

TRIBUNE



CEAS
MEN'S REVIEW

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Letter From The Editor

THE YEAR 1978 will soon come to an end. It has been a momentous year in many ways. Many people still do not seem to have realised that a new era has truly come upon this country. Whether the new era is for good or bad is yet to be seen, but since World War II, Sri Lanka, like a large number of other developing countries, has believed in the theory and practice of a controlled or at least a semi-controlled economic structure to ensure development. *Tribune*, together with a large number of others, had firmly believed that a poor country could not develop or manage its foreign trade and payments without controls. Controls are intended to protect, but in retrospect there is little doubt that Sri Lanka and many other poor countries had little to protect—and the industries that were protected (biscuits, sweets, razor blades etc. etc.) were of little consequence. In the ultimate analysis, all that the intricate system of controls achieved was to secure an equilibrium in balance of payments management. It must be admitted that there was really nothing substantial or worthwhile to protect. More and more controls were devised in pursuance of this policy, but neither the growth rate nor living standards showed any improvement. There was a niggardly equalisation of incomes but in the face of zero growth this only meant the slow and gradual pauperisation of the rich and the poor alike, and more especially the middle classes. Freak attempts to by-pass controls to give a private enterprise fillip to certain sectors of the economy like gem exports and tourism created dangerous problems that stemmed from the greed of a new class of CRA-mudalalis and seven sri-gem-cum-narcotics-buccaneers. But, faith in controls were so ingrained that all new schemes and development plans centred round new controls from which they hoped to obtain the benefits of a hundred percent controlled socialist economy and at the same time enjoy the freedoms of a free democratic society. In the General Elections of July 1977, however, the majority of voters decisively rejected the candidates of the Left Parties which stood for a totally controlled economy. Nearly thirty percent of the voters supported the SLFP which had relentlessly pursued a policy of partial controls for a number of years without achieving a breakthrough to prosperity on any front. On the other hand SLFP policies had only succeeded in running the economy down to a faltering halt. The UNP of J. R. Jayewardene came to power on a new policy and programme. The UNP of old, from 1947—1956 and from 1965—1970, had also believed in a system of controls, only less rigorous than those of the SLFP. But the UNP of 1977 had adopted a new philosophy that is sweeping across many Third World countries that the theory of controls was an intellectual myth that has outlived its time. It will not be easy for the UNP to completely dismantle the economy of Sri Lanka built on controls from 1947 in a short time, but the effort is being made. Controls on imports and exports were progressively removed from July 1977. But there is strong resistance to the introduction of a no-control free economy especially by the intelligensia and bureaucracy educated and trained by the pseudo-fabian development economists of the 1940s and 1950s. The logic of this theory, that poor countries could show progress only through controls, especially of imports, had come from bourgeois intellectuals in the West who wanted to find a short cut for Third World countries to wealth and plenty. Coupled with this theory was the concomitant corollary that industry should supercede agriculture which had allegedly kept these countries poor colonial countries. In Sri Lanka this theory was implemented half-heartedly by the earlier UNP and whole-heartedly by the SLFP with disastrous consequences. Next week we shall examine the implications of the new UNP approach to development.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Cyclone, IMF Laissez Faire And Backbencher Revolt

NOBODY SEEMS TO BE QUITE CERTAIN just what the immediate future of Sri Lanka is likely to be. Truly, it now seems to be a case of Man proposing and God disposing. But even more uncertain seems to be the role of the Devil, whose actions, though bringing immediate hardships and seeming disasters, may in the long run undoubtedly pave the way for good.

It is not a case of being wise after the event, or indulging in rationalisations based on wishful-thinking and self-delusion. The simple position is that the world today is a puzzle for the historian, the social scientist and even the metaphysically-minded philosopher. Whatever thesis or explanations they put forward today, which appear to tie up with current realities, become out-dated and meaningless tomorrow. Very often before the last paragraph is written in a profound study on contemporary matters, the shifting sands of Time make the central theme and logic of the thesis a anachronism of total absurdity.

Take the Ronnie de Mel Budget for 1979. It was propounded on November 15. It was debated and approved the next week. The claim was made that this Budget was part of a continuing panacea (UNP's) for all the current ills of the land: that the freeing of public servants and the under-Rs. 12,000 a year income-earners from personal income tax was a major step in the economic emancipation of the less affluent and under privileged sections of the community from the thralldom of near-poverty; that the Budget was a balanced one

with a small notional surplus—everything is today only notional; that a shift had been effected from expenditure in self-defeating consumerism to incentives for profitable investment and increased production and productivity; and so on and so forth.

But, before the Budget could be installed as a Budget, the Fates conspired to make a mockery of it. To start with the Devil first threw a spanner into the works. He prompted the Minister of Finance to slash the subsidies for infant milk foods through a Gazette notification which had evidently not received Cabinet approval. The Minister, had no doubt, to keep the Shylockian spooks in the IMF happy by pandering to their out-dated, impractical, suicidal, and vampirish imperatives about removing subsidies and ushering in a new *laissez faire* world of "liberalised" and free imports and exports. (These stupid IMF people forget that USA, Japan and all the presently affluent countries of Western Europe had transformed their capitalistic "undeveloped" economies into capitalistic "advanced and developed" economies through a process of trade protection and near-total control of banking and commerce; that the theory and practice of *laissez faire* econometrics was used only within the confines of individual colonial empires in order to ensure the greatest exploitation of the largest number of conquered countries and their natural resources).

The Devil played his part this time—through the Milk Foods time-bomb which burst in the Finance Minister's hands—to expose the fallacies of IMF policies. The Cabinet threw out this IMF diktat without as much as an apology to the Olympian demi gods of the IMF, but unlike a few years ago the IMF now has to stomach all this and take such insulting rejections

of their demands lying-down, and find comfort in the fact that in Sri Lanka other subsidies had been cut and that yet others would be cut later by a government that believed in "democracy."

But, the joke is that whilst one subsidy identified by IMF study teams (visiting Sri Lanka in the last decade or so) is removed, two or three new (but still invisible) subsidies are quietly added. And they are introduced without any compunction. The time will soon come when the IMF will have to forget its current theories about the evils of subsidies and the virtues of a liberalised (total *laissez-faire*) import export economy. Ever since the UNP adopted such IMF policies from July 1977, the Devil has been making a mockery of the wishful policies of the IMF and a caricature of the budgetary plans of the UNP.

In the euphoria of the surge of liberalised imports, especially of excessive consumerist goods—cars, radios, washing machines, etc., etc—the real damage done to the economy by the short-sighted policies of the IMF was lost sight of. We have imported more cars, trucks and vans than we really need; we have imported chicken meat we do not want and cannot eat; we have thrown open the flood gates of free imports of agricultural and other produce which must be afforded at least the same protection that countries like the USA, Japan and Germany had insisted on for decades and in many cases still do.

But the dark and dangerous implications of *laissez fairism* were ignored during the working of UNP's first Budget. But before the second Budget could even be adopted, the Devil has been good enough to prod Sri Lanka into awakening to the explicit

Hypocrisy And Bluff

and implicit dangers in IMF laissez fairism.

But God (to use his name metaphorically for our purposes) has gone further and has used the cyclone that struck Sri Lanka on November 23—just nine days after the Budget—to bring home the fact that serious re-thinking has to be done on every aspect of the free import and export mania. To start with, the cyclone has knocked the Budget into a cocked hat and if the government does not reformulate its priorities immediately it will slip more and more deeply into the FOOL'S PARADISE in which the IMF has thrust this country. If there is anything more ridiculous than talking through one's hat is to talk through a cocked hat or smashed up hat, and attempts by some leading members of the government to still rely on the November 15 Budget is only an exercise in futility trying to prop up what does not exist any longer. Furthermore, all the gimmicks and tamashas to create a new image of Sri Lanka as a model of IMF's laissez-fairism have also gone up in smoke.

Take the gimmick about exporting rice. Tribune had said that export of one shipment of rice, done with so much fanfare and tamasha, was only an indication of greater paddy production and not self-sufficiency. Political opponents of the government did not mince their words in exposing the obvious hypocrisy involved in exporting rice. Quite correctly, they characterised the export of rice as a stunt to bluff the people. But, in our view, it was a typical Sri Lankan *gundu* to make the IMF believe that Sri Lanka was a firm adherent of the IMF credo of free imports and exports.

But even before the rice reached its destination, God (metaphorically speaking again) has shown the people of Sri Lanka how vulnerable they are in regard to rice and food.

All the big talk of Ministers—Lalith Athulathmudali and E. L. Senanayake—about exporting rice, all the extravagant supplements they published and the highly publicised poojas they had offered to the Gods for helping them to export rice, have all gone with the winds.

God, (metaphorically again), has given his reply. Sri Lanka

has been told in no unmistakable terms not to count the chickens before the eggs were hatched. Sri Lankans also have a weakness of exporting chickens even before the eggs from which they will be hatched are laid. And so it was with rice. But, the bluff has been called.

More than a quarter of the

COVER

DENUDATION

THE PICTURE on the cover this week is not a scene from an area devastated by the recent cyclone, but it well might be. Many people in this country do not know the devastation that has been caused by decades of man's wanton neglect of his environment. Thirty, forty years or fifty years ago the area depicted in the picture was a large tank in a well-forested part of the Wannu, in the so-called dry zone. If there was cultivation around the tank in ancient times, it had been abandoned, and the forest had taken over. Then came the greed of man. All big and tall trees were cut for timber and firewood on licences and even illicitly. No re-afforestation was undertaken to keep a minimum forest cover. The result was denudation of vegetation. And, with each rainy season there was erosion. This led to the silting of the tank. Now there is no tank—only a trace of it. And the whole area is a semi-desert in spite of the twenty five to thirty inches of rain which still falls there every year (fifty years ago the rainfall was thirty to forty inches every year). Every year more and more of our land is being semi-desertified. Soon they will be deserts. The recent cyclone has brought home at least to a few important people the simple truth that a forest cover minimised the force of the swirling winds and mitigated the deadly impact of the storm. The areas in and around Batticaloa, Kalmunai, Amparai and Polonnaruwa are areas where the forest cover is not even minimal and cyclone wrought untold damage. The same cyclone went over other areas in Anuradhapura, Vavuniya and Mannar districts without doing any serious damage. In the open de-forested parts of Mannar and along the deforested coastal areas of Trincomalee, Mullativu and Jaffna there was some damage but the last three areas were not hit by the eye of the storm. Tribune hopes that the government will learn the true lesson of the cyclone. The high montane water-shed where all over rivers rise must go back to jungle—and if the environment of the whole island is to be saved 20,000 acres of tea around Horton Plains must be abandoned to become a mighty forest cover. If this were done, the run off of rain water through our rivers will be even and spread out and floods, erosion and the silting of tanks on the plains will end. Little pockets of environment control and reafforestation will not do. There should be an all-island plan with long range objectives for hundred to two hundred years programme. And the entire people must be told about the urgency of the problem.

richest rice-producing areas of this country will have no Maha for 1978-1979. Only a fraction of this area will come into production for the Yala in 1979. And it is in the lap of the Gods as to whether the farmers and agricultural labourers in the cyclone-devastated areas will be able to cultivate all fields for Maha 1979-80. Even limited exports of rice should have been started only after full self-sufficiency had been attained covering all rice imports as well as a major part of wheat flour imports. Instead of that, no sooner we ran short of storage space, some Ministers hit upon the political stunt of exporting rice. Nobody was fooled. Even the dunder-heads in the IMF could not have been so stupid as to have been taken in by this pimmick. And God (metaphorically speaking again) has no use for such menacious and palpably false export gundus.

This is not all. There was talk of exporting everything grown or produced in Sri Lanka. Even the last United Front government, and more especially the letter-day SLFP government, had proclaimed the export of everything under the Sri Lanka sun—this was really to impress the IMF and the World Bank that SLFP government was well qualified for IMF credit and IBRD loans by pursuing aggressive export programmes. In pursuance of this game of bluff, the SLFP had exported timber, cement and a number of other items in short supply in the Island. But, all to no avail: The SLFP however had endeavoured to promote Exports under controls, and Imports were under even greater controls.

The present UNP Government has gone many steps further and removed practically all controls from exports. With eye-popping amounts of standby and consortium credit, imports were also freed from all controls. No amount of criticism

from knowledgeable persons and journals like the *Tribune* about the dangers of this policy had the slightest impact on the government. Its economic pundits had been brainwashed into a doctrinaire acceptance of the IMF dogma of *laissez-faire* (open door) policies of unrestricted imports and exports, and they naturally scoffed at all who thought otherwise.

In spite of all the euphoria created by the IMF for its pet theories, the paradoxes and difficulties that have already arisen by excessive *laissez-fairism* has made some of the more perceptive people in the government administration develop second thoughts on the subject. But, the cyclone has brought a new awakening even to the hardened IMF enthusiasts in Sri Lanka. This has manifested itself in a communique issued by the Ministry of Trade and Shipping dated 8th December 1978 (Release No. 23 of the Information Department) which stated: "The Acting Minister of Trade & Shipping Mr. M. S. Amarasiri has issued an order controlling the export of the following items under the Imports and Exports Act: Hides and Skins; raw or processed cement, Tiles, Asbestos Sheets, Animal Feeds; Pharmaceuticals; Gunny bags; Ceramic Tableware; Tyres and Tubes; Waste paper; Wires and Cables; Vegetable oils; Minerals including Kaolin; Metal ores."

This is only the beginning of the end of total and complete *laissez-fairism*. Total controls are no doubt bad and inhibit production, but unrestricted imports and exports are worse. A golden mean has to be found in the matter of controlling imports and exports to enable countries like Sri Lanka to register real economic growth.

It is in this context that one must view the growing revolt of a very large number of backbenchers of the government against the acts of commission and omission of the

Front Bench. This revolt came to near-flash point on Friday, December 8, when the votes of the Ministry of Plan Implementation were discussed. The form of attack was significant. This Ministry comes directly under the President and the Junior Minister in parliament was requested by a wide-ranging spectrum of backbenchers to convey to the President what they felt about the happenings in the country.

Tribune will examine the growing onslaught on the Ministers by the backbenchers in this column next week. The accusations were direct and straightforward. On Friday, December 8, it started with allegations that the Job Bank was being used by Ministers to feather their own nests and accommodate their personal hangers-on and favourites.

