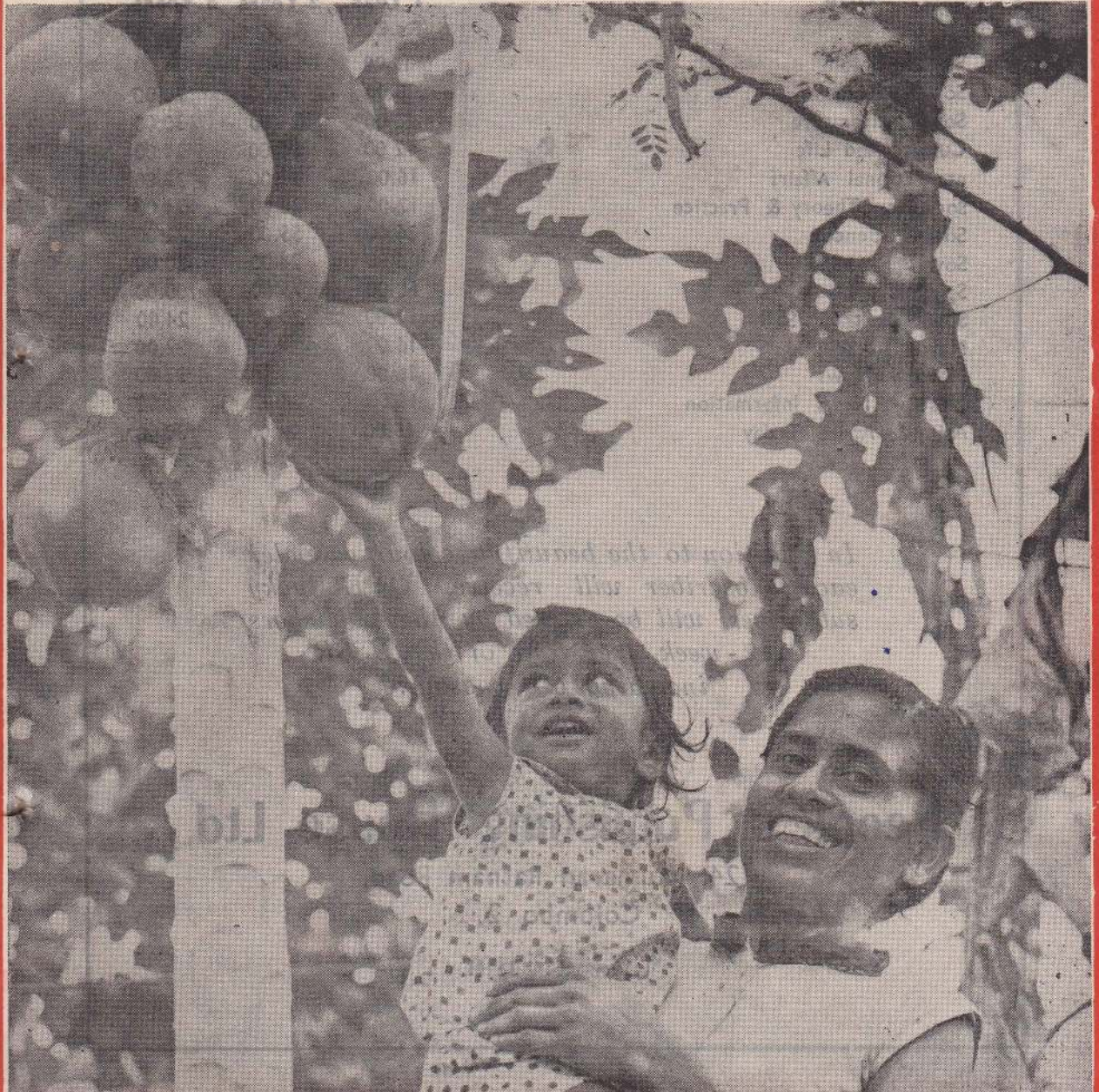


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TRIBUNE





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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER this week we have a happy picture reflecting a sense of well-being. The papaw fruit has for a long time now become a rarity difficult to get even at high prices. Smiling faces had disappeared from practically the entirety of the middle and lower brackets of wage-earners in the public sector. Part of their grievance was that they had received a raw deal from all governments since Independence: that similarly qualified (or less qualified persons) doing comparable work in the private sector were paid considerably higher remuneration with far greater perks and fringe benefits. Even if this unfair and discriminatory salary structure was not the sole determinant—as it was often made out to be—of the inefficiency, incompetence, lethargy and corruption in the public sector, it was used as the smokescreen to mount a defence of the Sri Lanka public servant. The poor salaries paid in the public sector is also said to be a major cause for the brain drain which has depleted this country of much of its talent during the last 15 to 20 years. The Finance Minister and the UNP Government have, in their Second Budget, taken a bold and courageous step in providing massive relief and in offering substantial concessions to the salary and wage-earners in the entire public sector in the belief and hope that they will respond to the Government's gesture in a way that will have beneficial impact on the administrative machinery of government. There is not the slightest doubt that the apathy and indifference to work increasingly displayed by public servants has not only brought the machinery and administration virtually to a halt but had also adversely affected all developmental activity. *Tribune*, readers will recall, has devoted a great deal of its space in recent months to the problems of public servants. More recently, from last week, in our column **CONFIDENTIALLY**, we have begun a series entitled **THE LION AND THE BUREAUCRAT** spotlighting the demoralising activities of the politicalised members of this tribe who have once again begun to pervade the socio-economic, political and cultural scene in the country in a way that will undoubtedly undermine the popularity of the ruling party as well as erode the stability of the government. The question that concerns all those interested in the future well-being of the country is whether public servants will respond adequately to the really stupendous gesture from the government in the Budget. As we go to press, reports indicate that the bulk of public servants, though happy about salary increase and tax reliefs, are cautiously suspicious whether the benefits given by the right hand of the government will not be taken away by the left through surreptitious gazette notifications increasing prices and imposing other levies that will nullify the benefits bestowed on them. In the context and circumstances of the present situation, prices are bound to go up with the gradual withdrawal of subsidies and the spiralling prices in the world. The way public servants can contend with this is not by asking the government for more or decrying the government's policies but by working harder to increase production and productivity so that value of the Sri Lanka rupee goes up in the world currency markets. It is only when our currency gets stronger that prices of essentials in Sri Lanka will start climbing down. To achieve this degree of improvement in our economy, a great deal will depend on the resurgence of purposeful and meaningful work by our public servants—ranging from the lowliest labourer to the highest Secretary, from the semi-skilled hand to the qualified scientist and from all men and women in the clerical grades in the big central institutions in Colombo and the little offices in remote villages. Unless the entire public service, including the corporation sector, pull their weight, little progress will be made.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Air Crash, Budget, Amendments, TULF

The headlines that Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel's Second Budget would have normally earned in all the daily papers was lost in the staggering news of the air crash near Katunayake which became one of the top headlines in the world press and which stole the front-page headlines and column space in all Sri Lanka dailies for four or five days. The disastrous air crash took place less than four hours after the Finance Minister finished his speech in Parliament outlining the Budgetary proposals for 1979. But for this crash, Ronnie de Mel's "revolutionary" tax proposals would have held the headlines for several days—as it happened it was mainly relegated to the inside pages except for a preliminary mini-splash on the front page. In spite of the fact that Ronnie de Mel's budget was pushed into the background by the DC-8 crash, the proposals have a validity that merit serious study and consideration.

Tribune researchers are, at the moment, busy examining the various aspects and implications of the Budget proposals. They have to be examined in the context of the Gazette notifications that preceded the Budget and those that have come after the Budget (and many more are yet to come, no doubt). During the period before the budget, the prices of cigarettes and alcoholic beverages, especially arrack were increased; the betting tax was pushed up; the internal telecommunication charges were increased as were the inland postal charges and electricity charges were also increased. Subsidies had been quietly re-

moved from a number of items and this too had tended to increase prices of certain essentials. After the budget there have been gazette notifications on a variety of small matters decreasing the increase or decrease of import and export duties consistent with the "liberalisation" policies to set private enterprise in Sri Lanka on its feet. The export duty on a large number of minor export crops, e.g. cardamoms, cloves, etc. etc. have been reduced to make them more competitive in the world markets. Many, including economic "experts", had expected a sizeable lowering in the export duty on tea, particularly in view of the increase in the wages—to offer the producers, producing corporations and companies an inducement in the form of higher profits (which would also help in the generation of capital for re-investment to modernise plant, equipment and even agricultural techniques).

But, the really big bang gazette notifications will, it is not expected, come until much later—some think that it will be after Christmas and New Year holidays and the first round of local government elections in January 1979. This will also coincide with the OPEC price increase resulting in a hike in the price of petroleum products. The gazette to increase the price of wheat will probably come around the Maha harvest, or sooner if the signs for the harvest are propitious. However, there are a number of other matters which need investigation. The state monopoly of the import of sugar has been ended and the import duty fixed at Rs. 2.00 a lb. What will this mean in terms of consumer prices?

Mr. Ronnie de Mel's proposals about tax reliefs have been dissected threadbare in the daily press, but insufficient attention has been paid to the matters not dealt

with fully in either the Budget speech or the proposals. Take, for instance, the question of the relations with the IMF, especially in regard to the matter of the Extended Fund Facility (EFF). News items had appeared that an IMF team led by Mr. Douglas Scott (or is it Andrew Scott?) had come to this island to study the way the Sri Lanka government was conducting its economic policies and programmes. News reports had further suggested that he was all praise for the way Sri Lanka's economy was being "managed", but nothing was said about the conditions stipulated as *sine quo non* for getting a substantial three-year EFF credit. (The requirements, like cutting subsidies for the normal annual standby credit were being obviously complied with by Sri Lanka in a phased-out three or four year period). Knowledgeable circles say that the IMF was satisfied with the Sri Lanka performance and that they were willing to grant a very generous EFF for a small package of "conditions" mainly concerned with the reduction of duties to boost exports and offer greater profit margins to the producers who will be faced with higher wages. Rumours indicate that the package the IMF wanted could not be fulfilled by the Ministry of Finance because the Cabinet had thrown out any reduction of tea export duties. However, all is not lost because the IMF is in a flexible and paternal mood so far as Sri Lanka is concerned—very different from what the IMF is to other developing countries. Sri Lanka is bound to receive bounties under the EFF, but it would have been wiser for the Finance Minister to take Parliament and the country into his confidence on this matter—rather than permit wild rumours to be circulated about the dark machinations of the IMF.

It is also a pity that the daily

press, which has access to news and information not ordinarily available to others, does not take the trouble to analyse any question in a critical or constructive way. Take the question of the IMF. All the news reports only seek to pat the Government on its head and to scratch the backs of local officials for the good work done. The *Ceylon Daily News* on November 6, had a front-page two column piece: **SUCCESS STORY WITH NO PARALLEL:** "Sri Lanka's smooth switch-over from a closed economy to a completely free one is without parallel and a success story that is now being studied by financial experts the world over. Mr. Douglas Scott, who headed the IMF team to Sri Lanka, is reported to have made this comment. Mr. Scott has also said in his 40 years as a financier half of which was with the IMF working in developing countries normally a switch-over of economic policies, as has happened, in Sri Lanka since November last year, would have played havoc with the overall economy. Prices would have skyrocketed and imports after such a long period of restriction would have flooded the country. A study has revealed that in Sri Lanka this has not happened. Price levels have increased but to very satisfactory levels and imports have not become unusually high—luxury items made up only 1.5 per cent of total imports during 1977 and 1978. At the same time the Government has been able to give adequate and necessary incentive to increase production while maintaining the balance of payments position at a satisfactory level. What was most impressive was that today's world of finance and investment, both at Government and private level, has begun accepting Sri Lanka as a safe growth economic zone."

The *Ceylon Daily Mirror*, also of November 6 (K. Muttukumar reporting) had a similar report:

PRESIDENT'S POLICIES LAUDED: IMF SATISFIED WITH SRI LANKA'S PERFORMANCES: "A four-man IMF team which was here during the past two weeks has reportedly expressed satisfaction with Sri Lanka's performances to accelerate the pace of development and speed up economic growth. Mr. Douglas Scott, Chief of Asia Division of the Fund headed the team. According to informed sources the team lauded the realistic and pragmatic measures adopted by the government led by the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene to steer the country in the right direction and ensure better living standards for the people. The team also expressed satisfaction with the Minister of Finance and Planning, Mr. Ronnie de Mel's fiscal and monetary policies adopted in the last budget, the sources added. The fund's delegation had discussions with the Minister of Finance, and Planning, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, top officials of the Central Bank, the Food Commissioner, officials of the Paddy Marketing Board, and of the Ministry of Plantation Industries, Tea Board etc

"The Fund was now considering granting us loans under the Extended Fund Facility and Supplementary Finance Facility. Last November, the Fund gave a stand by loan of 93 million SDRs to tide over our payments problems. The sources also said that that was the first time Sri Lanka had been recognized for consideration under the extended Fund Facility in addition to the standby loan. Governments have to show better performances in public finance, monetary policy and general economic development to qualify for the Extended Fund Facility which usually gives higher loans. Earlier the *Daily Mirror* exclusively reported that IMF placing Sri Lanka among countries worthy of consideration of Extended Fund Facility

implied that the IBRD and ADB viewed favourably the progress achieved by the Government and was an indication that the country's credit rating was at a much higher level than it was earlier' The IMF delegation will submit its report to the Managing Director of the IMF for final decision on granting loans under the Extended Fund Facility and Supplementary Finance Facility."

Both reports only chronicled the matters with which the IMF were satisfied. But what about matters about which they were not satisfied? What about their comments on the way subsidies were being cut? What about their evaluation of actual performance? And, to cut a long story short, what about the IMF package "conditions" for granting the EFF and SFF (Supplementary Finance Facility)?

When will the Sri Lanka media grow up and analyse, interpret and comment in a way as to help readers to understand what is really taking place.

The air crash is now all but forgotten, but the Budget—still incomplete and uncertain without the inevitable Gazette notifications to come—is a continuing matter. And it will be a changing, continuing and developing budget. And in the topsy-turvy circumstances prevalent in the world today, budgets in every country do reflect a fluidity and a changeability that was never before known. In the past a budget was a fixture in which all the taxes, levies, reliefs, etc. etc. were set out once and for all for a year. But today it is different. World conditions compel changes every month or week in a way one could not have anticipated. Domestic fluctuations often call for even greater changes.

It is a trite truism to repeat that we live in a changing world. Within a matter of ten weeks of the promulgation of the New Constitution, Amendment Number One was rushed through Parliament in just one day together with a Bill to set right the anomalies the Court of Appeal had spotlighted in the Special Presidential Commissions Act. Few people realise that the days when clauses in a Constitution were considered sacrosanct, irrevocable and unchangeable are over. Everything is changeable and amendable nowadays.

And this has become more so with the kind of Legal Draftsman's Department we now appear to have. The "lapse" in the Special Presidential Commission Act is something which any government should be ashamed of. Many governments in similar situations have given the benefit of such a lapse to the "accused"—and Amendments were introduced only for subsequent implementation.

