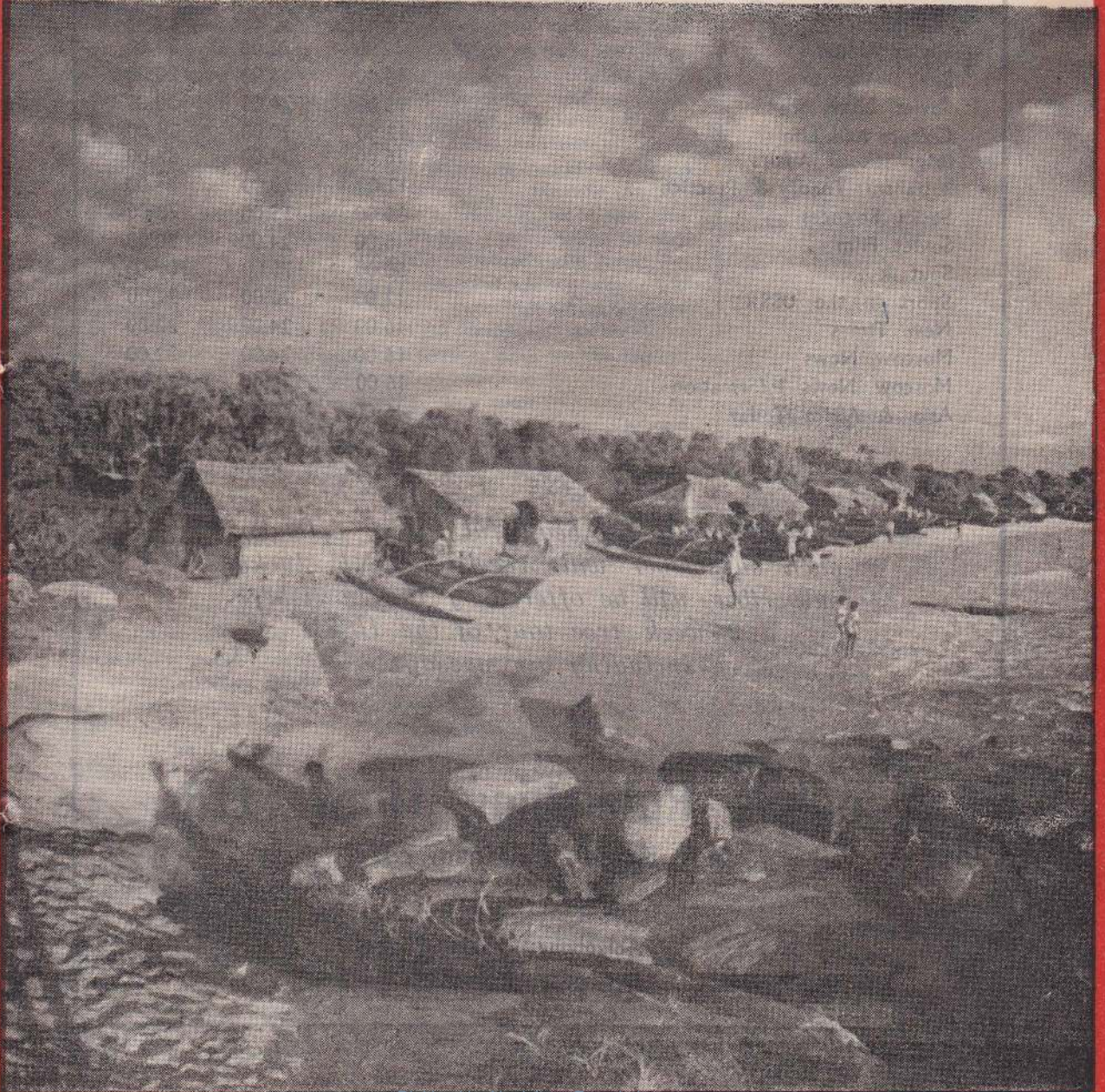


TRIBUNE





SOVIET PERIODICALS

SUBSCRIPTION RATES 1979—1980—1981

Title	1 Year	2 Years	3 Years
	Rs. Cts	Rs. Cts	Rs. Cts
Soviet Union	12.00	20.00	24.00
Soviet Woman	10.00	16.00	20.00
Soviet Literature	15.00	24.00	30.00
Culture And Life	12.00	20.00	24.00
International Affairs	16.00	24.00	32.00
Socialism Theory & Practice	12.00	20.00	24.00
Social Sciences	36.00	55.00	72.00
Soviet Film	15.00	24.00	30.00
Sputnik	50.00	75.00	100.00
Sport in the USSR	12.00	20.00	24.00
New Times	16.00	24.00	32.00
Moscow News	16.00	24.00	32.00
Moscow News Information	16.00	24.00	32.00
Asia & Africa Today	15.00	24.00	30.00

In addition to the beautiful colour calender each subscriber will receive, ONE lucky subscriber will be offered by the publishers a 2-week free tour of the USSR including air passage.

People's Publishing House Ltd.,

124, Kumaran Ratnam Road,
Colombo 2.

Telephone: 36111.

Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER this week is, as everybody knows, a scene from a coastal fishing village. *Tribune* comes back to fish and fisheries after several months. Readers will recall that we had carried on a campaign against the licensing of foreign trawlers to operate in our waters. Though the authorities did not at that time have the grace to say so, it was the *Tribune* which first brought to the notice of the public the fact that foreign trawlers had been licensed to fish in our waters and had also pointed out the dangers inherent in allowing such operations. It was mainly due to our investigative and exposure stories that the government cancelled the licenses of the two foreign trawler companies for violating the 25-mile limit. If the Ministry and the Corporation had, immediately we raised the matter, examined the complaints from local fisher-folk that the trawlers were violating the 25-mile rule and had taken the necessary action, we would not have pursued the matter in the way we did (with polemical impatience). Furthermore, officials of the Fisheries Corporation, who were no doubt responsible for concluding these contracts on the persuasion of certain local entrepreneurs (a nice word for brokers), started a press and radio campaign to defend the licensing of the trawlers, to boast about the benefits that would accrue to Sri Lanka by the fish caught by the trawlers together with a great deal more of this kind of piffle. Even Minister Festus Perera was inveigled into joining the white-wash campaign and was stampeded into proclaiming that he hoped to build large buffer stocks from Sri Lanka's share of the trawlers' catch and then bring the retail price down. All the castles built on the foreign trawlers had soon come tumbling down and the trawlers soon disappeared from the scene. They went faster than they came taking away all the booty without any accounting. How much Sri Lanka lost by this misadventure is not known, but a future Presidential Commission must investigate how these trawlers came to be licensed and also about the activities of officials responsible for leading the Minister astray on this matter. To the credit of Minister Festus Perera it must be said that after the foreign trawlers left our shores, he has with single-minded devotion endeavoured to improve our fishing industry and there is no doubt that he has succeeded in bringing down the price of the more popular varieties of fish to reasonable levels. This is a great achievement which we had not thought possible in this short time. The sales programme of the Fisheries Corporation has also shown remarkable improvement. What is more, the Minister, who had earlier resented any criticism of his officials, now responds positively and constructively to any criticism. In recent weeks, the Minister responded to criticism and exposures in the *Sun* and/or *Weekend* in a way that has impressed us. He still has a long way to go, especially in cleaning up the mess and the rot in the Corporation; and, if in future weeks, we draw his attention to short-comings and wrong-doings in that Corporation, it will not be to denigrate the good work of Minister Festus Perera but to help him do his job better. For one thing, though attention must be paid to the frauds committed and secret commissions paid during the tenure of the last government, Minister Festus Perera and the present Government must also keep their ears to the ground in regard to similar allegations floating around about many matters connected not only with Fisheries and the current avalanche of imports but also the much lamented licensing of foreign trawlers. On the footing that there is usually no smoke without fire, the fishy tales presently going the rounds about the commissions, cuts, kickbacks, rebates and the like in regard to the licensing of trawlers will make anybody sit up. The Presidential Commission has also shown that the rumours of yesteryear have become facts based on solid evidence today.

TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review
Founded In 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

Editor, S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

October 28, 1978

Vol. 23 No. 18

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET
COLOMBO - 2

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—Press In Sri Lanka—3	p. 2
SRI LANKA CHRONICLE	
—Oct. 12—Oct. 18	p. 4
BETWEEN THE LINES	
—Kandy's Menace, ADA	p. 8
OUT OF THE TUB	
—In Hospital	p. 11
THE WORLD TODAY	
—Iran, Pakistan	p. 11
BOOK REVIEW	
—Non-aligned Movement	p. 16
ACID BOMB EXPLOSION—20	
—Insurgents Strike	p. 18
WORLD BANK AID	
—Indian Experience	p. 23
HIGH COST	
—Of Dying	p. 26
CATHOLIC COMMUNITY	
—And Education	p. 27
LETTERS	
—From Our Readers	p. 28
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Transport Mess	p. 32

THE PRESS IN SRI LANKA—3

Times, Gunasenas And The Party Dailies

Chalapathi Rau, who was associated with the *National Herald* from its inception in 1948, was recently forced out of the paper by various pressure groups which had gained control of this prestigious paper founded by Jawaharlal Nehru. It was a daily newspaper group that had managed to keep out of the big corporate sector until recently. The resignation of Chalapathi Rau was the open manifestation that the *National Herald* was no longer what it was. Chalapathi Rau had been editor for 30 years until he retired in 1976 and took over as Chairman of Board of Directors of the Herald Group, but he could not keep himself or the old *Herald* afloat for more than two years:

We shall refer to the editorial greatness and steadfastness of Chalapathi Rau (and also Edatata Narayan, founder of the *Link-Patriot* group who died recently) in coming issues, but for the present it is enough to refer to an article by Chalapathi Rau in the latest issue of *The Working Journalist* from New Delhi on his "Reminiscences on the Emergency." He concluded the article: "...Censorship was lifted. The Lok Sabha was dissolved. There were to be elections. Censorship, apart from its excesses and vagaries and severities, had hidden much from people like me too. It was just before the election that I saw the Black Holes of the new colonies like Kichripur. The Prime Minister had not timed the winding up of the Emergency properly. The Congress lost, leaving many wondering what could have happened if the Prime Minister had come to power again with the same

set of advisers round her. There is now freedom, no censorship as it was known. But freedom for whom and for what? The questions have not been answered. 'Link' can fight to find out the answers. "For me the only worthwhile sensationalism has been the sensation of social and economic change. Change is news; lack of change, of course, is also news"

The same questions can be raised in Sri Lanka also. With the *Times* Group going into the government sector, the small group of privately-owned daily newspapers was further reduced. There is no special virtue in the private ownership of newspapers in the way they have behaved in Sri Lanka, but there is no doubt that it is at least better than government ownership as has been shown in concrete form after the taking over of *Lake House* in 1973/74.

In the case of the *Times*, if the government had not taken it under the Business Acquisition Act in August 1977, it would have gone down under the hammer into financial bankruptcy. From 1974/75, the *Times* Group had been sustained by governmental artificial respiration to enable Felix, Anura and other SLFP VIPs to have a daily paper to call "their own" because the *Lake House* group had become the sole plaything of the Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike. If Mr. J. R. Jayawardene's government had not taken over the *Times* and brought it first under the PM's and now President's control (*Lake House* is also under similar control), the buildings, machinery and century-old goodwill of the *Times* as a newspaper would have been grabbed by one or other of the marauding entrepreneurial houses with huge financial resources (in the context of little Sri Lanka) with money in the black, white and abroad. It is better for the country that the

Times has become the rather weak and effete newspaper owned and controlled by Government rather than become an appendage of the Maharajahs or the Gnanams, or the Upali Wijewardene's or the Aloysius', or any combination of one or more of them.

So far big business groups have not owned a newspaper group as their own. *Lake House* under the Wijewardene's was connected to certain business interests, but the chief interest of the Wijewardenes was in the newspaper and publication business. So also the Gunasena fortune was primarily based on printing and publishing (they came into printing newspapers from textbooks whilst the Wijewardenes went from newspapers to text books). It was only recently that *Virakesari* went over from personal individual ownership (first one, then a few persons) to corporate ownership of a syndicate of big Tamil businessmen in various fields.

The question is how the *Times* has projected its new image as the government undertaking on the public. In the one year or a little more since the governmental takeover, the *Times* group has had many ups and downs. Editors have come and gone, and some have even come back again. The news reporting has been uneven, but in recent weeks, the *Daily Mirror's* front page news has been more lively and pointed than for some months previously. The *Daily News* has a wider coverage, but it is restrained and restricted. The *Daily Mirror* occasionally goes off the rails (one is led to think that it is with the definite approval or inspiration from different lobbies in the Establishment) and has published scorching exposure stories. Most of these stories have stemmed from the Customs beat, but there is little or no follow up once the stories have appeared. Many of

them proved to be still-born or died an unnatural death soon after the birth. Many readers feel that secret pressure was brought to suppress the stories or that the forces that had inspired the stories had got what they wanted.

Nevertheless, the *Daily Mirror* very often has political or exposure stories which the *Daily News* seems reluctant to touch. The quality of the features in the *Daily Mirror* is uneven. It must be admitted that both in the case of *Lake House* as well as the *Times*, after the fairly full reports are carried about the day's proceedings before the Presidential and Sansoni Commissions there is very little space left for other matters, even important ones. But within its limitations, the *Daily Mirror* has in more recent months shown a liveliness and forthrightness in news-reporting which is highly commendable. Often, it has beaten the *Lake House* on important news stories.

The government has pumped a large amount of money (millions) to re-float the *Times* group as a financial proposition. More money is likely to be spent on the import of new machinery and equipment without which the *Times* cannot hope to improve its publications qualitatively or even quantitatively. But, with all this governmental expenditure, the question must be asked: whether the *Daily Mirror* and the *Times*? Whilst news columns of the *Daily Mirror* and other *Times* publications attract attention and comment, its editorials and features (which seek to interpret events) are read only by a few, and of this number only a small number are impressed or take these writings seriously. But many of them are more readable than similar editorials, comments and features in the *Daily News*.

In sharp contrast to the *Daily News*, *Observer*, *Sunday Observer*, *Daily Mirror* and the *Sunday Times*

come the English papers of the Gunaseena group, the *Sun*, the *Weekend* and *The Honey*. The news coverage is not as comprehensive as the *Daily News* but the *Sun* has been well ahead of the *Daily News* on political stories. The stories are more readably written and are often first rate scoops. Perceptive and knowledgeable readers will detect a particular slant in some of the *Sun* and *Weekend* stories, but this is a privilege of any newspaper as long as the facts are not distorted. The *Sun* and the *Weekend* have not been guilty of wilful distortion of facts, but there is no doubt that the Gunaseena group have a point of view which they consider in the best interests of the country.

The *Sun* and the *Weekend* have really made their mark by their exposure stories, investigative features and other articles with a great deal of punch by writers like Gamini Navaratne and Eustace Wijetunge. Editorially, they have not followed what may be called the Government (or Establishment) line but have hit out forcefully whenever they felt it had to be done. Like the other papers the quality and calibre of the features and articles in the Gunaseena papers are uneven. Improvement can be expected only when more learn English and get a training in journalism and writing. The weekly teenage paper, *Honey*, has shown remarkable improvement after Jean Pinto came on the scene. Though largely directed towards the teenage groups, its articles and features are good enough to attract the normal *Sunday* newspaper reading public. Some excellent and timely features have appeared in its columns recently.

This survey covers the English daily papers and their weekend and Sunday editions. But it would be unfair not to mention that *Virakesari*, the Tamil daily newspaper organisation, which has one of the

best news coverages of all newspapers, especially on political matters. The *Eelanadu* is in every sense a provincial paper, published in Jaffna and caters mainly to the population living in the Peninsula.