What the debate showed was that a wide gulf has already arisen between the Front Bench and the backbenchers in the government. In less than 18 months, most of the Ministers have isolated themselves from the backbencher MPs of their own party. This has happened to all governments in the past, but many had hoped that the Ministers in this Government will be able to avoid this pitfall.

The debate on the Budget has shown that only a few Ministers have so far managed to keep their heads above the waters of isolation, and that many have completely cut themselves off from the people and even the rank and file of UNP MPs.

(To be Concluded)



BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

● Premonition Before Cyclone ● Agrostologist

THE CYCLONE HAVOC IN BATTICALOA has temporarily cut us away from many readers and contributors. One of the pieces we had received just before the cyclone came from a long-standing reader who has written often for us, Mr. E. Seemanpillai. Writing just three days before the cyclone on 21.11.78 we received his letter on the day Batticaloa was struck. It was a piece commenting on the President's citation of a few words of Latin when the ceiling fell not far from where he was seated. This is what he sent us.

It was entitled *FIAT JUSTITIA: RUAT CAELUM*: "The President's latinic reminiscences deriving mainly from Reid of Royal have paved the way for some well-placed patriotic comment. Never priding himself on his latinity, an idiom he relegated to the background of his activities once he emerged from the cocoon of the Law College, Mr. Jayewardene has released a fund of goodwill whether he speaks of Napoleonic history or reminiscences on Horace or stumbles on some blurring recollections of the Bible or the Bhagavat Gita.

"Father Ciampa of the Roman church quite naturally remembers where in Genesis God is said to have willed the creation of Light—*Fiat Lux*—to be followed by the immediacy of its dawn over the chaos of the primordial void. The President's volition of righteousness may not bring in its wake the instantaneous emergence of the Rule of Law even if the heavens (*caelum*) were to crash down in

ruin: so lupine to man is man, as suggested by Fr. Ciampa, so hostile to justice is earthly environment. That utterance quipped immediately the ceiling crashed in the President's vicinity is doubtless a ready measure of his determination, a consummation he would devoutly risk; but the unquiet display of the motto "*Fiat Justitia*" would not necessarily induce the reality although it may well become, not a vacuous symbol in the national consciousness, but a factor immeasurable in its potentiality for the common good. *Ruat Caelum* is what the President had topically turned to *Ruat Ceiling* the Latin equivalent of the latter viz Lacunar being as much a stranger to his entourage as perhaps now to himself."

"The classical enthusiast on the other hand finds Horatian echoes in that spontaneous utterance of the President. Welling up again from memories of Reid's disciplined inculcation of Roman values so lingeringly epitomized in Horace is the second portion of that utterance: *Ruat Ceiling*. It is here while sensing an element of intrepidity if not of destiny in the President's unflustered response to the nearby crash that the classicist remembers his Horace:

*Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidem Ferient Ruinae,*

"Where in the transition from the subjective in the protasis to the indicative future in the apodosis—a situation almost unknown to the rigidity of latin syntax—grammar is dispensed with and a challenging idiom fresh and bold created to meet the exigencies of a firm prophetic utterance: Cracked if the Globe were to crash in ruin, the fragments would strike but leave him undismayed."

"The classicist could have gone further afield and found in the Cumaean Sibyll's admonition to Aeneas words which could well

be addressed to the President:
*Tu ne cede malis sed contra
audentior ito,*

Qua tua te fortuna sinet.

Be not moved thou by
looming evil,
Far bolder front to thee is needed
Along the path thy Destiny
calleth thee."

The heavenly ceiling literally fell off at Batticaloa on November 24. What kind of premonition made Mr. Seemanpillai write the way he did?

SICK MAN OF AGRICULTURE

WE PUBLISHED a letter in this column in our issue of November 18 from a person connected with agriculture on the question of the "Sick Man of Agriculture". This week we publish another letter from another person also connected with Agriculture setting out a contrary view on one particular matter:

"The article appearing in your esteemed journal of 18th November under the title of 'Between the Lines' by Serendib reveals a few of the realities of the true situation existing today in the Department of Agriculture. Hence, they ought to be welcomed.

"However, I wish to take exception in one important rumour that Serendib refers to in the second column on page 10 about the likelihood of an Agrostologist being promoted to ride a weakened horse. Although horse racing is banned in Sri Lanka, there are still several good jockeys who can ride even weakened horses to ultimate triumph, this jockey referred to in this article is a person of International recognition and has stayed in the track for more than a quarter century. This is a remarkable record which is unparalleled in the Department of Agriculture probably in any other government department too. He stayed not to fatten his purse or to become a politician (these are

normally done by public officers in such situations). He is a genuine patriot who has sacrificed half his life span for the development of Dry Zone Agriculture, the 'Bowl of prosperity'. He too would have gone but his ambition and outlook were to up-lift the Dry Zone farmers with his far-sighted schemes."

"We are all happy that the Mahawell is diverted to the Dry zone and greater acreages are brought under the plough, but still the rainfed farming problem remains to be solved, nearly 50,000 acres of rainfed land needing urgent attention. This jockey, pasture expert, has done what is wanted of him. He has formulated a scheme where rainfed farming is integrated with crops and animal-husbandry. Experimentally, it is a viable scheme, the Milk Board should co-operate to give a greater incentive to the farmer. This scheme, I am sure the Honourable Minister for Rural Industrial Development will commend, as his problem is how to increase milk production.

"Hitherto the Dry zone farmer was down trodden and poverty-stricken and fell into the clutches of the money lender. But in this scheme the farmer with a moderate sized family will subsist on a stable income, and better standards of living. He is also working in an integrated cropping system under the village rainfed tanks, the farmers who lived on one season cultivation under the tank are now beginning to cultivate many crops—a scheme to be welcomed outside the Mahawell basin where farmers lived on paddy and paddy alone. Now it is left to the farmers to work hard to increase national production by adopting the improved technologies.

"I am sure you will agree that rumours may be false or true unless someone reveals the facts. The Department of Agri-

culture is in dire needs of a man of efficiency and integrity. This person must be given a chance to ride a weakened horse to the winning post."

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IN THE TUB

by Diogenes

The Religion Of Tomorrow

The Master had little doubt that if all the Religious Teachers met at one place, at one time, in the same context, they would have taught the same thing to all mankind—a religion of love and selflessness. Yet there have been so many differences among the adherents of different faiths and religions and many have been the wars, battles and riots on their account. In the words of the Roman poet, "*Tantum potuit suadere Malarum.*" So many and so great have been the crimes that religions have impelled man to commit.

To Diogenes, there was only one religion. It was the religion of love and humanism. The essential quality in any religion is loving kindness. Humanism and love in the case of a few need not arise from the acceptance of any religion. In such cases men are loving, kind and humane due to a refined and cultured mind or a kindly nature gifted to them by birth and environment. Culture and education necessarily help men to be in possession of themselves and to be at peace with the rest of the world. Educated and cultured men have a greater understanding of their fellow beings than most of the religious ones who are many in numbers. On the other hand the religions of the world

have refined mankind generally whereas culture and education do not reach the many.

However the Master wondered whether religions have created more misunderstanding than understanding among men. With the progress of human civilisation, religious intolerance is disappearing fast and the time has already come when the adherents of one religion respect the adherents of another. Religions will be judged and respected according to the conduct and behaviour of its adherents. If religions fail to make men loving and kind, the religions themselves will disappear but not the great teachings which will remain a lasting treasure to man, who is now looking for a universal religion of love and humanism. He is no longer interested in dogmas, doctrines and conflicting interpretations. He will look for something more helpful to live his life and to find a purpose and meaning to it.

He is not content with what he is told. Looks to others for examples and looks to himself for experiences. Temples, churches and shrines may continue to stand meaningless to him. He wants to go beyond rituals and beyond observances. He reaches out for the stars with a more daring mind and wants to be on talking terms, so to say, with God himself. He is prepared to believe in a God in man and he is losing faith in a God in places of worship. He no longer fears a God but he is beginning to listen to the Inner Voice within himself. He tends to rebel against organisations and establishments screening what is preached against what it has meant to the preacher and the preached. Fear does not prevent him from examining everyone and everything on his own.

Knowledge of the great teachings has no meaning to him. He wants

to live them. He sees the illogicality of respecting one teacher and not the other when the teaching of both are essentially the same. He yearns for peace and harmony and he knows he can have peace himself only if the rest of mankind is at peace and in harmony. He yearns for happiness and he knows he cannot have it alone. He yearns for a good living and he knows he can have it only if the rest of mankind has it too. He will realise that he cannot be rich in the midst of poverty, happy in the midst of unhappiness and at peace in the midst of war.

The world has shrunk. He begins to think in larger terms in a larger life. Man moves and keeps moving into larger fields breaking and breaching the narrow confines of his environment. He will soon teach rather than be taught. Man is not deteriorating. He is advancing towards his divine destiny. It is now the darkest hour before the dawn. Out of all this doubt and despair, Diogenes saw all the religions getting absorbed into one Universal Religion of Love and Humanism. It will not be a defeat but the ultimate triumph for the old religions out of which will spring Love and Humanism, the religion of tomorrow, which will bloom as an everlasting flower for the joy of all mankind.

Such were the thoughts of the philosopher as he lay smiling in his Tub, in calm contemplation.



MARGINAL COMMENT

Mathew Fire Works—2

—it didn't explode—

by Pertinax

Last week, we set out the full text of the press reports which carried Minister Cyril

Mathew's charges against Tamil Examiners who, he alleged, had over-marked the "A" level scripts of Tamil students. We had, last week, also published a statement by the University Teachers Association of the Peradeniya Campus and also a lively piece by Jayantha Somasundaram on exploding the Gospel of Mathew. This week, we conclude our piece by publishing the Statement issued by the Science Faculty of the Jaffna Campus on 18.11.78. The Science Students Union of the Jaffna Campus also issued a statement on 21.1.78 covering the same ground as the statement by the Science Faculty but also adding polemics about some of their problems which are not strictly relevant to the issue of the over-marking of scripts. We also publish an article elsewhere in this issue by Roy Muthaya on the same subject.

STATEMENT FROM THE FACULTY OF SCIENCE, JAFFNA CAMPUS

Recently some daily papers gave wide publicity to statements made

at a press conference by Prof. P. P. G. L. Siriwardena, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka, regarding discrepancies in the marking of Tamil medium scripts by Tamil examiners in the University. It was reported in the *Daily News* of 13.11.1978 that "in the Jaffna Campus the results of the General Science Qualifying Examination revealed there were only 1st and 2nd class passes and not a single third class" and that "the 1st and 2nd class passes in the Tamil medium indicate discrepancies which will be inquired into."

The honesty and integrity and also the motive and propriety of the Vice-Chancellor in issuing a patently false statement to the press without ascertaining the true facts from the Campus authorities are open to question. In the first instance, the Jaffna Campus does not conduct a General Science Qualifying Examination. If the examination referred to was the General Degree Examination in Science (Mathematics/Statistics/Economics) held in December 1977 (the only Final Examination in Science held by the Campus so far), the true position is as follows:—

Results of the General Degree Examination in Science (Mathematics/Statistics/Economics) held in December 1977:

	Tamil	Sinhalese
1. Number of students enrolled for the Course ..	73	30
2. Number of students who sat the Final Examination	62	30
3. Number of students who failed the first or second annual exam and were not allowed to proceed to the Final ..	11	Nil
4. Number of failures at the Final Exam: ..	15	5
5. Number of ordinary passes ..	10	6
6. Number of Second Class (Lower Division) ..	17	10
7. Number of Second Class (Upper Division) ..	11	6
8. Number of First Class ..	9	3

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Results as percentage of the number of students who sat the Final Examination in each medium:

	Tamil	Sinhalese
Failures ..	24.2	16.7
Ordinary passes ..	16.1	20.0
Second Class (Lower) ..	27.4	33.3
Second Class (Upper) ..	17.8	20.0
First Class ..	14.5	10.0
X X X X X X		

Results as percentage of the number of students enrolled for the Course in each medium:

	Tamil	Sinhalese
Failures ..	35.6	16.7
Ordinary passes ..	13.7	20.0
Second Class (Lower) ..	23.3	33.3
Second Class (Upper) ..	15.1	20.0
First Class ..	12.3	10.0

A perusal of the table of results shows that in whatever way one looks at the results the percentage of Failures is higher and the percentage of Ordinary Passes and Classes lower for Tamil candidates than for Sinhalese candidates except in the case of First Classes for which the percentage is marginally higher for Tamil candidates than for Sinhalese candidates.

It is significant that the statement appearing in the press makes no reference to the high percentage of Classes among the Sinhalese students. It is our opinion that the statement is malicious and is intended on the one hand to mislead the Sinhalese population with a view to getting medium wise standardisation introduced in the Universities as well and on the other to discredit the Jaffna Campus with a view to devaluing the Degrees awarded by the Campus. The statement is unworthy of a person holding the high office of Vice-Chancellor of a University and Professor Siriwardene owes a pub-

lic apology to the Science students and teachers of the Jaffna Campus.

The majority of the Tamil candidates answered the questions for the Second and Final Examinations in the English medium and the external examiners for the English medium were mainly Sinhalese lecturers from other Campuses. Under these circumstances, the vague suggestion that the Tamil candidates had an advantage over the Sinhalese candidates is, to say the least, highly irresponsible. If the Vice-Chancellor is looking for reasons for the comparatively higher number of First and Second Class passes in both media as compared to the number of First and Second Class passes in the other Campuses, those reasons are not far to seek. In the other Campuses, the student selected for the special Courses do not sit for the General Degree Examination and as a result there are comparatively few First or Second Class passes in the General Degree Examination. In the Jaffna Campus

the students selected for the special Course are required to sit for the General Degree Examination first. The comparatively high percentage of First and Second Class passes at the General Degree Examination was, therefore, not surprising. Eight out of the nine First Classes, five out of the eleven Second Classes (Upper Division) and two out of the seventeen Second Classes (Lower Division) in the Tamil medium were secured by students selected for the Special Courses. Besides, the fact that the examination was conducted on a purely Mathematical course in which the students can score well and the continuous assessment scheme under the Course Unit system in operation in the Jaffna Campus which keeps the students tied to the books are additional factors contributing to a better performance by the students.

We address this letter to members of both Tamil and Sinhalese communities in the hope that it will help to remove any misunderstanding about our Campus resulting from the vicious propaganda that is being carried out by politicians in academic clothing.

Concluded.