The President, according to *The Independent* (17/11/78) was not at first agreeable to amendments until the Supreme Court had given its verdict, but an impatient Cabinet, it reported, had "persuaded" the President to go along with them to rush the Amendments through Parliament immediately. The members of the Cabinet, many of them high calibre lawyers, who had in the first instance approved laws so badly drafted, should go about in remorse in sack clothes and ashes for being party to such legislation. Instead they are revealing in self-complacent speeches about the rights of the judiciary and the legis-

lature—the Courts' "independence" was the right to interpret, the Executive accepted such interpretations, but the Legislature (at the instance of Executive) had the sovereign right to rectify, even with retrospective effect, the mistakes pointed out by the Judicature.

Though there is no doubt that the Special Presidential Commission Act as it stood before the new Amendment, did not have the powers for which it was specially set up, but the Amendment hastily rushed through has left a bad taste and a bad stench.

People must have confidence that legislation that is being adopted at such a terrific speed is properly drafted so that no sooner the Courts made a decision that is unpalatable to the Executive, the steam-roller majority in Parliament is not used to effect amendments to make laws the Executive find convenient for their purposes. If this becomes a regular practice the independence of the judiciary, the separation of powers, and the balances and checks in a Constitution would become a mockery. If amendments became the order of the day after every judgement, the situation would be no different from what it was under the Sirima-Felixian days of Emergency. Press headlines have indicated that in future all legislation would go before the Attorney General for screening! But does that public have adequate confidence in the Attorney-General or his Department considering the record during the last three or four years or so from the heights of Sirimavo-Felixian Emergency laws and C.J.C Courts to the presently unstable equilibrium in dharmista land of changing laws and amending legislation? Has the government taken any action against those responsible for such bad drafting? To pass the

bill from the Legal Draftsman to the Attorney General, in so far as drafting legislation is concerned will probably be only a case of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. It is to be hoped that the newspaper headlines about the Attorney General being vested with powers to overlook all legislation will not be put into operation.

One other matter from which headlines were expected to flow last week related to the TULF with the belated return of leader Amirthalingam to the island on November 14—after 74 days according to one newspaper. There were suggestions that a Second Amendment to the Constitution would come fast and furiously permitting MPs to quit their parties on grounds of "conscience" and still retain their seats. Up to the time of writing this Amendment has not been tabled. One would have thought that such an amendment would have become necessary towards the tail-end of this Parliament before the General Elections on Proportional Representation when the balance of power would make it necessary for horse deals and defections to form governments.

Amirthalingam's TULF does not seem to know what to do. It has postponed decisions stating that it was awaiting an "invitation" from the President to consider the question of accepting District Ministership. It is funny to hear of "invitations" knowing how intensely TULF stalwarts had negotiated for District Ministership even before Amirthalingam embarked on his global odyssey.

Is this blah-blah about invitations only a smokescreen for 'Barkis is willing'? Is this the reason why the threatened Second Amendment has been held back? Is this why the section of the Jaffna "militant youth" has quit the TULF?

The TULF leaders continue to revel in hair-splitting quibbles about Eelam whilst the position of the TULF has eroded to the point of their standing, popularity and reputation even in the Jaffna peninsula is being undermined. Outside the peninsula the TULF is a dead duck unless it can produce a political gimmick to have a short-lived flutter.

Whether the TULF is a question on the lips of not only Tamils but also all those interested in the future of the minorities?

X X X

A YEAR AGO

Seven Million Poor —and the fairyland of imported luxuries—

by R. Kahawita

This article by R. Kahawita, which we will publish in three parts, was written by him during his stay in Montreal in August 1978. Though three months have gone by since the article was written, everything he says has even greater validity now. R. Kahawita is a UNPer the party hierarchy and membership cannot and should not ignore—if the UNP is dedicated to the well-being of the country—Editor.

TO BE CLEAR, three hundred and sixty five days ago, we set out on a journey of recreating our country and to guide our people into a new way of life. We fixed our ideals on a democratic way of life and the new social order we hoped to build, we have called a "Dharmista Society". We offered this ideal to the people a year ago to date and they accepted the offer. The people accepted us because they wanted a change, a change for the better, after years of privations, hardships, and under star-

vation. They went through it un-murmuringly because they were coerced into the belief that a better day would come. That better day never came, even at the end of the seven years. Why that day never came is being inquired into today by several Presidential Commissions.

The people have had enough of the promises and the waiting to see those promises fulfilled. So they decided to make a change on 21st July 1977 when the people became apprehensive that the Government they voted in May 1970 had deceived them and that the pledge of a better deal than the 1965-70 was promised solely to get into power, and having got into power, they brushed aside the people and embarked on an ideological rampage for the benefit of the representatives whom they trusted and elected into power. The trickery their elected representatives resorted to is being revealed now at the Commissions of Inquiry. These revelations will strengthen the power the people have to change a Government and to punish the evil doers. The people are capable of doing it again as long as they choose to follow a democratic way. The moral is, we should always bear this in mind and work with the people and for the people.

During the year, just concluded, the country has gone through communal upheavals, violent party rivalry, and disturbances in our economic lives due to international economic eruptions. Nonetheless we have moved fast; much has been achieved; much has been planned; much more has been promised; and what is going to be done has been detailed with exuberance at political and party meetings and through the mass media controlled by the Government.

What has been achieved so far

is a sizeable inventory and we have not hesitated to recount these deeds on every occasion that came our way, and in doses to suit the occasion, and in a manner the people can swallow them. The establishment also has done their share of publicising what they have done to fulfil the promises made by their bosses when they stepped into the scene. The people are aware of all these; but all what we said so far are on the credit side of our stewardship.

THIS KIND of an information service is very necessary to maintain that flicker of hope we gave the people a year ago, and important to keep ourselves at the helm for the balance period of our stewardship or may be thereafter—if the people were to be pleased and give us another chance. However promises alone do not lead the people to where they want to go, they must also feel that a breeze is blowing to waft away the dark clouds that overshadowed them for seven years; that something is being done for them; that today is better than yesterday; that they have a fuller stomach today than a year ago. This is their yardstick with which they would measure our actions and not with what we say. This must be in the forefront of our minds. We must constantly remind the people what has to be done yet.

We are, after one year, still on the minus side of our accounting on cost of living, scarcities and employment opportunities. Still we have seven million people hanging on to the starvation line and one million five hundred thousand waiting to be employed. Though we claim that many a liberty and freedom have been restored to the people yet hunger, unemployment, shortages in essentials, high

cost of living are stalking our paths to a better life, with greater persistence than we experienced a year ago. Therefore let us speak, not of what we have done, but of what we have not done. Let the people know what we have not done, why we did not do them, and why we cannot do them overnight.

This is what the people want to know to sustain their faith in a Dharmista Society for which they gave their whole hearted support. A year, the people think, is too long to wait to ease their suffering. Hunger knows no logic; to them it is now or never—they are selfish and what looms large in their mind is only their hardships.

For which they demand immediately relief. "Once bitten twice shy philosophy."

We have counted almost seven million people needing subsidized food. Many of them are on the border line of hunger; they form a majority in a voting list and they have the last say. When it comes to a change, it is not our elected, nor the bureaucrats, nor those who enjoy the good things of life that make the decisions. These seven million are the decision makers. They who will ultimately control the Dharmista Society to which we have promised to lead them. So what should be the approach to give them relief?

IN THE MIDST of their deprivation and hunger, what do these people see? A life of luxury or those gadgets that tend towards luxurious living. They are on the pavements, in the big shops, in the food markets and on the roads of the cities and towns. None of these things they can ever hope to own, handle or taste.

For seven long years they have not seen them. And now they are in plenty. How did this happen overnight? Yet we say that it will

be years before we can supply their basic needs in plenty. These are their thoughts while searching the dust-bins for a morsel of food to keep themselves alive. Can we blame the masses, when they say the rich can pay Rs. 13/- for imported meat but we cannot buy any maldivian fish for the love of money. While wandering the pavements of cities and towns in search of employment, they see the limousines and expensive cars speeding past them. If they can get a tenth of the value of that limousine they and their families are good for life. So their minds work and keep on scheming for their day to come. All this extravagant living is at our expense, so they say.

Today, it is this seven million people we counted almost a year ago that matter. Not the men and women who ride the limousines past them, while they over turn the garbage bins in search of food which they cannot afford to buy. All what these people want is their food to keep the spark of life flickering. Can we blame them for asking persistently the question: "How have the luxuries come into the country, to satisfy the 'Hamuduruvo and Mahatmayas' while our group is on the verge of starvation?"

We did not cast our votes to build up this kind of society is the inquiring question they ask. We wanted food and clothing and employment opportunities to earn a living and what do we find at the end of a year? Price of our food has shot up, they are scarce, what we earn, if we can find employment, is not sufficient to buy our food. Go these seven millions, this is the scene staring them in the faces, and they say this is

the scene the present Government has created after one year.

NO DOUBT, there are reasons, and very good ones at that, why we see these luxury items around us. These are circumstances beyond our control to effect a change in the scene that the less privileged see. There are several ways of explaining why all these are necessary and how they crept into the present situation. Such explanations will satisfy the trained economists, social and political planners, financiers etc., but not the man who is on the verge of starvation who feels that his future is blasted and that his needs are relegated to a limbo of forgotten things till the next elections are round the corner.

This is the omission we have to make good in the coming years. Today, we have to replace promises by actions, by results, so that these people (almost all down trodden) feel the impact of what the government is doing for them. They must hear the thunder after the flash of lightning—for like lightning they changed a government—to secure their food, clothing and living space.

During the year, we have told the people that we have got all the money in the world to lead the country to prosperity; that we are ready to implement all our plans and projects, to produce food, to create employment, to reduce the cost of essentials they need. In addition the rich countries of the world have given us standby credit, grants of food, loans, aid and gifts, knowledge and know-how. As a result we have been able to liberalize imports, trade and travel.

But the question these people raise is "What good is that to us? Champagne, caviar and cheese are not for us; we want just that bit of rice and something to eat

with it, but within our means. Our earning capacity is still the same as what it was, we want a change in these matters—may be trivialities to many, but to us it is life and death.”

With these thoughts haunting the minds of our people, what do they see advertised in the daily papers and over the Commercial Broadcasting System. Sophisticated radio and cassette players, non-frosting refrigerators, air conditioners, technologically perfect and automatic cake and food mixers, washing machines and dishwashers, super quality clothing, cheese and biscuits, lawn mowers and motor cycles, Mercedes Benz cars and so on.

The list of imports keeps on lengthening as the imports arrive. What about their needs? Who imports them? Where do they buy them? What have they got to do to get them and at what price? They are not told these. They do not know.

So when they see the things they can never hope to buy they become angry and restive, angry because they voted us into power a year ago. And restive because they think they made a mistake and want a change. They think that their condition today is worse than what it was when they decided to effect a change. To them, a fateful decision by their logic. THE AVERAGE MAN thinks, the present situation is the result of our omissions and commissions in policy implementation. This is what we have got to correct and change within the next 365 days.

Let us bear in mind that there are seven millions who are almost destitute and one and a half a million unemployed. We have to concentrate on this group. We are aware that there is extreme po-

verty among the majority of our people. But no one has defined poverty in human standards and in accordance with our present day living.

In our context of living today, poverty means death by starvation. To establish what poverty is, we must first eradicate perpetual hunger and provide the necessities in food to maintain life. Then only poverty begins to take shape and form by creating the desire to own or have access to necessities of life. These are variables according to progress and place.

So our first task is to move our people from a starvation level to that of a subsistence level, where they can provide themselves the basic necessities of life.

While the general picture of our people is this, is there any justification for allowing the import of luxuries into the country at all?

To the average man the items listed above are luxuries without which life can prosper in Sri Lanka. May not be in the advanced countries. Because their definition of poverty is quite different to what applies to us. By their standards, those items have become basic necessities in evaluating levels of poverty. These items are manufactured in the developed countries for the use of their people who can afford them within their incomes, whereas we have not been able to produce the base food we need to keep life and body together though we have been at it for half a century.

There must be something wrong with our policies and exercise of our Freedoms.

Montreal.
August 26, 1978.

(To be Continued)

* * *

LETTERS

LSSP, Standardisation, Sansoni Commission And The Press

Sir,

We are attaching a copy of a letter by us dated 16.10.1978 which was addressed to the Commissioner of Sansoni Commission. The above-mentioned copy of the letter to the Sansoni Commission was sent on 17.10.1978 to the Editors of the Daily News, Daily Mirror and Sun newspapers. However they have not published the letter. We trust you will be good enough to publish the letter in your paper.

N. M. Perera
Colvin R. de Silva
Leslie Goonewardene

457, Union Place,
Colombo 2.
8.11.78

The Commissioner,
Sansoni Commission,
National Museum Building,
Sir Marcus Fernando Mawata,
Colombo 7.

Dear Sir,

Several daily newspapers have reported that Mr. Bogoda Premaratne, former Commissioner of Examinations, in giving evidence before your Commission, had stated that the three LSSP Ministers in the Cabinet of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, namely Dr. N. M. Perera, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, opposed in the Cabinet the recommendation of the Sectoral Committee of which Mr. Pieter Keuneman was Chairman, to do away with media-wise standardisation.

This statement of Mr. Premaratne is completely incorrect. This is borne out by the fact that when the report of the Sectoral Committee on this question was discussed and decided on in the Cabinet, the three LSSP Ministers had already been removed from the Cabinet. To the best of our knowledge the above Cabinet meeting took place in October, whereas the last Cabinet meeting attended by the LSSP Ministers was on 6th August, 1975.

It may be pertinent to add that Mr. Leslie Goonewardene was a member of the above-mentioned Sectoral Committee of which Mr. Pieter Keuneman was Chairman.

We regret the delay in sending this letter because we required time to check on the facts.

Yours faithfully,

N. M. Perera
Colvin R. de Silva
Leslie Goonewardene

Lanka Samasamaja Party,
No. 457, Union Place,
Colombo 2.
16th October, 1978.

○ ○ ○
REVIEW

Figure It Out For Yourself-1

by Jayantha Somasundaram

SEPARATISM is not the prerogative of the minorities. It can also be practised by the majority community. We have dealt at length and with scant sympathy, with the partiality of the Tamil-speaking people for separatism. To what extent are the majority community in Sri Lanka also guilty of this? To what extent have they been exclusive? Have they shown that they trust the minorities in the sharing of power?

We will pursue this question with regard to a specific, yet vital area of our national life. This refers to the Police and Armed Services. These services are the ultimate defense of the existing state. Has there been an attempt to restrict them to the majority community. For the purpose of this discussion the majority is identified as the Sinhala Govigama Buddhist Community.

Let us for a start consider the location of the regimental bases of the Army. When one stations a regular unit in a particular area, one encourages people from that area to enlist. Volunteer units on the other hand, are raised in provincial towns with the express purpose of recruiting people from the area.

The 1st Regular Battalion, Sri Lanka Light Infantry, is posted at Panagoda, near Homagama, the 2nd Bn SLLI a volunteer battalion was raised in Colombo. While the 3rd Bn, also volunteer, was raised in Ratnapura. In 1956 a rifle regiment, the Sinha Regiment was created. Its 1st battalion, originally posted at Kartukurunda is now at Echelon Square, Colombo. The regiment has two volunteer battalions. The 2nd SLSR was raised in Kandy while the 3rd SLSR was raised in October 1969 at Nuwara Eliya. The youngest infantry regiment, the Gemunu Watch, was set up on December 7th 1962 at Diyatalawa, where its 1st Battalion billeted. Its 2nd and 3rd volunteer battalions are stationed at Galle and Matara respectively. The Sri Lanka National Guards, a volunteer regiment, has two battalions stationed in Colombo.