On the question of the daily papers a brief reference should be made to the Sinhalese-language dailies, *Aththa* (CP), *Janadina* (LSSP), and the *Dinakara* (SLFP). These daily papers must be read every day to have a full picture of what is taking place in the country. The *Lake House* and *Times* maintain a kind of self-censorship which is transparent and has contributed greatly to the loss of credibility of these papers. The Gunaseena group has a different kind of self-censorship (all papers have this) but this has not so far affected the *Sun* Group's credibility.

The *Aththa*, *Janadina* and the *Dinakara* have no inhibitions or self-censorship except where it concerns the affairs and fortunes of the parties or causes they represent. Otherwise, they print every piece of information that comes their way—often exaggerated and more often slanted to suit their party political line. Sometimes their stories boomerang with a bang because they are based on half-truths. But with all these defects, (the *Lake House*, *Times* and the Gunaseena papers suffer from the same defects) these party dailies are today the most lively and vigorous expressions of free (daily) journalism in the country.

The greatest weakness of the party journals is their addiction to a particular jargon, particular idiom and a straight-jacketed logic. The language is harsh and rough, and has unqualified appeal only to a small section of the people.



SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Oct. 12—Oct. 15

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—Silmumina; 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.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12:

The World Bank is expected to extend a larger slice of credit for Sri Lanka's development on a district basis under a five year plan now in the process of being finalised by the 22 District Ministers appointed last week. Sri Lanka has paid US dollars 2,479,384 to American shipping companies for delaying the unloading of rice, flour and sugar shipments during January to August this year. The PMB has started storing paddy in the assembly halls of schools in the Amparai district. The government has decided to set up an independent environmental authority with wide powers and functions. The Minister of Labour will recommend to the government the appointment of Honorary Consuls in West Asian countries to see to the interests of the Sri Lankans employed there—CDN. Sri Lanka gems and precious stones valued at Rs. 7 to 10 million are believed to have been smuggled aboard the Lanka Sagarika to Singapore during the last eight months. The Vap Magul ceremony which is to take place at Isurumuniya, Anuradhapura on Saturday will be on a simple note; however the 50 far-

mers who will participate in the ceremony will be given Rs. 30,000 worth of agricultural inputs including seed paddy, fertilizer etc. Forty families who were living in insanitary and unhygienic conditions for 17 years in prefabricated uniport house in the Borella electorate have now been provided with new houses made out of brick in a new housing scheme at Ambagahawatte along Elvitigala Mawatte—CDM. The Police Chief has banned policemen from collecting subscriptions and donations for organising sports meets, celebrations etc. The IMF has asked the government to describe any changes in policy guidelines and fiscal and other incentives affecting investment under the jurisdiction of the GCEC. Five revolvers and 200 grenades are reported missing from the Records Room of the Badulla Kachcheri—SU. The number of government servants seeking employment abroad is increasing daily; many of these people are leaving without even resigning from their posts—DP. The General Committee of the TULF will soon meet to discuss whether they should accept the posts of district ministers—VK. The government has decided not to extend the period of scholarships; officials who extended their scholarships have been asked to return to the island. The Janawasama has earned a record profit of Rs. 132 million last year—DM. The construction of the Rs. 75 million Ceramics factory will start in December—LD. Rhodesia's transitional government decided to end racial discrimination in the near future opening up exclusively white residential areas and health and education facilities for blacks. President Carter said he did not intend to meet Rhodesian PM Ian Smith during the Rhodesian leader's current visit to the US. Rhodesia's announcement of a quick end to discrimination brought a

sceptic reaction from some black Africans, a warm welcome from Britain and a guarded response from the US—CDN. Egypt called for a comprehensive settlement involving Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967 including Jerusalem—CDM. All Syrian and Soviet diplomats have been evacuated from Beirut while heavy Syrian artillery and other forces were advancing towards the Lebanese capital. President Carter cut off US trade with Uganda because of President Idi Amin's policies—SU.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13:

Sri Lanka will export its first consignment of locally grown and milled rice after 232 years; the last rice shipment left the country in 1746 during the Dutch period; Indonesia has agreed to purchase over 17 million pounds of raw rice produced in this country; the first shipment will go out by early November. The President of the World Bank expressed satisfaction with the economy and financial policies of the Sri Lanka government and its intermediate-term development program at talks yesterday with Finance Minister. At the recently concluded Commonwealth Parley in Jamaica, Mr. Amirthalingam presented his views in a dignified way, without embarrassing the Sri Lanka delegates or the government said the Minister of Trade and Shipping. The Minister of Trade and Shipping said that Sri Lankans working abroad remit between Rs. 25 and 30 million a month and this figure is expected to reach the Rs. 50 million mark soon—CDN. The Minister of Finance and Planning said yesterday that the World Bank had given a significant level of aid amounting to nearly Rs. 2,300 million for nine development projects so far; he was hopeful that Sri Lanka would get an increased level of assistance for the accelerated Mahaweli Pro-

ject. The Minister of Trade said that the separate state claim of 'Eelam' put forward by Mr. Amirthalingam at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference did not find favour with the great majority of the participants at Jamaica—CDM. The World Bank President has offered to set up a special fund for the accelerated Mahaweli development programme; this would be governed by a plan entirely separate from the Bank's funding for other development programmes for Sri Lanka. Frozen chicken from China has arrived in the Colombo harbour and will soon be available to consumers at Rs. 9.60 a pound. Tourist hotels are to be asked to import their own stocks of food in the future; this decision follows numerous complaints that the high prices in local food items are due to tourist hotels making heavy purchase of local beef, fish and other frozen foods imported for local consumption. Railway will transport goods from Sri Lanka to India and vice versa from early next year. The Central Bank will shortly issue new five and ten cent denomination coins in aluminium—SU. Police have been authorised to try without granting bail, anyone in the possession of unlicensed guns or other dangerous weapons and those who manufacture such weapons—DP. The Ministry of Rural Industrial Development has taken measures to step up the production and collection of milk locally by the National Milk Board—IDPR No. 33. Rhodesian PM Ian Smith acknowledged he had failed to win the support of the American government for the transitional government. Aristides Royo a former Education Minister was yesterday elected Panama's President's to succeed Torrigos. The Belgian government resigned in a dispute over a pact dividing the country into three linguistic regions. Britain formally invited

China's Chairman Hua Kua Feng to pay a history making visit to London next week. The Soviet Union yesterday warned Britain against supplying arms to China and said such a step contradicted Britain's commitment to detente—CDN. US President Carter opened the peace conference between Israelis and Egyptians by reminding them that an Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement must be the cornerstone of a West Asia settlement. The Nobel prize for medicine was shared among Prof Arber of Switzerland and Hamilton, Smith and Daniel Hopkin of USA—SU.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14:

The President will take part in the Wap Magul ceremony near the Isurumuniya Rajamaha Vihara today inaugurating the 1978/79 maha Paddy cultivation in national tradition. The UN volunteer doctors will be paid in Sri Lanka rupees according to the same scale as local doctors; any difference in remuneration which might arise will be paid by the UN volunteer agency said the Secretary to the Ministry of Health. The TULF's Parliamentary Group is sharply divided on the question of accepting the District Ministership of Jaffna and Mullaitivu; apparently, the MP's for Eastern Province, Mannar and Vavuniya are for acceptance of the posts but MP's representing the Jaffna peninsula are opposed to it. Fifty one undergraduates have been suspended with immediate effect for alleged ragging of freshers—CDN. The detection of a theft of chemicals at the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation installation at Kolonnawa has sparked off an investigation into a massive racket in highly expensive chemicals and petroleum products; the fraud appeared to involve millions of rupees and may have gone on for a number of years. 150 foreign medical officers would soon be posted to medical insti-

tutions in all parts of the island; the first batch of fifty will be recruited next month. Although the 'Open University' which is to be set up will award external degrees the campuses of the university of Sri Lanka will continue to register external students and award their own degrees—CDM. The government is taking steps to build 8 Ayurvedic hospitals in major towns in the island—DV. The Housing Department will sign an agreement with the government of South Korea and a French firm to construct 2543 houses at a cost of Rs. 230 million; they are to be completed in 18 months—LD. The Government Services Commission has decided to give back the power to secretaries of ministries to recruit workers for the government service. The Minister of Trade and Shipping said that if 20,000 more people went abroad for employment Sri Lanka could earn the same amount she earned from tea exports—DM. Rhodesian PM Ian Smith said he would attend an All-Party's Conference on Rhodesia without pre-conditions and would accept international supervision of general elections scheduled for December. British Foreign Minister, Dr. David Owen is planning to visit China in the first half of next year. The US reported good progress towards an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty at the end of the first day of negotiations—CDN. The worst floods for 50 years have hit parts of the Northeast Soviet Republic of Estonia causing widespread crop failure. Lebanese President Elias Sarkis returned to Beirut after a six day tour of several Arab countries in which he also had crucial talks with Syrian President Hafeez-Al Assad on the ceasefire in Lebanon between Syrian troops and militias—SU.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 15:

Moments before he stepped into

the mud of the Isurumuniya fields to plough the first furrow at the second Vap Magul ceremony of his government the President yesterday reiterated his commitment to break the back of the unemployment problem that had long burdened the country. "To a country like Sri Lanka which knows how to help itself, we are prepared to give not only twice but thrice", the World Bank President said shortly before his departure on Friday night—SO. The President of the World Bank has promised us every cent of the money we need to complete the Accelerated Mahaweli Scheme the President announced to a gathering of over 50,000 at the Vap Magul ceremony at Isurumuniya, Anuradhapura, yesterday. The Customs yesterday imposed a penalty of Rs. 4.5 million on each of the three suspects in the Lanka Sagarika gold smuggling case. A master plan to protect about 400 elephants that will be affected by the implementation of the Accelerated Mahaweli Scheme has been drawn up by the Department of Wild Life which is seeking the co-operation of the Mahaweli Development Board to implement it—ST. Investigations have revealed that ragging is on in a big way at the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka; under the cloak of secrecy, freshers are being subjected to some of the most obscene, crude and vulgar acts and many of them are painfully going through the ordeal for fear of reprisals. The government is to set up a National Development Bank. At a meeting of Buddhist leaders and government officials held at the Secretariat it was decided that all the land within a mile of the Dalada Maligawa be declared a sacred area and the buildings within it both private and public be acquired for the purpose within the next two years. The President has instructed the

National Prices Commission as well as the State Film Corporation to submit to him a comprehensive report on the management of cinerwas throughout the country—WK. Lands in the Vavuniya and Mannar districts which have not been utilised for cultivation will soon be taken over by the government; surveys regarding the lands cultivated etc are now in progress. The deputy DIG and head of the Crimes Branch said that many of the criminal acts committed in the North do not have any connection to any organised movement but they were operating under cover of some terrorist group or organisation—CM. Two Soviet UN employees were convicted by a Jury of stealing American military secrets. Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church attended public prayers yesterday before retiring behind closed doors to elect a new pope. Three western foreign Ministers flew to Namibia to launch five-power efforts to persuade South Africa to accept UN independence plans for Namibia—WK. Egyptian President Sadat is ending a special envoy to Paris to enlist France's support for peace efforts in the Middle East—ST.



The Inevitable

I sit by the waterside staring across
the vast and tranquil
lake whose waters
reflect the silver moon.

Nothing disturbs
the calm except the occasional
call of a lone bird.

I watch the ripples caused
by the breeze and
I sigh. How deceptive
this lake can be! It
seems so calm and serene
on the surface but

what currents and
whirlpools are hidden in
it's depths, that a man looking
on the outside
may think he can walk upon
it. Yet the moment
he tries, the swirling
waters pull him
down. How very like
the lake life is!
A man sets out upon
the journey of life
nursing delusions of a calm
and peaceful existence.
Yet the moment he takes
the first step he
realises that hidden
dangers make him
fall. Thus the battle goes on
with minor triumphs and
great defeats. He surfaces
and thinks he can
stand, only to be pulled
down further. What
is the strength or
resilience of man when
compared to the strength
of the waters or of life?
He knows sooner or later
he will be overwhelmed.

Casava.

OBITUARY

Dr. W. D. L. Fernando, former Judicial Medical Officer, Colombo, aged 64. Dr. Fernando had worked under forensic experts like Sir Sydney Smith, Prof. John Glanister and Dr. Keith Simpson. In 1967 he was elected President of the Ceylon Medical Association. He was also at one time President of the Government Medical Officers Association.

Edwin Black of Chankanai, Jaffna. Mr. Black retired from the public service as Chief Engineer, Ceylon Government Railway. He was also Chief of Railway Section, United Nations, ECAFE, Bangkok.

Rev. Bro. Anslem Calixtus, the last Director of St. Benedict's College, Kotahena.

At The Fixed

And Controlled Prices

SITTAMS

Dispensing Chemists

259/1 Galle Road,

Colombo - 4.

Tel: 84058

BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

● Kandy's Menace

● A D A

The *Tribune* of October 7, which carried an article about E. L. Senanayake and Ranjan Wijeratne also had a piece about the Bookmaker's Daughter in Peradeniya. This issue of *Tribune* seems to have created a stir in Kandy not only among our regular readers but also among a large number of new readers. We have been inundated with letters from Kandy as well as other places on these two matters. Exigencies of space prevent us from publishing all of them. We can only pick extracts from a few selected letters, comments and even articles.

The extracts below will give our readers an idea of the interest aroused by the two matters. The University, on the one hand, and Agriculture, on the other, are extremely vital spheres of activity for the well-being of the country.

The following extracts from a letter sent to us by a reader from Kandy under the title **KANDY AND POLITICAL SKULDUGGERY** stated: "*Tribune* gets a big bouquet for firing the first shot at political skulduggery in Kandy. Now the big question that is being asked by everyone is whether the Minister of Higher Education will issue the directive that will enable the bookmaker's daughter to enter the Peradeniya Medical Faculty through the back door. The Minister of Higher Education has an intimate interest in Kandy being the Diyawadana Nilame of the Dalada Maligawa. Is he unaware of what is happening in the very shadow of the holy of holies of which he is the lay custodian?

If he is unaware, the Minister of Agricultural Research & Development cannot be ignorant of what is happening in his own electorate. Working behind a thick curtain of local politicians, press and police (Three Ps), this bookmaker's operations are, however, not shrouded in secrecy. They extend from Colombo to Kandy to Trincomalee to Badulla and on the foreign scene to India and England. Here is a sample of a day's work of his vast organisation.....".

Then, we have a detailed diary of operations from 1 a.m. to Midnight. But we need not be concerned with this now. But "... Once a year during the Holy Esala Perahera, this versatile bookmaker turns his talents. I was nearly saying talons, to staging at the Bogambara Sports Stadium, the biggest Gambling Carnival in Sri Lanka as a sort of climax to his year's activities, a bonus for his supporters of all hues. How come when the Sports Stadium is Government property? QED Local VVIPs (blue or green depending on which Government is in power) extend their fullest co-operation by wanting an "Exhibition" (this year it was an Agricultural Exhibition) at Bogambara to show the vast crowds that come to see the Perahera the 'achievements' of the government.

"One big local VVIP takes responsibility for the Exhibition and many government departments spend lakhs of rupees for nothing much to show in return. This VIP invites the Bookmaker to run the Exhibition for him and the Government. This year VVIPs of the Government and Ambassadors of foreign governments declared open each day's gambling carnival—sorry, Exhibition. Some ungrateful people wanted to show the very high ups the gambling section which was of course closed at that time but they could not get past the Police.