This statement had been widely circulated, but the Lake House and Times newspapers which had given wide publicity to Mathew's allegations did not publish this statement which they should have done if they were a free and fair press. Moreover, thousands of copies of this statement cyclostyled, were received and discussed by MPs, Ministers, Educationists, Bureaucrats and others who matter, but no answer has yet been forthcoming from Vice-Chancellor Siriwardene or Minister Cyril Mathew. Tribune will publish their views in full if they care to answer the statement of the Science Faculty of the Jaffna Campus and other writers on this subject. —Editor.

ISSUES, SOLUTIONS & TRENDS—5

Alan Chalkley And The P.F.A.

by Shirley J. Payoe

WHEN ALAN CHALKLEY stripped off his bush shirt on Thursday 30th Nov, during the PFA sessions on *Development Journalism* at the Oberoi Hotel, there was an expectant wait for the tease part of the act. And it came. Alan in his undershirt teased hell out of the Establishment Press and its conventional wisdom. It was as if Mohamed Ali had taken on the statue of Liberty; Alan floated like a butterfly and stung like a bee.

Picking up technological innovations and computerised press techniques by their ears, he classified them as junk in-junk out systems; whereas it is possible even today, as in Mindanao (Philippines) to use a simple hand-operated press to produce a 'beautiful, sweet, wise and honest sheet of news'.

Weighing the state of the inputs, especially those originating from national and international sources, he characterised them as so much rubbish. He referred to the huge volume of useless media handouts churned out by the UN and its agencies and said that half the present sources of information can be abolished with resulting benefits to the press.

Alan—who had worked for the *Financial Times* (London) and the *Ceylon Daily News*—found the state of the press as a whole... 'dull, narrow and corrupt' and the present newspapers to be '...decaying, appalling provincial tabloids'. He said the Asian press was awfully rubbishy and that the *Ceylon Daily News* now makes him weep. (At this stage we turned aside to shed a personal tear or two. Whilst reaching for the handkerchief we recalled

what the President had himself said in his opening address to the PFA. The President claimed that like the British who inherited the Moghul Empire, he too had inherited the nationalised Lake House Press along with the other assets and liabilities of the previous government. The President invited the pressmen to tell him what to do with it now.)

Back to Alan Chalkley. He next picked up Public Relations. He found the Asian PR industry in a poor state, with staff ill-trained. The Japanese industry alone produced the best PR jobs, according to him. And he should know.

Turning to newspaper staff, he said, they were given no training, no encouragement and had no opportunity to write and to consider. Alan Chalkley then gave his own formula for journalists:

- 80% reading
- 10% thinking and
- 10% writing

He said the job of writing could be done cheaply as long as there was positive backing from editors and management. He found local reporters did not do enough reading and were not paid for doing so. With access to a good library, any reporter could turn out a feature article in half an hour. It was necessary to consider the Editor and the reader before stories can be placed on international circuits. He made it sound simple.

Alan went on to say that two institutions concerned—the government and the management—placed too low a priority on training of pressmen. Conflict was the essence of news and, he added, the world was not a 'good news' place. Although Alan took care to say that he would probably make 30 enemies in 30 seconds flat, it was generally conceded that his bright and breezy rendering let in some fresh air to a hitherto closed subject—and that, perhaps, it would even

lead to new thinking and action. Kevin Rafferty of the Third World Media, London, Alex Marshall and Narinder Aggarawala (both from UN offices connected with Media) also served in the panel and made useful contributions.

During the discussions the view was expressed that Development Journalism (DJ) should be regarded as a means of looking at economic and social change in Asia which newspapers in the region, as well as in the West, ignored. Journalism, it was felt, should now shed its elitism and be more concerned with representing the ordinary folk.

DJ, it was said during the proceedings, is not identical with 'good news' and should therefore report the development 'process' rather than the isolated event. Reports should cover both the good and the bad, taking the successes and failures of governments, and resort to investigative techniques at macro levels.. planned schemes of betterment that had relevance to national local needs were drier subjects—and not sexy ones—such as population themes and the provision of a new water scheme in Upper Volta. It was however essential to distil the essence of development schemes (such as how the water scheme led to a reduction in infant mortality in Upper Volta), to indicate their linkages and backgrounds in reporting. Elitism in the press had led to a Man-in-the-news attitude whereas the need was to present the man-not-in-the-news in interesting fashion. The Development journalist should be an agent of change, using art and craft in his work.

The UN media personnel were of the opinion that the recent UN Declaration on Media could result in raised hopes that newer sources of information would automatically lead to greater coverage of the third-world efforts in the Western media. This was an error. A fair warning was also sounded that the present

sry against the lack of adequate cover for the development story, could also be used as a camouflage to set in more and more governmental controls of the press.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS: Meanwhile the West has been taking note of the New World Information Order which the less developed countries (LDC) had spelled out since the UNESCO Nairobi Conference in 1976. This demand hinging on the degree of control that governments can exercise over the free inflow/outflow of news across their borders, figured on the priority list of the August Non-aligned Nations Summit in Colombo.

Most nations today suspect not only TASS but also the other four mainline news agencies of utilizing their news networks to serve ideological ends rather than to present a fair record of what is happening around the world.

The LDCs rightly complain that there is now an outright dominance of their media by the radio, TV and the news agencies of the West which, being profit-making and politically biased concerns, emphasise sex, violence, crime, disasters and political half-truths. Thereby the traditions and cultures of the countries into which they intrude are eroded and even resistance to social changes are built up. This junk (information pollution, we term it) is unloaded in a one-way process ignoring human values deemed essential by the small nations affected.

To prevent being swamped by outside media some LDCs have commenced the Third World News Pool operating through the Yugoslav Tanjung news agency. It is a growing venture. The LDCs are also engaged in closely watching the manoeuvres between the two polarised forces of thought in mass media, and the open conflict between the US and the USSR in this matter.

In this context it would be a pity if the PFA wittingly or unwittingly, allows itself to become a pawn in an international communications chess game, rather than seeking opportunities to settle issues that are relevant to Asian journalism.

We would have been glad if the PFA devoted more attention to what is known in the West as 'reporter power', the pay scales, professionalism, the position of free lancers and short story writers. It was not for fun that a Sri Lankan Editor, R. L. Michael, himself a founding father of the body, raised the question on the opening day whether in the intervening ten years since its origin in Kandy, the PFA has done anything more constructive than holding annual junkets!

What form will developments in media take in the future?

There is a growing belief that radio space and the electronic

spectrum needs to be lumped together with ocean-bed and territorial assets to be exploited and shared by consenting nations. Opening international communications is one thing; laying countries open to subtle and ceaseless propaganda, 'cultural aggression' and erosion of their ways of life is another matter. Decisions cannot be delayed.

NUMBER ONE EVENT: The Batticaloa Meteorological Station functioned under four feet of water during the recent cyclone and a raw recruit attached to that office took an anemometer reading during the course of his duties in 90 mph winds. This involves climbing a ladder 13 feet high and exposing himself to the obvious dangers. We feel the Minister of State should verify facts and reward the lad for an honest day's job. This should motivate our unmotivatable government servants and youth!

THE CONSTITUTION

FROM THE PASTORAL LETTER

".....We have received a new Constitution six years after the previous one. It has some good features in it, especially relating to certain fundamental rights, language and citizenship. The Tamils have received recognition of some of their basic claims. However, like the previous Constitution, it has been tailored to fit the requirements of the party in power, it enables existing legislation which is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution to remain, and it safeguards the Executive from proper judicial review on not a few occasions.

"We live in an era of manipulative Constitutions, *ad hominem* legislation (whether against persons or groups) and of Executive immunity. We have to accept this trend as trend but not necessarily as inevitable. We saw how such a framework of Public law bred arrogance, isolation from the people and the corruption of undue power. The same features can well emerge in the days ahead. There is a good deal of sense in the oft-quoted words "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance." This applies to justice as well. We need to retain and expand in this dhamma-dwipa, a body of citizens who are ready to remind those who govern, that they are representatives and not mere rulers of the people who elected them....."

Lakshman Wickremasinghe,
Bishop of Kurunegala.

The Ceylon Churchman, Vol. LXXV.
Nos. 7 and 8, July-Aug. p. 141.

CORRECTION OF 'A' LEVEL

TAMIL SCRIPTS

Commission Of Inquiry

— necessary —

by Roy Muthaya

THE Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs Mr. Cyril Mathew together with Professor P. P. G. L. Siriwardena the Vice-Chancellor and two other Professors, figured in a press conference when they made out a case in no uncertain manner that Tamil examiners in the 'A' Level examination and in a number of University examinations, gave inflated marks to Tamil candidates. This naturally put Tamil students at a tremendous advantage ensuring an easy passage into the University while deserving Sinhala students were shut out.

The Press Conference was given wide publicity in the newspapers of 13th November 1978. In particular the 'Ceylon Daily Mirror' and the Lake House Sinhala daily 'Dinamina' gave wide coverage. However one was struck by the widely disparate accounts appearing in both papers. The accounts were so different as to make one wonder whether both referred to one and the same press conference.

One couldn't help but come to the irresistible conclusion that the Tamil readership was fed one report and the Sinhala readership a radically different report in content and implication.

The Daily Mirror report consisted of a half page spread on the front page. The Daily Mirror report said that the Minister showed the pressmen several marked scripts of the A.L. Zoology paper in the Sinhala and Tamil media. The Minister only referred to a part of one question in one paper in this subject.

(There are three papers in all in Zoology). According to the Minister six of the Tamil Medium scripts showed inflated marking. The life cycle of the mosquito was asked for. There are four stages which had to be drawn. Even if one stage was omitted, no credit was to be given. The minister contends that in six of the Tamil scripts credit has been given for depicting only three stages. That is these students have gained at least 18 marks which is indeed a great advantage in a competitive exam like the 'A' Level.

But what the Minister failed to reveal was that these 25 marks was out of 400 and that this 400 marks in this paper would be eventually reduced to 20. So the original 25 marks really works out to $1\frac{1}{4}$ marks out of 100. So even if the students got 18 marks it really works out to 9/10th of a mark—less than 1 out of 100. But the Minister did not mention this; may be less than 1 mark does not sound so dramatic as 18 marks!

There are many other vital questions to which the Minister and the learned professors associated with him must provide answers. For instance, how many Tamil scripts were examined before these gentlemen made this portentous discovery that in six scripts 0.9 marks have been given more. This is an important question, because if say 1000 scripts had been examined and only six were discovered where 0.9 more marks have been given, then the argument that Tamil students have entered the University on account of overloaded marking is untenable.

The minister and the learned professors moreover do not enlighten us all on how many marks these six students eventually got in Zoology. They do not even tell us whether these students ended up in the University or not. What about the other questions in the same paper? Surely is the cheating

confined to only one part of a question which carries a maximum of $1\frac{1}{4}$ marks out of hundred? What about the other three subjects? Did all the Tamil examiners conspire or was it confined to only Zoology?

Any fool knows that however well any student does in one or two or even three subjects it is insufficient to carry a student into the University. The Modern 'A' Level is so competitive that a student must shine in all four subjects. Therefore any diabolical conspiracy to smuggle the Tamils into the University must involve all the subjects. The documentary evidence so far produced by the Minister and the learned professors consists of six Zoology scripts in which there is an allegation of inflated marking in one part of one question in one of the papers carrying a maximum of $1\frac{1}{4}$ marks! These gentlemen must place All the evidence before the public instead of resorting to vague generalities on the basis of these six scripts.

One of the examiners in this Zoology examination gave this explanation to me about this particular problem. At a meeting of the examiners of Zoology with the chief examiner (who is himself a professor and who is not a Tamil) an examiner had queried what the position would be if a student does not draw one stage in the life cycle of a mosquito but names that particular stage and draws the other three stages. The chief Examiner had replied that in that case the life cycle is complete, but one of the required drawings has been omitted. Therefore credit ought to be given for the other three stages. Could these six scripts come within this category where one part was named and not drawn? This is a matter for an impartial Commission to determine. But long before this could happen the Minister and the learned professors have acted as

the prosecutor, jury, and judge in this matter!

There is another aspect which cannot be ignored. These diagrams are always drawn in pencil. One of the stages could be easily erased off or if a student had named a stage, without drawing it, that name could be erased off and the script presented as evidence of inflated marking. A mischief maker can easily take the Minister and the learned professors for a communal ride. This too could be proved or disproved by an impartial Commission.

Doctoring of evidence is not a new thing in this country. It will be remembered that during the last regime an opposition U.N.P. member of the N.S.A. (he is now an important Cabinet Minister) was charged for contempt of the Constitutional Court on account of a derogatory reference to one of its judges, in a public meeting. The Constitutional Court found the member not guilty. During the trial it transpired that the police record of the incident had been tampered with. This matter is now before the Special Presidential Commission, where the allegation is that the tampering with a view to implicating this member was done in no less a place than the Justice Ministry itself. Fortunately the documents concerned were examined by counsel and judges in open court, with examination of witnesses.

This matter of unfair marking should be gone into by an impartial Commission before which lawyers could appear and examine documents and witnesses. This is the only way to arrive at the truth.

The report in the *Dinamina* in no unmistakable manner flashed the headlines, '400 Tamil students have been given more marks, at the 'A' level examination.' It did

not stop there. The headlines proceeded to announce that, 'a fraud perpetrated for many years has at last come to light.' The body of the report in the *Dinamina*, reiterated that four thousand Tamil medium students had benefited by improper marking and as a result of this many clever Sinhala students were kept out of the University. This matter of four thousand students never appeared in the English Press. Therefore the Sinhala reading public has been fed far more inflammatory material than the English reading public. On reading the *Dinamina* report one immediately comes to the conclusion that all these years any success achieved by Tamil students was not due to any dint of hard work or intelligence but due to a massive fraud. All Sinhala failures of course have also been attributed to this same fraud.

The *Dinamina* report is so explosive that President Jayawardena must step in and appoint an impartial, acceptable Commission that would investigate this matter thoroughly. Some vital questions for this Commission would be:

- (1) How many students have benefited by frauds perpetrated by examiners in this 'A' Level examination?
- (2) The number of excess marks and the final marks these students received in this examination.
- (3) The different subjects in which this type of marking has taken place, with a question by question breakdown.
- (4) How many of these students in fact entered the University on account of these inflated markings.
- (5) The number of years this malpractice has been going on.

The Commission must also be given power to scrutinise all the scripts in question and also other scripts of other media, if necessary,

Legal representation must be permitted and the lawyers appearing should be permitted scrutiny of scripts and also the right to cross-examine witnesses.