There are only two other combat units, the 1st Reece Regiment of the Sri Lanka Armoured Corp, raised in Ridiyagama in 1955 and now housed at Mutuwal and the 4th Regiment Sri Lanka Artillery, housed at Kirillapone.

Units have been raised since independence in all parts of the country excluding the North and East. This is despite the fact that since 1961, there has been a permanent military presence in the north and east, to combat federalism, smuggling and illicit immigration. Successive Colombo Governments have gone through the expensive business of raising and training troops in the South in order to foist what has been regarded as a 'force of occupation' in the North and East. Even today, the Northern Command Centre of the Army is located at Anuradhapura. Figure it out for yourself.

The net result of this has been alienation of the Tamil-speaking people from the Central Government, personified for them in the form of this military presence.

We will now look at the dispersion of Naval and Air Force bases. There are two naval bases in the North, the SLNS Elara at Karainagar and the SLNS Tissa at Trincomalee. The remainder are at Diyatalawa, SLNS Gemunu at Welisara, and SLNS Rangalla at Colombo.

The Sri Lanka Air Force has bases at Katunayake, China Bay and stations at Colombo and Diyatalawa. Recently, in the aftermath of the August communal riots and the exhortation of Buddhist priests that 'thousands of troops be sent to the North, an Air Force Base has been established at Palali.

The location of units of the armed forces has contributed to the adoption of a particular racial complexion among them and it is this complexion that prompted Buddhist priests to believe that political solutions could be arrived at by sending thousands of such troops to the North.

Next week we will examine in greater detail the racial and religious composition of the Armed Forces.

THE WORLD TODAY

INDIA; EGYPT; ISRAEL

INDIA: THE INDIRA VICTORY

Bombay, Nov. 11,

SO INDIRA GANDHI triumphantly rides the Chikmagalur by-election to Delhi as Leader of the Opposition with Cabinet ranking. She was bound to. Your paper, which had clearly forecast her victory back in October, need only repeat the eulogium entitled "JANATA IS FOREDOOMED TO DEFEAT" (Oct. 14) with its prophetic conclusion: 'INDIRA GANDHI will not only be returned as the Leader of the Opposition, but will also play the crucial role of the monkey called to arbitrate among the cats fighting over a loaf. The crude, vulgar show put up by the Janata Parliamentary Party at its recent meeting all but invites her to divide, defeat and destroy the ruling complex. And the consequence of it all is likely to be a midpoll next year which the ruling conglomerate can confidently expect to lose'. What more can one say? Admittedly, the Janata Party put up a great fight; all credit goes to George Fernandes for this. It was his determined intervention followed by an aggressive campaign that probably saved poor Veerendra Patil from forfeiting his deposit.

Earlier in the election, the battlescore was computed at 80:20 against the Janata. Somewhere during the middle of the campaign, it moved up to 60:40. And by last week, it looked like a toss between the political rivals. But by midnight Tuesday, Mrs. Gandhi was heading for victory with a comfortable margin. All through the great contest involving India's political destiny and the Janata's own sur-

vival, the Ruling Party continued its divided and defeatist stand. The caucus around the Prime Minister was frankly cynical about George's enterprise, to which some Union Ministers added their own derisive comment. Already, whispers have started from the highest quarters that the Janata campaign manager muffed up everything by investing an ordinary by-election in a remote constituency with the halo of the historical struggle between democracy and fascism. We beg to differ. While ideological and political considerations of this nature might have been out of place in a constituency dominated by all the seven deadly devils of castelism and communalism, Indira Gandhi's return to politics amidst the wreckage of the Janata's broken promises and shattered image poses its final challenge to the Ruling Party to wake up to instant action or perish by Paralysis.

If the Janata campaign failed to convince the electorate of the crimes of the Emergency Regime, the responsibility lies with the ruling party's own dismal record. With what credibility could it ask the voters to punish Mrs. Gandhi for the ordeals she inflicted on the Fernandes or the Reddy families when the almighty law machinery of the government, of which George is a senior member, has not been able to take any action against her? Had the Janata the will or conviction to punish her during the past 19 months of its rule, she would surely not have been able to show her face at Chikmagalur as a serious rival to the Ruling Party.

And how could exposures of the Emergency and its evil brood serve to convince the voters of a Congress state which by any showing has achieved a more creditable record of socio-economic reforms during and after

the Emergency than the Janata governments either at the Centre or in the states? Karnataka with all its faults can claim an impressive success in the execution of Indira Gandhi's 20-point programme.

The Janata campaign began boomeranging right from the beginning to force George to resort to genuine but emotional and perhaps avoidable family issues like the "15 months to rape" ordeal of his brother and mother. But what has HIS government done to bring the criminals to book?—people asked. Again, it was the unpardonable failure of the government machinery to punish the killers of Snehalata Reddy that forced her daughter Nandana into direct action against the author of the Emergency. Nandana's intervention reportedly boomeranged in the argument that she should really have taken her demand for justice and punishment of Indira Gandhi to the Morarji Government at Delhi. Compounding of felony by a government armed with law enforcement powers is a worse crime than the felony itself; and the fact that victims of the Emergency like the Reddys and the Fernandeses, should be forced to appeal to the electorate to make amends for the government's failure amounts to its censure for criminal abdication of its responsibilities. By end of the campaign George himself was forced to admit this default.

In such a situation, the loud propaganda against fascism flopped; and so did the call to choose between democracy and dictatorship. How could it succeed when everybody has come to recognise Indira's successor as potentially the greater dictator? Given the 11 years of Indira regime, the autocrat whose authoritarianism split the old bilingual Bombay state, forced Jawaharlal Nehru to resort to the Kamaraj Plan to oust him from

Delhi, and finally all but scuttled the Union Cabinet by his insistence on the Prime Minister's divine right of prerogative would make the Indira dictatorship look like kindergarten stuff. Really people see little difference today between the Indira and the Morarji caucuses; it is just the Kanti of one to the Sanjay of the other! Hence Chikmagalur's negative preference for the Congress candidate. Negativism has, in fact, become the only remaining ideology of the Indian electoral syndrome.

Noteworthy is the feature that she has stormed and taken all the Janata strongholds by a large percentage. It is also significant that the broad masses of the poor and the weak went to Indira Gandhi. Somehow, in the public mind the Janata has come to be associated with wealth and power while the Congress continues to be regarded as the party of the havenots. The consequences will now unfold themselves. Chikmagalur was really a showdown between the Janata and the Congress. Indira Gandhi has thrown the gauntlet at the face of her successor Morarji Desai and won the duel. We now expect the Samastipur constituency, from where Baliram Bhagat of the Swaran Singh Congress has mysteriously withdrawn, to encore Chikmagalur. Other crucial by-elections will follow suit according to the principle of synchronicity, leading a midpoll next year—that is unless the Janata Government sees the writing on the wall and recognises the imperative of social change. Chikmagalur constitutes a vote of censure by proxy against the Prime Minister if not his entire Government. The face of the latter has temporarily been saved by George Fernandes.

The ruling party now owes the country no less than itself an agonising reappraisal. It cannot continue

its old cat-right for the loaves of power and office at the topmost echelon. It must forthwith transform itself into a strong, integrated and dynamic lever of social revolution. Since Morarji Desai is averse to any change or even movement on the exposive socio-economic front, the time has come for either Charan Singh or Jagjivan Ram or one of the other of the younger stalwarts to assume the reins of power and bring about some measure of governmental integrity, party discipline and programme execution.

Now is the time for the younger party leaders and ministers, who had earlier in the year sought to persuade the Prime Minister to accept consensus politics to resume their effort to halt his going the Indira Gandhi way to a personal dictatorship.

We understand that Chandra Shekhar, the Janata President, as well as Madhu Limaya and Nanaji Deshmukh, the party secretaries under resignation, agree with us on this imperative issue. The question is: WHO IS TO BELL THE CAT OF MORARJI? If none in the Janata leadership dares, then we are afraid it shall have to be Indira Gandhi and her Congress. The fable of the monkey called to arbitrate among the feuding cats will then become India's political reality.

—R. K. Karanjia, in *Blitz*.



INDIA: MEANING OF CHIKMAGALUR

New Delhi, Nov. 12.

A by-election was turned into a national crisis, almost a civil war. Cabinet Ministers, eminent politicians and detachments of warriors armed with horrid posters and slogans and Matadors and bullet-proof cars were rushed to the

sleepy towns and villages around Chikmagalur. The people, bewildered for a time, were told by both sides that they were engaged in a terrible war between democracy and fascism. A well-known Leftist leader set up a political barricade to divide the alignment of progressive forces not only for the occasion but for the future, which seems to have revealed special secrets to him. It was to be the day of doom if the Janata candidate was defeated or, as others made out, a new dawn for the country if Mrs. Indira Gandhi won. On Wednesday came the day of defeat and victory, but the horizon showed neither the first rays of the sun nor the black clouds foreboding disaster. Have the people of Chikmagalur voted in favour of fascism or in defence of democracy? Only a seer can tell, and there will be many, equipped with boring cliches, who will recast their earlier statements and make them look like genuine pearls of wisdom.

Indira Gandhi's success at the polls and her re-entry into Parliament cannot certainly be brushed aside as matters of little consequence. The defeat of the Janata Party candidate is obviously not a defeat of fascism or any such thing but it is undoubtedly a verdict against the ruling party and its practical policies which have caused deep concern to people all over the country. National political parties, whether knocked together in a hurry to capture power or with long traditions behind them, have set up links of communication between the northern and southern parts of the country, and the increasing oppression, crimes and bloodshed in the north can no longer be hidden from the people in the south—as the all-embracing economic and political follies of the Union Government cannot be whitewashed. But the

vote for Mrs. Gandhi cannot have been entirely a negative vote. Did the people think they were voting for the Nehru traditions? It is not easy to say.

Indira Gandhi in Parliament, however, will surely use her ample factional abilities to instigate quarrels and fuel disturbances in all parties and groups, including the Leftists who are already at logger-heads. There will be great confusion, indeed, with new alignments and realignments, high hopes and acute frustrations. But what are political leaders for—in Parliament of outside—if not to clear the debris that litters political life? The main responsibility lies on the shoulders of those who claim to show the way to the working people. Those who voted Mrs. Gandhi out or voted her in are not a mob; they are a people who have imbibed a feeling for democratic values. Only if leaders worth the name can come together and evolve the greatest measure of common policies can the country achieve a sense of direction.

—Editorial, *Link*

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EGYPT - ISRAEL: STALEMATE

Washington, Nov. 11,

The West Asia peace talks here have run into serious trouble with the hardening of the Israeli and the Egyptian positions. Egypt yesterday came out with a new demand for a specific commitment and a time-table for Israeli troop withdrawal from the west bank of the Jordan river not just the vague mention that had been originally included in the draft preamble of the treaty. Faced with this, the top Israeli negotiators in Washington, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Moshe Dayan, and the Defence Minister Mr. Ezer Weizman, flew to

Toronto for hurried consultations with the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Begin, who is on a visit to Canada.

The key issue of how exactly the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty should be linked to Israeli withdrawal from the west bank and Gaza seems even more intractable now. The Israelis insist there should be no legal linkage in the treaty and are not prepared to go beyond an exchange of letters on the west bank along with the peace treaty. However, the Egyptian position calling for a comprehensive treaty covering all issues drew explicit support from the US President, Mr. Carter, yesterday. Mr. Carter urged the two sides to stick to the negotiated language of the Camp David agreement that would commit Israel and Egypt to seeking a comprehensive treaty.

The seriousness of the present impasse was brought out in the Egyptian President, Mr. Sadat's statement that he would not be astonished at all if the talks broke down. This drew a quick report from Mr. Dayan in Washington: "If he tries hard he can achieve that." Mr. Begin however, said at the end of his six-day visit to Canada that Israel was prepared to continue with the talks even beyond the December 17 deadline set at Camp David. The US officials connected with the talks have now virtually abandoned hopes of getting a treaty signed by November 19, which marks the anniversary of Mr. Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. They are not too sanguine about completing the talks even by the pushed back target date of the first week of December. The next attempt to end the stalemate will be made by the US Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus Vance, in his meeting with Mr. Begin in New York tomorrow.

—N. Ravi in a despatch to the Madras Hindu

EGYPT - ISRAEL: THE ISSUE OF LINKAGE

Tel Aviv, Nov. 5.

From the earliest days of Egyptian-Israeli negotiations it was evident that the question of linkage between an agreement over Sinai and the settlement of the dispute on other territories, particularly the West Bank and Gaza, would constitute one of the most serious obstacles to peace. From the Egyptian point of view, separation of the two issues would completely undermine their argument that they were not signing a separate peace agreement. And the fact that Israel has agreed to return the whole of Sinai only highlights the inconclusive nature of the agreement on the West Bank and Gaza and exposes Egypt to the accusation that it "sold Arab rights to regain its own territory." If no progress is made in settling at least some of the other aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Egypt will be left alone with its commitment to a bilateral agreement with Israel—which would then emerge as an undeniably separate agreement.

For the Israelis, linkage is not a simple matter either. Egypt, after all, cannot legally be considered Israel's interlocutor for an agreement on the West Bank and Gaza. Anything agreed with Egypt may still have to be negotiated with Jordan, the Palestinians, or both, with no certainty about the outcome. Moreover, it is in this area that the most difficult and controversial problems crop up: Jerusalem, refugees, Palestinian rights settlements, Israeli historical claims, indefensible borders etc. It is here also that the gap between the positions are at their widest and the prospects for an accord are the gloomiest. If the agreements are linked and progress toward settlement in the West Bank and Gaza becomes stalemated, the Is-

raelis may find themselves in a situation where, after having completed their withdrawal, their treaty with Egypt is nullified and they are left with neither peace nor Sinai.

The direction in which compromise between the Egyptian and Israeli positions was sought called for the two sides to content themselves, on the formal side, with a general reference in the declarative elements of their bilateral treaty to the solution of the West Bank and Gaza problem, while simultaneously creating a practical linkage that would be inherent in the political situation. Egyptian acting FM Butrus Ghali spoke of "minimum synchronization" and of "unilateral steps"—such as abolition of the military administration or the thinning out of forces—to be taken by Israel on the basis of letters exchanged between the parties or even a simple gentleman's agreement.

This approach naturally focuses attention on the practical measures to be implemented in the West Bank and Gaza following the signature of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement. But here a deadlock of another kind looms in the horizon. Jordan's absence from negotiations, the PLO's vehement opposition to the Camp David agreement and the West Bankers' traditional passivity have created a situation whereby efforts made even with the best of intentions cannot be expected to accomplish much on the West Bank. One way to get around this obstacle was to initiate talks on the establishment of autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza no later than one month after the conclusion of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement—without waiting for Jordan or the Palestinians. Moreover, in the course of negotiations in Washington, the Egyptians occasionally hinted that Sadat might return to the proposals he made

to Israeli Defence Minister Weizman during their meeting on March 30 of this year. According to these proposals, Egypt itself would conduct the negotiations on the West Bank and Gaza would be ready to station its own functionaries in the local administration and police during the interim period.

Senior political figures in Cairo now admit in private conversations that it was a mistake on Egypt's part not to exploit the past months to maintain close contact with King Hussein and the Palestinians. Had they done so, they feel, they could now be exploring the implementation of more desirable options. Yet they seem to be convinced that sooner or later the Jordanians will come to the negotiating table anyway. Thus, they argue, Egypt's task at the moment is mainly to pave the way and create the appropriate climate for this eventuality. The Egyptians point out that some indication that Jordan sees things in the same light is already discernable in the signals transmitted by Amman to pro-Hashemite elements in the West Bank not to reject categorically the autonomy plan and to maintain a low profile in expectation of decisions from Amman.