"What about the Press? You should see, Mr. Editor, the local reporter boys enjoying the free booze and other goodies in return for favourable publicity and for hiding the truth. Gate collections alone top the million mark and the donation of a merely Rs. 50,000/- or so publicly handed over to the sponsor is given headline publicity in the press. Who is there to let the President, the Government in Colombo and the people at large know the truth and what is happening in Kandy, the Heart of the Dharmista Society? Who, except *Tribune*....."

There were many letters of this kind about Kandy and its underworld that has submerged the top. But more important than Kandy is Agriculture. A reader from Geo. E. de Silva Mawatha in Kandy writes: "Your weekly has become a great hit at Peradeniya. Along the corridors of the Department of Agriculture, Head Office, hushed groups discuss your exposure of the Department and the Ministry as if they were on the subject of perversion or pornography. Your service to help Agriculture in highlighting the experiences in this field is real service to the country. Please keep this up. God Bless You! P.S. The exposure about the bookmaker is really fantastic."

A retired government servant (thankful for his retirement) now residing in Nawala writes: "Arising from your controversial but nevertheless excellent evaluation of recent developments and changes in the Ministry of Agriculture, now renamed, it is undoubtedly the prerogative of upper echelons to decide on the holders of vital and pivotal positions in the administration. The new Secretary of Ag. Research has cut a positive figure and must now assume the mantle of the saviour of agricultural development in this island. He also continues as the Chairman

of the ADA. A dual position. We were made to understand very early on in the present government's policy that no one person was to hold two positions. No two reins of command, one seems to recall were the words. Some said this arose as a result of Anura Weeraratne who at one stage held the prestigious position of Additional Sec. Industries through which he consolidated and built up a monstrous empire in Ceramics. But Anura W. had proved himself before he came to the public sector. He displayed an abundance of capable and decisive policy decisions with a degree of diplomatic finesse. He had his faults and his killer instinct had to be kept in check. T. B. Subasinghe both listened and heeded the critics of Anura W. He also acted when the occasion demanded it. As regards the new Sec. Ag. Res. we have had to contend with the build up of the aggressive personality though Lake House. After all was he not put in charge of the Transport pool there in the initial stages. Thereafter, came the ADA, the nauseatingly monotonous references to the 'President's Wish,' the 'President's Orders,' 'The President's Plan'. The indoctrination has been so complete that not one of the many corns as you put it has the guts or gumption to present the other side of the picture. And now comes the priceless gem by yet another Lake House reporter who categorically says this unqualified man cannot be fooled by the best brains in the country. What confidence our new Sec. oozes. Oh, for the breed of silent and dedicated workers. Not any left but one can safely assume that the few survivors will soon disappear leaving the new broom with either a vacuum or a roomful of mediocre 'yes' men."

Then, EMES from Kandy writes

about government farms: "The Minister of Agriculture himself has admitted that all government farms are run at a loss. True enough, but why doesn't the minister take necessary action to stop these losses? Who is stopping him from taking action? Who is safeguarding the crooks? The minister visits a farm now and again accompanied by the very officials who are responsible for all the losses and irregularities in these farms. Naturally they'll be even at hand to make one excuse or the other convincing enough to cover their sins, and nothing is ever gained or solved by the Minister's visits and findings. As long as 'Gangs' and favourites are allowed to reign at Peradeniya, the Department of Agriculture will never prosper."

But, the more interesting comments are about the ADA. A knowledgeable commentator has dipped into the past and also into the Report of Plan Implementation's Evaluation Team findings on the Public Sector in Agriculture to say: "The setting up of the ADA in January 1978 was preceded by an abortive attempt to set up a National Food Production Board 'concentrating on food production in the plantation sector with the help of the infrastructure available with the Corporations in the Plantation Ministry.. This proposal was blown sky-high by the Ministry of Plantation Industries and equally firmly opposed by the Ministries of Public Administration and of Finance. Then the genius behind the project decided to concentrate his attention on 'private land' keeping clear of the plantations which had rejected him quite totally.

"The genius concerned has claimed, quite correctly, that the Cabinet paper creating the ADA was based on a proposal presented by him to the Leader of the Opposition in 1973/74. (At

about this time he was also presenting similar proposals to the Prime Minister of that time on the development of milk production in the plantation sector.)

"The Cabinet Memorandum on the ADA carries gems like the following: '...authority to organise, discipline and service the rural life.'

'Each Unit will be in charge of an administrator..employed by the Central Authority working a scheme like the defunct Agency Houses.'

'He should like the PD to be out at 6 in the morning going round his area, return home for his office work and meals and again be out in the afternoon till dusk.'

'It should be the national policy to allow private ownership of lands within existing laws as long as cultivation etc. is done in accordance with the requirements of the Administrative Officer.'

"These excerpts from the Cabinet Memorandum illustrate the authoritative managerial approach of the ADA. It is in this approach that the Evaluation Team (ET) found a major fallacy (para 9: 23 page 54). The ET went on to deal heavily with this particular approach in their letter of presentation to the President.

"The Chairman ADA, confirms that his activities 'are in keeping with the objectives laid down in the Cabinet Memorandum.' The Cabinet Memorandum states very clearly:

'As soon as possible the Board should be able to finance' its own expenses by levying a fee or commission on the sales of the produce of the area and for other services that it can render such as the provision of manure, pesticides etc.'

"This appears to be a key element of the Cabinet proposal

since the costs of the ADA were not enumerated in the Memorandum. Is there any evidence that the ADA is making an endeavour to pay its way? If it is too soon to do so, what plans does the ADA have (and in what period of time) to ensure that it will finance its own expenses as laid down very clearly in the Cabinet Memo?

"If evidence is necessary of the authoritative attitude of the ADA—an attitude that will positively fail in the rural sector—what better evidence than that provided by the Chairman himself when he speaks of granting the President's Evaluation Team the "privilege" of a personal interview?

"The Cabinet Memo specified that the ADA would work 'in consultation with local cultivation committees and the Department of Agriculture' and that it would 'arrange for the help of Government Departments, etc.' to land owners. However, the lines of authority in the ADA's own organisational chart shows officers like the DAEO and the Assistant Director of the Agrarian Services and all their subordinate staff under a 'persuasive and indirect authoritative relationship' below the Provincial Director of the ADA. How does this indirect but authoritative relationship conform to the 'consultation' and 'seeking of assistance' stipulated in the Cabinet Memo?

"In its note on 'How the ADA Works' (Ceylon Observer 18.9.78), the ADA speaks of its intention 'to train farmers and farmer families.' We view this in the context of a recommendation of the Evaluation Team:

'Agricultural training is a specialised function which requires the support of research knowledge and extension experience' (para 4: 19 page 18).

"On the basis of what research knowledge or extension experi-

ence, does ADA plan to 'organise the training programmes for electoral personnel as well as crash courses for land owners...'? Or is it the view of the ADA that such knowledge and experience is not necessary to support the planning of training programmes even if these are to be executed by competent personnel?

"The ADA proceeds in this note to speak of families who 'will be allocated to an Extension Officer of the Department of Agriculture and of the functions that the Cultivation Officer 'will look after'. It goes on to speak of other Field Officers who "would be utilised for other work. If the officers of these departments have duties to perform and functions to fulfill obviously under the supervision of their own Departmental Heads, how will the situation be improved by the ADA attempting to impose its will (and its plans) on these officers? Was this what prompted the ET to point out that the ADA does not have authority to supervise other departments and institutions and that 'its present activities cut across lines of authority and implementation of programmes of other organisations.'

"Is there not a constitutional anomaly in the Terms of Incorporation of the ADA since the principal purposes for which it is constituted are to co-ordinate and supervise functions already exercised by other State organisations? The Constitution as far as we know, vests supervisory powers over departments only in the Secretary of the Ministry. Therefore if the ADA is to be taken seriously, its activities would violate the Constitution. Mercifully, it is only the ADA that takes itself seriously! But the anomaly has been overcome by the Chairman, ADA, taking over the Job of Secretary of the Ministry. Hey presto! everything will be hunky-dory hereafter."

FINALLY, we have a letter from a coconut planter: "Being an old established farmer in the coconut triangle and a reader of your magazine for many years, I was concerned about your doubts regarding the capabilities of the new energetic Secretary to the Ministry of A-IR/Dev. Dedicated, hard-working and intelligent men like Mr. Wijeratne are hard to find. Why don't you examine his achievements over the past few months before criticising him? First of all, nobody can fool him—he is an expert in all fields. Even the Observer acknowledges this. His tea planting experience gives him the necessary qualifications to judge the secrets of intercropping all crops which can be grown in our villages, and also rural and small privately owned estates, many of which have been neglected for years. He has appointed equally dedicated and competent experts on the staff of the ADA. They too cannot be fooled by our technical bureaucrats. ADA will be undertaking all responsibilities from persuading the reluctant villager, compelling the recalcitrant small owner to be more productive, will arrange finance, undertake marketing of produce. How can you criticise such a long overdue combination of vital factors in our efforts for greater productivity. Mr. Wijeyaratne and his staff have had a number of public meetings. These have been crowded to capacity. The farmers are apt pupils listening in raptures to this new philosophy. All the MPs are the epitome of co-operation, and activity is being generated in all quarters of the eleven electorates. Even complicated subjects like engineering and irrigation, where our experts are leaving for foreign shores, is handled with consummate care by the staff of ADA.

"Mr. Wijeyaratne is said to have claimed to be the price mover

of the dismissal of the Board of Directors of the Fertiliser Corporation. So many of our Boards are overflowing with incompetence. At last, we have a man who has the sufficient influence with the President to sack errant Board members. You must appreciate that if errant board members are sacked, the staff will thereafter be loyal and subservient to the new concepts.

"The ADA has promised to convert the eleven electorates in the shortest possible time. The rural unemployed, see at last a day of hope. The ADA will establish model farms and train youth. These are not vain promises and all the MPs and voting public realise the true value of candid utterances such as these—we will no longer have vain boasts and unfulfilled promises. The ADA will fulfill many of the promises that the voters so eagerly grasped when they voted for the UNP in the last election

"Mr. Wijeyaratne's aggressive charisma has been recognised by the President. He holds two vital positions now, in order to enable his plans to actively function as long as possible. His objects are not only to plan but to execute as well. He plans a third position. Mr. Bertie Fernando of the Janavasa is collecting details of properties under 250 acres to be brought under a new board to be called the National Agricultural & Industrial Development Board to be run by Mr. Bogstra under Mr. Wijeyaratne's guidance. What inspiration this team will provide to the plans of the hungry hopefuls. Even tube wells in the rock filled strata of the triangle will be undertaken by the ADA. You see therefore that where all government departments and corporations have failed mainly, this giant steps into the breach like Churchill in Great Britain, be it Sri Lanka here a man

of all seasons now in Scene II of Act I playing the lead in one of his greatest tragedies of current times."

Amen.



OUT OF THE TUB

by Diogenes

Hippocrates

Diogenes walked the streets of Athens never mindful of the infirmities of his body which encased his mind and spirit but at last he was prevailed upon by his friends to submit himself to the skill and mercy of the surgeons, the anaesthetists and the nurses in the hospital in the capital city. Diogenes cared little for his life which he believed was eternal and outside this world of unreality unrelated to time and space.

The great philosopher had a round smooth stone embedded inside his belly. It was a stone flung below his belt by a friendly spirit indulging in a royal sport.

The Master surrendered himself to a brilliant surgeon skilled in the art of repairing the undercarriage of elderly men. He removed the foreign body effortlessly with the aid of a skilled anaesthetist who had more than a problem to keep the great and all knowing mind of the Master away from it all.

In the Recovery Unit the Great one was laid up in bed tended and cared for by many a ministering angel. With him in the unit were ordinary citizens who were non-paying patients and the Master was pleasantly surprised that the medical men, the anaesthetist, the

house officers and the nurses gave the same care, love and affection to all suffering in the unit without discrimination. There was no class, no race, no position which mattered. All were equal in the eyes of the medical men and the nurses. Doigenes saw Justice ever present in this unit without her eyes blindfolded and began to understand why Justice has her eyes blindfolded in the Courts of Law.

The Master leaves the unit more than ever convinced that the medical profession is the noblest of professions and gained the experience for the first time in his life that it is only in the Recovery Unit he saw for himself all men equal before the men and women of skill working there.

The Master pays them this tribute and salutes them all in the name of suffering humanity. They have saved the great one who has still many great things to do for his country and his fellow beings.



THE WORLD TODAY

Iran, Pakistan

Only a year ago it would have been unthinkable. On nationwide television, prominent Iranian politicians were delivering impassioned attacks on the government. They lambasted the regime for everything from the imposition of martial law to its transparent attempts to cover up the death toll in a season of bloody rioting. In a country noted more for authoritarianism than candid criticism, the decision to allow broadcasting of the free-for-all debate in the Majlis (Parliament) was a bold gamble indeed. Yet by week's end, the unprecedented airing of opposition emotions seemed to

have had the desired effect; plainly conscious that Iran was facing its darkest hour, the legislature gave the three-week-old government of Prime Minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami an overwhelming vote (176-16) of confidence. Then, suddenly, a town named Tabas lay dead.....

Nearly nine months of rioting led to martial law and the bloody climax in Teheran's Jaleh Square on Sept. 8 in which troops opened fire on tens of thousands of demonstrators. Estimates of the death-toll in that incident still vary widely, from the plainly conservative official figure (110) to the obviously exaggerated tally (1,700) being publicised by opponents of the Shah. Clearly, authorities are now hoping that martial law clamped on Teheran and other major cities will douse the passions that sparked off the butchery on what has been dubbed "Black Friday."..This week, there were signs that things were starting to settle politically. Not only was the new government given a hearty endorsement in Parliament, but the Shah strongly reaffirmed that he had no intention of stepping down.....

—Asiaweek, September 29, 1978

X X X X X

IRAN: MORE TREMORS

After a climatic clash between troops and some 100,000 youthful demonstrators in Teheran last month, it seemed that the strife-stricken Iran might finally be blessed with a period of peace. Palliative reforms under way included even an unprecedented code of conduct that would bar Shahanshah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi and his relatives from holding official positions or conducting business activities even remotely connected with the Government. But it was not to be. With the country's universities opening last week for a new aca-

demical year, students quickly swelled the ranks of anti-government rebels. The authorities were obviously in no mood to take chances: they put on a massive show of force, despatching military convoys through city streets and posting army units at campus gates. Once again, the heat was on: A day after the universities opened, the forebodings of the army were fulfilled. Demonstrations erupted in a string of cities, the worst hit being the Caspian town of Amol where four people were reported killed and 50 wounded. Strikes disrupted work in state-run banks, insurance companies, telecommunication centres and hospitals. "As soon as the government plugs one gap by granting a pay increase," lamented one official, "similar hikes are demanded in other branches of state business."

For the government, small comfort could perhaps be taken in a twist in the fortunes of the man who had provided the inspirational thrust in the anti-Shah side. Ayatollah Khomeyni, the 80-year old Shiite Muslim leader who had been living in exile in Iraq since a 1963 quarrel with the Shah, was expelled from his base in Najaf, south of Baghdad. Barred also from Kuwait, the gaunt elder is said to be thinking of moving to Algeria. Why Iraq, no special friend of the Shah, should turn against the Ayatollah is anybody's guess. Yet the fiery Khomeyni's predicament can only be of scant practical benefit to the authorities in Teheran. Already, local observers are predicting that this would be a month of headaches. For one thing, next week marks the 40th day since hundreds died in the capital's "Black Friday" massacre (The Region, Sept. 22); for the Shiites, the 10th day is of special significance in the mourning cycle. And beyond that is Moharrum, the month-long period beginning Dec. 2 when

Muslims mourn the martyrs who died for their faith in the 7th century. "At the best of times, this would be a period for wailing and self-flagellation," observed one Teheran diplomat gloomily. "This year I'm afraid it might erupt into a religious revolt." Those sentiments, added another source, was an accurate pointer to the continuing influence of fundamentalist Islam in the ongoing campaign against the "modernistic" Shah.