In fairness to Tamil students and the Tamil Community it is now incumbent on the part of the Minister, the Vice-Chancellor and the professors associated with them to prove that in the 1977 'A' Level examination, four thousand Tamil Medium students benefited by overloaded marking. This was categorically stated in the *Dinamina*. These gentlemen must prove this charge beyond reasonable doubt.

If this matter is now allowed to abate without a thorough inquiry, the prejudice caused by the Press Conference of the Minister and the learned professors is enough to discourage and stifle the efforts of hardworking, intelligent Tamil medium students for ever. After this every Tamil success will be scoffed at as being the result of inflated marking. Hence it is in the interest of the Tamil Community to demand a large scale inquiry into this.

Another question which arises is, how did the learned professors and this Minister get hold of these scripts? Aren't there authorised personnel, who are the only people who have access to these scripts? If unauthorised people have access to these scripts, it is frightening to think of what could be concocted by interested parties. The Commissioner of exams should be held responsible for the safety of these scripts.

A Commission of Inquiry should be set up and this matter should be concluded satisfactorily before the evidence is incinerated at Valaichenai.



GEORGE MARZIPAN—8

Bribes, Work And Sin

by Glucorasa

MY last encounter with Marzipan set me thinking; *way is there so much corruption? What is the remedy?*

In our Socialist Democratic Republic, removing parts of one's anatomy is out of the question. On the other hand in a free democratic society why should an individual not be allowed to practice freely his or her chosen profession, brib-taking, pickpocketing, or prostitution. But, of course, there should be no infraction of the law.

If taking bribes or pickpocketing is an offence, is not failure to put into one's work the number of hours expected also not a crime? This, in Glucorasa's view, is far more dishonest and does much more harm to the nation as a whole. And what is being done about it, except to threaten state officers who do not work and shirk that they will be severely "dealt with?" Glucorasa is personally aware of cases where such offenders are not dealt with, let alone severely, but not even mildly!

Why? Because they are close to the power centre.

Is not the use of an official 504 or a Benz to transport children to schools or wives to coffee parties not an offence? Yet no one seems to care. The only instance I have heard of is the case of a senior police official whose car was withdrawn by the Inspector General for misuse or abuse. But this is a rare exception.

My friend George Marzipan does absolutely nothing for the pay he receives each month, except roaming the streets of the City and taking tea off Glucorasa and his catchers. This is another form of corruption.

All this boils down to a very simple equation "If Perera can do

this why not Kandiah or Glucorasa". I am however not prepared to dismiss this thus. The cancer of corruption of every form or description should be rooted out. It should not be explained by psychological jargon about inherited tendencies or maladjusted social backgrounds. Man is the captain of his soul. If he lacks strength, let him seek it from the source and fountain of all strength.

George Marzipan's misadventure in regard to the certificate agitated me. Browsing through some newspaper clippings with me after Marzipan left I came across this one. In 1925 Mahatma Gandhi had defined the "Seven Social Sins" in *Young India*. They are Politics without Principles, Wealth without Work, Pleasure without Conscience, Knowledge without Character, Commerce without Morality, Science without Humanity, Worship without Sacrifice. How true I thought. Would it not be a good idea for every citizen of Sri Lanka to have before him this definition! It was past midnight when I retired for the night.

Next morning as I was at my desk, my Assistant walked in. It was around the usual tea break in the morning. "Good morning, my friend. Are you just coming in?" I asked. "Yes" "What time have you marked on the attendance register". "Eight" he replied.

"My dear chap, you come in at 9.30 and enter the time as 8 and then you have the audacity to tell me that".

"Sir, I do not wish to lie to you" "Particularly after doing something dishonest" I countered.

"Give me a hearing, Sir. I depend on the CGR and the CTB. They never run on time. You should read the *Tribune* to know what these two corporations are doing."

"Never mind the CTB and CGR. I come by bus to office myself and I am on time"

"I have domestic problems...."

Before he could complete the sentence I asked him "Has your wife thrown you out?" That broke the ice and both of us had a good laugh. It was at this stage that George Marzipan came in with Walrus, the cook, right behind him with his brew, which he said was tea. "Hello George. Come in. Let's have tea first".

"Did you see this morning's papers" asked George.

"I stopped that exercise sometime back. I have stopped listening even to the SLBC newscasts. It is a perpetual hallelujah to those in power. They did the same thing with the previous government, and incidentally contributed most effectively to its defeat at the polls. Was there anything special?"

"There was a pontifical announcement by our friend Vaihunthavahanoff, Working Director, that he will henceforth be known and referred to as VHF"

"Do you know where VHF is now" asked my Assistant. Marzipan gave him the address and my assistant disappeared. I knew he was on his way to VHF to find a job for his son.

"I am very concerned about your Assistant. He is getting about it the wrong way—I mean finding his son a job through VHF".

"Can you tell me what the correct way is" I asked.

"Well, Sir, this chap VHF is an oily fellow and is being well oiled. Your Assistant does not seem willing to understand it. If he, for instance, takes a bottle of Martel cognac with him, VHF would move faster—you get what I mean?"

"Yes, I do, but my man likes to get things done for nothing. Besides I am completely against the idea of bribing anyone for anything—even to seek employment, George. It is nauseating. In fact, after you left me

last night, I spent a sleepless night." "Why Sir. This is the done thing. It is not a bribe, only a present" "George, please drop this subject. Keep this with you and let this guide you as well" I said pushing towards him a copy of the Mahatma's definition of the Seven Social Sins;

"Thank you" said George, putting the paper in his pocket. "I have a problem. I have to be at Katunayake to meet a friend returning to Sri Lanka from the Middle East. He intends to invest all he earned and saved off the Arabs in our Free Trade Zone. Is there a way of getting a car, Sir".

"Well, I don't know. I never owned even a bullock cart. Why not try VHF".

"That's a capital idea. Would you put in a word."

"That will not be necessary. Take my Assistant along. They are buddies. I am certain he can fix it for you".

Mrzipan left smiling. "Good day Sir. I think that will be alright."

"Good luck Mrzipan" I replied and got back to my files.

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END TAMASHAS

Accommodation In The Village

by R. Kahawita

THE Ceylon Daily News of 29.11.78 in reporting the proceedings of the Sansoni Commission has recorded that "Mrs. Kodituwakku—matron designate to Trincomalee Hospital could not take up duties, because there were no quarters." So she applied for leave". My interest is in—"Because there were no quarters".

Trincomalee is a premier town of Sri Lanka as old as Colombo or

older; a port where the earliest raiders took shelter in its harbour, a base of the Eastern Squadron of the British Navy which "we drove out in 1956 very ceremoniously"; and not very recently glorified the city by elevating it to the Status of a "Municipal Council." (May have been done not to improve the town but to improve the Party line). A town with municipal status, a centre for a base Hospital with 15 to 18 qualified Doctors, with 45 trained nurses in charge of a matron who has no quarters to live. Here is a senior matron with 28 years of service in the Health Department in the nursing profession who was expected live "under a tree" and supervise the work of 45 nurses and a host of minor employees. This is what her evidence has disclosed.

Need we ask any question as to our competence to run our country? What a disgraceful situation and how stupid of the administration to expect qualified doctors—18 of them to work in the interest of the people and their country. Yet we speak of "brain drain", "dearth of doctors" and currently appealing to the U.N. for medical men to man our hospitals. Whether we get doctors, may I use a familiar saying of the Bandaranayake regime, "from the moon" or from "Satan", how can they work without the basic amenities of a shelter? And if the doctors, nurses, attendants, and the hospital menials do not extend the minimum care to the patients, can we blame them for their negligence?

Our Politicians never miss an opportunity to howl—"Sri Lanka has the finest free medical Service on Earth". Yes, without a matron to supervise 45 nurses because we have not provided living quarters to the matron. What is this bluff? Whom are we bluffing? If this is the case in one of our premier towns what would be the situation in the four thousand odd Villages

where our people live? The housing needs of the officials living in the Villages are few and simple but they are not available. A house for the School teacher, Health nurse, Gramasevaka, Apothecary, Rural development officer, Agrarian service officer etc. These are the urgent needs in our villages where we have multiplied officialdom.

Also at the same time we have increased the housing problems in the village—lack of planning. In spite of our "grandiose ideas of elevating the village life". We have created in the village mind a sense of distrust and unfulfilled promises. Are we not carrying this game too far? Not that we have no money. If we say so no one will believe us, when they see the high-rise buildings springing up in the city of Colombo and its suburbs. To us, it is almost a competition to beat the "Manhattan Skyline". Are all these high rise buildings necessary? We know of one building that was put up by a lending Institute. If not for the fact that it was commandeered by a ministry, it would have been the abode of bats, owls, and vampires like in the horror stories.

And many more such buildings are being planned in Colombo while our village level officials live in hells. Is this the society we are striving to create—whatever we may call it? Are we not following the same pattern of a colonial era—everything in the city and nothing at the village level? Our Govt. officials who are sent to the villages to work, are they also not human beings with the same desires and aspirations as the city wallahs? Don't they deserve the first consideration in our Housing schemes? Of course—Providing a room for a nurse in the back-woods of Sri Lanka has no glamour or publicity in it. Building a couple of "doll's houses" and the unveiling of a commemoration plaque with all pomp and

ceremony is an occasion for letting out "hot-air"—So we have many of these unholy spots scattered over the country, now abandoned. They have become the abode of stray cattle and the py-dogs.

Should we not cry halt to this kind of bluff? May we suggest that we spend fifty percent of the current budget's building estimates in putting up decent school buildings, quarters for the teachers, quarters and offices for the officers, whom we send to work in the villages. Let not there be another occasion for Government Servant working at the village level to say—"after taking up duties I took leave because there were no quarters". Time has come to think of our people and how their condition can be improved and not how we can stay in power. Let us, at the end of our stewardship leave not a beautiful city for the tourist to enjoy, but a chain of well housed and equipped villages with a dedicated band of officers working for them. This is rural development of the highest order. Rural folks are our people and let them enjoy to the fullest, fruits of our and their labour—Stop the craze for high-rise buildings in the city and let us invest in the Villages. Our Strength is there and not in the cities.

A model village here and another there is not the answer to our rural problems. What are two model villages in a count of over four thousand villages? Let us spend a part of the money spent in the tamashes connected with "opening ceremonies" in putting up a two-roomed cottage for a school teacher in our back-woods and let the teacher go into occupation without the tamahas. The erstwhile Government too did the kind of opening ceremonies we are indulging in now. They got locked out after seven years.

Let us not be treated in the same way. Let us be warned, the bureaucrats can create the situation by pandering to our weaknesses. It is happening today as spotlighted in the *Confidentially* column of the *Tribune* of the 25.11.78. Forewarned is to be forearmed.



BOOK REVIEW

A Great Tamil

1. THE LIFE OF SIR PONNAMBALAM RAMANATHAN

By M. Vythilingam, B.A. (Lond.).
Volume I.
Ramanathan Commemoration Society.
Colombo 1971 pp XV+605
17 illustrations.

2. RAMANATHAN OF CEYLON THE LIFE OF SIR PONNAMBALAM RAMANATHAN

(1910—1930)
By M. Vythilingam, B.A. (Lond.).
Volume II pp VI+758+11.
1977.

EXCEPT FOR A FEW CONVENTIONAL ARTICLES written to commemorate the birth and death anniversary of Sri P. Ramanathan, no serious attempts to analyse his entire life and works had ever been made. However it should be admitted that Ramanathan's political career has been a subject of serious research by scholars at the Universities and there is enough material on this score. But even these studies could be said to be incomplete as they were made mainly from the known and published

materials only. The life of great men cannot be studied merely from the traditional sources. A peep into their personal archives which may contain unpublished correspondence written and received, diaries etc. is a must to unfold the story fully and authoritatively. Modern research also recognises the importance of opinions expressed by associates and acquaintances of greatmen. A critical study of this book will show that the author was very much handicapped by the non-availability of Ramanathan's private papers. He has made up this deficiency by contacting Ramanathan's wife, children and son-in-law and few individuals who knew Ramanathan. This warning of the sources he made use of is absolutely necessary because whatever that follows has a strong resemblance to the source materials used by the author. The works mentioned in the bibliographical section contains, other than Ramanathan's works and Hansards, books of very general nature.

Ramanathan dominated the public life of this country like a colossus for more than half a century. During this period he participated almost in all activities that were of public concern, irrespective of the community to which, he belonged. He was a lawyer, legislative councillor, educationist, religionist etc. Men hailed him first as a nationalist and later castigated him as communalist. This biographer describes him as a separatist. To bring such a varied personality within the compass of a few pages and unfold his story in one single thread was no mean endeavour and his biographer Vythilingam must be congratulated for taking up the very challenging task.

The life of Ramanathan is presented in two volumes. The first volume was published in 1971 and the second volume in 1978. The first volume deals with the life of Ramanathan from the time of his birth upto the time he was elected

to represent the educated Ceylonese seat in the Reformed Legislative Council in 1911; the second volume from his entry to the Legislative Council in 1912 to the time of his death.

IN THESE TWO VOLUMES, besides dealing with the life of Ramanathan, the biographer has also given brief but interesting biographical sketches of Coomaswamy Mudaliyar (Chap. II—Vol. I), Ramanathan's maternal grand father, Ponnambala Muddaliyar (Chap. III—Vol I) his father, Sir Muthu Coomaswamy (Chap VI—Vol. I) his uncle, Mudaliyar Ponnambalam Coomaswamy (Chap XXX—Vol. I) his eldest brother, whose important contributions have been drowned under the greatness of his other two brothers, Sir P. Arunachalam (Chap XXI—Vol. II) his youngest brother. The inclusion of the biographical sketches of these men appears to have been undertaken with a view to give a complete picture of the life and works of that renowned family. They also provide an insight into the background in which Ramanathan grew and developed his personality. All these sketches other than Sir Muthu Coomaswamy's and Sir P. Arunachalam's on whom other biographical dates are available, are very valuable as they are the only known and authoritative materials on the subject. Mr. Vythilingam appears to have worked for nearly twenty five years on this biography collecting, compiling and drafting all the information that came on his way.

