirmed WK's shock exposures on sordid ragging at the Peradeniya Campus of the University of S.L. A TULF MP—Mr. P. Ganeshalingam of Padiruppu—has declared it is not true that the Tamil people voted them to power to set up Tamil Eelam—SU. Exploration work to find out if there is nuclear raw materials in the country will start shortly with the help of foreign experts; experts believe that large amounts of nuclear raw materials exist in Balangoda and the base of the Adam's Peak area—DM. The CTB has recorded a nett loss of Rs. 234 million for this year—JD. Egyptian security forces have smashed a communist plot to overthrow President Anwar Sadat and seize power the Al-Ahram said today. President Anwar Sadat said yesterday Egypt was determined to conclude a peace treaty with Israel but insisted on certain alterations to the proposed draft. Britain announced yesterday that it was ready to provide military equipment to Zambia. Leaders of black Africa's influential Front line leaders are considering holding summit talks in Dar es Salaam this week end—their first since Rhodesia's deepest strikes into Zambia. Secretary-General of the UNFSCO indicated today his readiness to seek a compromise on the controversial Planned UNESCO declaration—CDN. China's Vice Premier Teng Hsiao Ping said Vietnam would face some surprises if it tries to conquer Cambodia by arms according to an interview published in Bangkok yesterday. The United Arab Emirates today blacklisted 19 Foreign Companies for contravening the rules of the Arab economic boycott of Israel—SU.

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Confidentially

● Ammunition For The Opposition

IS IT NOT A FACT that a number of Ministers have begun to provide ammunition to the Opposition that will be use against the UNP? That the fact that the old established Opposition Parties SLFP, LSSP and the CP—are not yet in a position to mount a popular mass campaign immediately is no reason why UNP Ministers should indulge in such activities? That sooner or later, these parties or newer parties like the JVP, or the LSSP (new Leadership), or a reborn CP, will be able to use these stories to great advantage? That already the Opposition press has begun to concentrate on exposing the doings of Ministers.) That some of the choicest of these stories have appeared in *The Nation* (SLFP) and the *Forward* (CP) in English and in the Sinhala daily *Janadina* (LSSP)? That one of the best exposure storie's in recent weeks was in the latest *The Nation* on 3/11/78? That in a front page box under the heading Rs. 6.5 LAKHS TO TRANSPORT THE TRANSPORT MINISTRY, *The Nation* stated: "The cost of transporting the Transport Ministry from the Secretariat to D. R. Wijeyewardene Mawatha is reported to have been around Rs. 6,50,000: Renovations—Rs. 2,66,750; 4 Air Conditioners for the Minister—Rs. 100,000; 2 Air conditions for the Deputy Minister Rs. 50,000/-; 2 Air conditions for the Secretary—Rs. 30,000/-; Office equipment—Rs. 45,000/-; Electronic equipment—Rs. 22,927/05; Transport costs—Rs. 16,601/-; Furnishings Rs. 9,500/-; Name Board—Rs. 4,000/-; Waste paper baskets—Rs. 1,000/-; 2 Electric

kettels—Rs. 700/-; Wiring etc.—Rs. 8,719/88; Miscellaneous—Rs. 85,800/-; Electricity charges—Rs. 10,261/-; Air conditioner fitting charges—Rs. 1,000/-; Refrigerator for the Deputy Minister—Rs. 4,500/-; Total Rs. 6,56,759.00. Now that Mr. Mohamed has two electric kettles and air conditioned comfort garnished with a refrigerator, will he offer you and me a cup of tea on the way back from the Fort on a warm, sultry afternoon? We may accept the offer, provided he does not use the electronic equipment for some tapping purposes. Incidentally, we hope he will not throw a copy of this priceless *Nation* into the Rs. 1,000/- waste paper baskets." That expenditure of this kind may be permitted in rich industrialised countries, but in Sri Lanka it can only be described as a crime against a poor nation? That Ministers who insist on air-conditioned comfort have no right to serve in a Dharmista government?

That another *The Nation* story (27/10/78) was about Rs. 60,000 SALARY A MONTH? That this is what it said: "Here's one for the Parliamentary Select Committee to ponder, chew, swallow and get indigestion. A man who not so long ago, abandoned some very, very valuable government property, which was under his charge, in Singapore, and literally took off, is back again, with the blessings of you-know-who. For a long time, he was persona non grata, because he had a lot of explaining to do for deserting his post and his country. But now, with the help of his friend, the son of You-Know-Who, he has been invited back and given a salary of Rs. 60,000/- a month to head a Corporation (or Company if you wish to call it that), in which the government will have the majority participation. Ordinary mortals are paid a maximum of Rs. 2,500/- a

month, but our man will get twenty four times that salary. He will be paid by the foreign collaborator. The local partner, we understand, will remit his salary under the generic description of payment for professional services—to the foreign collaborator. He's going to head a national Corporation. Will his loyalty be divided. Is he going to a two-headed donkey? Did You-Know-Who phone Le Kuan Yew to obtain our man's release? And did the latter refuse to interfere with the Singapore Company? What happens to the present boss of the local Corporation? Is he already axed? If you are a friend of His son, you can go places and get a salary of Rs. 7.2 lakhs by getting round the normal rules and outfoxing the Parliamentary Select Committee. We must say it is a neat job; even Machiavelli would have been jealous!" That Rs. 60,000 is only \$ 4,000 a month and it is a salary which considered average in a multinational corporation today? That in the USA and other rich industrial countries a salary of \$ 48,000 per annum will not cause any eye-brows to be raised? That such a salary will be considered one in the lower middle range? That in Sri Lanka, such a salary (especially when the dollars are converted into rupees) is a dream from some other world? That whilst some UNPers may have Alice-in-Wonderland dreams of bring prosperity to Sri Lanka via high salaries, there are others who think that such high-salaried leap-frogging will bring disaster? That if a "foreigner" had been picked up for this high-salaried job instead of a dropout from Sri Lanka's bureaucratic and establishment it could not have been made a political issue in the way it certainly will be?

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