Indeed, Iran's monarch seems to be running out of time. As strikes spread, Teheran's universities closed almost as soon as they were opened. As even women students joined the widespread demonstrations, the harried Shah was clearly feeling the pressure and turning towards dramatic gestures that would either impress or frighten the people. There was growing speculation this week that the six-week-old government of Prime Minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami would soon be replaced by another led by a military man. At the same time, Minister of Higher Education, Houshang Nahavandi, was reportedly planning an "Iranian National Movement" to push for reforms and a constitutional monarchy. The idea is unlikely to cut much ice with the people as many seemed firmly set against the existing order. Diplomatic sources expected a series of new reforms from the government, but there was little doubt that the Peacock Throne was shaking precariously under Shah Reza Pahlevi.

—Asiaweek, October, 20, 1978.

—X— —X— —X—

IRAN: WILL THE SHAH LAST?

The political situation in Iran continues to deteriorate. Under the Martial Law, the Opposition forces have resorted to strikes as a basic form of struggle against the

TRIBUNE, October 28, 1978

regime. The Shah's secret police SAWAK have made massive arrests and have incited acts of terrorism against leaders of Opposition. This, however, has not weakened the extent and the scope of the anti-Shah campaign. According to the diplomatic circles in Teheran, the American experts on fighting anti-government activities, who have arrived in Iran, are said to be responsible for persuading the Shah to suppress with terror the strike movement in the country and extend martial law to all the cities and areas of Iran.

Many now believe that the crisis in Iran had arisen not only because of the Shah's ruthless dictatorship, but also because of the American presence and policy in Iran. It was the USA which had constantly encouraged the Shah to militarise the country no doubt to make Iran a satellite military outpost to safeguard American interests in the ME and the oil-rich gulf. This has contributed to the worsening of the quality of the life of the Iranians. The popular belief in political circles in Iran is that the US advisers had egged the Shah to attack peaceful demonstrations with the army and to impose martial law in 12 cities in the country.

Today, the Shah's regime has begun to lose the support of many officers of the Iranian army—the most privileged segment of the Iranian society. Reports have filtered out of Teheran that in the Iranian army there now exists an underground organisation "The Committee for the Struggle for National Solidarity", which is believed to favour a military coup and the liquidation of monarchy and thereafter to set up a so-called "Islamic Republic." There have been suggestions that this organisation is supported by Saudi Arabia.

There is no doubt that the Shah is shaken by the intensity and

persistence of people's movement. It is not unlikely, that the Shah will seek to appease the Opposition which is critical of and is opposed to American presence in Iran. He may soon introduce significant changes in Iran's relationship with the US. In the first instance, the Shah may take steps to reduce the number of the US military personnel in the country.

Should this happen, will Washington take it lying down? Can the US afford to lose Iran after the fantastic amount of money it has poured into Iran? And, is not a strong pro-American Iran an indispensable military necessity for the US in this oil-rich region? Questions are being asked whether the US will not ditch the Shah if he should display a certain measure of "independence" from US tutelage?

Will the Shah suffer the fate of Diem? Will US actions lead to a civil war in Iran? Will it become another Vietnam?

It is well on the cards that the US will take measures to get rid of the Shah, because he has begun to show an intolerable degree of independence in tackling the questions directly connected with the US interests in the region. The Shah wants to save his throne and he probably can do this by breaking some of his ties with the US.

—IPA, New Delhi, October 5, 1978

X X M X X

PAKISTAN: ZIA FLAYS CENTO

The Chief Martial Law Administrator and Chief of Pakistan Army Staff, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, has described CENTO "a treaty on paper with no significance, whatsoever—no teeth, no backing", and said it was better to be non-aligned. "CENTO is becoming a hindrance to Pakistan's security", he said

in an interview with *Time* magazine. The interview is a part of a long article devoted to CENTO and reflects the disenchantment of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey with the American-sponsored treaty. Titled "CENTO" a Tattered Alliance", the article notes: "Among other CENTO leaders there is mounting impatience with the vagaries of US public opinion as reflected in such congressional actions as the Turkish arms embargo and aid cuts for countries that try to acquire a nuclear capability. They also regard Carter administration policies as quixotic and punitive. "Pakistan, for example, is furious at Washington's jawboning nuclear non-proliferation activities, which recently led France to cancel a contract to provide Pakistan with a nuclear reprocessing plant." The result says, Gen. Zia, is that "this is perhaps the lowest point the (US-Pakistani) relations have reached.

The article continues: "Zia wants the CENTO charter rewritten so that Pakistan could call for alliance help if threatened by an "indirect" Soviet attack. Washington interprets this as an unwarranted commitment to defend Zia in the event of another Indo-Pakistani war, and will have none of it. In response, the Pakistanis talk about withdrawing from CENTO and joining the non-aligned movement." *Time* quotes, Gen. Zia as saying: "In the current day, it's better to be non-aligned than aligned. Look at India and Afghanistan, both under the Soviet Union, yet they are supposed to be non-aligned, countries. Look at Cuba—a non-aligned country. Today there are countries that are not aligned yet are much more secure than those that are aligned under the CENTO pact."

(It was officially stated in Islamabad that *Time* did not quote

Gen. Zia accurately on India and Afghanistan. According to the clarification, the sentence in the transcript actually reads: "Look at India and Afghanistan—the security of both is underwritten by the Soviet Union. Yet they are supposed to be non-aligned countries")

The article notes: "Pakistan is doing a little bridge-building of its own with the Russians, despite its traditionally close ties with China. Earlier this year, Zia dispatched a high-level delegation to Moscow. The ostensible purpose was to secure an additional \$250 million in credits to finish a steel mill in Karachi that the Pakistanis are building with Soviet help."

But Gen. Zia said, another purpose of the mission was to warn the US that "I must have my own opening—I must have our options open." The article said: "The Pakistanis and Turks also resent and reject what they have privately dubbed the 'Brezinski doctrine' that describes the Carter administration's policy of relying on 'regional influentials' to shoulder much of the burden of maintaining security in their area. The 'influentials' in this case are Iran and India—and the concept annoys Turkey and terrifies Pakistan." Says Gen. Zia angrily: "If the US is thinking of aligning with pillars of strength in this region, then I am not having any part of it. Instead of turning to Teheran and New Delhi, why can't Pakistan turn somewhere else?"

—APP, New York, *Dawn Overseas*,
September 23, 1978.

X X X X X

PAKISTAN: CENTO NO LONGER RELEVANT

PAKISTAN'S disenchantment with CENTO an edentulous child of the Cold War born in a world

in which teeth count a lot, was once again brought into focus, when when General Zia described this ailing alliance as a "a treaty on paper with no significance whatsoever—no teeth, no backing". He made this forthright observation in an interview with *Time* magazine, shortly before taking over as the sixth President of Pakistan. In this interview which got a prominent display in the national Press, last week, General Zia minced no words in criticising Washington's recent pressure on France to cancel its contract to provide Pakistan with a nuclear reprocessing plant. He asserted: "This is perhaps the lowest point the (US-Pakistan) relations have reached." Pointing out that Pakistan's disillusionment with the American sponsored CENTO is shared by the leaders of Iran and Turkey, *Time* quotes General Zia as saying, CENTO is becoming a hindrance to Pakistan's security. In the current day, it's better to be non-aligned than aligned. Today, there are countries that are not aligned yet are much more secure than those that are aligned under the CENTO pact." Referring to India and Afghanistan which have their security underwritten by the USSR, though the two are supposed to be non-aligned General Zia stressed the need to re-write the CENTO Charter so that it could call for the help of this alliance. If the US will have none of it and go on sticking to "the Brezinski doctrine"—that is, relying on "regional influentials" for maintaining the security of this area—Pakistan would like to keep its options open. *Time* notes that along with its traditional ties with China, Islamabad is already doing some "bridge-building" with the Russians: there is also loud thinking about "withdrawing from CENTO and joining the non-aligned movement." In this context one might recall that Pakistan

had withdrawn from SEATO in 1973, two years before that ill-fated alliance was officially liquidated. After pulling out of SEATO, this country has been contending that most of the regional military alliances have become moribund in today's multipolar world and that bilateral treaties have grown more potent than multilateral pacts.

Pakistan has also been pinpointing the fact that its membership of CENTO was no more than "a technical association", for there were no foreign military bases, nor any foreign troops on its territory. Moreover, its pursuit of an independent foreign policy, constant struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and hegemonism, and its spirited fight for a newer and juster world economic order, have brought it closer to the non-aligned bloc.

Significantly, when Pakistan was granted, for the first time, a guest status at the non-aligned summit in Belgrade, last July, General Zia observed in his message to the 85-nation moot: "Pakistan is a non-aligned country, in the spirit and substance of its foreign policy". Eulogising the objectives and ideals of the non-aligned movement, he affirmed that it "embodies the aspiration for a new and truly just era in human history..". Never before had any Head of Government in this country gone that far in applauding and expressing solidarity with the non-aligned nations. Viewed in this context, his latest denunciation of CENTO, in particular, and his leaning towards the Non-aligned, cannot be interpreted as a sudden policy departure. It reflects Pakistan's growing affinities with the Third World, which includes the Islamic fraternity, and re-thinking on the rationale of linking our defence with military alliance cobbled up by the Western Powers

to serve their own global ends.

Time was when the leaders of Pakistan thought that alignment with the West was the sheet-anchor of our foreign policy and a guarantee of our independence and sovereignty. Thus, when we stepped into the Baghdad Pact in 1955—renamed Central Treaty Organisation in 1958 after Iraq's withdrawal—it was looked upon as a means of "collective security" and a shield against aggression. Although the first Prime Minister of Pakistan had warned against the acceptance of military assistance from any foreign power, for that would compromise independence of foreign policy, his successors chose to put their neck under the yoke of SEATO and CENTO, hoping to negotiate with India on Kashmir from a position of strength and to divert defence spending to economic development. These hopes were dashed before long. Between 1956 and 1965 this country did receive 1.5 billion dollars worth of military hardware, but its own defence expenditure continued to mount and cause economic imbalances. The quantum of economic aid from the US escalated during the first decade, but since this aid was tied, it tended to put the economy on foreign crutches. Under the slogan "strength through development", communications in the CENTO region were improved—a micro-wave telecommunication project linking the regional capitals was undertaken—but the inadequacy of economic projects sponsored under the alliance came to the fore when the countries of the region felt constrained to set up the RCD to step up regional cohesion.

The meagre advantages that the membership of CENTO brought for Pakistan were outweighed by a host of disadvantages. The alliance was hardly a year old and

had not overcome its teething troubles when it was overtaken by the Suez crisis. In Pakistan, the Muslim League and large sections of the ruling Awami League began to clamour for the liquidation of all Pacts. Even the staunchest supporters of CENTO were stunned by the Anglo-French-Zionist aggression against Egypt. Pakistan suffered a big diplomatic setback in the Arab world. It also fell in the estimation of Afro-Asians because of its alignment with the West. Again, Pakistan gained nothing from the Pacts in respect of its disputes with India. Its position on Kashmir was weakened, because, after its entry into SEATO and CENTO, Russia began to veto every Security Council resolution—formerly it used to abstain—that called for effective action in Kashmir. What was more galling for this country was that its big allies began to lean more and more towards India in an attempt Indian conflict, the Anglo-Americans went all out to bolster India's military juggernaut despite Pakistan's frantic protests. In the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, the US cut off all military and economic aid to its ally and this served as an eye-opener, for the policy-makers in Islamabad who once thought that they had "entered a new millennium" by walking into the fold of SEATO and CENTO.

The question is often asked: Why did Pakistan cling to the alliances even after their original sponsors derided them as "pactitis" and "pactomania"? Some politicians have answered this question, saying that the former rulers had seen "how the hidden hand of CIA had toppled regime after regime in Asia and Africa" and decided to "stake national security for individual safety...not unusual to a personal regime." That party explains why this country has remained attached to

the alliances even when the *quid pro quo* banished. Now many leaders of public opinion openly say that since we have been left to fend for ourselves in every hour of crisis and deprived of both military and economic aid by our super-allies, it was time we said goodbye to military pacts and ended one of the anomalies and contradictions of our foreign policy. But there are others who point out that we cannot ignore our fraternal ties with Turkey and Iran, who have firmly stood by us in every crisis, and they must be consulted before any decision is taken to quit CENTO. At the same time, the reaction of China should be ascertained, for it is deeply interested in the stability of this region and Indian Ocean. However, discerning, observers argue that alliances like CENTO have become almost anachronistic in the wake of nuclear stalemate and super-power detente, and the interests of smaller nations like Pakistan will be better served by keeping away from entanglements—including the Soviet-proposed Asian Security plan—identifying completely with the emergent states of the Third World and steering clear of all power blocs in keeping with the postulates of an independent foreign policy.

—A. T. Chaudri: *Dawn Overseas*,
Sep. 30, 1978

X X X X X

PAKISTAN: CAMP DAVID TALKS

Pakistan has termed the absence of any reference to the Palestine Liberation Organisation in the Camp David documents as "a grave omission, and has stressed that the PLO has been recognised by the Rabat Arab Summit and the Lahore Islamic Summit as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, reports APP. Commenting on the Camp David nego-

tiation between Egypt and Israel under the US supervision, a Foreign Office spokesman said here that the accords and related documents signed at Camp David were being carefully studied. The total picture would become clear after fuller information, throwing light on all the details, was available, he added. The spokesman reaffirmed Pakistan's commitment to the Lahore Islamic Summit declaration regarding the restoration of the holy city of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty, which was the permanent and unchangeable prerequisite for any resolution of the Middle East conflict. He recalled Pakistan's sustained initiatives in the United Nations, and outside, to reiterate the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and to ensure Israeli withdrawal from Jerusalem and all the occupied Arab territories.

In this context, he referred to the letter which the President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, had addressed to President Sadat on the eve of the latter's historic visit to Jerusalem. He regretted that the national rights of the peoples of Palestine, including their right to set up an independent state in Palestine, as enshrined in various UN resolutions, did not find a place in the accords. The spokesman concluded by saying that President Carter had made "a determined effort" towards securing peace in the Middle East and had been able, in co-operation with President Sadat, to initiate the process towards that end. If the process of peace were to gather momentum and to lead to a just and permanent settlement of a conflict, which had lasted for 30 years, the spokesman said, the initiative taken by President Carter would have to be pursued further to settle more fundamental issues which affected the entire Middle East region.

—APP, Islamabad, September 30, 1978, *Dawn Overseas*

BOOK REVIEW

Nonaligned And the World

Singham, A. W.

The Non-Aligned Movement in world politics

This collection of essays and papers delineating the philosophy of Non-Alignment delivered at Howard University in April, 1976, also includes the proceedings of the last international conference of Non-Aligned nations in Sri Lanka. Among the contributors are Samir Amin (Director of the office of the UN, Senegal), Robert Chrisman Editor, *The Black Scholar*, John Conyers, Jr. (Member of Congress, US), Johan Galtung (Professor of Political Science, University of Geneva), M. L. Marasinghe (Professor of Law, University of Windsor, Canada), Edward Sanu (Ambassador to the US from Nigeria), Tran Van Dinh (Professor of Pan-African Studies, Temple University, Philadelphia) A. W. Singham, who has edited and introduced the volume, is Professor of Political Science at Howard.