The subjects of interest in the first volume, besides those biographical sketches, are the public issues which engaged the attention of Ramanathan such as the grievances of the Government servants, Post Office Savings, Banks, Buddhist Temporalities, Jaffna Railway, Jaffna Markets Ordinance, Corn laws, irrigation, Mohammedan marriages etc. Of particular importance in

this volume as for his political activities are concerned, are the foundation laid for the Ceylon National Association, memorandum submitted on constitutional reforms (Appendix includes a copy of the Reform sent in 1890—pp. 587—695 Vol I), his tour of England and other countries of Europe, his candidature for Educated Ceylonese seat. The visit to England in 1886, though brief, has had a tremendous and lasting influence on Ramanathan. His association with Gladstone, his liberal principles and fight for minority rights in England, all grew steadily in his mind and he remained a Gladstonian liberal to the last. This author frequently quotes Ramanathan adverting to Gladstone's Midlothian election campaign in his two volumes but has not given the specific dates on which he met Gladstone and attended his election meetings.

According to a letter of Ramanathan dated 15th June (1886), which the biographer appears to have not seen, Ramanathan left London for Edinburgh on the 17th June to attend Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign which commenced actually on the 18th June, 1886. Ramanathan in a letter to an English friend stated, "I have made arrangements to leave London for a week, chiefly bent upon hearing Gladstone at Midlothian on Friday next. I shall also do some portions of North England and manufacturing towns. Will you kindly try and get me a platform ticket at Midlothian so that I may have my hearts fill of Gladstone's fire. I hope it will burn in my heart till my dyeing (sic) day...." According to Gladstone's biographer (John Morley) Gladstone addressed two meetings at Music Hall, Edinburgh, on home rule on the 18th and 21st, of June 1886 and Ramanathan must have attended these meetings. This was amidst Gladstone's third Midlothian Campaign. This type of explanations

would certainly help any reader with ready made answers of the influence exerted by Gladstone on Ramanathan.

As regards his educational and religious activities the book provides original and authoritative material. Establishment of Parameshwara College for boys and Ramanathan College for Girls, the rebuilding of Ponnambala Vaneswara temple in granite stone, are some of the lasting achievements of Ramanathan well illustrated here. Whether the University of Jaffna that will very soon supercede Jaffna Campus will have anything to perpetuate the name, a holy one, Parameshwara, the name fondly chosen by Ramanathan, one cannot yet say. Nearly thirty seven years lapsed between the period Ramanathan first conceived the idea of starting a newspaper till it finally materialised. At the start it was to forge unity among the "best men of the races of Ceylon" particularly the Tamils and Sinhalese as against the "self seeking...and wayward" attitude of some of the members of the Burgher Community. Secondly to have a paper for the Tamils primarily and secondarily for the benefit of all Ceylon. The "Ceylonese", the title was to be given to the newspaper, was to be "less a newspaper than one for the creation of a sound public opinion upon liberal principles." It was to be managed by Ramanathan, his brothers and few others. "The Ceylonese" mentioned in Chap III—Vol II was published under different circumstances in 1913. Ramanathan and his friends faced the Calumnies of the *Morning Leader*, and the defeated Marcus Fernando and his supporters. It is mentioned that Tom Wright was the first editor of the Ceylonese (p. 88—Vol. II). This appears to be a mistake because it was Thayer who was mentioned in the first few copies of the Ceylonese as printer and publisher and not Tom Wright.

Archives copies were signed by H. H. Marcus and even the prefatory remarks were made by him and not by Tom Wright. This view is also confirmed by H. A. J. Hulugalle and S. Durai Raja Singam. It was true that Tom Wright, then the Editor of the Straits Echo, Penang was sent to Ceylon by Brown Cathiravelu, a Jaffnese planter in Malaysia to edit the Ceylonese, but before the paper saw the light of day he had parted company with Ramanathan. It turned out to be that Tom Wright who was to be a defender of Ramanathan, became an able agent of Armond de Soyza, editor of the Morning Leader. He used him to write many articles lampooning Ramanathan.

IN THE SECOND VOLUME the biographer has by sheer necessity metamorphosed a conservative nationalist into an arch separatist and make us believe that in fact he was the real founder of the Tamil Separatist Movement. After relating the circumstances under which Ramanathan and Arunachalam moved away from the main stream of national politics the biographer has arrived at the conclusion that both of them advocated a separate state for Tamils. He says that Arunachalam believed in the maxim that "the only road to salvation for the Tamils lay in a return to the pre-western order of things in which the Tamils had for ages enjoyed separate nationhood and a separate sovereignty" (p. 541: Vol. II). And of Ramanathan he says that it was "the great paradox of Ramanathan's long and illustrious career as it is the irony of all things human and mundane that they most inveterate nationalist turned the most hardened communalist; the most unpassioned Unionist was metamorphosed into an uncompromising separatist" (p. 701 Vol. II). The same conclusion has been reiterated in p. 707 with a stronger emphasis on separatism. Besides giving a lop-sided view

of Ramanathan's political philosophy the author has also tried to reconcile the divergent political views held by the two brothers in the evening of their lives. While Ramanathan emphasised the virtues of a separate identity, and not separate nationhood for the Tamils, Arunachalam, though detached from the Ceylon National Congress was a firm believer in a multi-racial polity.

The biographer, in pages 700—701 Vol. II, quoted in length the speech made by Ramanathan in State Council on Nov. 20, 1928 but has not given the full text of the speech to allow the reader to form his own opinion of him. It is not space that mattered, for this book is full of unwanted questions, but his anxiety to avoid the portion of the speech which went against his purpose. Ramanathan cited the examples of the minorities in the mainland of British Isles and on the periphery of the British Empire such as Canada, South Africa and Australia and showed how they accommodated the aspirations of the minorities and said in the concluding part of his speech as follows "The Donoughmore Commissioners had they studied these things carefully and reflected calmly, without reference to the bee in their bonnet would have come to the conclusion that both inside the British Isles and in the outskirts of the British Empire there were numerous instances enough to justify that the communal system of Government was the most specific form of Government in which friendliness and cooperation would exist and produce the greatest results. They did not do so and they owe an explanation. We are not babies." p. 1950—Hansard 1928 "...such being the case, it will not be difficult for us to make an advance on the basis of adequate representation for each of the communities which flourish in Ceylon" (p. 1952 Hansard 1928).

If the biographer had not given himself to the current controversies raking this country and has addressed his mind to proper historical facts he would not have allowed to be carried away by the current euphoria. A sober writer in the first volume has become an emotion packed propagandist in the second volume. The strain and stress caused by the recent communal troubles (1977) and the riots of 1956 and 1958, the agitation of the TULF for a separate state, appears to have coloured his thin vision.

In fact one gets the impression that chapters xx—xxiv in volume II was actually written in a hurry during and after the communal troubles of 1977. He was therefore in fact, trying to legitimise and justify the present secessionist movement among the Tamils instead of presenting the true personality of Ramanathan.

What he has failed to grasp in his analysis of the present secessionist movement and Ramanathan's speeches on Donoughmore Reforms was that these two forces were working under two different circumstances. What the contemporary movement seeks to achieve was really an anti-thesis of what Ramanathan and Arunachalam agitated for. Speeches made by Ramanathan in 1929, contrasted with 1928, will show that he has been converted to Home Rule for Ceylon from communal representation. The pure Secessionist movement became popular and gained recognition only after 1972 and for entirely different reasons. The word Eelam came to be applied to a restricted territorial area only after the secessionist movement became popular. Prior to that it devoted

the entire land.

THE BIOGRAPHER by a mischievous misquotation (p 540-voll), which is almost a heinous crime, of the prefatory speech made by Arunachalam to the Tamil League in 1923, argues that he has visualised the formation of a Tamil Eelam. He has twisted the word Tamilaham (Tamil land) to mean Tamil Eelam. Secondly by Tamilaham, Arunachalam meant not only the Tamils of Ceylon, but all those Tamils of South India and other Tamil colonies scattered all over the world. The Tamil League was to be more of a cultural Organisation. We would recommend to the readers to compare this quotation with p 308, in P. Arunachalam's *Collected Speeches and Writing*, and the Report read at the General Meeting of the Ceylon Tamil League 15th Sept. 1923.

It is also pertinent to refer in general to the period 1922-1947 to explain certain misconceptions entertained all round. In this period the Ceylon Tamils did set up separate associations seeking to fight for Tamil rights. Their agitations following the past examples of Welsh, Scots and other minorities of the British Empire were based on liberal principles and centred round minority rights.

Admittedly, during this period Sinhalese Buddhist nationalists developed a separate nationality theory and identified it with Ceylon. But the Tamils have failed to develop any such rival theory of nationality of their own. Tamil politics nor its cultural concomitant the Hinduism, never joined hands to offer resistance to Sinhala Buddhist nationality theory. The Tamils hesitated and stumbled on several courses of action but separation.

They hoped that a multi-national polity would surely develop in Ceylon. This was quite different from the developments of India. In India the Muslims, despite the illogicality of

territorial base, developed a strong nationality theory based on religion alone.

It is not merely the oft repeated British policy of divide et impera policy that led to the partitioning of India. The strength and force of Muslim nationalism could not be ignored by the British. In Ceylon if the Tamils had presented such rival claims the Britisher would have certainly recognised it or the Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist would have been compelled to a compromise at the time of independence. In fact the Kandyans forwarded a better claim as a separate nation than the Tamils.

Yet another observation on this theme was that neither Ramanathan nor Arunachalam abandoned the interest in Colombo—and it is an undisputed fact that the politics of the Tamils radiated from Colombo and not from Jaffna or Batticaloa until recently.

The development of separate territorial unit for the Tamils and separate existence theory may be said to have emerged with the advent of Federal party in Ceylon politics and it is the major contribution of Federal party to Ceylon Tamil politics. Its conversion to secessionist ideas were justified by the events that followed the 1970 elections. Therefore Ramanathan may be described as a communalist and sectional nationalist and not as a separatist. One is inclined to agree with the observation made by a modern historian that during this period, 1922-1947, "If the Tamils had a self-image of themselves as a nationality their English media propagandists do not seem to have presented it." And any concrete proposal of a nationality theory may be said to have been put forward by the Communist Party in 1944 (vide *Tribune* vol. 21 No. 38). THE YOUTH MOVEMENT of the days of Ramanathan was not

the "All Ceylon Youth Congress" as stated by the author. In Jaffna it was the "Student Congress" that caused anxiety to certain conservatives of the ilk of Ramanathan. The Presentation of this aspect of Jaffna's politics was very clumsy and confusing to the ordinary reader. One cannot really form an idea from this book as to when and how this movement became popular to affect the fortunes of Ramanathan. We cannot expand on this subject here except to observe that the "Student Congress" was organised in 1924 and was christened as Jaffna "Youth Congress" in 1931 after the death of Ramanathan. Its social and political outlook and activities, inter-caste dining sessions and anti-imperial outburst etc., were a source of irritation to Ramanathan and the Conservative high castes of Jaffna and the author has conveniently glossed over these aspects.

The other important issues discussed in the second volume was the "Riots of 1915" and "Riot-speeches". This is a traversed field and only remark that could be made here was that the author could have consulted the recent works on this aspect. This would have enabled him to give a balanced view of Ramanathan's contributions. He has made it upto date by including a statement made by Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe after the 1958 riots (pp 328-330).

Though the author has tried to present an interpretative and analytical biography, his readers would have very much liked to know that Ramanathan had six children, three sons and three daughters by his first marriage. His sons were Mahesan, Rajendra and Vamadeva and daughters Kamini—married Muttu-Coomaraswamy; Rukmini—Married Subramaniam and Sivam—married Rajanathan.

He has quoted extensively from Hansards obviously in the interest of the ordinary reader. But one cannot condone the way in which the facts were presented—the volumes are full of recapitulation, of thoughts, repetition of incidents, and even paragraphs which are too numerous to quote here. Each chapter gives the impression that it was written at various times. If the author had cared to edit these chapters before it was sent to the printer the books could have been reduced to half of its present size.

Those who try to use these volumes as a ready reckoner or reference book to elicit any specific information will find it disappointing as they do not have any footnotes, index or brief diary of events. We also do not see any ostensible reason for the additional title *Ramanathan of Ceylon* given to the second volume.

Before concluding this article, the following passage is quoted from Philip Magnus's, *Gladstone, A Biography* as most of it could be applied to this work as well. These remarks were in connection with John Morley's, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (3 vols).

"Lord Morley's great life of Gladstone was published in 1903. In the introduction to it, the author has stated that he stood so near to the subject, that it was difficult to adjust the perspective, the scale, and the relation. A quarter century later (1928) the Prime Ministers fourth son Herbert (Viscount Gladstone), complained that luminous and interesting as are Lord Morley's pages, they do not present for those who did not know Mr. Gladstone, a true and complete view of his personality. . . while the tendency of the modern writers is to seek truth about greatmen from the habits and affairs of their private life Mr. Gladstone seems to be excluded

from this process" (pp xiii-xiv).

This is given as an explanation for writing a new biography of Gladstone in 1954.

The book is printed in large types and provide easy reading. Though the quality of the paper used in the Second Volume is poor yet both volumes are worthy library editions.

These comments were made to provide a guideline to these two volumes. This biography of Ramanathan is the only comprehensive work on the subject at present and is therefore indispensable for all those who are interested in Ramanathan and the history of this Island.

K. Arumainayagam



BACKGROUND TO KENYA

Mzee Jomo Kenyatta

by Michael Wannappa LL.B.(Cey)
Advocate of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka

Presently Resident Magistrate, Maru, Kenya.

FOR 15 years Kenyatta lived in Europe. At first at Quaker College Birmingham, he had read English and followed courses in social and international affairs. From 1934-'6 he taught Kikuyu Language at the University of London. In 1936 he became a student of the London School of Economics and later followed a post graduate course in anthropology under Professor Malinowski. It was during this time that he produced his outstanding classic among his literary works a book on the Kikuyus called *Facing Mount Kenya*. In 1938 he had assumed the name Jomo and he had dropped the name Johnstone. It was during his stay

in Europe that he entered Moscow University, and he began to speak fluent Russian.

In 1945 Kenyatta was associated with the Pan African movement with Nkurumah of Ghana and other great African leaders. They demanded independence for Africans from the colonialists. They said "We are determined to be free and we shall fight to the very end to achieve freedom." In 1946 when he came back to Kenya he joined the Kenya African Union. The Kikuyu Central Union had been proscribed by the British during the 2nd World War. He became the Secretary of the KAU. He was also the Principal of the Kikuyu Independent Teachers College during this period. From the time that he returned from U.K. Kenyatta relentlessly campaigned against colonialism towards a free and independent Kenya. He was trying to enlist more and more people for KAU, and he started addressing meetings all over the country, and he had to face the wrath of the British settlers who were out for his blood, as he became a threat to their continued existence in Kenya.