The time element, however, works both ways. While the Egyptians believe that eventually the Jordanians will join them, they also fear that too slow a process might increase pressures on Sadat, both domestically and in the Arab world. Indeed, it appears that Sadat himself is driven by a sense of urgency and might be ready to undertake obligations in the West Bank with all the risks and uncertainties involved. The target remains the conclusion of an agreement by November 19, the anniversary of Sadat's dramatic visit to Jerusalem. Meanwhile the Egyptians, just like their Israeli counterparts, are driving a hard

bargain in order to obtain the best deal possible.

—Middle East Intelligence Survey,
Vol. 6, No. 14.

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EGYPT - ISRAEL: US PRESS

Washington Post, Nov. 14.

The jousting between Israel and Egypt over the "Linkage" issue is becoming more than a little tiresome, even when one takes into account that the two countries are novices at the business of talking peace. The negotiators on both sides have shown themselves competent to discharge their respective instructions in order to reach agreement on a draft text, but no sooner do they do that than the instructions seem to come unhooked back in the home capital and the draft is washed out. And while the responsibility is not always easy to fix in these situations, and certainly cannot be plucked down all in one place, there is little doubt in our minds that most of the trouble is coming from the Israeli side. There is a deeper lesson here. Nothing has troubled Israelis more than Mr. Sadat's occasional tendency to reverse field and take off the table things he had previously put on. Now Israel seems to be engaging in the same tactic. It is a corrective tactic, destructive not only of momentum but to trust, no matter which side uses it. What is bad for the Egyptian goose is bad for the Israeli gander, too.

* * *
New York Times, Nov. 13.

The test of Treaties, after all, lies not in the elegance or even Justice of their terms but in the degree to which they accurately record a balance of ambition and power. The balance envisioned at

Camp David looks to the entire region. Peace in the Middle East is unlikely to endure—or be tolerable even in Egypt—without progress on other fronts. In time, this will be obvious even to the Israelis who now avoid a definition of their borders and security requirements. The Palestinians, Syrians and other sceptical Arabs are probably right to believe that Egypt's signature of a Peace Treaty will stiffen Israel in future negotiations with them. But Mr. Sadat is just as right to believe that only the experience of a peace on one front can persuade the Israelis to put some trust in co-existence elsewhere. Without Egypt to fight their wars, the other Arabs are in any case weakened. Without Egypt demonstrating the possibilities of peace, they could not hope to draw the Israelis into a promising deal. American officials, too, have been guilty of mining too much too soon from the Camp David accords. To imply that the West Bank settlements, like those of Sinai, may one day be dismantled in exchange for peace was unwise even if it was not inaccurate. To provoke the Israelis by disputing their claims to all of Jerusalem was simply gratuitous. The task of American salesmen throughout the Middle East now is to celebrate the fruits of direct negotiation with Israel and not to lure the other parties into negotiations with the United States. The Arabs need no help in defining their demands on Israel. What they need is help in grasping the power realities of their region. The Camp David documents define that Reality better than anything else could. What they left unresolved had best remain so for a time.

Baltimore Sun, Nov. 13.

The Peace Treaty negotiation between Israel and Egypt at Blair House is not likely to break down. The "mini-crisis", which sent the

Israeli delegation to confer with Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Toronto and prompted President Anwar El Sadat to warn of failure, is more apparent than real. The to-ings and fro-ings are not hollow ritual so much as serious attempts to influence the substance of an agreement the momentum for which is well nigh unstoppable. The biggest obstacle is, as publicized, "Linkage" of the treaty with progress on the Palestinian problem. Linkage is difficult for Israel because it deals with the uncertainties of the least tractable peace problems, on Israel's east, where no recognized border has existed, where the danger to Israel's security is great, and where the ultimate nature of the party on the other side is not known. But linkage is crucial to President Sadat's continuing participation in Arab affairs and to his claim that his peace is not "Separate". Linkage is demanded equally by the United States Administration, which considers a "comprehensive peace" vital to American interests.

Washington Post, Nov. 14, Columnist Joseph Kraft in despatch from Jerusalem,

At least a dozen people in different positions and with very different attitudes toward a settlement have said to be in the last few days that "We don't know whether Begin is deceiving us or deceiving himself." In these conditions opposition to further concessions has grown apace. Every component part of the government coalition opposes new concessions. The die-hard rightwingers who have broken with Begin—notably Schmuël Katz of the Prime Minister's own Herut Party—are more than ever against it. So is the Dovish, left wing of the Labor Party opposition. Putting new pressures on Israel at this time, accordingly, makes little sense. The parts of

the agreement that make for pressure—the Parts relative to Jerusalem and the Palestinians—cannot be immediately operative anyway. Sadat does not need concessions on these items to carry his country. So for the time being, at least the issues of Jerusalem and the Palestinians are secondary. What is primary and immediate—and what the Carter Administration ought to concentrate on almost exclusively—is the Sinai accord between Israel and Egypt.

New York Times, Nov. 13, Commentary by Columnist William Safir.

Amazingly, it is not Mr. Sadat who has reintroduced the "Linkage" issue that was successfully finessed at Camp David. The heat to write in the loophole comes from Mr. Carter, with his born-again "comprehensive" scheme, endangering the first peace by trying to force Israel to tie that treaty to the abandonment of its West Bank claims. Evidently Mr Carter has forgotten why Camp David succeeded: only because Mr. Sadat and Mr. Begin agreed to the principle of a solid, stand-by-itself first peace. By turning the clock back to 1977, the President is undoing everyone's best recent efforts.

White House insiders hint that the reason for the "Linkage" pressure is to placate the Saudis, who have turned thumbs down on Camp David; this leaning on Israel is supposed to be in our interest. But think about our strategic position; with 4,000 Soviet nationals now running Afghanistan; with the Shah of Iran seriously weakened; with Pakistan about to send a man to Moscow to negotiate an accommodation; with a powerful Cuban military force in Ethiopia capable of moving on the Mideast oil fields—would it not be a sound strategic move for the United States to establish reliable bases in the only democracy in the area?

Washington Post, Nov. 13, Commentary by Columnist Jack Anderson.

Jimmy Carter and Menachem Begin can put on a show of smiling solidarity when the occasion demands. But behind the pleasantries, the American and Israeli Chief Executives have grown to distrust and dislike one another. They make the same complaints against each other. The President has grumped to intimates that Begin will seem to agree to a concession but will back off after encountering political opposition at home. The Israeli Prime Minister, in turn, has grumped privately that Carter will talk as if he favours a position which he may later renounce. He has a habit of emphasising what his listeners want to hear. But when the chips are down, Carter may repudiate what he earlier seemed to accept. Begin has complained. This mutual disenchantment has grown out of a relationship that started out to be positively cozy.

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Sir,

Peradeniya

I will be grateful if one of your Quidduncs will investigate the non-appointment of Dr. Nalin de Silva, 1st class (Maths. specialist) Ph.D.—to the post of Lecturer, Dept. of Mathematics, Faculty of Science, University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya—and the appointment of raw Bachelors of Science as Asst/Temporary Asst. Lecturers. It is because he is said to have political leanings of a kind that some present-day demigods (for how much longer?) do not like?

It's worth an investigation.

R. A.

Peradeniya Road,
Kandy.
10.10.78

UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND BARBARIC

Return To Cat O'nine Tails

UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND BARBARIC

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in a statement issued today said that the new Criminal Procedure Bill, insofar as it re-introduces lashing with the cat o'nine tails, is not consistent with a fundamental right enshrined only a few weeks ago in the new Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. Protection against torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment is guaranteed by article 11 of the Constitution, which provision is considered so fundamental that it can be altered only by a two thirds majority plus a referendum. According to CRM the "escape clause" in the Constitution preserving existing laws and punishments does not permit the re-introduction of a cruel inhuman or degrading punishment that had been abolished by the Administration of Justice Law of 1973.

The CRM statement further criticises corporal punishment as barbaric and degrading to both the victim and the perpetrator; as unacceptable to any enlightened society; as incompatible with modern theories of treatment of offenders; as contrary to numerous Declarations and Resolutions of the United Nations; as in derogation of Sri Lanka's international obligations; as forbidden by the Geneva Conventions; and as having been held illegal by the courts of the USA and most recently by the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg. CRM states that similar considerations apply to the re-introduction of the provision that the whipping of children and young persons shall be on the bare buttocks, which had similarly been left out of the AJL 1973 and is resurrected in the present Bill. The CRM describes this penalty, which is inflicted in the presence of the court, as a "particularly degrading form of punishment."

23/10/78

N.B. In Parliament the Government abandoned the cat O'nine tails and bare buttocks and went back to the cane and covered backs—Ed.

1. The "cat" better known as the cat o'nine tails, is a multi thonged instrument used for flogging. In the past its use was a punishment sanctioned by law. Lashes were inflicted by the cat across the back and shoulders of the prisoner while he was physically restrained. The severity of the punishment was such that it had to be administered in the presence of a medical officer who had to certify that the prisoner was fit to undergo this ordeal, and who was also respon-

sible for calling a halt to the lashing midway if this seemed necessary.

2. The provision for the use of the "cat" which was contained in the old Criminal Procedure Code was dropped by the Administration of Justice Law No. 44 of 1973, which retained in existence only the infliction of strokes with a rattan. This penalty which is also used in the case of juvenile offenders, is a much less severe form of punishment (though in our view it is still unacceptable

in a humane and enlightened society).

3. The new Code of Criminal Procedure Bill presently being debated in Parliament restores the use of the "cat" which we thought had disappeared for ever from our penal system. We trust that this is an incidental and unintended result of the repeal of the Administration of Justice Law and the resurrection of the relevant provisions of the old Criminal Procedure Code rather than a deliberate policy decision by the Government.

4. It should further be noted that under the old Criminal Procedure Code (which was in force until the Administration of Justice Law of 1973) a sentence of whipping on an adult (which almost invariably meant whipping with the "cat") had to be reported to the Ministry of Justice and could not be executed unless and until the Minister made order on it. This indicates that even in those days the use of the "cat" was regarded as an exceptional and drastic punishment, the infliction of which in every case required individual scrutiny by the Ministry of Justice which would presumably look into the mental and physical condition of the prisoner and the circumstances of the offence, some of which matters the Ministry may be better able to inquire into than the Court. It was also an important safeguard against a trial judge imposing, in the heat of the moment, an unduly severe physical punishment on an accused who might not have the resources (and might even be undefended) to appeal against his sentence. (A similar provision exists with regard to the death penalty—every sentence of death is automatically reviewed by the Ministry of Justice before it is carried out, whether or not there has been an appeal). In resurrecting the provi-

sions of the old Criminal Procedure Code relating to whipping, the new Bill has omitted this safeguard.

5. Newspaper reports have suggested that the new Bill will also make whipping applicable for a wider range of offences than hitherto. This does not appear to be correct. However, this is no cause for complacency as, for the reasons set out below, whipping—whether with the "cat", the rattan, or any other implement—should find no place in our statute book at all.

6. The continuation of corporal punishment is not acceptable in a humane and enlightened society in the 20th century and *a fortiori* the proposed re-introduction of the "cat" must be opposed for the following reasons:— (a) its use is barbaric, cruel, inhuman and degrading. It degrades not merely the victim but also those who administer, witness or otherwise participate in it; (b) based on the concept of vengeance and terror rather than attempting to understand and tackle the social causes of crime, it is incompatible with modern theories and principles of punishment and the treatment of offenders. (c) Corporal punishment in general, which involves the deliberate infliction of physical pain as a punishment, and which includes forms far less severe than lashing with the "cat", is contrary to many declarations and resolutions of the United Nations, and is therefore in derogation of Sri Lanka's international obligations. In particular it is contrary to:—

(i) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 30th Anniversary of which we are supposed to commemorate in a fitting manner this year.

(ii) The United Nations Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Torture or Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Tr-

eatment or Punishment (resolution No. 3452 of 9th December 1975). This resolution was adopted without a vote. All member states are accordingly bound to implement it in their national law and practice and have in fact, Sri Lanka included, been called upon to report to the UN as to how far they have done so.

(iii) The United Nations Convention on Civil and Political Rights. Sri Lanka has not yet signed this but has, along with other member States in the same position, been called upon to do so by resolution of the General Assembly of the UN of 8th December 1977.

(iv) The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

(d) Corporal punishment is expressly prohibited by the Geneva Conventions; (e) The Courts of the USA have held corporal punishment contrary to the Constitution as a cruel and unusual punishment; (f) Most recently, the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg in the Tyrer case has held the practice of "birching" juvenile offenders in the Isle of Man to be a degrading punishment and therefore contrary to the Convention for the Protection of Human rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The rationale of this important decision applies *a fortiori* to the whipping of adult offenders; (g) The re-introduction of the "cat", furthermore, appears inconsistent with the new Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka that we have only just adopted. This Constitution guarantees all persons protection against torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Article 11)—a provision which CRM, welcomed. The use of the "cat" contravenes this fundamental right,

The "escape clause" (Article 16) which preserves existing laws and punishments would not cover the re-introduction of a cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment that had been abolished before the new Constitution. Furthermore, the framers of our new Constitution rightly considered that the protection against torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading punishment was so fundamental that it requires special safeguards. Accordingly, a law inconsistent with this provision must be passed not merely by a two thirds majority but also by a referendum.

7. Similar considerations apply to the provision that the whipping of children and young persons must be *on the bare buttocks*, which was specified by the old Criminal Procedure, Code, omitted in the Administration of Justice Law of 1973, and is resurrected in the

Sir,

Anomalies in Pension

Mr. M. R. Fernando of Hendala has rightly spotlighted (CDN of 19.10.78) the grave injustice done to those who were forced to retire by the last government on reaching the 58th year. I had to retire on 11.3.77 though my contract was that I can go on till 69. If I was in service in the state owned Bank where I was working, I would have got two increments. This is also a political victimisation of the seven year curse. This is a clear case where Justice does not appear to have been done. Up to you Major Montague Jayawickreme.

R. A. S. Paul

676, Galle Road,
Colombo 3.
23rd Oct. 1978.

new Bill. This penalty, which is inflicted in the presence of the court, is a particularly degrading form of punishment.

Colombo.

October 28, 1978.