324 Pages ISBN: 069-9 paper: \$6.95

THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN WORLD POLITICS
EDITED BY A. W. SINGHAM (LAWRENCE & HILL & CO. WEST PORT, CONNECTICUT 1978 \$ 7.95 pp XII+273)

The non-aligned movement has come to play such a decisive role in world politics today there are few fields which escapes its sphere of influence. For all its influence and importance the movement has not yet developed into

an organisation; nor has it assumed any institutionalized status. Though constituted chiefly of third world countries it is not a bloc with any leading central power. It is often criticised for the lack of a defined ideology and cohesion. But it is not often realised that the absence of these factors are the ones that really gives strength to the movement. The movement does not impose any universal conduct. In the words of the editor, "the non aligned movement is a global social movement, a coalition of a variety of governments which share certain broad international objectives..... A social movement unlike a political party has loose organisation and, in turn, develops organisational structures to achieve specific objectives, often later dismantling the organisation or structure created for that purpose." Viewed from this point the movement is a permanent one, activated during a crisis, to influence world opinion.

Without realising the contribution it could make towards achieving racial and political equality, peace, and freedom from hunger, efforts are being made by certain powers to weaken the movement by covert actions. Even some of the members of the movement, themselves are very pessimistic of the role it could play in the absence of any backing from certain world powers. There are others who argue that non-alignment was the creation of the Cold War, and as the Cold war is showing signs of thawing in the face of "detente", is it necessary to continue with this Utopia?

Though Cold War might have temporarily receded to abeyance there are many other factors to be met collectively. Those who monopolise the world mass media are all at one to destroy the movement. From the inception of the movement the mass media, particularly

of the West has viewed the activities of the movement with contempt and hostility. The movement has been described as consisting of the world's "adolescent nations" and a "Union of Beggars" who were trying to bargain with their donors. There are others who view the movement as a group of the tyrannical majority of the world's population anxious to blackmail the world's rich and to demand their share of the riches.

This is a groundless accusation, and expresses partiality for western powers. However it has a warning to the imperialist nations. Simply put, as far as the imperialists are concerned, the tyranny of the majority means that in most issues in the world today the progressive interests of the non-aligned states often corresponds to those of the socialist countries (p. 88). Besides this, the entry of Cuba, has added new and powerful dimensions to the movement. The example of Cuban struggle and Revolution has offered encouragement to many African states struggling for national liberation and this is a thorn in the side of imperialism. Hence the antagonistic attitude of the imperialists to the non-aligned movement.

These are some of the critical views expressed in the *Non-Aligned Movement and World Politics*. This book contains articles prepared for the Conference on Non-alignment held at Howard University (April 8-10, 1976) and other articles from distinguished diplomats, ministers, scholars from the Non-aligned world and Afro-Americans. Though the book is addressed to Afro-Americans, as they have not been sufficiently informed of the global interest and activities undertaken by the non-aligned states, yet the discussions are very useful to all students of NonAlignment.

The subject division of the book is done in such a way that it shows

the immediate objectives which has engaged the attention of the non-aligned movement. Besides the informative preface and conclusion contributed by the editor, the book is divided into five main parts, each in turn has been subdivided subject-wise. The five main headings are as follows:—

Non-Alignment; Continental Perspectives; Non-Alignment and Global Mass Communication; Non-Alignment and the National Liberation Movements; Non-Alignment and the New Economic Order and Non-Alignment and the Afro-American People. In addition to these Chapters the political and economic declarations of the fifth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Governments held in Sri Lanka in 1976 have been incorporated in the book.

In the opinion of this reviewer the most valuable section of the book is the one that deals with the new economic order. Development in international economic co-operation so far clearly indicates that the problems of economic development in the world, in terms of the institutions established and policy pursued, were usually solved on the basis of traditional colonialist conception of economic relations, dominated by the national and monopolistic interests of the industrially developed countries. This has led to a serious crisis in the international economic order and disintegration of certain of its parts. In order to restore the balance, the non-aligned countries have called for a re-oriented new economic order. This demand affect both the capitalist and the socialist systems equally. The demands for a new economic order includes the following:

- (1) A meaningful share and control of world production, investment, trade and technology;
- (2) Direct participation in the

policy-making processes that affect the wealth of the world-
(3) A re-organisation of current international financial structures to allow transfers of resources and technology to places where they are most needed.

(4) Full participation in the exploitation of the oceans and space (p 4)

These demands are based on the sound economic principle that supplier of raw material is equally entitled for equal share in the profits made by the manufacturer of goods. The decisions of the OPEC countries to raise the price of oil were welcomed by the non-aligned countries, despite the fact that it led to a deepening of their economic crises, as a measure of strength and bargaining power of the third world countries. This is an event of historic proportions. At least for the first time in the history of the world, the "Wretched of the Earth" were able to effect and enter into a sound bargaining with their exploiters. As the editor clearly stated "the very act of raising this question is a courageous one, for the demand implies a willingness on the part of the non-aligned to examine the resource question on the global level (p. 231). The world cannot continue to fight the merits of the two types of economic systems as it prevails today. Sooner it decides on the mode of production and distribution on a global level the better it is for mankind.

In the section on national liberation movements only the case of Zimbabwe and Puerto Rica has been discussed. The struggle waged by the Namibians and Blacks in South Africa are equally painful and should have found place in the book. Though glimpses of their struggle have been mentioned, yet their fight for liberation deserves

equal space in a conference papers like this.

The other area of interest in the book is the attempts made to bring the Afro-Americans into the fold of the non-aligned because the Africans in America have been lending political diplomatic and material support to liberation movements in Africa. Secondly, as the most progressive sector in the US it is felt they should align themselves with the progressive forces of the world. Thirdly, they themselves have struggled and are still struggling to achieve what most of the members of the third world are demanding. Finally it will also provide a forum for the blacks in America to declare themselves against the criminal acts of imperialism committed in their name by the US Government in the interest of monopoly capitalism. (p. 217) Therefore, their area of conflict with the white racists in US does not materially differ from that of their counterparts in Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa. It is difficult to reach a consensus on the issue of Afro-America as they are placed in an embarrassing position of having extra-territorial alliances. This will be an interesting development worth watching in the future.

In brief the book critically analyses and shows the achievements of the non-aligned to date and its plan of action for the future. One cannot altogether agree that there was no division among the members of this group. The Sri Lanka Conference proved that there was division between the progressive countries and those who were widely identified with the Western bloc such as Singapore and Malaysia. Among the progressive groups, there was the difference, between the camp followers of Soviet Union and China. The Editor's conclusion which touches Sri Lanka Conference provides

excellent reading on these differences.

However it should be admitted as several of the articles in the book shows that without the movement's efforts, international relations would have been still conducted by the super-powers on the basis of bloc division. Decolonization without the help of the movement, would have been nothing but a shadow of old Colonialism. And finally the world economic system, outside the socialist bloc would have still been controlled by United States and its puppet agencies.

This is of course not to say that non-aligned countries have changed the face of the world overnight. Nor has it the political, military and economic power just at the moment to wield the big stick—its power rests on unity and consensus. But it has all the potentiality for developing into a permanent movement to reduce the effect of super-power monopoly and re-distribute human and scientific energies on a global level.

K. Arumainayagam

25.09.78

X X X X X

ACID BOMB EXPLOSION — 20

Chapter Twenty

Insurgents Strike

By James Goonewardene

Sirina Piyaratne could not recall what time it was she reached the police station. It could have been two or it could have been one thirty; she could not remember. The clock on the wall had started to play tricks on her imagination. Everything was jumbled and mixed up now; she remembered she had ranted and raved and then when

exhausted and she had stopped her mind had gone blank. She had been here at the station since then, her chair placed against the wall. It was now four.

"Why don't you go back home and come later?" The policeman told her. "The Inspector doesn't come at four in the morning. We told you we will look into it when it is daylight. Your husband is safe. Who would want to harm him—an old man like him. You'd better go now."

All she had done was to sit and stare back at them. The policemen were themselves jittery. You could see that. They too were frightened. Every little while two policemen with rifles would come in, check at the guard room, have the tea which the young lad would bring for them, and return to their post at the back of the station. The policeman in the guard room would take some tea himself and offer some to Mrs. Piyaratne and she would bluntly refuse it. They would then offer it to the woman she had come along with—she would take it and seem glad to have it.

After a time a look of bitterness came over Mrs. Piyaratne's face. She had begun to hate the policemen—they just sat there and did nothing. She had been thinking while she sat there, apologising to her husband for any wrong she had done. She had nagged him in the past and he had closed up like a clam. The only time she realised something was wrong was when they took him to hospital that night. If they brought him back safe she swore she would never be rude to him again. She sat with the fall of her saree wrapped round her shoulder against the morning chill and against her weariness, and her greyish brown face, plump and drooping and looking very old now. She held the fall of her saree round her shoulders as if that was the only protection she had.

When daylight had finally broken she stood up suddenly, glared at the policeman, summoned her servant with the jerk of her hand, and stamped out of the place. The policemen telling the story later had a laugh. They were ready then to laugh at anything; they were bored with their waiting and they were frightened. They were hard-worked and underpaid; it was a bad joke that they had to look after others as well; it was a truly bad joke; they had a hard time looking after themselves, leave alone trying to get husbands to stick to their homes instead of getting lost all over the place.

The abduction of the Principal was like a signal. Incidents began to occur with great rapidity in the next forty eight hours. The things that the country had been building up to in the recent years, it seemed, were about to find its release, its resolution, its final moments of disorientation, frenzy and madness.

It began with seemingly commonplace incidents. A hold up of an isolated post office by an armed gang of robbers, where there was always money to grab, was not so infrequent an occurrence recently. So when the raid on the sub-post office took place it did not surprise anyone.

"Here they are at it again—the criminal minded, unemployed youth finding an escape for their frustration; the idle mind's the devil's workshop—the terrible indiscipline in the country—that's what it was, indiscipline. They should all be put to work in the fields and whipped—that's what had to be done." This was the talk in the street corners, in the houses.

It all happened that morning without any fuss or bungling. A few people had transacted business here that morning, as they usually did—buying a stamp, sending a postal order, putting money

into the savings account. This was how it was at this little post office; after the initial rush there was always a lull, and it was during this lull that these young men had arrived in the jeep and walked into the office. Two of them had shot guns, and one a rifle. They pushed open the door at the side and went in. Two of the young men, unhurriedly, went to the postmaster's assistant, Sirisoma, grabbed him and held him down in his seat, the other surrounded the sub-postmaster's desk; the stumpy, plucky little man looked about him like a startled rabbit, sprang from his seat, grabbed the money there was on the table, turned round to the safe and started to fumble with the keys; the raiders were quicker. They grabbed him; one of them, their leader, swung his arm round and twisted it in a wrestler's hold, a trained man working with swiftness. The sub-postmaster made the mistake of hollering for help and resisting.

"Keep quiet now. We are not going to harm you—just give us the money and let us go."

The rotund little man was not going to let the thing go at that. He grappled with the man and shouted for help—it was a crazy thing to do—he hadn't a chance against them—suddenly then, in the midst of the scuffle, the rifle exploded; the bullet was deflected and it struck the postmaster in the shoulder; more from fright than the seriousness of the injury he dropped in a faint on the floor. They let him lie there while they helped themselves to whatever money there was; leaving his assistant to deal with the injured postmaster they climbed into their jeep and drove off.

There was an uncommon indifference and lack of concern for the consequences of their action. It convinced the people who gathered at the scene, afterwards,

that this was no ordinary raid—there were several pointers here that made them feel that this was different. There was no waste of time or energy—having got the money they went—they had done nothing to disguise themselves.

The next incident, the following morning came as suddenly as the previous one. Ariya had been to town that morning and had been purchasing things for the resthouse; on his return he sat at his desk to get his purchases down in his books. He had not been long at this when a jeep came to a halt suddenly outside. Apart from the screech of brakes and the suddenness of their arrival there was nothing to indicate that these young men in a jeep were anything more than a harmless group of spirited young holiday makers out for a good time; he went on with his work, hoping that one of the waiters would look after them.

The young men tumbled out of their vehicle and went into the resthouse. Two of the young men advanced towards Ariya's desk. The others placed themselves at various other points inside the resthouse. It was like something one had seen in a western film—a raid on a gaming house. They were on a great, romantic adventure in the style and manner of the lawless days of the Wild West one had read of in books. The long, hard life Ariya had lived had taught him not to panic in a tight situation.

"Your waiters—where are they?" asked their leader.

"If there's anything you want I can attend to it."

"How many waiters have you here?"

Ariya looked back at the young man, saying nothing. He had decided to give no replies. He decided to treat them as ordinary visitors despite the feeling he had that this was trouble and it was serious.

"You are asked a question you give a reply—you understand?"

"Want rooms and food I can arrange them for you."

"I asked a question."

Ariya paused a moment. "I am the manager of the rest house—usually the questions are asked by me," he replied after a pause. Suddenly the butt of the gun struck him on his head. It was done with an extraordinary speed and skill. He was thrown back violently. He swayed for a moment and suddenly collapsed in his seat.

"All right, get all the waiters," shouted the leader. "Get them all—round them up."

Ariya had only been stunned. It took him only a moment to come round again. He rose then. He felt this lump; in his head; it was hardening and with it came a burning sensation. He put his hand to his head and withdrew it. It was full of blood. He lifted his eyes and looked at his assailant. He looked so young, barely twenty—square jawed and dark skinned, the colour of stained nadun wood, with high cheek bones. He was deeply sunburned. He didn't look vicious, but he stood there, with his legs spread apart like a gunman in the cinema. His real bosses, were perhaps, elsewhere, he thought, and this was their chief gunman who was trying to act the part assigned him, or was he the leader, the boss, the district governor, and where did they come from? He glanced round the place and looked at the other young men who had come with him. They were just peasant or working class youth he had not seen before—just a rabble of young hoodlums, and suddenly, then he thought he recognised the young man who had accosted him on the beach that evening; he looked at him trying to think back, but he felt dizzy—he couldn't co-ordinate

his thoughts—the blow on his head—they were all young, and it looked so unreal—perhaps, this was just a cheap film he was looking at and he had suddenly become dizzy.

"Tie him to a chair," he heard the leader say. They grabbed him roughly and started to tie him up. Yes, it was all real. They were killers. They would kill if provoked. He was not going to resist. He had nothing against them except the blow he had received on his head and the bleeding from it. To act heroically one had to have a hero's motives. He had no motives. Life was what he needed now. He wanted to live. To tie him up—if that was all they were going to do it was all right. If they wanted to kill him they would have done so already. He saw then, as if through a mist, the waiters being herded together in the dining room. The rest moved through the resthouse collecting the tins of canned food, the bottles of liquor and everything was carried to the jeep. They went through the resthouse with great thoroughness, taking everything they needed. Finally, they grabbed the keys of the safe from him and got at the money. This was the last thing they did. When they had cleared the safe they went.

It was over and tied to the chair Ariya waited. He waited till his head had cleared and he could think. The suddenness with which everything had happened left him dazed for some time. There was nothing in his experience that had a parallel to what had taken place. Clearing the food stuff from the resthouse—everything there was—even the scraps—they were stockpiling it—but with what object? It was this that had started to bother him. It was when Aramanis came and released him from his trussed-up position in the chair and he got on his feet, still feeling

a bit dazed from the blow on his head, that he tried to think.

"Where were you when all this happened?" he asked Aramanis.

"I hid—I saw what was happening and I hid—I am sorry, I was frightened," said Aramanis.

"Who were those young men—what were they up to?"

"They are the insurgents—this is what everyone's talking about in town. They earlier attacked the post office."

"And you were hidden when all this happened?"

"I am sorry—I was frightened and I hid, but later I thought I'll creep out and get help, but I couldn't. They would have seen me. I was going for Deva Mahataya or the police—whichever was easier."