Around 1950 the Mau Mau guerillas started attacking the white settlers and their African supporters around the Mt. Kenya region. The Mau Mau was a secret organisation associated with sporadic killings, and they retreated into the forests after their attacks. In 1952, the then Governor of Kenya, Evelyn Baring, declared a State of Emergency, and on the 20th of October 1952, Kenyatta, Paul Ngei and a whole heap of others were detained as being members of the Mau Mau clan. On the 25th of November, 1952, at the notorious Kapenguria Trial they were charged for being members of the Mau Mau and for inciting violence and treason. They were represented by D. N. Pritt Q.C., the famous lawyer. After a long trial, Mr. R. S. Thacker Q.C.

Resident Magistrate found them guilty and he convicted and sentenced them to jail for seven years. When they appealed to the Supreme Court of Kenya, their convictions and sentences were quashed on the ground that the Magistrate had no jurisdiction to try the case. The Government in turn appealed to the East African Court of Appeal which restored the decision of the magistrate.

JOMO KENYATTA suffered miserably and languished in jail for seven years. It is of interest to note that the main witness in the Kapenguria trial was later charged and sentenced to jail for committing perjury for 2½ years, after he retracted his evidence. Even after his release, he was kept under detention for more than one year at Maralal. The then Governor of Kenya Sir Patrick Renison called Kenyatta "A leader unto darkness and death."

It was left to Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, a Luo by tribe, and the first Vice President of Kenya to call for his release, in the State Council. He stated that Kenyatta was the "Saviour of the African People of Kenya, and asked for his release." This call was echoed all over the world by leading personalities, and also by one European voice in the wilderness namely that of DEREK ERSKINE, a former M.P. of Kenya, who stated, much to the astonishment of Europeans that "Kenyatta was the acknowledged leader of Kenya... This was said before the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, who was going into this question as one man Commissioner.

While Kenyatta was in jail, the Africans suffered under the colonial yoke and the Emergency 1952-1958. The Africans especially the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes in the Central and Eastern Provinces were kept in camps, and they were cordoned off from other towns, and they had to possess passes to enter various areas, and were put to do menial

jobs. Hundreds of Africans died while waging the war for freedom, both men and women suffered, and their children were left without any means of support. The Africans were oppressed and suppressed by the White masters.

At last due to both local and international opinion, Jomo Kenyatta was released from detention in August, 1961, as the British realised that the river towards freedom could not be blocked any more. He was welcomed as a great hero by his people. After his release, he found Kenya divided into two political parties, KANU and KADU. The latter was the Kenya African Democratic Union of the late Ronald Ngala. In 1961 Kenyatta took over the leadership of KANU, when James Gichuru stood over to give him the lead as it's President. The M.P. for Fort Hall Kariuki Njiri resigned to pave the way to Kenyatta to get to the Legislature after the Government lifted a ban on his contesting a seat. Kenyatta was elected unopposed to the Fort Hall constituency and on the 12th of January 1962, he became the Minister of State; KANU swept into power at the May election in 1963 and Kenyatta became the Prime Minister. There was also a merger of KADU, and the APP (the Akamba Party) led by Paul Ngei, who represented the Akamba tribe with KANU. At last Kenya was granted independence on the 12th of December, 1963 when the Union Jack was lowered.

KENYATTA found the earlier constitution unworkable, and the constitution was changed, and Kenya became a Republic, and Mzee Jomo Kenyatta became Kenya's first President on the 12th of December, 1964. It was only in 1969 when Odinga wanted to break away from KANU to form Kenya People's Union that Kenya became one party State, when the KPU was banned.

Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was the founder of modern Kenya, and he was the champion of the oppressed African masses. He spoke to the Kenyans in Swahili and roused their pangs of nationalism. He was Kenya's farmer NO. 1, with his clarion call to go back to the land, and his presence was felt at each and every agricultural show. He opened the Mombasa agricultural show a few days before his death, he revived African culture, and used to watch and take part in the African traditional dances.

A week before he died he called his whole family together for a reunion and gave them a reception. He also addressed the Ambassadors from Kenya before his death and asked them to raise up the Kenyan flag, wherever they were, and as a farewell gesture he honoured Henry Rono, the famous athlete, and Stephen Muchoki the boxer, by giving them the order of the Burning Spear for bringing gold medals from the Edmonton, Commonwealth Games.

According to the constitution of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi, the former Vice President, and Kalenjin by tribe, has succeeded Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, as the interim President. He has sworn to follow in the footsteps of Mzee. He has been associated with the movement for freedom, and he is a man for all seasons, and it's likely that within the 90 days set to elect a new President, that he may occupy the same seat in the near future.

Whatever the critics might say, although the winds of change may blow over Kenya, radical changes are unlikely in the near future. After having lived in Kenya for three years I can say of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, that "He was a man of the people." He loved the people and the people loved him, and now he has gone to the place where all the people go one day.

Mzee Jomo Kenyatta cannot be replaced, but others can follow his ideals. The great statesman is gone, but his spirit will linger on in Kenya and in the world for ever."



DOCUMENTS; PALESTINE

International Day Of Solidarity

—November 29th—

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION AT ITS THIRTY SECOND REGULAR SESSION: QUESTION OF PALESTINE

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, *having considered* the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, *Noting* in particular, the observations contained in paragraphs 38 to 42 of the report, *Recognizing* the need for the greatest possible dissemination of information on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and on the efforts of the United Nations to promote the attainment of those rights,

1. Requests the Secretary-General to establish within the Secretariat of the United Nations a Special Unit on Palestinian Rights which would: (a) Prepare, under the guidance of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people, studies and publications relating to:

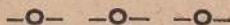
- i. The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people;
- ii. Relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations
- iii. The activities of the Committee and other United Nations organs, in order to promote the attainment of those rights,

(b) Promote maximum publicity for such studies and publications through all appropriate means;

(c) Organize, in consultation with the Committee, commencing in 1978, annual observance of 29 November as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people;

2. Further requests the Secretary-General to ensure the full cooperation of the Office of Public Information and other units of the Secretariat in enabling the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights to perform its tasks;

3. Invites all Governments and organisations to lend their cooperation to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people and the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights in the implementation of the present resolution.



SUPPORT OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION FOR ANNUAL OBSERVANCE OF AN INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

THE MINISTERIAL MEETING of the Organisation of African Unity in its 31 session held in Khartoum from 7 to 18 July 1978:

Reaffirming its support to the United National General Assembly Resolution 32/40B to organise an annual observance of 29th November as the International Day of the Solidarity with the Palestinian people;

1. *Invites* member states of the OAU to objectively participate in that celebration nationally and publicly;

2. *Invites* the people of the African States and all the peace loving States to support the Palestinian

people in its just struggle for the liberation of its land and the return to its nation.



DECLARATION OF THE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES IN BELGRADE 25—30 JULY 1978 ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS reaffirmed that the question of Palestine is the core of the present conflict in the Middle East, and denounced all policies of the United States of America that aim at ignoring the legitimate, national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the non-recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, as being the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and imposing partial or bilateral solutions.

The Ministers reiterated their grave concern over Israel's persistence to usurp Palestine, its blatant rejection of recognising the Palestinian people's national, inalienable rights, and the racial expansionist policy adopted by the Zionist state. Such matters are persistently increasing, and representing an ever challenge to the international community, and constant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and Resolutions, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Ministers confirmed the necessity of strengthening coordination between the non-aligned countries and the Palestine Liberation Organisation; as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian People, on both bilateral and international levels, with a view to laying down a strategy for the liberation of Palestine and for the Palestinian people to exercise their national and inali-

enable rights. The Conference also stressed the necessity of undertaking necessary measures for accepting the representation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in the capitals of the non-aligned countries, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and granting it all rights, privileges and immunities of diplomatic missions.

The Ministers recalled all the previous non-Alignment Conferences which stressed the necessity of the role of Member countries to exert more pressure on Israel in the United Nations and all its specialised agencies. They also appealed in particular to the

Security Council to undertake effective measures, some of which are stipulated in Chapter 7 of the Charter, to compel Israel to abide by the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. The Ministers noted with grave concern, that despite such measures, the Zionist entity is still committing violations and aggressions which were international condemned. The Ministers were of the view that they must stress the danger of this situation and call for the adoption of stronger and more decisive measures to put an end to the aggressive policy followed by Israel.

The Conference affirmed that the attempts and endeavours of the United States of America to liquidate the Palestine issue and its assistance to Israel in realizing its expansionist, imperialistic and racist policy in occupied Palestine, through encouragement of bilateral and partial solutions, will not lead to a just solution of the problem. Therefore, the conference condemned such policies attempts and endeavours and called for resisting them. The Conference also stressed the right of the Palestine Liberation Organisation to reject all forms of settlements, projects and solutions aiming at the liquidation of the Palestine question and denying the national rights of the Palestinian people.

The Foreign Ministers called on the Security Council to adopt a resolution that embodies the principles and resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly relevant to the Palestinian question and the Middle East, and in particular, resolution No. 3236 (D-29). In this context, the Ministers referred to the contribution granted by "the United Nations Special Committee on the exercising of the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights", to the Palestinian question. The Ministers

affirmed that Israel's continued refusal to co-operate with this Committee reaffirms Israel's persistence in defying the will of the international community and international legitimacy, and preventing the Palestinian people, from practising their national and inalienable rights, a matter which makes the situation more explosive in the region, and poses a threat to international peace and security.

The Ministers recalled that the Colombo Conference reaffirmed that Zionism represented a form of racism and racial discrimination, and that it appealed to the Non-aligned countries to bear this fact in mind at its meeting in the International Conference for condemning Racism and Racial Discrimination to be convened in Geneva in August 1978. The Ministers called for work during the thirty third session of the United Nations General Assembly, to call for the convening of a special session to be consecrated to the study of the Palestine question, with a view to adopting measures leading to the implementation of the United Nations resolutions relevant to the withdrawal from Palestine and Arab occupied lands, and the realisation of the national, and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The Foreign Ministers called for an annual commemoration of the 29th of November as of 1978, as an international day for solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Minister's Message

PALESTINE VITAL FOR PEACE

The General Assembly of the United Nations decided last year that November 29th should be observed as the International Day of solidarity with the Palestinian people. This was done not only because of the deep concern that the question of Palestine continue to remain unsolved, but also because without a solution of the Palestinian question there can be no peace in the Middle East problem. On this day I wish to associate with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations which over the years have reaffirmed that the Palestinian people have the right to return to their homeland, exercise their inalienable national rights, assert their sovereignty over their territory and establish themselves as an independent Palestinian entity. I do hope an early solution would be found and the Palestinian people will reach out to freedom in the near future.

Mr. A. C. S. Hameed.
(Minister of Foreign Affairs)

NEXT WEEK

- ① A CHRISTMAS LONG AGO
—In Trimmer
 - ① ANOTHER CHRISTMAS
—In Nigeria
 - ① A CHRISTMAS DREAM
—In Sri Lanka
-

THE WORLD TODAY

IRAN

SHAH'S BIRTHDAY

Time, 6th November 1978.

It was hardly an auspicious 59th birthday last week for the Shah of Iran. Under mounting opposition from critics of his regime, the Shah has been forced into a radical reassessment of his priorities. In recent weeks, strikes by workers angered over the country's inflation rate (currently 50%) have paralysed the nationalized oil refineries, postal services, airline and copper and steel industries. The nation's balance of payments deficit exceeds \$ 5.5 billion. To pay for an across-the-board wage increase for at least 1 million workers, and for subsidized housing and other social projects, the Shah has cancelled \$ 7 billion worth of American and European military orders, including the controversial US AWAC airborne warning system, 1000 British Chief-tain tanks and six West German submarines. He is also scrapping plans to build 20 nuclear plants, a modern railroad and a subway system for Tehran.

Despite such spartan measures, there is increasing doubt among both knowledgeable Iranians and Western diplomats that the Shah will be able to survive as ruler of the 57-year-old Pahlavi dynasty. In recent days, 64 members of the royal family, including the Shah's brothers and sisters and in-laws, have fled the country for their own safety. On the eve of his birthday, the Shah released 1,451 prisoners, including 1,126 political detainees. Still, demonstrations and rioting continued across the country; 1,200 people, by conservative estimates, have died in clashes with military troops since

August. The Shah remains committed to political reforms that will lead to parliamentary elections next June.



CAN THE SHAH SURVIVE?

Time, November 13, 1978.

Can the Shah survive? Will strikes and slowdowns lead from near anarchy to total chaos? Where is Iran going?

These were questions that plagued nervous Western diplomats as Iran—the oil-rich keystone to stability in volatile Central Asia—staggered through another week of turmoil and antigovernment demonstrations that have brought the economy to a virtual standstill. A walkout by 11,000 employees of Iran Air grounded all 162 daily flights of the country's flag airline; more serious was a strike by 37,000 workers at Iran's nationalized oil refineries, which initially reduced production from 6 million bbl. per day to about 1.5 million bbl. That strike not only cost the government about 560 million a day in oil revenues, but also suddenly raised the spectre of petroleum shortages in Japan, Israel, Western Europe and to a much lesser degree in the US; all these countries depend in part on Iranian crude.

At week's end some oil personnel were already back on the job. But the country's mood remained tense as troops with automatic weapons and tear-gas grenades fire on demonstrating students at Tehran University. The government said there were no deaths, but student groups claimed that 40 or more had been killed. Meanwhile, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi was consulting with leaders of the opposition on how to maintain order without jeopardizing the liberalization policies that he initiated last summer.

The oil workers' walkout climaxed two months of labour unrest that has spread to nearly every sector of the economy.... Since he announced his liberalisation measures, which are designed to culminate in free elections next June, the Shah and Premier Sharif-Emami have lifted restrictions on the formation of new political parties, curbed the activities of SAVAK, Iran's notorious secret police, and cracked down on widespread corruption among profiteering businessmen and former government officials. General Nematullah Nasiri, who was head of SAVAK for 13 years before he was fired last June, has now been brought back from his post as Ambassador to Pakistan reportedly to face charges of corruption and murder. The government will also press charges against Amir Abbas Hoveida, Premier from 1965 to 1977, who has been accused by the opposition of wasting uncounted millions in public funds.