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SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Nov. 5 - Nov. 12

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

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

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5: A Budgetary announcement of a wage increase and concessions to hard-pressed public sector employees and the middle class to meet the demand of the cost of living is widely expected in political and business circles. President Jayewardene flew into a rousing welcome when he arrived in Kathmandu yesterday to begin a three day official visit to Nepal. Sri Lanka will propose the establishment of Asian intelligence and monitoring data bank on drug trafficking to the fifth meeting of operational heads of National Narcotics Agencies of the Far East opening in Colombo tomorrow. Plans are afoot to set up a zoo in Kandy which could develop into one of Asia's biggest and finest—SO. Two State Banks—the Bank of Ceylon and the People's Bank—find it difficult to grant

loans to needy university students as over 65 million is still due from needy undergraduates. Thousands of people in low lying areas of the Jaffna Peninsula have been evacuated as their houses are inundated owing to the heavy rain which has persisted since last Wednesday. KKS experienced the heaviest rainfall last Friday—114m.m. (4½")—ST. Continuing heavy rains in Jaffna, Ratnapura, Muttur, Galle, Kegalle etc threaten to turn into floods—VK. Interpol has warned the local CID that eight international drug dealers are in the country at present—SLDP. A one million strong Youth Organisation of non-alcoholics will be set up in the country soon. The production of Lakspray has decreased from 20 lakhs to 10 lakhs of pounds. The government has decided to hold a gem fair to which millionaires from all parts of the world will be invited—RR. Israel and Egypt have resolved all the substantial issues blocking a peace treaty and had agreed on the timing off steps to resolve the Palestinian question secretary of State Cyrus Vance announced. President Carter's efforts to halt the decline of the dollar could help to decide whether OPEC will stop using the US currency to set oil prices—ST. Radio Hanoi accused Peking of having concentrated more than 100,000 Chinese troops in Cambodia to attack Vietnam. A violence-scarred election campaign leading to a vote on Sunday that will decide the immediate future political of former PM Indira Gandhi ended peacefully—WK.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6: The Second budget of the UNP government which will be presented in parliament on November 15 will be based on a completely re-structured cost of living index and directed towards the granting of more and greater relief to wage earners—a segment which has been

worst affected by the liberalised economic policies initiated by the government late last year. The Minister of Justice said that there will be no constitutional amendments to enable political expediency. Matara and its suburbs are faced with the threat of floods if the heavy rains continue as the waters of the Nilwala Ganga are rising as a result of incessant rains. A record of over 3,500 Sri motor vehicles have been registered in the country in less than three months since the registration of the current series began. 'It is Buddhism that runs like a golden thread in the age long relationship between Nepal and Sri Lanka' said President Jayewardene at the state banquet hosted by King Birendra of Nepal and his queen. The Police will assist the CTB in its drive against footboard travelling throughout the island—CDN. A four-men IMF team which was here during the past two weeks has reportedly expressed satisfaction with Sri Lanka's performances to accelerate the pace of development and speed up economic growth—CDM. The government is to establish what is called 'a disciplined service' to cover all essential services in the country; it is likely to cover the supply of food and water, maintenance of transport services, health services, oil supply etc. The weather in all parts of the island is improving according to the Colombo Observatory. A police dragnet was drawn around Colombo following the escape of five remand prisoners from Welikade yesterday morning—SU. The number of persons who will undergo the teachers training will be doubled next year; the period of training will also be increased to three years.—DP. Heavy damage has been caused to the paddy plants in the North due to the rains; plants like beetroot and cabbage too

have suffered much damage—EN. UNICEF aid for the creche programme covering children under 5 years in estates under the Plantations Corporation and JEDB has been extended for the ensuing 2 years and the programme will receive aid to the tune of eight million rupees—IDPR No. 90. The government has started investigating into alleged irregularities by grama Sevakas in acquiring rice ration books; if proved the officer will be sacked immediately—LD. The government has decided to set up an institute to train people in printing—DM. President Sadat defied other Arab leaders by refusing to receive a delegation sent from the Baghdad Summit in a last ditch effort to persuade him to call off peace talks with Israel. Arab heads of states meeting in Baghdad were expected to impose a total political and economic boycott of Egypt after President Sadat refused to abandon his peace talks with Israel. The Soviet Union fresh from signing a bilateral friendship treaty with Vietnam pledged its full support for Hanoi against the expansionist encroachments of Peking—CDN. President Idi Amin rejected an American call for him to withdraw his troops from Tanzania and accused US of interfering in an African problem. PM Andreotti announced a major reform of the Italian government which he said would considerably reduce the number of ministers—CDM. Five people were reported killed in Teheran when police fired on student demonstrators in the worst violence in the Iranian capital in two months—CDM. Mrs. Indira Gandhi appeared to have won a resounding victory when with nearly half the votes counted she led by more than 33,000 votes. Two Akali Sikh ministers quit Indian PM Morarji Desai's government today to protest over police firing on Sikh demonstrators in New

Delhi two days ago—SU.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7:

Three and a half million workers in the private and state sector corporations—including the plantations—will receive a monthly pension under a new scheme approved by the government. The National Apprenticeship Board has drawn an accelerated programme under which 10,000 school leavers will become fully fledged trained and skilled workmen. About three hundred tourists are stranded in Colombo following the suspension of Air Ceylon's flights to Male since last Friday morning—CDN. The Deputy Minister of Defence said that the family should be made use of to combat drug abuse at the Narcotics meeting at BMICH. UNP supporters in the North and East are likely to ask the President on his return that the constitution should be amended in relation to filling up of vacancies in Parliament as a result of resignations—CDM. The government has called for tenders world wide for a new Rs. 110 million Telecommunication project in Sri Lanka. The government is likely to rope in the co-op sector for the operation of rice mills—SU. Flood victims in the Jaffna District who have become destitute will be given relief from the government; they will receive Rs. 500. per family—DP. 20,000 acres of paddy land has been destroyed due to the heavy rain and floods in Muttur—EN. The Minister of Labour said the present government has given employment to 1½ lakhs of people last year. Four new prisons will be built next year to reduce the present overcrowding in jails—DM. The government is now considering a proposal to increase train fares by 40%—DK. Three people including a police constable were killed and nearly hundred injured in clashes between police and Sikh religious demonstrators along the

Central Streets of New Delhi yesterday. The Arab League Summit meeting ended with an unexpectedly mild declaration calling Egypt to renounce its peace accords with Israel and not to sign a peace treaty but with no sanctions against Egypt or direct criticism of President Sadat. Zambia said today Rhodesian troops including some wearing Zambian style uniforms and black paint on their white skins were operating within its borders and harassing travellers in the South—CDN. Anti-Shah rioters rampaged through the streets of Teheran gutting the information Ministry, setting fire to the British Embassy and burning scores of vehicles in the orgy of arson and destruction. Voters blocked government plans for the use of nuclear energy in Austria leaving Socialist Chancellor Brund Kreisky to decide whether he will resign—CDM. Israeli PM Menachim Begin urged the US to give a lead by recognising Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Chinese CP Vice Chairman Wang Tung Hsing has expressed Peking's firm support for Cambodia in its current border war with Vietnam—SU.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8: Capital expenditure and Rs. 8662 million and recurrent expenditure of Rs. 10,715 million have been provided for in the estimates for 1979 tabled by the Finance Minister in Parliament yesterday. It is expected that a wide range of tax incentives will be made available to mobilise investment locally for development soon. The PM told the government Parliamentary Group yesterday that MP's should take up with district ministers problems facing their individual electorates. The deficit between estimated revenue and expenditure according to the estimates tabled by the Finance Minister is Rs. 8,323,059,171. The Minister of Industries and Scien-

tific Affairs produced six answer scripts of the 1977 Advanced Level Zoology paper and alleged that Tamil medium students had been given exaggerated marks when compared to Sinhala students answering the same paper in Sinhala. President and Mrs. J. R. Jayewardene will return home tomorrow after their visit to India and Nepal—CDN. The Minister of Finance said that the country must mobilize local funds in three ways: taxation, savings or transfer from subsidies. The inland Postal rates will be increased from November 10 following higher operational costs of the postal service. The PM said yesterday that public servants should not sit in cushioned comfort but must go to the people—CDM. The food subsidies in 1979 are expected to cost the country Rs. 2,332 million. The Special Presidential Commission inquiring into the misdeeds of the former government issued notice yesterday on Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. The working committee of the SLFP will meet on Saturday to adopt a new constitution which envisages far reaching changes in the party's structure, composition and organisation. The high command of the TULF which met in Jaffna over the week end decided to expel Mr. T. Sivasithamparam, MP for Vavuniya from the party and remove him from the Vavuniya seat as MP for his alleged violation of party discipline reports the Lankapuwath—SU. Zambian crowds attacked whites in the centre of Lusaka in an apparent backlash of anger and suspicion over Rhodesian incursion in the country. Israeli and Egyptian negotiators had separate meetings with US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance on military aspects of a peace agreement. A military government took over control in Iran last night, the Shah's answer to mounting unrest against his

regime which erupted into a week end of arson and violence—CDM. The Baghdad Arab Summit Conference has set up a 35 billion dollar fund to bolster the Eastern front against Israel. Lorry drivers demanding better working conditions blocked major roads yesterday as industrial unrest mounted in France—CDM.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9:

The University of Sri Lanka has called in the CID to investigate what is believed to be a multi-million rupee racket involving equipment ordered for use in campuses from the Crown Agents in London. President and Mrs. Jayewardene return home today after their visit to India and Nepal. UNESCO has agreed to bear the entire cost of restoration work of ancient cultural and historical monuments in the Kandy and Anuradhapura districts said the Minister of State—CDN. Whipping with cat-o-nine-tails for certain grievous offences has been removed from the code of criminal procedure and in its place such offences will be punishable with lashes with the cane not on the bare buttocks but on the covered posterior; an amendment to this effect was made by the Minister of Justice to the code of criminal procedure. The PM said that District Ministers are empowered to ensure that the various government departments within their districts worked efficiently and they should work in a just and proper manner. The narcotics carrier who normally travels on false passports could be effectively checked by having a passport bank where passports could be retained till the passport holder wants to leave the country; this suggestion was made on behalf of Sri Lanka by the DIG Crimes at the meeting of the heads of National Narcotics Law Enforcement Agencies—CDM. All major Shipping Conferences have given

Sri Lanka notice of further increases in freight rates on some of the commodities to be increased by 100%. The government will amend the constitution in the event of a cross-over by two TULF MP's to government ranks said the President in Madras. TULF President yesterday denied a Lanka Puwath report that the front had decided to expel Mr. T. Sivasithamparam MP for Vavuniya—SU. The leader of the Opposition has cancelled his visit to India and will return home on Sunday—VK. The leader of the SLFP, Mrs. Bandaranaike said the party's new constitution will ensure democracy in party discipline and better organisation and collective responsibility of the leadership. The SLFP MP for Kotmale speaking in Parliament asked for a referendum on the new university bill before it is passed—DK. The Secretary for the Ministry of Cultural Affairs said steps will soon be taken to translate the Mahavamsa into Tamil. A National Housing Authority which will be in charge of the building programme under the Colombo Development Project will be set up shortly. The leader of the JVP addressing a public rally alleged that Mrs. Bandaranaike is causing communal trouble in the hope of bringing her son to power—LD. The ownership of all paddy land acquired by the Land Reform Commission from 1972 onwards will be given to farmers who cultivated the lands when they were acquired. The Ministry of Industries has permitted the opening of 40 new industries last month including a massive soap factory at a cost of Rs. 30 million—DM. The government of Czechoslovakia has appointed Mr. Jaroslav Cisar as Ambassador to Sri Lanka—IDPR No. 233/78. Former Indian PM Mrs. Indira Gandhi won in the Chikmagalur parliamentary constituency by a majority of 77,000 votes. Iran's new military gov-

ernment arrested the former head of Savak secret police force and several former cabinet ministers. Israel stressed yesterday that basic disagreements with Egypt still stand in the way of a peace treaty between the two countries. Israel PM Begin said that Israel wants the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to have veto powers over any future withdrawal of peace keeping forces from key areas of the Sinai peninsula—CDN. South Africa is strengthening its forces in Namibia in face of a military build up across the border in Angola. Americans shunned polling booths in their millions yesterday in national elections and officials predicted the lowest turnout since World War II. Premier Ian Smith attacked moves in Britain's Parliament to renew trade sanctions against Rhodesia but two major black parties in the transitional government said that to lift sanctions now would be premature—CDM.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10:

The President arrived back yesterday after his state visit-cum-pilgrimage to India and Nepal; there were no tamashas and speeches at the KIA; he was met by the PM. The Government Press is broke and cannot buy paper to print routine documents of government departments; the Paper Corporation has refused to sell paper on credit because of an outstanding bill of Rs. 6 million. Government has agreed to buy potatoes from local growers at the controlled price of Rs. 1.75 a pound; this should act as an incentive to local farmers to grow more. The present parity rates of the Sri Lanka rupee have attracted a large number of foreign students for higher studies in various fields. Police have arrested five persons, two of them employed in the Examinations Department and two others from Jaffna in

connection with a racket in the issue of forged GCE results sheets which are sold to prospective job seekers for amounts ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 per sheet—CDN. Sri Lanka has received over Rs. 1,700 millions as outright grant from the Aid Consortium countries to enable her to continue with the economic liberalisation measures and with the greatly increased public investment programmes. President Jayewardene was given a hero's welcome, when he returned to the island last afternoon after his tour of India and Nepal. Investments by public corporations will hereafter be financed by the National Development Bank which will be established shortly by the Minister of Finance—CDM. The Court of Appeal yesterday ruled that the Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry now probing various alleged misdeeds of the previous government was ultra vires in law.—SU. The Minister of Cultural Affairs has decided to set up a provident fund for artists—DM. President Idi Amin of Uganda promised to withdraw his troops from Tanzanian territory in exchange for a guarantee that Tanzania would not invade Uganda or arm its exiles abroad. West Germany denied any nuclear or military co-operation with South Africa and said accusation to the contrary were malicious defamation. Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong speaking on Soviet TV last night described his country's new friendship treaty with Kremlin as a contribution to peace and stability in Southeast Asia—CDN. The ruling General Synod of the Anglican church of England voted against ordaining women as priests. Top defence ministry officials said yesterday India was developing its own submarine and a new tank—CDM. Military authorities arrested Amir Abbas Hoveyda Iran's PM for most

of the past 13 years. Moderate Rhodesian Nationalist leader Rev Sithole during a visit to Bonn urged that the UN economic sanctions and Arms embargo against his country should be lifted. America's 96th Congress starts working in January without a black senator for the first time in a dozen years—SU.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11:

The government will enact legislation to enable the Special Presidential Commission to continue with the inquiry in regard to the matters referred to it, the PM told Parliament yesterday. The PM will shortly present a bill in parliament to restrict the use of public roads by street hawkers and to prohibit the dumping of garbage and refuse in unauthorised places. The PM yesterday called upon Opposition political parties to give up isolated political thinking and involve themselves in the national development effort the government has initiated to raise the living standards of all people irrespective of racial, communal or political differences. In spite of fluctuations in the world price, the consumer in Sri Lanka will continue to get potatoes at Rs. 2 per lb from a given date. The Public sector has been asked to give the lead in providing employment to blind persons—CDN. As a result of shortage of fuel aviation the Indonesian government has cancelled 160 special charter flights carrying haj pilgrims from Jeddah to Indonesia via Colombo. Equipment has already been received from the Swiss government to set up a new meteorological station either at Mullaitivu or at Pottuvil within the next two years. The Minister of Lands etc speaking at a ceremony to accept the Rs. 4½ million worth of machinery and equipment given by Britain to the State Timber Corporation said if this country produced its entire

food requirements a sum of Rs. 4000 million on foreign exchange could be saved—CDM. As the Court of Appeal yesterday prohibited sittings of the Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry the PM told parliament that the government would introduce laws to enable it to continue the probe—SU. A jeep belonging to the Irrigation Department was stopped at Mankulam at gunpoint and a sum of Rs 29,000 taken by three youths—EN. The government will shortly decide whether to give crown land that have not been properly cultivated to foreign countries for cultivation and on what basis it should be given as a number of countries have already applied for it—LD. The ULF has issued a statement criticising the university bill saying it allows 'dictatorship in university administration'—DV. Industries Minister George Fernandes said former PM Indira Gandhi's election to parliament this week would be challenged in court on the grounds of large-scale impersonation of votes. Israeli bulldozers began cleaning a new site for Jewish settlement near Jerusalem in a move that could bring new diplomatic tensions with the U.S. President Carter intervened in Egyptian-Israeli peace talks suggesting that a treaty between the two countries should commit both to the comprehensive Middle East framework agreed at Camp David. Britain's minority Labour Party government last night narrowly survived a parliamentary vote of confidence on its policy for next year. The US hoping to remove an irritant in relations with China has quietly told allies that it will no longer block their arms sales to Peking—CDN. Iran's main opposition parties and religious leaders have called for a nation wide general strike next Saturday. The Geneva Assembly demanded the immediate withdrawal of all

foreign troops from Cyprus and called for the urgent resumption of long-stalled negotiations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. India's ruling Janata Party crushed ex-PM Indira Gandhi's Congress Party in Municipal polls in Bombay yesterday—CDM. Maldives President-elect Mammooon Abdul Gayoom will be sworn in at midnight today—SU.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12:

On the eve of presenting his second budget Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel warned against the twin maladies of over confidence and euphoria 'which could lead to a sense of complacency which is bad for any government.' Sri Lanka will open three new diplomatic missions in Dacca, Singapore and Male in the coming year. The new constitution of the SLFP was unanimously adopted by the over 4000 strong Executive Committee of the party yesterday—SO. Lack of machinery and equipment as well as shortage of manpower are among the factors for the failure to achieve set targets in a number of public sector activities between July and September this year according to the Ministry of Plan Implementation. The SLFP leader Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike was unanimously re-elected President of the party; she said the time was now ripe for positive political agitation. Of the 351,880 applicants for the Income Support allowance of Rs. 50 a month 331,771 have been determined as eligible to receive it—ST. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike yesterday gained full control of the SLFP as its Executive Committee unanimously decided to adopt a new constitution. The PM is to commence a crash programme to eradicate the mosquito menace in the city. The Attorney General will in future examine all draft legislation prepared by the Legal Draftsman's Department for ministries, be.

fore presentation to the cabinet—WK. The Minister of Plantation Industries declared open the Palmyrah Products Board in Jaffna—EN. A group of Professors and lecturers of the universities are going to propose to the government to admit students to the university on the population ratio basis—RR. Envoys from the Organisation of African Unity arrived yesterday to attempt further mediation in the border war between Uganda and Tanzania after President Julius Nyerere's abrupt dismissal of an earlier formula to end the fighting. Tens of thousands of people marched through the centre of Madrid last night to protest against the political violence which has claimed 65 lives in Spain this year. White Rhodesia yesterday celebrated 13 years of unilateral independence from Britain—ST. Life in the Iranian capital appeared to be getting back to normal but soldiers still guarded strategic points in the city of four million people. The Iranian military government detained Dr. Karim Sanjabi, leader of the Opposition National Front Party as he was about to address a press conference. US President said he does not favour a separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat said that conclusion of the peace talks with Israel could not be predicted—WK.

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ISSUES, SOLUTIONS & TRENDS—4

Gloomy Tidings

by Shirley J. Payoe

Shepherd of Mankind: We fear this is going to be a dismal column. We have to record with sorrow the passing away of Pope Paul VI. The Pope is dead; Long live the Pope. At this writing, smoke rings have announced the

election of Pope John Paul as successor. In our agnostically inclined mind there springs a seemingly sensible question: What happens to the theoretical infallibility of the Church during enforced though brief periods of interregnum when there is no Head of the Papacy? One way out is retro-prospectively effective pronouncements and rulings.

We leave the questions unanswered to give readers a story from the Last War, when 738 American planes flew over Rome shedding bombs on that beautiful and historic City. Pope Pius XII and Monsignor Montini rushed out in a Vatican car taking whatever money they could lay their hands on. When they reached the flames men, women and children fell on their knees before the Holy Father who blessed them. Monsignor Montini on a signal from the Pope distributed money without any means of estimating the needs. And then.. (We now turn you over to William E. Barrett whose book originally entitled "Shepherd of Mankind" was published in the Pan Series in 1966 as *Pope Paul VI*. Over then to Mr. Barrett..)

"A half-crazed woman with a child in her arms ran towards the Holy Father as he returned to the shattered basilica. She fell on her knees before him and as he raised his hand in blessing, she bounded up and thrust the child into his arms.

'Bring her back', she screamed, 'Ask Christ! Bring her back.'

Pope Pius XII stood helplessly with a small child in his arms and with blood running down the front of his white cassock until other women gathered around the frenzied mother and took the body of the little girl away from him.

He went back then with Monsignor Montini to their car beside the barricades. The smoke hung

in the sky all night..'' (That was Mr. Barrett writing on page 174 on the Pan edition). In June 1963 Monsignor Montini became Pope Paul VI and later visited our country and gave us his blessing.

Burning Spear of Africa: We have also to record the passing away of Jomo Kenyatta, the wise old man with the long fly whisk, who was once the principal, of Kenya Teachers' College which, not surprisingly, turned out keen nationalists. The College was suppressed by the British after the Mau Mau outbreak in 1952.

Although Kenyatta was more bent on winning freedom and consolidating the gains of his country, it was he and his contemporary Kwame Nkrumah, who first lit the spear of freedom in Africa.

From the time of the notorious scramble for Africa in the last quarter of the 19th century up to the eve of the World War Two there were only three independent states, Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt, in the whole dark continent. Twenty years after were nine free nations, the additions being Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Ghana and Guinea. The spear was burring its way deep into the African soul; nations were refusing to be hewers of logs and drawers of water and 'rebellng against the false belief that providence created some to be the menials of others.' By 1960 Nigeria, Congo, Fr. Togoland, Fr. Cameroons and Somalia were added to the fold.

Free struggles brought fundamental changes in the African situation as stated by Nkrumah in his book 'Africa Must Unite'. This effort called for enormous struggles and sacrifices. In Kenyatta's land it required a night of the long knives to bring freedom. In addition Nkrumah played the vital role of a Black-Nasser trying to establish unity and crosslinks across

tribalisms in nations that had been deliberately carved without regard to geographical and ethnic factors during the scramble.

Many were the ruses tried by the Whites to keep Africans in a subdued state. Direct military interventions appear less important compared with the subtle ruses with which world opinion was to be swayed. Among them were concepts that gave recognition and privilege to 'civilized blacks', along with equal status with the whites, thereby alienating them from their people. Another was an attempt, as in Algeria, to integrate African territory constitutionally with the European 'mother country'. Another favourite ruse (even now practised) was UN Trusteeship.

To give the devil his due, it was an ex-Battle-of-Britain pilot named Ian Smith who devised the best of the ruses. This was Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), a form of political interuterine device to prevent the conception of even an embryonic form of black national rule. The device enabled Smith to by-pass Britain's constitutional responsibility and to prolong to this day white minority domination.

It is difficult to see how Britain which had always insisted elsewhere on proper aseptic de-colonising processes, can evade the issue any further and toady up to a man who broke Britain's own rules of the game. For doing less than Smith, other freedom strugglers in the colonies have been jailed, tried and bumped off.

Air Ceylon At The Crossroads: Air Ceylon was virtually forced out of the skies with a bang instead of a whimper when its last flight-worthy craft—the ill-fated Avro—burnt to a wreck on the Ratmalana tarmac. It was luck that prevented a far greater calamity. Sabotage is suspected.

Who did it is being investigated as we found when we called at the Airport with our laminated press pass. We were among friends, former-colleagues and in familiar grounds, but we were, correctly, stopped at the railing by the armed guard that cordoned off the area for the investigations. We found the slueths busy, including a ten-year old lad who was under the wing of the doomed plane. In sluething it probably pays to ignore rules and start young!

This sabotage and investigation apart, we need to probe in the first place whether we are air-minded or wedded still to a bullock-cart mentality. True enough we once had a traditional mudalali pilot, a pioneering Gagarin complete with top-knot, who obtained his licence from our own Air Academy. We also had that yatching and flying enthusiast and inventor, Mr. Ray Wijewardena, whose curious and noisy little Gyrocopter provided him with weekend pleasure and thrills to small boys. We also had a Flying Club which toyed with line and radio control models. We also had a Link trainer installed in a room at Ratmalana.

In the 1960s TWA offered to develop Ratmalana Airport to international standards with tourist hotels, engineering facilities, a runway extension to the sea with an underpass for Galle Road—in exchange for 10-year landing rights. We rejected the offer and a few years later the authorities harassed Mr. Ray Wijewardena for disturbing the afternoon siestas of a few people with his private flying contraption.

The record of misuse of equipment and institutions and the dampening of enthusiasts is indeed dismal; the manner in which Air Ceylon was permitted to run itself proves beyond doubt that we as a nation are still wedded to a firm

bullock-cart mentality.

What Sri Lanka needs today is:—

(a) A clear national aviation policy,

(b) Even a late realization of the potential of aviation for passenger/cargo services and its connections with tourism and exports,

(c) An awareness of what is happening around us in the aviation field,

(d) An honest attempt to prevent the spread of Air Ceylon's malaise to the Aviation Department.

There is a distinct trend towards centralism and longer, larger hauls of passengers/cargo from sophisticated terminals. Wide-body craft, cut rate fares and promotional freight rates will see more and more passengers/cargo take to the air in the coming years. Nothing less than a sensational increase in fuels costs will prevent this, and if we are wise we can be in the centre of action because of our geographical advantages. We have our inadequacies, of course, like school boy slueths—while Scotland Yard depends on experienced grey-haired chaps!

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IN THE TUB

by Diogenes

Out Of Time And Space

The Master stepped out of time and space and saw the latest copy of the *Tribune* lying beside his Tub which had some reference to air conditioners, kettles and the Transport Ministry. He therefore walked many thousand miles transporting himself in thought through the many centuries into a tiny little island called Sri Lanka and roamed the streets of its capital.

He found that it was a beautiful little island where the natives were intelligent and of a very pleasant disposition although a large number of them were half-starving because of the rising cost of living which meant rising fortunes for a handful among them who were helping themselves to the utmost even in the choicest wine and food brought from distant lands. There were luxury cars transporting many a lounging Maecenas and many a dope trafficker, black-marketeer, smuggler and racketeer. On the other hand the Master also saw the city workers hanging on to the footboards of buses and trains like bats, in a perilous effort to reach their workplace and homes.

Those who worked were undergoing great hardship and their wages went only half way to meet their vital needs. Malnutrition or indebtedness was their common lot and more often they encountered both. The idlers however who shirked their duties to the state and society were provided with cars to transport themselves, their wives and children to office, market and the schools. In office there were air conditioners, electric kettles, polished tables, cushioned chairs, carpets and pretty damsels who prepared their favourite beverage produced from the leaves gathered from the hills whenever they needed refreshment to wake them from their slumber.

Diogenes discovered that in this tiny island, idleness was recognised and accepted as a national virtue whereas work and a conscientious discharge of one's duties were considered as an uncommon national vice and disloyalty to the establishment. The air-conditioners, kettles, carpets and the comely damsels were indeed of little use where work was done so that the natives instal such things in places

where idle flunkeys are placed in positions of power and patronage as they alone will know and have the time to enjoy them most. He found that those who held high positions in the Transport Ministry when they did not take flight to far off lands to place orders for coaches, buses, engines and spare parts costing millions to the State, relaxed in comfort in their air-conditioned rooms sipping their tea while millions worth of things ordered from abroad over the years kept rotting and gathering rust in the yard.

Successive governments in this tiny island have petted and pampered those men who idle and intrigue squandering the national wealth of the state and harassing the dutiful ones. High officials fly at great expense to the State when they go on shopping sprees on behalf of themselves and the State. In contrast the Master also saw the hardworked medical men working themselves out in places worse than cattlesheds which were called medical clinics. Idling and bungling, intrigue and backbiting, sneaking and back-stabbing were the watchwords for success and progress but the dutiful led themselves into trouble and harassment.

The total length of the railway track in this tiny island was not more than a thousand miles and the millions squandered from the resources of the state do not in any way lessen the travails and perils for the travellers or increase their comforts. The tracks were unattended and rusty, the buses continued to belch, the coaches were as bad as ever without seats that were wide enough to rest the bottoms. The state was as indebted and bankrupt as the natives but a handful of men had plentiful wealth in the midst of poverty.

The natural resources of the island were vast and all the national wealth obtained therefrom

was frittered away without purpose or plan. Even the public servants were in debt and daily their hardships increased with added woes. Diogenes thought that it will be a wise government which will give them immediate relief as these public servants had reached a breaking point in their suffering.

The Master found that Sri Lanka was truly a paradise for the tourists from abroad who found it cheaper to live in luxurious hotels here than remain in their homes. The Master also found that the blessings that the Gods had showered on the land were enjoyed only by a few. He returned to his Tub leaving the shores of this beautiful island sadly reflecting on all natures bounty and man's inhumanity to man and wondered how in this island called the Dhamma Dipa, there was so much misery and taking of human lives. The Buddha, true to the old saying, was not honoured in the home of his teachings.

X X X X X

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

Mahaweli—On The Track

by R. Kahawita

FROM ALL ACCOUNTS, work on Mahaweli Development seems to have got a good start. There are promises of sizeable aid from several friendly countries and aid clubs. There are offers to undertake the construction of many of the dams. Maduru Oya reservoir has been committed and equipment is trickling in. Victoria Falls dam has been snatched away; Randenigala is being actively considered by a donor country; Uma Oya system is being looked into

before being committed for aid and construction. There is some development talk about Moragahakanda complex and a Technical Report on Kotmale Reservoir has been submitted by a neighbouring country.

To implement these promises, at home—a Co-ordinator General has been appointed; The Mahaweli Development Board itself has been retailed and additional personnel brought in; work on a shramadana basis has been organised; Youth groups have been set up and deployed on the development areas. The "youth worker" has been promised the land he works on.

The Purana village folks who were bull-dozed off their possessions have re-dozed into their ancestral abodes. Supply and distribution systems are being constructed. Men and women needed for construction and development work are being trained. Land Surveyors for pioneer work and assessment of land resources are being put through rapid courses of training, and finally this whole massive undertaking has been placed under the direction of a single Ministerial Portfolio.

A project of such massive proportions, territorially and financially has three basic development disciplines.

They are:—

1. Technical Development of Resources:

That is:— construction of reservoirs, hydro power plants, channels and distribution systems, roads and buildings, development of the infra structure necessary to service new communities and all other ancillary works to conserve, control and manage the resources.

2. Agricultural Development:

That is: clearing and preparing the land for cultivation, experi-

menting with new crops and parcelling out the land according to its suitability for different crops and to fall in line with the local weather cycle. Studying the economic aspects of different crops both money-wise and water consumption-wise; organising an efficient extension service to guide and participate in the developments of crops and cropping patterns; educating the new farmers in new agricultural practices and disseminate the results of agricultural research to the farming community. Finally to establish meaningful rapport between farmer and research worker to increase production.

3. Settlement and Orientation of the New Settlers:

This is the more difficult of the three aspects. It calls for a great deal of ingenuity to handle and understand the new settlers; and exercise that must start at the interview and interrogation stage of selecting the farmers. There are no fixed patterns or guide lines in this process of re-siting the settlers in their new environment. Those who are involved in the task of selecting and settling have to play by "ear and pick up the notes as the tune develops" so to say. To perform this task, there should be sociologists, home-scientists, health workers, psychologists and a sort of "pater familias" who can understand the human problems as they surface and to find a quick solution before the problem gets hold of the settler and disheartens him.