"What use of that—by the time help arrived they would have gone in any case—"

But Ariya was worried now; he was worried about Aramanis. The raiders seemed to know the layout of the resthouse. He was suddenly not sure about Aramanis, but it was just a suspicion. It was just his dazed condition making him see ghosts in every bush.

"Its all right," he said. "I don't blame you. Life's what is important—one does not show bravery in the presence of guns—but you will go now and fetch Deva Mahataya."

Aramanis nodded and was gone.

It was nearly one o'clock when Deva arrived at the resthouse. He had still not had time to recover from the excitement and shock of the attack on the sub-postmaster and the hysteria of the boarding mistress. The whole of the previous afternoon and night he had been busy trying to calm her fears. "Nothing more serious than a grazing bullet wound on his shoulder," he reassured her.

"But he could have died. They could have killed him," she cried. Now the news had come of the attack on the resthouse. This was more than a coincidence, he thought as he hurried to his friend's assistance. The whole of the town had been shocked into fear by the disappearance of the Principal, and now these other things that had happened. Something terrible was afoot. Deva was grateful, when he arrived at the resthouse, to discover that his friend had not been really harmed. In this rapid decline into chaos one had to have the wisdom to look for the small elements from which to seek consolation in the hope that the little comforts and mercies would all add up to something to live by. The school had been closed since the Principal disappeared, and a dozing, backwash town had been struck by fear and terror of a kind they could not understand. News was also spread of the disappearance of various young boys from a variety of homes. This added to the hysteria in the town.

"What's the police doing? What are the authorities doing?" asked people.

"What can the police do when they are wetting their own pants in fear?"

"But they must do something"

"Why can't they call for help?"

"From where?"

"The government, of course—the army."

Nothing happened, and the people waited.

The only sign of discomfort Deva discovered in his friend Ariya was this large plaster stuck across his forehead. For the first time since he had known Ariya he saw this look of dejection on his face. He looked beaten. The safe world he had been living in had begun to show cracks. He could only bring out a tired smile when his

friend Deva showed up. The land they called dharmadeepa or the island of the doctrine of peace had spawned devils. The jerry built house had started to fall apart.

It didn't take Deva long to discover that Ariya was, however, facing a crisis of another kind. There was no food to be had at the resthouse. They had cleaned it out. Ariya had sent a waiter to the shops with a few rupees he had had in his pockets, but they returned empty handed. People had sensed the impending breakdown in the distribution of food and had bought up everything there was to be had in the shops. It was like a town that had been destroyed by a cyclone or some other indescribable catastrophe. There was a similar gloom and uncertainty and fear. All normal human relationships were slowly disappearing, and along with it the feeling of security and protection one had from the normal processes of law and justice. "In another day you'll be starving here," said Deva. "At least, for the present I'll fetch some food from the boarding and also some money—for whatever that is worth."

"You are exhausted. I have just heard of what you have gone through helping the landlady to recover her senses, calming her hysteria. Rest a bit first. We are all right for the moment. We have some tea—the only thing they spared. It was overlooked or they would have taken that as well."

Deva eventually left to the boarding and returned with whatever food he could lay his hands on; the money was of no practical use. The shops and eating houses had been stripped of items of food. Things people had scorned earlier had been bought up like in a town struck by famine. Stale bread lying in the filthy show cases had been bought up for three times the

price they had earlier paid for fresh bread. They had scooped up bits of rusks lying forgotten at the back of the show cases. The proprietors of eating houses sat despondently in their empty shops. They had nothing to sell. There was no flour therefore no bread was baked nor buns made; a couple of customers stood in front of the shops staring blankly into space. The most desolate place was the bus stand. A stray dog nosed in the garbage can. It lifted its head, its paws still clinging to its edge and disconsolately turned its head and let its watery eyes drift in different directions, while a fly hovered over a suppurating wound on its back, then it dropped its paws and wandered off. An empty garbage can seemed like the last straw for the animal.

At the resthouse Ariya and Deva sat like two mutes thinking what next to do, but saying nothing. What could they say or do not knowing what next to expect, but Ariya was slowly arriving at a decision. The waiters were still around. He had to make a decision about them. He had the responsibility now of feeding them, but there was no food to be had—the flour, the rice, the vegetables, everything that could be transported had been taken. He spoke to the gardener first.

"Velu, you go back to your estate. There, at least, you can find something to eat."

"No—how can I go when you are in trouble."

"Your presence here will only create more trouble. I cannot feed you..you know that."

"Yes, I know there's now no food."

"Its better, therefore, you should go Velu. I think there's more trouble coming. This is only the beginning."

"All right, if you think it will be the right thing to do—I'll do that. I'll go."

"Yes Velu, go—you'll be better off on the estate."

"But what of you—there's no food—what of that—and the waiters—they too will be without food? I'll be all right, but you say I should go."

"Do you want to stay and starve with us?"

"I don't want anyone to starve."

"We can look after ourselves, Velu, but seeing others starve whom I am responsible for—it will create problems for me—the less there is to worry about the better."

"They are animals to have done this—to have taken the food—animals, that's what they are—and why did they have to do it?"

"We don't know why or what it is they are trying to do, but they are up to something—what it is I don't know, but it will be like something this country has not seen before. It will bring suffering and death. There will be killing and dying—all because someone has had a dream that he is a great hero."

When Velu was gone Ariya leaned forward in his chair, put his hands on his lap and his head down and stared at his feet. Deva waited a moment and spoke to him. He knew what it was that was worrying him.

"You have still had no news of Piyaratne?" he asked, his voice almost hoarse. Ariya turned his head round to look at Deva, stared at him and then shook his head. He suddenly stood up and started to pace the floor. "No, Deva, no. I've asked all sorts of people—no one knows except....."

"Except what?"

"I don't know...I am not sure. If only I could be sure."

"What are you talking about?"

"Don't ask me yet. I've got to be sure."

Ariya suddenly called out to a waiter. "Somapala, Somapala," he shouted, his voice sharp, throaty and angry. When the waiter arrived he asked him; "Where's Aramanis—have you seen Aramanis?"

"Aramanis," exclaimed the waiter.

"Yes, Aramanis."

"I've not seen him around. I've not seen him for sometime now."

"Ask the others."

The reply from the others too was negative.

"Deva, I am afraid, that our Aramanis is not what he appeared to be."

"Why do you say that?"

"I don't know—I have nothing to go on; it's just a feeling—all these things come one on the top of the other—my over-heated brain, maybe, but I've had this feeling a couple of days now—Aramanis didn't seem to be acting normally—tense, restless—it was as if he knew more than he was willing to tell us, and if he doesn't appear before the end of the day I would be certain then."

"You are trying to tell me that Aramanis too is in this thing, in this movement?"

"Yes, but what is it—what are they trying to do? The authorities are silent—no one's talking, but you have a feeling we are sitting on dynamite—its going to explode, and there's no news of Piyaratne—the police doing nothing and now... everyone facing starvation—the talk is that no food lorries have come in for several days now, and its not likely there will be any coming today.

It was evening now. They felt they had to have news. The waiting was difficult when there was nothing to do. Every little while Ariya

would fiddle around with the old transistor radio. The music went on—the same old records, the same old announcers going on with their patter as if nothing was wrong. It irritated Ariya. He suddenly stood up and snapped the radio shut.

"Bloody nonsense," he said.

"You've got to do something about your waiters," said Deva.

"Yes, I'll speak to them now. I'll give them the alternative of staying or going away—they'll go except the cook who's an old hand and without any relations around here. He'll stay with me and possibly starve with me." Ariya spoke to the waiters; three of them decided to leave in the morning. "Its better that you should go," said Ariya. "I don't know what's going to happen. You'll be safer in your own homes and your own people."

At about five thirty he switched on the radio and listened. He let the thing go on now. When the news of trouble was broken it was done calmly, without fuss. The music was suddenly faded out and the announcer's voice came on: "Attention please, attention please, we are interrupting our normal broadcast to bring you an important government communique" and he went on to give details of an insurgent attack on the police station in a little town, far away on the east coast. They had attacked the police station with hand bombs and other weapons. One constable had been killed. When night came Ariya and Deva were still where they had been seated earlier; the radio continued to blast out its music softly, its commercials, its jingles, sounding crazy against the collapse of normal life; yet above the radio there was this hush that had settled on the resthouse which had affected even the waiters who talked softly and went quietly as if in the house of the

dead. They had nothing to do now but to wait not knowing for what. From time to time Ariya would call out to a waiter and ask for Aramanis, and the reply continued to come in the negative. He had disappeared. Since the trouble with the police he had been sleeping in an empty store-room at the back of the resthouse. This was empty now, screaming out the absence of it's late occupant—the few things he had kept in there had vanished. Both Deva and Ariya examined the room; there was nothing there—he was gone; he was gone without a warning.

Deva and Ariya went back to their seats.

"What was he upto, assuming the guise of a bum? asked Deva.

"He was just their spy—hanging round the place and getting the information back to his comrades in hiding."

"What then was he doing by the river—fishing—all the time fishing?"
"Watching the resthouse, of course. Who came and who went—the army, the police....."

"It was excellently done—so simple and innocuous."

"This is it, and this is what has forced me to the conclusion that it all seems bigger than anyone suspects."

"What is it going to be like then?"

"Anything—its why I have been thinking the last hour or so. You have a chance to get away from here?"

Deva turned his head sharply to look at his friend.

"You want me to go and you—what are you going to do?"

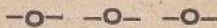
"I don't know what I'll do, but its better that you should go. When the trouble starts its going to be hell here. I feel it in my bones. Its better, therefore, that you go. You have your brother to go

back to. The city will be the safest place. It will be the most guarded place when the trouble starts—food will be easier to get—you will have people to turn to...."

"You know I cannot—I cannot while we have no news of what's happened to Piyaratne—its nonsense for me to go and you with not a dog to turn to."

"I was only talking; I was only testing out my own fears. We are stuck here, whatever happens we are stuck here. The resthouse has been the only home I have known the last several years—and now where can I go?"

Copyright Reserved



SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

World Bank Aid And IMF Credits

by The Recorder

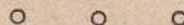
THERE HAS RECENTLY been a spate of euphoric drum-beating about the aid the World Bank had undertaken to extend to the Accelerated Mahaweli Programme and other Projects and also about the credits the IMF and other UN agencies have agreed to give Sri Lanka. Too much attention has been paid in the local press, which has long forgotten the art of critical analysis and comment, to the benefits and glories of getting such aid, but little or no attention has been paid to the dangers and difficulties inherent in receiving such aid—and more especially the problems connected with repayment of these loans.

It is no doubt true that without money and capital nothing can be done, and that it was better for Sri Lanka to raise these monies from UN agencies like the IBRD and the IMF rather than from pri-

vate banking consortiums, but it is also necessary to know just what the IBRD and IMF loans imply and entail.

INDIA has been one of the biggest recipients of World Bank aid in the last thirty years and more. India's present development could not possibly have been reached without staggering World Bank loans and IMF credits. But these loans and the "liberalised" import cum export economy which these financial institutions insist on as a condition precedent for granting loans and credits have caused serious problems for India.

World Bank President McNamara, before he came to Sri Lanka on October 12, spent more than 7 days in India (partly to attend a meeting of the resuscitated Ford Foundation of India and partly to attend to World Bank affairs). The New Delhi weekly *Link* had two interpretative backgrounders on the implications of World Bank aid. The two articles are reproduced below.



FROM THE LINK NEW DELHI, OF OCTOBER 8, 1978 ON "USING THE U.N."

WORLD BANK President Robert McNamara is in India on a week-long tour. Normally when the top bosses of the UN organisations visit, they come in strength supported by an army of officers and experts. McNamara has a busy schedule visiting various World Bank projects, discussing some issues connected with the on-going schemes and some new proposals. He is meeting all important Government leaders including Prime Minister Morarji Desai, Finance Minister H. M. Patel, Industry Minister George Fernandes and some State government leaders.

"While the talks are in progress, the impact of various World Bank and other UN organisation's programmes in India has become a matter of controversy. Apart from the Bank's shift in stress to rural schemes there is much misgivings about the very intention of initiating such projects as super power plants and modernisation of railways. Normally, such projects are welcome in any developing country because of its aid component as well as import of better technology. In the case of super thermal plants there is already some controversy about their very utility and relevance. Even in the case of the advantages such as operation cost, a section of world experts question many of the claims by the protagonists of the super thermal plants of 500 mw. According to the current thinking, four big thermal stations with a total capacity of 2,000 mw. each will be set up in the central sector alone. While the public sector BHEL is not in a position to meet such huge demands at this stage, the fact remains that this will affect its business in the long run, considering the already poor order position. This long-term damaging effect on the indigenous industry notwithstanding, it is feared that the super power plants will be virtually sidetracking the former and make it permanently inferior. Its initial investment itself will be huge. Then it needs regular spares and maintenance by providing a permanent business for a few multinational giants dealing in power.

"The World Bank is reportedly trying to push the railways also into a similar trap at the behest of some US and Canadian multinationals. The lure in this case too comes in the shape of World Bank loans and grants. The idea is to buy about 50 locomotives from abroad, preferably from the US and the Canadian firms as part

of the modernisation plan. The new design offered is of 3,400 HP with some advantages. However, technical experts in the Railway Ministry have strongly opposed the move even after this World Bank proposal got the approval of the Finance Ministry. Railway Minister Madhu Dandavate is reported to have thrown his weight against this scheme.

"A much more valid reason seems to be the fear that such a move will virtually mean technological imperialism on its own production units. India may be forced to perpetually depend on imported technology with huge financial loss which will benefit only a couple of multinationals. The World Bank, which has been persistently forcing India to accept the proposal, had even offered a 240 million dollar loan for the purpose. An Indian railway technical team had visited the US. Later, when India's inability to toe the line was conveyed to the Bank, it even expressed readiness to grant more aid to effect the necessary improvements in the tracks. It is likely that the visiting World Bank tout will once again apply pressure on New Delhi.

"In this regard, the experience of the ambitious Operation Flood is cited by its critics. In its first stage, the operation will entail an expenditure of Rs. 100 crore and the next Rs. 500 crores. Though official figures talk of big increase in the milk production as a result, a closer look at it establishes the fact that much of the increase is due to imports of skimmed milk powder and butter oil, two major components of the operation flood milk. In fact, the value of the imports of SMP and butter oil had increased from Rs. 25 crores in 1974-75 to Rs. 39 crores in 1976-77. It will increase year after year in proportion to the expansion

of the operation. On the other hand, the production figures show that the actual milk output in the operation areas have not made any significant improvement. In fact, it took several years for the government to feel the trap laid by IDA, a subsidiary of the World Bank. Initially, the entire SMP and the butter oil was to come in the form of gift. And it did so. However, in the past few months there have been some delays in supply. But the aid-givers have now politely informed the government that there was likely to be continued disruption in the gift supply and that India could buy SMP and butter from the world market freely. What has worried the Agriculture Ministry is the reports that it might have to do so permanently. This means that even on the basis of the first stage of the operation, India will have to depend on imports to the tune of Rs. 50 crores for ever to maintain the project because it has been designed by the IDA design. Thus, it will from hereafter help the West to dump its increasing milk surplus on India at the commercial rates on a permanent basis. Another advantage for the multinationals has been that they could dump on this country their dairy equipment for the operation flood because all schemes financed by the UN funds have to call global tenders.