On October 25, eve of the Shah's 59th birthday, 1,126 'political prisoners were released, bring the total to more than 2,700 over the past two months. Many of the former inmates immediately went to newspapers with grim tales of the tortures to which they had been subjected. Last week, for the first time, Iranians read about the horrors that much of the rest of the world already knew; the "Apollo machines," a chair in which prisoners were tied while their feet were slashed and they were tortured with electric shock; the "helmet" a metal apparatus designed to make the victim's screams reverberate inside his head; and such practices as hanging women prisoners named from the ceiling and burning them with cigarettes. So shocking were the disclosures that newly appointed Justice Minister Hussein Najafi immediately promised the release of Iran's remaining political

prisoners, believed to number about 1000. In addition 34 top officials of SAVAK were dismissed.....



SHAH CALLS IN THE ARMY

Time, November 20, 1978.

The tone was contrite. The words were conciliatory. The old imperial arrogance was gone. "Your revolutionary message has been heard," said Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, "I am aware of everything you have given your lives for. I commit myself to make up for past mistakes, to fight corruption and injustice, and to form a national government to carry out free elections." The speech was unprecedented for Iran's proud autocrat. It reminded some history-conscious observer of the last days of Imperial Russia's Czar Nicholas II in 1917, or France's King Louis XVI trying to stem the revolutionary fervor that was eventually to sweep him from his throne in 1792. In a televised address to his rebellious country, the Shah announced that he was placing strife and strike torn Iran under temporary military rule. Simultaneously, however, he pledged to meet virtually all the demands of his regime's opposition—all, that is, except for his own abdication from the Peacock Throne.

The Shah's decision to call in the military came after a weekend of savage rioting in the capital, Tehran. The violence followed a period of frantic but unsuccessful efforts by the Shah to put together a coalition government that would include members of the opposition National Front, an alignment of moderate political groups as well as the two leading Muslim religious leaders, the Ayatullahs Khomeini and Sharietmadari. On Saturday night, students at the University of Tehran tore down a statue of the Shah that stood

at the entrance to their campus. Iranian soldiers, who had been under orders to use restraint since the "Black Friday" demonstrations on Sept. 8 that left hundreds dead, suddenly turned tough and fired into the crowd, killing eight and wounding 82.

Next day thousands of students who had gathered at the university to mourn the head surged through its gates into downtown Tehran. They burned buildings, sacked hotels, stoned cinemas, bars, liquor stores and airline offices, which have come to be reviled by both leftists and religious rightists as detested symbols of Western economic domination. This time the troops did nothing. The Shah decided it was time to act. He asked for the resignation of Premier Jaafar Shariff-Emami and his ten-week-old government. On Sunday evening, the Shah named General Gholam Reza Azhari, 61, a career officer who has been Chief of Staff of the armed forces since 1971, as Premier and head of a new Cabinet composed of nine military leaders and twelve civilians.

The new Premier declared that "the main program of my government is to re-establish an all-embracing peace and security through a campaign against financial and social corruption to an extent that will convince all honest Iranians." Corruption has emerged as one of the most inflammatory issues of the crisis, and the general wasted no time. More than 35 prominent Iranian officials, including Amir Abbas Hoveida, 59, the Shah's Premier from 1965 to 1977, and General Nematullah Nasiri, 71, former head of SAVAK, Iran's dreaded secret police, were arrested and held for trial on charge of corruption and abuse of powers. At week's end the government also arrested Karim Sanjabi, leader of the opposition's National Front,

and ordered troops to help man the stricken oilfields.

The Shah announced that a special commission would investigate charges of financial manipulations that have enriched the royal family. Earlier this fall, he ordered his relatives to divest themselves of any financial interest in government enterprises. Since then 64 members of the royal family—all except the Shah, Empress Farah and their three youngest children—have left the country, presumably taking their riches with them. The Shah said that a second commission would look into the Pahlavi Foundation, a tax-free charitable organization with annual revenues estimated at \$500 million, which controls vast industrial and business holdings in the country.

For opponents of the Shah, the political moves were a case of too little and too late—and may well have reinforced their feeling that the monarch was on the ropes. As a high-ranking Iranian officer said, "The more you feed an alligator the bigger and hungrier it becomes.".....



US DILEMMA

Time, November 20, 1978.

Iran and the Shah's survival have become the Carter Administration's most urgent foreign policy priority. From Washington, *Time's* State Department Correspondent Christopher Ogden writes: Before the Shah put his country under military rule last week, American policymakers knew that his control was slipping fast. They gave him a fifty-fifty chance of surviving, and then only if he moved quickly to exert forceful authority. From Jimmy Carter on down, US officials saw the possible fall of the Shah as the first step toward total chaos that would ultimately lead

to increased Soviet influence on one of America's most strategically important allies.

Ironically, that concern puts the Administration in the position of supporting a tough military takeover and a crackdown to crush opposition to a dictator. But despite their occasional moralizing about human rights, Carter and his adviser are pragmatic. They are convinced that there was simply no alternative to military rule or to full support for the Shah. Already approved was the sale of more than \$ 250 million worth of tear gas and riot-control equipment. After meetings in the White House's subterranean situation room, the Administration announced its unequivocal backing of the Shah. There was not much more the US could do. In 1953 the CIA put the Shah back in power, but 25 years later a more circumspect CIA did not have the power to keep him there. The US would have preferred a civilian coalition government, but was hardly surprised when the Shah was unable to form one. After all, one major cause of the unrest had been his failure to broaden political participation.....

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THE MILITARY IN CHARGE

Time, 27, Nov. 1978.

Hundreds of tanks and armoured cars thundered through the streets of Teheran last week, as US-made Phantom jets screamed through the skies overhead. In a powerful show of force, the Iranian armed forces rolled out their heaviest armament and other flashiest regiments for the annual armed forces day parade—hunkered down in a new determination to preserve his throne the Shah was inexplicably absent from the ceremonies and failed to take the customary salute. Nonetheless, for

the first time in the past two months, the capital appeared to have recovered a semblance of normality. Sporadic violence and protest demonstrations persisted in some outlying provinces, but most of the country's striking workers went back to their jobs, including employees of Iran Air, as well as transportation, communications, customs and steel personnel. So did most of Iran's striking oil workers, who were given an ultimatum: Return to work or lose your jobs. Although slowdowns in some refineries and rigs continued, oil production at week's end had rebounded to 3.2 million bbl. per day, more than half the prestrike output. Officials of the National Iranian Oil Co., hoped to have production back to normal within two weeks. The return-to-work movement was far from enthusiastic, and the country's 10 million students and 400,000 teachers, as well as newspaper reports in Teheran, were still out on strike in support of their demands for political reforms and an end to martial law and press censorship. Teheran's normality thriving bazaar was still locked up tight. The merchants had shuttered their shops, three months ago out of respect for Ayatollah Khomeini the exiled leader of Iran's 34 million Shiite Muslims and the spearhead of anti-Shah dissent.....

..Fulfilling its promise to crack down on corruption, Premier Azhari's government issued warrants for the arrest of ten multimillionaires, including Senator Ali Rezaei, a steel industry mogul. The government was also trying to put Iran's lurching economy back into high gear. Since the oil wells were shut down three weeks ago, more than \$1 billion has been lost in revenues. As a result, Iran's international credit standing is in a shambles. Last month the coun

try could obtain Eurocurrency credits on highly favourable terms. 'Today', observed an American banker in London, 'the Shah could not raise money on international currency markets for any period, any amount or at any price. Iran is shut out at least until the oil flow is back to normal and the political situation is cleared up.'.."

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CRACKS IN THE ARMY

*From a Special Correspondent
Tehran, December 4, 1978.*

The Iranian army has been the Shah's bedrock of support. Right from the beginning, the army was the pampered favourite and with the Army the Shah had maintained his autocratic rule without difficulty. But, this is no longer true. The army is no longer able to browbeat the people into silence and total obedience. The days when the army was able to do this are over. But, it is still, in the main, loyal to the Shah.

The *Time* magazine of November 27. (stray copies reach us now), had this to say of the Army: "Every morning the 413,000 members of Iran's armed forces recite a pledge of allegiance to *Xoda, Shan, Mihan* (Persian for God, Shah and Fatherland). Significantly, in this tripartite loyalty oath, King comes before country. Iran's army, navy and increasingly sophisticated air forces have two missions. One is to defend a nation ringed by potential enemies. The other is to protect the person, prestige and power to Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who once observed, 'In this country, if the King is not the commander in chief of the armed forces, anything can happen.' As commander in chief, the Shah has created an impressive military force that one Pentagon expert sums up as 'effective,

still on a learning curve with some new weapons and, above all, loyal.' Apart from a few army units that crossed the Persian Gulf in 1974 to help the Sultanate of Oman put down a rebellion by the Dhofor rebels, or served with United Nations peacekeeping forces, Iran's military has not been tested in combat, but it is awesomely equipped. In the past two decades, Iran has bought \$ 36 billion in weaponry, most of it from Britain and the US. The total includes 2,200 tanks, 400 jet fighters, nearly 30 naval vessels, as well as air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles. Iran, moreover, is one of the few nations in the world to have a fleet of military hovercraft. Although latest crisis forced the Shah to delay or cancel \$7 billion in current purchases, about \$ 12 billion worth of equipment is in the delivery pipeline, including 160 advanced F-16 US jet fighters. (Ironically, the army had not stockpiled grenades, tear gas and other weapons to use against demonstrators and had to order emergency supplies from the US).....".

This now legendary loyalty was bought at great cost in monetary terms. To cite the *Time* again: "The military is rewarded for its devotion. Officers pay ranges from \$2,000 a month for lieutenants to a high of \$ 70,000 a year for generals. In addition, officers receive modern housing with servants, vacation quarters and PX privileges that enable them to buy hard-to-find luxury items without paying normally high taxes on them. Privates on long-term enlistments receive \$ 400 a month and sergeants \$ 1000; conscripts, who constitute only 20% of the force, get the equivalent of a dollar a day (Iran's civilian per capita income: \$ 2,200 a year). Barracks are modern, food is good and furloughs are generous, the army even provides its troops with their

own mosques and movie theatres.. There may be under-the-table perquisites as well for favoured officers. In 1976 Rear Admiral Ramzi Abbas Ata'i was found guilty of embezzling \$ 25 million and fined \$ 3.7 millions.....".

With all this tender care and generous remuneration, the Shah believed that he had created a permanent army of robots who would blindly attack his enemies with total disregard for their own lives. In order to be sure of his total control of the army the Shah infiltrated it with his "eyes and ears," the dreaded SAVAK secret police, which identified and liquidated all politically unreliable elements. The Shah (and his American advisers) still seem to believe that the army is still an obedient tool in his hands. That view was so far borne out by experience. Whenever disturbances threatened the throne the Shah had always let loose his army and gave the matter no more thought. True, from time to time, discontent was reported in the army and young nationalist-minded officers and men refused to carry out the Shah's orders. The discontent was particularly strong in 1975 when several pilots refused to take part in the punitive expedition against the uprising in Dofar and were executed. But on the whole, the disaffection and disloyalty were sporadic and could not be construed as a serious threat to the Shah.

Things are different today. The current disturbances in Iran have been continuing for almost a year and they have spread like wild fire with each passing month. What is happening in Iran now is clearly not an isolated Marxist conspiracy but a veritable massive popular discontent; the people would not take any more of the

Shah's dictatorship. The disturbances have also demonstrated that while the army is still on the face of it the regime's defender, there have emerged facts to indicate that everything in the army is not as rosy as before for the Shah. There have been reports of numerous desertions and of soldiers refusing to shoot their brothers and sisters. It is no longer the same army.

It is now known that an underground organisation called "Vahdote Nelli" (National Unity) is active in the army. It is centered around radicals from among both officers and men. The organisations has contacts with opposition elements among Moslem clergy and the middle classes and its goal is to topple the Shah and proclaim an Islamic Republic.

Aware of such sentiments in the army the Shah had, not very long ago, unleashed a purge in the army with the help of SAVAK and some top officers. Numerous arrests were made. It is hard to say what the army opposition will be able to do, and whether it will implement its plans despite the SAVAK, or will fail. One thing is absolutely clear however. Cracks have appeared and multiply every day in this formerly stable pillar of the throne. And more cracks have appeared in the monolith the army was a few years ago. The Shah is feverishly seeking a way out of the present impasse. Even the *Time* magazine of November 13 had noted: "One inhibiting factor may be the top echelon's doubt that rank-and-file troops would support their commanders if ordered to attack protesters with bullets and bayonets. Moreover, 'Shooting Iran into political silence,' as one Tehran newspaper put it, would probably

fail. Many Western experts believe that the Shah's only hope of calming the unrest is to step aside in favour of his son.....".

American advisers in Teheran and Washington know the dangers of rabid nationalistic and radical ideas and have taken measures to put a lid on the ferment in the army and to prevent the spread of left-wing ideas amongst the military. A group of US experts has arrived in Iran, specialising in combatting left-wing elements. They train Iranian units in methods of demonstration control, particularly by using rubber-bullet guns and electric clubs. That group has been followed by Assistant Secretary of Defence Charles Dunken and a Gen. Gurnes from the Pentagon. The two have informed the Iranian military command that the USA would undertake to give Iran, and even grant, military assistance if the Iranian High Command "demonstrated determination to put out the dangerous consequences of the situation obtaining in Iran."

Iranian generals are now wondering what that phrase really means: should it be interpreted as a call for using the army against the people or as a hint that it is up to the army to sacrifice the Shah for the sake of stability? On the first count the generals are not ready as yet. On the second—why would the Americans seek the general's agreement when the army swarms with American military advisers with Vietnam behind many of them?