This kind of dissatisfaction spreads rapidly even to those who have no problems. This is human nature and it has no remedy. Such a malady, neglected, can militate against the achievement of project targets. The main target of the project is to settle the farmers to exploit the re-

sources harnessed at such massive cost in the shortest possible time so that the settler himself should be able to achieve economic independence within a couple of seasons of taking over his new wealth. From the point of view of the State, the capital invested—the investment is in astronomical figures—must give a reasonable return as quickly as possible. If not servicing the loans, inflation, and such other repercussions due to a stagnant economy will be unsurmountable; with the result, in spite of the enormous investment our people will become poorer and poorer.

OF THE THREE DISCIPLINES discussed above this third discipline is the difficult one to handle. So far, in this respect, we have failed in many schemes, much smaller than Mahaweli Project, and in several cases we have almost given up the struggle and have allowed settlers to languish in their own destitution. With these experiences before us, should we not be advised by our failures and plan the third discipline under Mahaweli in a different way to what we have done in the past? Should we not do some rethinking to close the gaps that led us to inactivity in the past? It is happening just now at Uda Walawe. Should we not set up an organisation to study the various facets of the settlement problems and prepare action-programmes to ensure the smooth inflow and settlement of the new farmers in the Mahaweli region?

In a settlement programme of this magnitude there are many basic issues to be discussed and decisions taken. And the main issue that affects the future prosperity of the settler is the extent of his agricultural holding. It must be of an economically viable size of unit, based on current and long term prices for such produce and

the type of crops that will give him a reasonable return. The size of holding is a priority decision that should be taken before the settlers are introduced to the region. The guiding criteria to determine the size of holding are: full employment for the family, income therefrom should be such to anchor the settler and his holding permanently on the land; with the income, he and his family, should be able to improve the quality of life to a better level than what they enjoyed in their village, or urban area they left behind; the gross income should be better than what is available to them in other avenues of employment with the same educational and social back ground; should be better than what they would get if hired their labour to others.

With emphasis on partial mechanisation of agricultural chores, as now preached by the Policy makers, the extent of holdings should be such that the machines the farmers acquire can be fully utilised; can be depreciated and serviced with the income they earn from their units, they should be able to pay back to the State a part of development cost, maintenance cost, and a land cum water rate. Finally the State expenditure on the project and settlement should earn a revenue to service the loans and pay them back to the lenders. These financial requirements cannot be achieved if the settlement policy were to be to keep the settler just above the starvation line. The whole operation, as we see it, is to generate a surplus of food to feed the rest of our population. The scheme of settlement should not be used as a solution to our unemployment problems. It is incidental to the settlement exercise. Our goals are to train the young to a way of life which ensures them their independence and economic

liberation and to share the obligation of the State to produce sufficient food for the people who have a stake in the project. And finally the new community to be the back bone of the Agricultural sector of the country.

The question then arises, what should be the unit of agricultural holdings? The International Organisation which has made a study of this subject in depth has given certain guide lines, based on maximum use of water resources and income patterns to service the investment and employment potentials, for us to follow. Their recommendations should not be treated lightly. Therefore, if it is needed to change their recommendations; what they have recommended should be subjected to a critical analysis taking all the current factors into consideration

| Size | Operator | Cultural | Percentage of land distributed |
|------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| 200/500 Ac | Co-operative | Mechanise | 5% |
| 15 .. | Small mechanized farms | Mechanizes | 5% |
| 3-5 Acs. | Small individual farms | Family labour | 90% |

Note; Minimum individual size of holding is 3 acres where full employment, growing a variety of crops all the year round with gravity or lift irrigation can yield the income norm accepted. This should be the minimum size of holding.

The new settlers need to live in a community so as to maintain their cultural activities as independent communities or as integral parts of the communities that are there.

The new community is the focal point of the social, cultural and political growth. What has to be created is similar to the Purana villages or like any one of our villages; similarity of environment has a pull towards stability. What should be the strength (grouping) of a purely agricultural community?

before a final decision is made to deviate from what they have suggested in their findings. In view of the present Land Policies of the Government the ultimate size of land unit is of paramount importance to the economic growth of the country. Once done it cannot be changed again.

As far as we are aware, the administration has reached no finality yet on the size of holding. The adhoc decisions on this subject, if any, in operation now should be replaced by a final comprehensive policy decision. This is urgent as the size of unit is the leverage that can be used to draw the correct type of settler to the scheme. The success of the project is in their hands, not in technical achievements and accomplishments. The recommendation of the UNDP team are:—

Various studies have been made on this subject, particularly by the Israelis and to some extent by the African countries. The accepted "village conglomeration" is 80 to 100 family units plus the units engaged in servicing that number. Ultimately there may be a gross population of 500 to 600 souls settled in each village unit.

SUCH VILLAGE UNITS should be clustered around "Service Centres" where primary commercial, administrative, and distribution, organisations should be located.

As to how many villages should be served by one "Service Centre", there are variance of opinions. No doubt this is a difficult thing to be dogmatic; there are so many problems—mainly human and human propensities to be considered before reaching finality. Generally three or four units per Service Centre have been accepted as a manageable number without over urbanizing the rural population depending on the centre. Ultimately a Service Centre may have to cater for 2000 to 2500 souls plus its own service population.

Several Service Centres will have to depend on a regional "Administrative Centre" which will assume the proportions of a sizeable township with all the facilities, conveniences, social entertainments etc. This will be where urbanity will grow. It will expand in the number and variety of commercial, social, cultural institutions as the economic life of the region grows. The limit may be three to four "Service Centres" to each "Administrative Centre". It may eventually serve a total population of about 12,000 souls.

Area wise, considering the agricultural activities and agro based industries to complete the development programmes, there may be about 15,000 acs. of agricultural land drawing their "sustenance" from each of the Administrative Centres. Such centres should be well located to serve the existing settlers as well as the future settlers. These centres should be well planned and all the basic services provided so that the end result will be a socially and technically planned township.

We have made several mistakes in the early schemes like Minneriya, Kalawewa, Elahera etc. where objectives were to dump the "unwanted villages" in new settlements. In our hurry to get over the unemployment problems let us not repeat the same

blunders. To avoid this there should be an advance team to plan region by region as development progresses. It should be started now not after the need arises. Thinking in advance and locating the development activities around future townships and administration centres will help to draw permanently some of the services needed to cater for the new settlers even before they arrive.

The three phases of development programmes discussed above to render the whole of Mahaweli region economically viable. Accelerating the speed of construction to complete the thirty year programme in six years should not be considered as a "Political Stunt" or some say a "Political Gundu". It is national survival. How soon the totality of the objectives can be achieved depends on the performance of the people of country who are directly and indirectly involved in implementing the development programmes. And through such efforts, it will be possible to attain economic viability within a reasonable time.

The goals of economic viability do not depend on technical development. It is geared primarily to the performance and work of the farmers, and of those who are associated with the farmers, from the selection point up to the point of the farmer's harvest and marketing of his produce.

Therefore the selection of "the associates" what ever their specialities are, should be of that quality and temperament that they will be able to tune themselves to the need of the moment—a contended farmer, with performance and production as a joint effort by the farmer and his associates. Such associates may not be available over the counter. Therefore training courses in various specialities needed to settle

the farmers should be established in the various regions covered by the Mahaweli complex.

Pending the development of facilities in the regions, selection, training and disciplining the associates" must be undertaken. They should be the advance guard to go into the settlement areas and prepare the way to receive the new settlers. Contentment in the new setting of a farmer unit is half the battle won. By now we should have "whole army" of these associates being put through their paces. One cannot overemphasise the need and urgency for such training to fulfil the hopes the country has placed on Mahaweli.

We seem to be still worried about who, in the first instance, conceived the project. This is history now and we gain nothing by reiterating the facts over again. Time has come to create history by completing the project in record time and settling the farmers to go into production also in record time—not in twenty years like at Gal Oya but in six years.

These should be the targets to be set up by the Hon. Minister of Mahaweli Development.

F I L M

Rampage

The story of an elephant's revenge. An elephant which systematically eliminates people till finally, on the day of reckoning, as it were, he and the one who wronged him so many years previously meet to resolve matters. The film creates a peaceful and calm picture in the beginning depicting life on a thea estate in 1938.

Only when people begin to die, killed by an elephant, does the film start moving and it manages to keep one spell-bound and wondering who the next victim will be.

Yet one cannot say it was a tense film for it had its tranquil moments. Though the elephant destroys so many people one does not see him till the very end, when he comes face to face with his opponent. He is a magnificent specimen. And what does he have against the man? Years ago, while out on a hunting trip, the planter Charles Serasinghe kills the mother without any provocation and the young calf is left destitute. To try and make amends the hunter takes it back home, but it escapes after a few years. The man does not hunt anymore. Many years later when the elephant begins a series of killings of of the people in that peaceful area, the SP asks Charles Serasinghe to go out and hunt the elephant down. He refuses right to the very end when Julie Squires, with whom he has an affair is killed. Her husband Martin was his companion when he went out on the hunting expedition and killed the mother elephant. Charles suspects right along who the killer was but does not actually tell the whole story until the night that Julie is killed.

It is beautifully filmed, with some of the most splendid views of our hill country in all its many hues, and the various sounds of the wild are also captured. The acting is good, we were particularly impressed with Chris Greet's depiction of the cowardly, drunken husband, Gamini Fonseka and Mary Tamm did in no way fall below the mark.

Despite its typically British setting complete with butlers and all the other accompaniments, a thread of the mystic east, with its strange fatality, its belief in destiny and revenge, of retribution runs through the film. And though it is a film made principally with the foreign audience in mind, should have universal appeal. It certainly left an im, act on our mind.

V.A.

SCIENCE, SCIENTISTS &
SOVEREIGNTY—3

Why Research Officers
Falter

by S. N. de S. Seneviratne

This Presidential Address was delivered at the 31st Annual Session of the Sri Lanka Association For The Advancement of Science in 1975 by Dr. S. N. de S Seneviratne and the title was SCIENCE, SCIENTISTS AND SOVEREIGNTY—SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE THIRD WORLD. We are publishing the speech in three instalments because it is a brilliant exposition of the problems that have confronted and still confront scientists in this country. Some time ago, the brain drain of scientists was accepted as something about which nothing could be done. Today, the government wants the brain drain reversed, but as far as *Tribune* can see the conditions not only for the return of scientists but also for keeping those still here have not been created?

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

ELSEWHERE I HAVE REFERRED to the exodus of professionally trained officers to pastures abroad.

It is a fair question to ask, "If the post-graduate degrees from recognized institutions abroad are merely symbols enabling our specialists to desert their country, why train

them at all?" Every society has its complement of individuals whose actions are motivated solely by self-interest. We are no exception. But the variety of reasons which induce scientists to leave this country in disgust and despair should not be lightly dismissed. Not infrequently, young officers, after a stimulating experience in post-graduate research abroad return to empires where mere survival depends on the offering of incense to the Caesars in power.

Writing about the struggle against colonialism in Africa, John Hatch observed "...the fight was concerned with African people, not simply with constitutional changes nor with the replacement of arbitrary colonial administrations by equally arbitrary African oligarchies."

There are oligarchies in Asia too, in scientific institutions in Asian countries, ours included. For many scientists, disillusionment begins when they encounter the violence of this vicious system. There are, of course, scientific diplomats who have perfected techniques for survival and advancement in such systems. But for those who are unable or unwilling to make the adjustments, the professional qualification becomes the passport to escape into a more hopeful position elsewhere.

The problem is sufficiently serious to warrant attention because no Third World country, struggling to achieve true economic freedom, can afford the impoverishment of its scientific capability by the sickness of its management system. Here too, a suitably structured Research Council can play a vital role in determining that scientists are allowed to contribute to national development within an organisational framework which prevents, or at least minimises administrative violence.

THE UNDERUTILISATION of trained personnel in their own specialist fields is another aspect which deserves attention. At the present time, many specialist officers spend a considerable proportion of their time on activities incidental to their technical functions. Adequate institutional arrangements to provide the supporting services are often lacking. Not infrequently, such arrangements and organisations as are available simply do not work. Office trays with documents which ought to be processed expeditiously often seem to serve as archives where papers are preserved for posterity. Procuring supplies is a perennial problem and funds are not always the obstacle.

A few examples will be illuminating. We have in the Department of Agriculture, an establishment called the Agricultural Central Stores to service the securing of supplies, clearance of cargoes, etc. While in charge of the Agricultural Research Station at Rahangala, I placed an indent for laboratory equipment to be obtained from England on 20th December 1962. The goods were eventually delivered at Rahangala on 25th January 1965, over two years later! It had taken our Departmental organisation eighteen months merely to clear the crates and have them despatched to the indenting unit! One can imagine the condition of the items when finally received. And our Departmental accounting unit was so efficient that it was 1970 when they got down to the business of settling Transit Vouchers of 1962/63.

More recently in 1973, I followed the clearance of a shipment of laboratory equipment which was delayed due to cussedness, stupidity and inefficiency. I was informed that it had taken 1 1/2 months to "process the documents". The Postal Department has a similar record. Customs Declaration Forms

in respect of a parcel with materials for virus research were sent on 17th March 1975 and followed up by a series of reminders and registered letters. On 15th May the GPO informed me that the parcel was lying unclaimed and will be disposed of. More activity prevented this. The parcel was eventually received on 3rd June 1975.

Innumerable examples may be provided of how scientific research can be obstructed by the sheer inefficiency and apathy of servicing organisations. However, the point is clear. If a revolution does not take place in vitalising those organisations which exist to serve and assist our national effort, scientists too are wasting their time in attempting to contribute their mite to national development.

TIME is another vital commodity. Scientists cannot operate with their eyes directed towards the clock.

Time for them has a premium value. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." This is a good socialist principle. In the old days, independent transport, particularly a car, was very much a status symbol. The bigger the chassis, the greater the prestige.

For scientists, independent transport is not primarily a status consideration. Mobility for them is an essential need—if they are to perform their functions efficiently. After all the Government has provided vehicles to Police Officers and personnel in the armed forces—it is a recognition that special consideration must be given to officers responsible for maintaining law and order. The crucial importance of the nation building tasks which scientists must accomplish also deserve consideration.

TROUBLE IN THE FTZ—PAUL PERERA ?

IS IT NOT A FACT that recent developments in the FTZ—GCEC to use the correct terminology—has caused many big shots in the Government to sit up? That reports reaching the *Tribune* show that top boss, Upali Wijewardene, has circularised all departments (and even posted up notices on boards) about a major change in the administration? That up to now Paul Perera, who is reputed to be one of the best known loyalists of the President, had exercised many administrative functions in the GCEC set-up? That when he was away in Washington and elsewhere (he is still away) the "Board" is reported to have stripped him of many powers he had exercised as the Working Director and that these powers have now been thrust upon the "Secretary" who has overnight been made "the Secretary General"? That insiders have reported to *Tribune* that in future the only powers that Paul Perera will exercise will relate to local government, regional planning, engineering and matters legal? That the circular really indicates that Paul Perera has been specifically excluded from everything pertaining to "investment"? That there is no doubt that something funny is going on in the GCEC? That sometime ago *Tribune* reported that President Jayewardene had to put his foot down on an attempt by a VIP in the GCEC (allegedly Czar Upali) for wanting to set up a block rubber processing plant contrary to Section 8 of the Act? That the present coup in the GCEC against Paul Perera, regarded as one of the powerful stalwarts of the Establishment, is said by many to be the harbinger of mighty storms to come in the FTZ?