"In fact, there have been a large number of cases in the recent past to show the increasing attempts by the multinationals to exploit the developing countries through the UN organisations. A favourite method is to plant their own men in such UN units. In mid-70's, half a dozen multinationals, some of them very active in India, had formed a secret organisation to infiltrate into the "Group of Eminent Persons" set up by ECOSOC. The secret unit not only managed

to infiltrate into but also gave vital information of the working of the ECOSOC. On another occasion, the secret unit even managed through its agents in the "Group of Eminent Persons" to tailor to their whims the report on the impact of the multinationals on the Third World. This was later given big publicity by the multinationals' propagandists."

FROM THE LINK, OCTOBER 1, 1978, ON EXPORT MYTH "EXPORT-LED growth," tourism and handicrafts are the World Bank's prescription for India's economic salvation. The various economic indicators available during the past few months have shown to what extent these favourite Western remedies for the developing world have trapped this country. Official figures released last week have revealed that the adverse trade balance during April-July 1978 alone has been Rs. 280 crores. In the case of foreign trade realisation of 1977-78, the deficit has been as much as Rs. 705 crores. What is more alarming is that this marked a 5.4 per cent fall in exports during the period. During April-July, the total exports have been valued at Rs. 1,634.06 crores and imports at Rs. 1,913.82 crores. On the contrary, there has been a Rs 72 crore trade surplus in 1976-77.

"Apart from the very bankruptcy of the theory of export-led growth, this dismal performance also exposes the damage it can cause to the economy. On the imports side, it is a two-way damage. Indiscriminate imports of large varieties of consumer items such as edible oils, synthetic and cotton fibres and now even cement and coal, have led to the double malaise of draining the foreign exchange reserves and discouraging the domestic production. In the case of edible oils, it has been a virtual free-for-all. Wholesalers vied with

each other in placing orders in the foreign markets. The result was an excessive import of over eight lakh tonnes or twice the quantity needed to be imported. Reports from major oil-seeds producing centres revealed a considerable anxiety among the farmers about the price of their crops in view of the dumping of imported oil. Though the imports of synthetic fibres have had some marginal impact on prices, it had very badly hit the indigenous units many of whom face serious crisis. In all these cases, an important lesson has been that imports utterly failed to bring down the prices. In polyester fibre, for instance, within a day of the announcement of the Government decision to import it, its price marked a 15 per cent rise in the Japanese markets. Import price of cement has been considerably higher. Thus, the Centre had to announce a proportionate increase in the domestic prices as well.

"Another area of indiscriminate imports has been the capital goods sector. In power generation, mining and textile machinery free imports on a large scale have begun creating survival problems for the indigenous industry, so strenuously being developed as part of self-reliance. Among them are prestigious public sector units like BHEL whose order books are fast getting thinner. In many cases, global tenders are floated for equipment. As a result, the relatively young Indian units are forced to compete with the huge multinational giants. Textile machinery units are already in trouble. Not a day passes without the imports of some new items, allowed by the Government. The latest is the bus chassis. In fact, the only beneficiary of this game are the multinational corporations.

"This extravagance in imports is matched by a liberal ban on ex-

ports of even such items as vegetable, meat and tamarind. Any item that tends to cause some seasonal shortage is put on the banned list. On the other hand, in the name of earning foreign exchange, even such exhaustible items like minerals and ores are freely allowed to export. In fact, nearly 50 per cent of the iron ore mined is for exports. The same is the case with manganese ore. The disgraceful agreement for the Kudremukh mining needs no more explanation.

"In spite of the wild craze for exports, its share in the huge foreign exchange reserves has been rather poor. The reserves had increased to Rs. 4,598 crores by the middle of this year from Rs. 937 crores. Bulk of this is due to the increased inward remittances by Indian nationals abroad. The excessive reliance on export earnings in the successive five year Plans has been mainly aimed at meeting the foreign exchange costs of the national schemes. To that extent, and to build up reasonable reserves, it has all relevance. It assumed the role of a major fundraiser for economic growth only after the western economists sold this curious idea to the Indian leaders. On the one side is the big talk of virtues of exports and on the other the increasing protectionism in capitalist world prevents the exports of both traditional and non-traditional items. India's accumulating sugar stock is a living testimony for this ironical situation. Faced with such helplessness imposed by its own creation, the export lobby is only further walking into the trap. These days, much of the import relaxations are being made in the name of boosting exports. Capital goods, raw materials, spare parts and even consumer durables are being freely allowed to import to help the "export industries". Then there are a large

number of concessions like import replenishments. But there has been no serious study into the actual cost of such concessions and imports and the export benefit actually derived from them.

"Another important factor is the increasing irrelevance of exports in helping to boost investment. India is still starving of funds for investment even while the foreign exchange accumulation has reached over Rs. 4,600 crores. In other words, foreign exchange in itself does not provide funds for investment. It has to be matched by internal resources. In the absence of such responsible use of the exchange it will only lead to inflation. This further narrows the scope for the export-led growth."

+ + +

THE HIGH COST OF DYING—2

Unnecessary Rituals And Outmoded Customs

—must be done away with—

by R. C. Thavarajah
Retd. Suptd. of Police

THE BHAGAVAD GITA or the Song of God, an episode in the Epic of the Mahabharatha and which contains the teachings given by Divine Shri Krishna to his disciple Arujuna says:—

"Worn out garments are shed by the body.

Worn out bodies are shed by the dweller

Within the body new bodies are donned

By the dweller like garments"

DR. SARVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN, India's erudite scholar, philosopher and author of Indian Philosophy, the Hindu view of Life, Eastern Religions and Western thought and several other books

in his inestimable treatise entitled "Religion and Society" writes:—"The Religion of the truly religious is a simple one without any shackles of creeds, dogmatic Sentiments or supernatural elements. It affirms the reality of the spirit that broods over time and space. It has for its practical expression the maxim "He that does good is of God". To do justly, to love beauty and to walk humbly with the spirit of Truth is the highest religion."

ARTHUR WILLIAM BERTRAND RUSSELY, whose principal work has been in developing symbolic logic and applying it to mathematics and philosophy and also a social reformer wrote:—"Philosophic rationality may be choked in the shocks of war and the welter of new persecuting 'Superstitions'."

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA, in his Paper on Hinduism read at the World's Parliament of Religions on 19th September, 1893 said "The Hindu believes that every soul is a circle whose circumference is nowhere but whose centre is located in the body and that death means the change of this centre from body to body. Nor is the Soul bound by the conditions of matter. In its very essence, it is free, unbounded, holy, pure and perfect."

In the significantly dynamic relevance of the wisdom of such pronouncements, one wonders whether any useful purpose is served in the observance of some rituals and ceremonies at death. I do not profess to be a dilettante in metempsychosis, metaphysics or even eschatology. I do not have any intention whatever of indulging in the Quixotic exercise of tilting at windmills. I have neither the intelligence nor the knowledge to trespass into the polemics of matters Theological or Theosophical. Being an ignoramus who is

ardently desirous of preserving some of my religious beliefs, I earnestly beseech to be enlightened on this question.

I want to know whether paying far too much attention to ritualistic observances and more so—customs some of which are worthless relics of an antiquated feudal system is essential. **With the cost of living spiralling, can an average middle class family afford as much as Rs. 9,000/- for a funeral? Wasteful and senseless expenditure at funerals and even weddings especially in certain sections of the North should be dispensed with even if it means disregarding some unnecessary rituals and outmoded customs.** The essentially emphatic dimension projected should be the real substantial content of austerities, spiritual, mental disciplines and contemplation of Truth—not what passes off as a mere facade of ceremony and slavish acceptance of customs for the sake of prestige and public opinion.

Yours truly—like most of the ranks of the retired public servants—is afflicted with the common malady—too much month left at the end of the three figure pension. There will be precious little left for "terminal" expenses. It is my fervent hope that the undertakers and others "concerned" will take a hint from some prosperous Airlines who have achieved the acme in advertising with the tantalizing offer "Fly now—Pay later". I sincerely wish that the undertakers and those who perform allied services would grant me the concession by slightly altering the cliché to read "die now—pay later".

Unfortunately, unlike other commercial enterprises, this is one field where the Entrepreneur will not take a risk in business. Since it was for "richer or for poorer,

for better or for worse, the surviving "better half" will have to foot the bill. After all, it is one of the "occupational hazards" of marriage!

Concluded.



CATHOLICS & EDUCATION IN
SRI LANKA—3

Community Schools

by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya O.M.I.

It is within an evolving situation of grave inequalities, great promises and dangerous trends that the Centre for Society and Religion has proposed fundamental changes in the educational system in our country. We have tried to take into account the national aspirations and traditions of our people, the better trends in modern education in different parts of the world and proposed a complex of changes which can be expressed as a proposal to set up *Community Schools*. They have been explained by the two previous speakers Mr. Charles Abeysekera and Mr. Sunil Bastian.

The Community School idea tries to meet the goals of education: of personal development, orientation to production, and social living within the educational set up. It is based on: (1) an overall education for creativity; (2) of relating to the environment of the area, ecosystem; (3) of combining work and study throughout the educational process; (the children may learn part of the day, week or month and work during a part of the remaining time) (4) curriculum should include vocational skills related to the job opportunities of the area, as well as opportunities for continuing of general education. The time table will relate to economic and cultural life of the area.

(5) of educating the mind, the sensitivity to others and the will to work, self reliance and sharing, and for development with social justice; (6) of continuing evaluation based on cumulative records and work experience records rather than merely a pen and paper examination held once; (7) through participation in productive activity the children can help meet educational costs. No child need feel he or she is a burden to the school, community or country; (8) of the school being an institution directly related to the community; the teachers will be members of the local community. Skilled persons such as artists and craftsmen will themselves be communicators of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to the younger generation both by word and in and through work;

(9) The *school facilities* to be open to the community and vice versa. The school buildings, playgrounds, library etc. to be available to the community also. The school to be a centre of culture, learning, and physical education; (10) school curriculum would have multiple terminal points as at Grade 5, 8 or 10. (11) Correspondingly there should be a possibility of re-entry into the educational structure also at different stages to the curriculum; (12) Adult education to be related to community needs facilities, Provision of continuing education. The community centres like libraries to be places of adult education, discussion of public issues, film appreciation, cultural programmes etc. Radio, News papers and TV can relate to these; (13) The entry to *University* to be delinked from the school system. All students should work for at least two years prior to admission to the institutions of tertiary education. All students to leave school after Grade 10 and begin work either on their own or

in State organized national service schemes; (14) Admission to higher education to be based on intellectual competence, skills and attitudes to work, and the dedication to the community and country. Likewise also evaluation of education at the university level should have similar criteria; (15) A variety of university institutions of higher learning to be set up dealing with disciplines like mechanical, civil, chemical, industrial and electrical engineering; industrial technology. Similarly for fisheries, textile, agriculture, animal husbandry, cultivating and processing of tea, rubber, coconut, paddy, cereals and vegetables, forestry, gemmology, refrigeration, business management, planning. (16) Special support to be given to the people in the less privileged areas, the hinterland villages, the slums and shanties and the estates. (17) decentralization of administration to be effective, so that education planning may suit different needs and conditions; (18) Religious education can be more authentic in such an environment of harmony, freedom, justice, work and sharing.

If such proposals are implemented some of the evils of the present system of education can at least be reduced: (a) education will be open to all, at all stages, on a self reliant basis; (b) the school will contribute to production, and thus educational costs can be reduced and shared. This is different from the IMF type proposals which would be to reduce subsidies by increasing fees, and thus benefiting only the affluent; (c) Any student of competence can proceed to the biggest level of his area of work—study. Education need not terminate at the stage of the first leaving of school as at present; (d) Given the grave disparities in the present social system the schools can be developed to meet

the needs of children of different environments. The curriculum need not be the same for all at least at the commencement. The slum and shanty or estate and hinterland children are handicapped for academic work and need to be helped. They are often skilled in productive work. This can be taken as an initial value and opportunity provided for it to develop. This does not mean keeping the poor children always at an unskilled or intellectually lower level. They can advance according to their abilities. Similarly the requirement of all having to work prior to higher education will also have an egalitarian impact.

The community school is designed to bring about a normal authentic relationship between the children, teachers and nature. The effect of environment on persons and persons on environment can be realized better in this ongoing creative relationship. The relationship to the community should include the due loyalty to the country and the wider human race.

This school becomes creative not merely in abstract thought or under mere laboratory conditions or in sample models but in the actual physical psychological reality of the real world of day to day existence, of work, production distribution and sharing.

Learning of the sciences would combine principles and their application. Thus the study of botany will be related to the real growth of plants, the use of manures, pruning, plucking etc.

Biology will relate to the dairy, the poultry, bee keeping. The study of nutrition, veterinary science, of pests and weeds can be linked to the work on the fields, nurseries, incubators, etc. The processing of milk to produce cheese, butter, icecream will be learnt by making

them. Pure science and its application can thus be more closely inter-related. So also the ethical wisdoms of the religious and their practice.

The community school will also be able to gather the best lore of ancient skills and wisdom that is still prevalent among our people: such as in medicine, agricultural practices, weather forecasting, preservatives, human relations, child care etc.

The community school idea tries to combine Gandhian ideas of Education, Rabindranath Tagore's Shantiniketan experience, the socialist views of sharing such as the Chinese experience of re-organizing education, the development in Tanzanian, etc. Sri Lanka can thus evolve an educational process and structure more related to our needs and values. Unemployment will not be a problem as children coming out of the process will have productive skills and experience of creative work.

(To be Continued)

+ + +

LETTERS

Anti-American?

Sir,

Your designating my letter, published in *Tribune's* October 14 issue, as a "hangover from the.. day of..Dulles..brings ..memories of that ugly American who knows what is good for the world, and who insists..a 'commie' behind every bush," is unwarranted and untrue.

Nowhere did I write, nor do I believe, that Americans or other democracies know what is good for the world. They do a number of things that are good for them. But as any staunchly anti-American editor does, you've simply reversed

the western and communist roles. The incontrovertible fact is that with the western imperialists' withdrawal all over the world, the communist imperialists have rushed to take over 'Commiss' know what's best!

You didn't deny or refute my statements that the Russians and Cubans are meddling in Africa, that American blacks steadily improve their position, or that Sri Lanka is overwhelmingly dependent upon western capitalism—because, again these statements are indisputable truth.

In terms of the individual's optimum freedom, nobility and prosperity, there can be no question as to which side offers most.

For that reason I conclude that the west and what it offers the large majority of men really is mankind's only hope in today's world. You may disagree.

Rolf Satterlee

C/o. American Express,
Colombo.

It was not necessary to enter into a point by point refutation of the provocative red-herring thrusts by Mr. Satterlee on a variety of issues all of which, in Dullesian style, were intended to impress upon the natives of the Third World that they must follow the Western beneficiaries who are intent or doing good for their benefit and not be carried away by the commies. It is not correct, as Mr. Satterlee seems to think, that the imperialists withdrew from their colonial holdings owing to the goodness of their hearts. They were driven out at the cost of much life and sacrifice of the subject people. More recently few imperialists have pretended to withdraw only to ensure that their investments were safe. *Tribune* is not 'staunchly anti-American', but it is staunchly anti-Dullesian (and McCarthyism) and also certainly anti-imperialist (even

American) as it is anti every kind of exploitation and every manifestation of oppression judged from the angle of the poor natives of the Third World. And does "America" ipso facto mean all the "western democracies" as Mr. Satterlee seems to imply?

— Editor

X X X

Tirade On Tribune

Sir,

Mr. Rolf Satterlee's letter appearing in *Tribune* of 14/10/78 needs notice. He asks you to level your guns at the communist demons instead of the American people who, according to him "are still the only hope in the world" (emphasis his). This is the year of grace 1978 and we Asians have a lot to remember.

We remember that in World War II, though the main theatre of war was Europe, the USA twice dropped the atom bomb on an Asian country—Japan, which was on the verge of surrender; a crime for which the American people will have to answer to posterity. It has been asserted that the atom bomb was dropped to frighten their then ally, Communist Russia, which defeated Hitler, when he had capitalist Europe at his feet, sacrificing 20 million of the flower of its youth to do so. The Russians learnt to make the atom bomb themselves and since then it has not been dropped, although Nixon's hands were itching to do so.

To us Asians, President Carter's crusade against Russia on the alleged violation of Human Rights leaves us cold. To us, as to all poor countries, euphemistically called Third World countries, the most important Human Right is the right to be adequately fed, clothed, housed, educated, provided Health care and work. All this is provided in Rus-

sia while in the USA there are over 25 million people living below the poverty line and the number is growing. Blacks and the other minority ethnic groups are discriminated against. The unemployment rate among Blacks is twice as high as among Whites. When these things have been righted within the USA, President Carter's concern for Human Rights in other countries may make sense.

Finally, Mr. Rolf Satterlee seems to be concerned about the Tamils in Sri Lanka. He asserts that 15,000 Tamils were both burned and murdered in Sri Lanka only a year ago. I do not know from where he got this figures. But to use the Tamil people of Sri Lanka as a prop for his phobia against communism will not work. The people of Sri Lanka, both Sinhalese and Tamils, realise that communal harmony is essential for us to provide every man, woman and child born here with their chief Human Rights—adequate basic needs. President Jayewardene is working to unite the different communities and we do not need Mr. Rolf Satterlee's solicitude for us Tamils in Sri Lanka. He will need it to help the Blacks and other ethnic groups now being denied basic Human Rights in his own country.

R.W.C.T.

71, Jawatte Road,
Colombo 5.
18.10.78

X X X

Tamil Congress

Sir,

I had occasion to read a letter to you which was published in your journal of the 14th of October 1978. It was a letter dated the 22nd of September 1978 by a presumptuous individual styled Z. Like yourself, Sir, I do not attach any importance to what a person who

is ashamed of, or does not know, his pedigree, says on any subject. Since there is some pointed reference to my late father and to myself. I write this letter not by way of a reply to Z, but to put the record straight vis-a-vis your readers.

Mr. Thondaman, in a statement that appeared in *The Observer* in May 1976, soon after the resolution to fight for a separate state, totally disassociated himself and his party from that issue. Today Mr. Thondaman does not support this matter even as far as the North and East is concerned. To say that there are representatives of the CWC in the TULF action Committee is not true.

I am happy that Z has started thinking in terms of the FP and the TC. What evidence does Z have that it was the FP that got the riots of 1977 raised by the DMK in the assemblies of India? Do the Indian politicians shut their eyes to what is happening in the world around them? When the Pope dies, do we have to wait for a Vatican representative to tell us that before we send a message of condolence?

Z refers to the so called Tamil Congress formed by me. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress was founded on 19.8.44 by my late father. It still exists today, much to the annoyance of some. If there are any one-time TC supporters who abandoned my late father they are found today in Z's TULF! My late father was never 'in exile' anywhere, least of all in Malacca. Z's reference to 'a long chat' with my late father in Malacca is totally false, since my father was never in Malacca. My late father always stood by his political convictions to the bitter end and suffered thereby. What is this change of policy he contemplated? What type of alliance did he contemplate with the late Chelvanayakam? About

whose betrayal was my late father heartbroken? Z could not be more vague than this!

That FP was born because of the move by the Government in 1948 to disenfranchise people of Indian origin, is again false. Why the FP was formed is not relevant to this letter. If the FP was concerned about the Tamils of Indian origin, why was there not one word about them in the BC Pact? Why did the FP support the Sirima-Sastri Pact which repatriated so many to India?

What are the TULF representatives in Parliament doing today? If they are not selling themselves for petty favours, I do not know what else they are doing! I find it difficult to understand some parts of Z's letter. Z's sojourn in Malacca chatting to people in exile has prevented him from getting his facts straight. If Z's reference to a 'long chat' with my late father is not false, will he have the strength of character to surface, disclose his identity and contact me at the above address, in writing, so that I will be able to educate him.

The inaccuracies and falsehoods in his letter no doubt disclose the fact that he 'has a long way to go and a lot to do' before he can 'be quoted profusely in the future.'

G. G. Ponnambalam (Jr.)

12, Nallur Cross Road,

Jaffna.

17th October 1978

X X X

Road To Talaimannar

Sir,

I used to be fascinated by a poem which went thus:

*"Does the road wind to the very end
Yes, to the very end,
Is the road winding all the way,
Yes to the very end."*

Fascination came from the mere fact that the one poet was both questioner and respondent in that dialogue and that didn't sound much of poetry. How far different from Rupert Brooke's: "Does the church-clock stand at ten to three, and is there honey still for tea?"

But do not ask me about the Colombo-Talaimannar road of 165 miles and then run away and wash your hands like Pilate. Is it a trunk road all the way? And quite prosaically I will answer you: "NO. It is just a trunk of bric-a-brac in many parts but mostly from 159 to 164 and a half: it is a motley collection of stones, rubble, tar, sand, stones, tar again..." The road is not cared for or watched by anyone. If there is one, his name must surely be Mr. Bumpy-Bump for that's the sound of car or jeep when it goes that way, and hats off to the CTB drivers, they are not in the least surprised when their passengers have their "insides coming outside". These are our own people, flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone and we treat them like this at the tail end of their road which is also our road, a Sri Lankan road. Meting out treatment like this, we sometimes ask a ridiculous question: "Why do some people want to secede, to break away, when they never had it so good: macadamized roads and all that."

Telford and Macadam worked in Ceylon in days of yore and had they been here today, they would have detected some hanky-panky in the rubberizing of some roads, which is Beyond-Telford and Beyond-Macadam, and the Hell-holing of others, further away from the centre. The reasoning goes like this: "Mannar we can understand, but Talaimannar is beyond, it's another planet, so why can we not rest a little by the roadside while the tar is boiling and then put in a spade or two, don't you

know, and then rest again, terrible heat, what (and then an aside: nobody sees all this, they are far away in the seats of the centre of power and they warm it and warm it and never come here..)".

Mark Twain was once asked whether it is easy or not to give up smoking and he replied: "Smoking? Easiest thing to give up smoking. I have done it many times!" In the same twain, one could show surprise: "Walking up from a car-sleep? Or it's very easy on the Talaimannar road, I have done it many times, in fact now you are wallowing in a pot-hole, now riding the crest of a road-wave and now you have dipped below the horizon. Very easy. It's a wake-sleep process."

Then go and look at the Thirukethieswaram approach road. The people interested in the shrine have seen to it that pilgrims would have a pleasant journey, all the way.

Then also there seems to be, I said seems to be, a policy of divide and rule. An ethnically equal area (Erukalamputty) has been made so strong that there has been created an imbalance: brilliant, shapely buildings replete with science labs, easily inveigle the other community of that area. And I saw the rank and file of people, with darkened brows which bespoke hard work in the UV-sunshine.

Slowly and surely, the MP of Mannar—a real people's choice, they say, is putting order and some system into that area. Quite open to suggestion, he is at the beck and call of People, people, people. That's what I saw.

A lower-rank official told me that most officials live in a comatose state of fear, because if one suggests something to another as being good to be done, there is fear of being pulled up and so no one pulls up anyone else. And so the officialdom doesn't even pull up its socks in certain "areas."

And musing on these things, I suddenly espied a Buddhist temple. And why not. A Buddhist layman told me as he stood near by: "Api meheth vedasitina" — we are also here. By being Present here, and by preaching *bana* to a small group, we hope to remove all traces of ill-will and to make our Sinhala people truly full of *metta*, kindness, friendliness, graciousness to the Tamils and also to push for real reform in this area. Otherwise our Buddha statue has no meaning here. But, the monk himself knows that it is hard work, uphill work." Immediately I thought of the possibility of a Sinhala-Tamil friendship society (*metta* society) like the Geiger society of German-Lanka friendship fame.

Fr. Michael Rodrigo.

Bandarawala.
5.10.78

Job Bank

Sir,

Time and again in the recent past President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has pledged, *inter alia*, that he will treat every citizen of Sri Lanka alike and give him or her equal opportunity to progress. This has roused a sense of contentment in the minds of all right thinking citizens of this country.

But one wonders whether the Job Bank system of giving employment has received his 100% approval. The Job Bank scheme has virtually replaced the much maligned 'chit system' practised by the former government. In the present system a limited number of application forms are allocated to each MP. The MP can use his discretion in the distribution of forms among the jobless and can effectively debar any of his 'oppo-

nents' from applying for a job, thus even the basic right of a candidate to apply for a job is thwarted, unlike in the chit system where only recommendations played a part.

It seems that this iniquitous scheme is self-defeating the Dharmista doctrine.

Chilaw.
4.10.78

Naga

New Constitution And Tamil Language Rights

Sir,

Under the new constitution Tamil has been declared a National Language. The Constitution also guarantees the right of the Tamil speaking people, in whichever part of the country they may live in, to correspond with the Government in their language. Even the earlier government approved Bills for the reasonable use of Tamil and even entered into agreements with Tamil leaders, but never implemented them. Many a promise was given, but never fulfilled. In the context of their earlier experience it is but natural that the Tamil speaking people are looking with suspicion and doubt at the provisions in the constitution granting their language 'National Language' status and them the right to correspond in their mother tongue.

It is therefore now necessary for the government to honour the constitution it framed by taking immediate and effective steps to:

- (1) appoint sufficient staff proficient in the Tamil language to all offices situated in areas where the Tami speaking people live;
- (2) provide adequate number of Tamil typewriters to all offices requiring them to expedite work in the Tamil language;
- (3) have all printed and roneoed forms, devised by government departments, statutory bodies and local authorities for use by the public, prepared in the Tamil language as well;
- (4) have all name boards in government offices and government owned vehicles, hitherto not written in the Tamil, written in that language;
- (5) encourage non-Tamil speaking public servants in the Northern and Eastern Provinces to acquire proficiency in the Tamil language. For purposes of administrative convenience it would be better still if even officers, living outside the above two Provinces but having frequent official dealings with all sections of Tamil speaking population, such as Grama Seva Officers, C.T.B. Conductors, officers serving at reception counters and at the Telephone Exchanges and the like are encouraged to learn at least to converse in the Tamil language; and
- (6) eliminate the English language altogether in all official correspondence by Government with the Tamil speaking people as they prefer their mother tongue to any other language.

K. Kanagasabapathy

20/7, Uplands,
Kandy.
18th October, 1978.

TRIBUNE WILL PUBLISH only letters and communications that are properly authenticated from verifiable addresses. Pen-names and pseudonyms will be used at the request of the writers at the discretion of the Editor.

Confidentially

Transport In A Mess—1

IS IT NOT TRUE that a large number of our readers have been asking us why we have not for some months now dealt with deteriorating conditions in the Transport sector—both the CGR and CTB? That it is true that we had left both these organisations, afflicted by a disease which can be described only as *albus elephantiasis* (from which we suggest the English term *White elephant* was derived) severely alone for some months? That we did this because many people felt that we were carrying on a vendetta (riding a hobby horse to death) by frequently spotlighting the miserable joke the CGR was and the menace the CTB had become? That matters have become so much worse since we last dealt with Transport that it is impossible to keep quiet any longer? That in this period teams from the World Bank (IBRD) and/or the Asian Development Bank (ADB) had come out to report on the working of these two organisations and to see whether CGR and CTB could qualify for long term soft loans? That some say that UN aid agency International Development Agency (IDA) had also made a survey of the CGR and the CTB? That the Ministry of Transport which has an unenviable record for inducing newspapers and the SLBC to cover the CGR and CTB with glory kept the news that these teams were evaluating these undertakings very quiet? That the investigations and inquiries are now over, but no reports have been released? That this may be because the reports have not been finalised, but there is no doubt that even if finalised and presented, the Ministry will not want them put before the

public? That *Tribune* is aware that the ADB's (and may be IBRD and IDA) Transport specialists were horrified by the way the CGR is run and were dissatisfied (but not horrified) with the working of the CTB? That if they make a fresh survey they will find that conditions in the CTB have deteriorated very badly in recent weeks? That whereas a short time ago the main workshop had an output of 125 to 150 units a day, it has now dropped to 60 to 75 units a day? That this means that fewer and fewer buses (even new ones) will be on the roads? That down the grapevine comes the story that the powers-that-be in Kelaniya had taken the CTB to task for not providing a good service there? That inquiries revealed that the CTB depot there was well and amply stocked with new and also serviceable buses and that the service was bad only because the number of buses on the roads every day was only a fraction of the number that could have been utilised? That in this connection, Gunasena papers, the daily *Sun* and the weekly *Week-end* have done a very fine job of spotlighting the defects of the CTB and also less frequently the travails of the travellers in the CGR? That Gamiṇi Navaratne had a scintillating piece on the shortcomings of the CTB in the *Week-end* of October 15? That insiders say that this drop in the output was either due to wilful neglect (intentional go-slow) or calculated sabotage? That before this new development took place, on the basis of the evaluation reports of specialists teams, the IBRD or the ADB or the IDA had expressed a qualified willingness to help the CTB with a loan to get more buses, improve its workshops etc. etc.? That in view of the new developments one does not know what the lending institutions will now say? That it is better to get a soft IBRD or ADB or

IDA loan to buy buses etc., and it will be suicidal to spend IMF standby credit or have recourse to high-interest private commercial loans to buy buses and other equipment?

IS IT NOT A FACT that while the experts from these organisations were prepared to take a risk on the CTB, they had made it clear crystal clear, to use a cliché, to all concerned that the CGR was a concern in which it would be foolish to put any money? That the experts felt that whilst money sent down a drain had chances of being recovered, any money put into the CGR in its present condition would disappear into thin air in the form of smoke? That the ADB specialists were convinced that the way the CGR was being run now made it a sure-hit dead loss? That stories are current how one day a big shot in the CGR had a mighty verbal battle with a foreign expert who had pointed to certain shortcomings? That the din and noise of this battle had reverberated in many places? That one of the matters that had intrigued the foreign railway experts was why the Workshop at Ratmalana was working so badly? That even making allowance for the standard excuse that a rot had crept in after 1970 and everything had gone berserk in the seven bad years, the experts wanted to know why matters had not been set right even 15 months after July 1977? That in some matters, the low output had fallen even lower since July 1977? That this ever decreasing output was coupled with an insane craze for more and more imports even of equipment that could be turned out in Ratmalana and which had been made there before 1970? That foreign experts have been baffled by all they have discovered?

(To be Concluded)

○ ○ ○

For All Your Requirements of

PAPER

Manufacturers of

MONITOR'S EXERCISE BOOKS

DRAWING BOOKS

ACCOUNTS BOOKS

C. R. BOOKS ETC. ETC.

GLOBE INDUSTRIES

95, PEER SAIBO STREET, COLOMBO - 12.

TELEPHONE: 32992

Printed and Published by S. P. Amarasingam, for Tribune Publications at Tribune Printers
at 43, Dawson Street, Colombo 2. on October 28, 1978.

A Studio Times Publication

Handbook

for the

Ceylon Farmer

by Agricola

".....This is an ambitious project for how can a single volume cover the tremendous field of agriculture? The achievement is that it does so most effectively. A handbook is not an encyclopaedic work or treatise. It is what it says it is a book to keep at hand and read and verify to get your basics right..... have it around for your family to read. If you are a professional in agriculture and farming, check your premises by reading the Handbook....."

Review in **Sunday Observer**, 8-10-78.

Available at

STUDIO TIMES

Times Building
Colombo 1.

Revised Edition

400 pages

Illustrated and updated

Price Rs. 65/-