There is a strong case in favour of scientists and professionals engaged in work demanding mobility, to be allowed to obtain independent transport—practical utility vehicles, not prestige symbols. Their usefulness will be considerably enhanced if their time is not wasted and their energies dissipated on account of inadequate transport facilities. Some concessions also ought to be considered so that the burden of possessing independent transport will be overbearing. It is naive to argue that this is a luxury or a privilege. Of course there is an alternative, —greatly reduced work output, lack of interest and premature death of persons whose contributions to national development the country can ill afford to lose.

IT IS APPROPRIATE, finally, to refer here to the type of recognition, or rather the lack of it, experienced by scientists in the public service. The scientist, generally, is an anonymous animal. He works in relative obscurity. Unlike certain privileged groups in the public sector, he is not perpetually orbiting influential centres. He cannot topple a government by drastic trade union action although any slackening of his efforts could jeopardise the wellbeing of future generations as well as his own. Perhaps this explains why scientists as a group have received little attention from successive governments and why they continue to remain a 'depressed caste.'

In the public sector, Research Officers live and die in the recruitment grid if they opt to work in their fields of specialisation. Their only hope of better remuneration is to leave their specialist jobs and climb the hierarchical ladder in administrative posts. For them the

Report of the Salaries and Cadres Commission—1974 graciously recommended a single grade with a scale—Rs.8,800—9×360+12×480—16,800. Scientists in this country have been victims of a system in which creative work, valuable work having far reaching effects on national development, carry no weight at all in securing for them better remuneration and improved prospects. Of course, creative work, whether of writers or musicians or even of scientists has seldom been recognised by the establishment. The great composer Mozart was buried in a pauper's grave and Milton got £ 10 for his 'Paradise Lost.'

However distinguished the company of the disinherited, no government can be excused for continually overlooking the conditions of employment of its scientists. Scientists do not seek to be considered a class apart. When officers of the Administrative Service with five years' service can aspire to Class II posts, when engineers with eight years' service can be in the Directorate, when very ordinary mortals are elevated to dizzy heights in the Corporations, it is inconceivable that professionally qualified scientists with years of service and contributing substantially to national development should be consigned for life into the recruitment grade if they remain as active scientists. A lone dissenter of the Salaries and Cadres Commission—1974 declared:

The Scientists have a pre-eminent role to play in the development of a country. I wish in this connection to endorse the views expressed in his Dissenting Report by Mr. N. S. Perera, member of the Wilmot Perera Commission. We cannot hope to attract into the ranks of Scientists men of the highest calibre unless their salaries and cadre ratios are at least as attractive as those of the Adminis-

trative Service. Many of our problems including those relating to rice and other produce would have been solved long ago if only we had the foresight to give a proper place in the salary structure to Scientists. It

WITHOUT COMMENT

Bureaucracy Bungled as DC 8 went up in Flames

As fire engulfed the fuselage of the ill fated "Stretch-6", Air Traffic Controllers had to fight a battle with bureaucracy. Immediately the fire broke out at the scene of the crash Air Traffic Controllers at Katunayake had, INSIGHT learnt, spoken on the telephone with Colombo Municipal Fire Brigade and requested the fire tenders to rush to Katunayake. The Fire Officer on duty in the early hours of Thursday morning had then demanded that a deposit of Rs. 5000 be remitted to the Municipal Council and insisted that unless this requirement was met by airport authorities, Colombo Municipal fire tenders would not be sent to the airport. The Officer was then asked by the ATC whether he knew under whose Ministry aviation was and whether he dared bring the Minister of Aviation to disrepute. But the Fire Officer had remained impervious to the urgent call for assistance and had refused to comply with the request the INSIGHT team was told. It was only after a more senior airport authority had spoken to the Fire Officer and convinced him of the urgency of the situation did the fire engineers roll out from the Municipal Council Fire Headquarters. Hours after the first request had been made.

—Weekend, Nov. 19, 1978.

is absurd to suggest that one post in Class I Grade I would be sufficient for this service and I believe that this has already been realised by the Government."

A REALISATION that scientific research is vital for national development has still not dawned in the minds of those who determine the conditions of employment of scientists. They are still oblivious of the conditions essential to stimulate and sustain scientists engaged in the production and identification of better varieties of crops; in the development of methods that would achieve their greater productivity and combat natural enemies such as pests, diseases and adverse conditions of growth; in the conservation and utilisation of our resources of land and water. The currency of their thought was acceptable in a colonial era when the country's best brains were hired to collect revenue and keep the "bloody natives" in their place. That currency is no longer legal tender.

A radical transformation in thinking is long overdue—that work other than managerial and administrative work is of profound significance for national development; that scientists perform a function as important, if not more important than that of administrators; that scientists must be encouraged to stay in their jobs and contribute to national development in their specialist fields. Regrettably, the attitude of successive governments to their cause has been one of apathy. A succession of officials who occupy the seats of power have played their part in denying the scientists a fair deal, officials some of whom have subsequently left the country for jobs from the international employment exchange. Meanwhile,

the country's scientific potential has been steadily eroded and impoverished. The sickness is serious, the remedy urgent.

Ironically, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and her predecessor, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, were both actively involved in the country's food production effort. We have had food drives, crash programmes and production wars. Such wars cannot be fought without their special kind of armaments—the scientific research and the technical expertise which can carry these efforts to their final victory. And scientists must be at the front, they cannot be ignored.

I WANT TO CONCLUDE this address by posing some questions on the social responsibilities of scientists and their moral obligations in a developing country.

The task of a liberal education, wrote Bertrand Russell, is "to give a sense of the value of things other than domination, to help to create wise citizens of a free community, and through the combination of citizenship with liberty in individual creativeness to enable men to give to human life that splendour which some few have shown that it can achieve." On that definition not many scientists in Sri Lanka can be recognised as educated individuals.

Scientists, like most other professionals, have a great store of technical lumber in their heads—about the complex reactions involved in photosynthesis, the fine structure of virus particles, or the anatomy of the head and neck. Rarely do they pause to consider their responses consistent with a combination of citizenship with liberty. Most scientists and professionals have received from this country the benefits

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964
Revocation of vesting order under section 39 (1)
 Ref. No. J 76 L 506 (VE)
 G.A.'s No. EA/350(4)

Whereas by Order No. 707 of 1976 dated 25th November 1976, made under proviso (a) to section 38 of the Land Acquisition Act and published in the Government Gazette No. 242 dated 3rd December 1976, the land more clearly described in the schedule below, vested in the Republic of Sri Lanka.

I, Mohamed Ali Ahamed Abdul Majeed, acting minister of Agriculture and Lands, in the Execution of the powers conferred to me under Section 39(1) of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) do hereby revoke the Order No. 707 of 1976, dated 76.11.25, published in the Government Gazette No. 242 dated 3.12.1976.

M. A. Abdul Majeed
 Acting Minister of Agriculture and Lands
 Ministry of Agriculture and Lands,
 Colombo 3. 7th November 1977.

Schedule

The land called "vilakuvattai" in extent of 104 A. 1R. 16P, depicted in the Advance Tracing No. AM/A/76/4, prepared by the Surveyor General, situated in the village of Chadyanthalawa in the Grama Seva Niladari division of Chadyanthalawa in Wewagampattu north D.R.O's Division in Amparai District and bounded as follows:

NORTH: Paddy land lot 115a in Colony No. 19, paddy land lots 86A, 106A, & 103A, cart track from paddy lands and paddy land claimed by I. P. Salne of Chadyanthalawa. EAST: VC. Road from Malvattai to Chawalakade SOUTH: Paddy land lots 87A, 88A 89A, 90A, 91A 92A & 93A in Colony No. 19 WEST: Paddy land lots 111A & 112A in Colony No. 19

and privileges conferred by her citizenship—a University education, opportunities for post-graduate study abroad, employment.

They are fruits matured on costly human manure—the anonymous mass of village peasants, plantation workers, city labourers and a host of others whose sweat, toil and tears have enriched them. Their responses must be conditioned by an awareness of the immeasurable debt to an anonymous people. It is questionable whether selling oneself to the highest bidder in the marriage market or taking the most lucrative job abroad are legitimate choices or exploitative characteristics of a privileged group, morally bankrupt and spiritually dead. A simple question.

It is freely stated that scientists, doctors etc., take up positions abroad because they lack facilities to do a job here. Will somebody give me the number of University students who have left the Faculty of Science or the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Sri Lanka because of inadequate facilities. So scientists, violated by successive governments in their conditions of employment harassed by unscrupulous administrators, hampered by inadequate facilities cannot altogether escape their social obligations and moral responsibilities in a Third World country.

To quote Russel again, "Love and knowledge, so far as they were possible, led upward toward the heavens. But always pity brought me back to earth. Echoes of cries of pain reverberate in my heart. Children in famine, victims tortured by oppressors, helpless old people a hated burden to their sons, and the whole world of loneliness, poverty, and pain make a mockery of what human life should be. I long to alleviate the evil, but I cannot, and I too suffer."

Scientists can contribute to alleviate that evil; they cannot isolate themselves from the suffering it involves. Colin Morris commented on the African experience; "The New Africa was carved out of colonial torpor by faceless men without rank and precedence in society. They were marked out from their fellows by two simple qualities, the ability to feel more deeply and absorb more punishment." Elsewhere he said, "For all the misery, frustration and anguish of our world, there are forces at work seeking to rehumanise man, restore to him the dignity in which God first clothed him and revitalise jaded cultures and decadent societies."

Building the New Asia is a massive undertaking, Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh will take their place in history as builders of the New Asia who have brought life and hope to the most disinherited, oppressed, exploited and wretched of Asia's millions. We scientists too can share in the tasks of nation building in the New Asia—as faceless men, restoring to man the dignity which poverty and exploitation have, for years denied him.

Concluded.

X X X

The Lands Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as Amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964 Recation of vesting order under section 39(1)

My No. J.75 L. 357 (VE)
GA's No. EA/348
L.C.'S No. 10/22/16535.

Where as by order no. 457 of 1976, dated 1976.08.12, made under proviso (a) to Section 38 of The Land Acquisition Act and published in the Government Gazette No.

227 dated 1976.08.20, the Land more clearly described in the schedule below vested in the Republic of Sri Lanka.

I, Mohamed Ali Ahamed Abdul Majeed, Acting Minister of Agriculture and Lands in the execution of the powers conferred to me under Section 39 (1) of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) do hereby revoke the Order No. 457 of 1976, dated 76.08.12, published in the Government Gazette No. 227 dated 1976.08.20.

M. A. Abdul Majeed

Acting Minister of Agriculture and Lands.

Ministry of Agriculture and Lands Colombo 3.

7th November 1978.

Schedule

The blocks of lanes, called Akkilavally Kandam, in extent of 112 A. I R. 01 P. depicted in the Advance Tracing No. AM/A/75/16, prepared by the Surveyor General situated in Colony no. 10, in Sammamthurai pattu in Wewagam-pattu north D.R.O. (A.G.A.) division in Amparai District.

Lot No.1 Extent: 111 A. R. 00 P
Boundaries:

North: Road and channel
East: Paddy land in Colony no. 10, waste land, rock and lot 2 below.

South: Paddy land in Colony no. 10

West: Paddy land in Colony no. 10

Lot No. 2 Extent: 0A.3R.01 P
Boundaries:

North: Channel

East: Lot 125 A

South: Lot 1 above

West: Lot 1 above

Confidentially

The Lion And The Bureaucrat—2

IS IT NOT TRUE that the SRI LANKA LION (*Vide, Tribune, Vol. 23, No. 21, 19/11/78*) is restless and unhappy that the bureaucrats are up to the same old tricks again? That in many government departments and most Kachcheris in every part of the island, work has not really got going? That the President, the Prime Minister and some Ministers thunder, from time to time, that bureaucrats must reform and join in the national effort, but this has little or no impact on them? That a day does not pass without President Jayewardene delivering himself of a speech warning or admonishing bureaucrats who do not pull their weight? That every bureaucrat takes care to pretend that the particular homily was not for him? That every such bureaucrat has a text ready for repetition about the good work he had done in the past and the good work he was doing today? That the more plausible and personable among them (and therefore the more successful) are able to persuade Ministers that they are excellent administrators who can deliver the goods? That apart from swallowing the tales of particular bureaucrats regarding their past achievements and present capabilities, Ministers do not seem to check on the actual performance and achievements of these bureaucrats in their present functions? That such bureaucrats also have a whole arsenal of excuses up their sleeves to explain why particular jobs were not done, or could not be done? That the Sri Lanka bureaucrat is a supreme master not only at passing the buck but also on not making any

decisions—remember it is only when one is foolish enough to make decisions that one is called upon to explain why something was not done?

IS IT ALSO NOT TRUE that these bureaucrats excel in keeping in friendly terms with party organisers and activists and with their help organise tamashas for every occasion? That the tamasha is today considered the supreme climax of all activity? That if a tamasha is successfully staged to the satisfaction of Ministers and MPs, then nothing more is considered necessary? That the strategy of bureaucras today is to keep Ministers and MPs happy by staging tamashas and thereafter leap-frogging from one tamasha to another until the five or six year term is over? That the most "successful" bureaucrats are those who are capable of organising tamashas to make Ministers believe that a helluva lot was being done and that much more will be done before long? That most Ministers do not have the time to look beyond the tamashas? That by the time a bureaucrat has successfully staged a dozen tamashas, he is promoted to a higher job and the responsibility for completing the initiated projects (for which the tamashas were staged) passes on to another of the tribe who repeats the performance with another series of tamashas? That this continuing game of tamashas (and now having newspaper supplements) is evasion of work that really matters? That this chronic stalemate has brought a sluggishness that induces paralysis in the administration? That the tragic part of the post July-1977 era is that the tamasha-organising bureaucrats have again captured the nerve-centres of administrative power? That such tamasha-minded bureaucrats have been able to gain the confidence of those who matter and what is

worse is that they are slowly but surely pushing out officials who believe in the validity of new policies and programmes of the UNP and are anxious to get things done?

IS IT NOT A FACT that a new brain drain has already begun? That this time the tamasha-bureaucrats will drive out all competent and efficient persons keen on promoting economic development? That this brain drain will soon gather momentum because tamasha boys have captured the heights of power and have also already succeeded in building a cocoon round each Minister to isolate him from all whom the bureaucrats feel he should not meet? That in the last 15 months, the bureaucrats have succeeded in isolating a large number of Ministers from all except those whom the bureaucrats think the Minister should meet? That a few Ministers still meet old friends who tell them the real truth about happenings in the country and in his Ministry? That the bureaucrats however, know how to spin yarns to explain away anything that might undermine their position? That thereafter the bureaucrats take steps to ensure that such persons are denied opportunities to meet the Minister? That to have an appointment to meet a Minister one has to go through a series of bureaucrats who fix the time and date? That often the appointment is cancelled at the last minute and then one has to wait for the next series of tamashas to end before an attempt can be made to fix another appointment? That as one Minister after another is imprisoned in the silky cocoon of isolation fashioned by the bureaucrats, the government gets more and more isolated from the people? That this phase one of stage one of the decline and fall of a government has begun?

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