Here in Teheran, it is all confusion. Nobody knows what will happen next. People are learning to co-exist with crisis. Mighty demonstrations are being planned all over Iran on the crucial days of Mohuram. Anti-American sentiments have enveloped country. There can be no going back.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Nov. 30—Dec. 6

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.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30:

The President yesterday invoked the Public Security Act with the full concurrence of Opposition leaders Mr. A. Amirthalingam of the TULF and Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike of the SLFP to carry out more effectively the reconstruction and rehabilitation programs of the government following the recent cyclonic disaster; the PM who announced this in Parliament said the Act would apply to the Colombo Harbour and the Katunayake Airport through which massive foreign assistance was coming into the country; the Act would also cover Batticaloa, Amparai and Polonnaruwa so that reconstruction and rehabilitation could be carried out without being hampered by normal regulations and laws. A spokesman of the Department of Metereology said that there was absolutely no truth in the rumour being spread in Colombo that there was a possibility of another cyclone hitting Sri Lanka. Food supplies are adequately maintained in the cyclone affected areas and the bulk of the supplies are distributed free. Public transport services to the cyclone affected

areas are fast returning to normal. The Trade Minister said on Tuesday that he did not envisage a price increase in the price of sugar at least for another year unless there is a world calamity—CDN. The acting Minister of Education and Higher Education has plans to introduce a free mid-day meal of rice and curry to students in schools. Rs. 3.6 million of the monies in the Times of Ceylon Employees Provident Fund had been squandered. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike and Mr. Harris Hulugalle were responsible for the chaotic state the Times had been in said the PM in Parliament yesterday. The Acting Minister of Higher Education yesterday ordered that all schools in the cyclone and flood affected areas be closed—CDM. SLFP Leader Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike yesterday called on all sections of the people to rise above party politics and assist the government to bring relief to those stricken during the recent cyclone. The Dutch government has given a massive grant of cyclone relief aid to the value of one million Guilders (rupees 7.59) million. The holding of the GCE'O' level examination as scheduled on December 12 is now in the balance. 1000 tons of rice meant for export has been requisitioned by the Food Department and is being distributed to prevent any price rise due to the cyclone—SU. A decision to re-open the Kelani Valley railway line was taken recently—IDPR No. 174. The government of Sri Lanka has this week taken the decision to adopt a four-tiered Press Bulletin Service which is a great step forward in the direction of news transmission in the Asia region—IDPR No. 175. The Ministry of Trade and Shipping has taken steps to import building materials to rebuild houses and buildings destroyed by the cyclone—DM. In the first seven months of this

year rice imports have gone down by 70%—LD. The Income Tax Department has collected Rs. 32 million from business places which had undeclared funds when they raided 800 such places. The Minister of Fisheries has decided to set up a scientific and research centre with Japanese aid to implement a scheme to rear fish in the coastal areas. The Ministry of Textiles has decided to cut down on synthetic textile imports as 90% of the local requirement can now be produced locally—DV. A Tamil technician in Jaffna who helped the CID in their investigations into the AVRO blasting affair has been shot dead by two youths in Jaffna—WK. Soviet bloc governments have called their Ambassadors home from Bucharest in a dramatic sharpening of tension with Romania. Visiting Lebanese President Elias Sarkis secured France's military and political support to end civil strife and restore stability in his country. Leaders of Rhodesia's biracial government dampened hopes of progress from the latest peace initiative as a machine gun attack in a White suburb in Salisbury brought the guerilla war even closer. The people of China were told yesterday a free speech campaign had been launched in Peking and that it had the approval of the country's popular Vice PM Teng Hsiao-ping—CDM. The Pakistan Muslim League, major component in the multi-party Pakistan National Alliance sharing the country's martial law government split threatening the political support enjoyed by the Junta. India's ruling Janata Party won a key parliamentary by-election in what is seen as a setback for the Congress party of former PM Indira Gandhi. The Iranian government banned all processions traditionally held in Moharrum the Islamic month of religious activities beginning December 2—SU.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1: The Minister of Foreign Affairs announ-

ced in parliament that Sri Lanka is taking initiatives as the current head of the non-aligned movement to despatch a team from the non-aligned world to meet leaders of the oil producing countries and OPEC to make a case for our country in the light of a threatened price in oil. A US military survey team has arrived in Sri Lanka to determine the magnitude of the recent cyclone disaster. The deputy Director of Highways said that the damage to highways by the cyclone is the worst in the history of the island. The Tamil Nadu government has decided to contribute Rs. Ten Lakhs worth of goods, like rice and clothes, to Sri Lanka people as cyclone relief, subject to the Centre's approval. A massive rehabilitation program with the bulk of the aid from Norway is to begin soon for fishermen in the cyclone and flood affected areas; millions of rupees worth of fishing boats and gear and buildings of the Fisheries Corporation have been destroyed. Parliament yesterday passed without any discussion the votes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs perhaps for the first time in the history of our legislature—CDN. Two students of the Colombo campus of the university of Sri Lanka had their registrations cancelled yesterday for ragging a Roman catholic priest who is a fresher; this means that they will not be allowed to sit the examination or obtain a university degree. The PM rushed three teams of officials to Batticaloa, Amparai and Polonnaruwa for an on-the-spot survey of damage to houses caused by the recent cyclone; this is the first in a series of moves to assist in the rebuilding of damaged houses and public buildings—CDM. The government yesterday initiated moves to set up island-wide tourist bureaus to cover all matters pertaining to tourist activity. The Minister of

State yesterday called upon parliamentarians not to condemn police officers or demand their transfer. Messages were received by the President from leaders of several countries conveying their sympathies to the thousands who died or were rendered homeless after the cyclone disaster last week—SU. Preliminary investigations have revealed that 7 million rupees worth of foodstuffs like flour, sugar and rice etc. have been destroyed by the cyclone. The President has called upon the personnel of all three forces for service in the districts—DP. The PM said in Parliament that eight lakhs of people were affected by the recent cyclone—EN. The commissioner of Co-operatives has asked the government for tax concessions to run the multi-purpose co-operative societies as they will have to be shut down because of the government's policy to strengthen the private sector—ATH. Iran's judicial authorities are to investigate a list of more than 100 prominent Iranians said by Central Bank employees to have transferred more than two billion dollars out of the country recently. Two powerful Ethiopian army columns striking at Keren from the South and the West drove the Eritrean guerillas from their last major stronghold—CDM. The International Conference for the setting up of a raw material fund was still far from reaching agreement and argued about the next favourable date to negotiations—SU.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2:

The government has decided to appoint five Vice-Chancellors to head the new Universities which will be set up when the University Act becomes effective; Prof. K. W. Gunawardene, Colombo University, Prof. S. Vidyandanan, Jaffna University, Associate Prof. Tilak Ratnakara, Kelaniya University and

Prof. K. Jinadasa Perera, Sri Jayewardenepura University (at present Vidyodaya Campus) Five heads of missions presented contributions to the President's Fund for cyclone relief yesterday to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Sweden 5.25 million in addition to an earlier contribution of 700,000 by the Swedish Red Cross, an additional 1.75 million will be made bringing the total to 7.7 million; Republic of Korea Rs. 155,000; Maldives Rs. 10,000; Libyan Arab Jamahiriya 1.55 million and UNDP Rs. 500,000. Three to four hundred million rupees will be required to restore normal living conditions in the cyclone and flood ravaged districts according to the Coordinating Secretariat. Several planes have rushed to Sri Lanka with aid from abroad for cyclone victims. Hitachi, one of the largest business establishments in Japan contributed one million Japanese Yen to the President's Fund for cyclone relief—CDN. Admissions to the six universities in 1979 will be on the basis of 30 percent for merit, 55 percent according to the population ratio in each of the administrative districts and 15 percent from the under privileged areas. The GCE 'O' Level examination will be postponed in the cyclone and flood devastated areas. The Sri Lanka Airforce deployed over 300 airmen for relief operations for the cyclone and flood victims—CDM. Police HQ's yesterday began making an official count to ascertain the number of persons dead due to last week's cyclone havoc. The UN disaster relief Organisation said in Geneva that the cyclone in Sri Lanka has claimed at least 1500 victims—SU. 5,100 students will be admitted to the university for the next academic year and their names will be known in six week's time—DP. The Chairman of the SLBC said that the SLBC which ran at

an annual loss of Rs. 3 million has earned profits of Rs. 20 million last year—LD. The Nedakto organisation has pointed out that as the accelerated Mahaweli Project had a number of defects, they were unable to recommend aid for this project—JD. New steps on investigating the royal family's wealth and freeing political prisoners were announced by Iran's military-led government last night in an apparent bid to appease anti-Shah opposition amid fears of possible fresh political violence. Nicaragua's political opposition announced it agreed to plebiscite on the future of President Anastasio Somoza as proposed by international mediation team—CDN. The *Times* and *Sunday Times* London suspended publication pending agreement with labour unions to end print disruption—CDM. Tense curiosity and worry characterise the mood in Namibia a few days before the elections begin for a constitutional assembly which S. Africa unilaterally set earlier this year. Former Indian PM Indira Gandhi may be tried by a special court for alleged excesses stemming from the state of emergency she imposed in 1975 the country's Supreme Court ruled in New Delhi on Friday—SU.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3:

The cockpit voice recorder and the flight data recorder (black box) of the Loftleider Icelandic Airways DC-8 which crashed seconds outside the Katunayake International Airport earlier this month will be flown to Australia for expert analysis and interpretation. The well known French India Africa line has decided to use Colombo as a trans-shipment port to West Africa. A high powered delegation from Sri Lanka leaves for Hong Kong today to present the investment potential in Sri Lanka at a seminar of leading Hongkong businessmen organised by the Hong

Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. The total contributions towards the President's cyclone Relief Fund stood at over 3 million yesterday—SO. The PM is of the view that every effort should be made to mobilise the maximum resources available for the rehabilitation of the cyclone victims right now when there is a wave of sympathy among the people; he expressed fears that as days pass public enthusiasm and sympathy might wane and the securing of assistance could be difficult. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Mr. M. G. Ramachandran is expected here on December 7; he will meet the President and hand over his government's contribution for the relief of cyclone victims. The proposed Sri Lanka International Airlines is expected to be established without any tie up with other international airlines. The government has decided to hold an inquiry into the allegations made by the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs on the discrepancies in the marking of the GCE 'A' Level answer scripts—ST. Though a Presidential order has been given to issue free rations for a period of three months in addition to a grant of Rs. 500 to the cyclone victims and a massive quantity of aid has been airlifted to Sri Lanka from various parts of the globe, red tape and bureaucratic bungling has tied up the distribution to such an extent that the actual flow to the worst affected areas is a mere trickle while in others the supply is far in excess of demand. President has detailed four senior government officials to visit the areas affected by the last week's cyclone and make an on-the-spot review of the relief work in these respective areas—WK. The Eastern Province which was badly affected by the cyclone is still in a bad state with transport, health and

food distribution still dislocated. The government is considering a plan to completely rebuild all the towns which were destroyed by the recent cyclone and not try to repair what is left. Malaysia has gifted five power saws to Sri Lanka. Plantation workers have decided to forgo one day's pay for the cyclone victims—CM. About 7.5 million children below the age of five are doomed to die every year in developing countries from poverty, malnutrition, disease and ignorance Philippines Health Minister said. An early resumption of peace treaty talks between Egypt and Israel appeared likely last night after an urgent appeal by President Carter. Demonstrators in Central Tehran claimed that more than 1000 people were killed in anti-Shah religious rioting last night. Spanish doctors claimed they had successfully transplanted a human testicle—SO. US authorities announced yesterday that six Serbians have been indicted on a charge of plotting to assassinate President Tito of Yugoslavia during a visit to Washington last month—ST. Dismay and criticism was the general reaction in London on Friday at the suspension of publication by the *Times*, Britain's oldest and most prestigious newspaper for an indefinite period—WK.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4: This morning President Jayewardene will be given a full report of the situation in the cyclone affected areas compiled by a special team sent by the President to the east yesterday. Many Sri Lankans abroad are to assist their country following the cyclone disaster; in some countries they have already begun collecting funds and more will do so. A directive by the Minister of Education and Higher Education to set up three new campuses to the university of Sri Lanka will come up before the Grants Com-

mission—CDN. Sri Lanka will soon be able to direct dial 50 countries spread throughout the globe—CDM. Police have set up barriers at entry and exit points to Batticaloa following reports that large stocks of food rushed to cyclone affected areas were being frittered away to Jaffna and Colombo by unscrupulous traders. Several leading international airlines have responded to a request by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to offer free freight facilities for cargo consigned to Sri Lanka to aid cyclone victims. Many of the families affected by the cyclone will receive an outright grant of Rs. 600 in cash the Minister of Social Services announced in Batticaloa—SU. The TULF will also help Justice Minister Devanayagam by aiding the rehabilitation committee set up to help victims of the cyclone. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran has postponed his visit to Sri Lanka—VK. The number of houses damaged by the cyclone in Polonnaruwa, Amparai and Batticaloa district is now estimated to be about 1,25,000. The Puttalam Cement Factory has been severely damaged by the cyclone and lakhs of Rs. worth of salt has been dissolved by flood waters—LD. The Ministry of Social Service has calculated the damages caused by the cyclone at Rs. 2000 million approximately—DM. Four specialists from Holland who pointed out defects in the accelerated Mahaweli Project have resigned from the posts because of disagreements with local specialists—JD. A major revolt is in the offing in Indian PM Morarji Desai's cabinet because of his reluctance to consider measures to improve the image and performance of his government according to *Sunday Standard*; it said the Industries Minister George Fernandes has already submitted his resignation from the

government and six other leading members of Mr. Desai's cabinet including Foreign Minister Vajpayee were on the verge of doing so. Several Chinese politicians criticised on wall posters have appeared in public in recent days and this is seen as a fairly sure sign that no major changes in China's inner leadership will occur for the time being—CDN. Algerian President Boumedienne in a coma for two weeks has shown no improvement and his condition is critical—CDM. West German Interior Minister Baum has asked the ten federal states to take in a larger number of refugees from Indo China than already planned—SU.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5:

The President inaugurating the Annual 34th Sessions of the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science said that politicians and scientists must work together and the results depend on how their ideas are put into practice and the way the institutions through which they work are managed. The British government has promised Sri Lanka considerable assistance in the way of roofing material, medical equipment and other cyclone relief assistance after talks Finance Minister de Mel had with British leaders—CDN. The food position in the cyclone affected areas, supply and distribution wise is extremely satisfactory; the special team sent by the President to these areas is understood to have made these observations. The World Bank is likely to come to the assistance of Sri Lanka to help rehabilitate cyclone-battered areas said the Resident Representative of the UNDP in Sri Lanka. The selection of 5,100 candidates for admission to the six autonomous universities in 1979 will commence today and be completed in six weeks—CDM. Chief of the Asia and Pacific section of the UN Disaster Relief Organi-

sation said the situation in cyclone-affected areas is improving rapidly; the emerging relief will end this week with refugees having a roof over their heads, healthy water supply, quick medical attention and power supplied to hospitals. President has appointed Brigadier Tissa Weeraratunga and Captain Rakkitha Wikramanayake as Competent Authorities to the Colombo airport at Katunayake under Emergency regulations. Sarvodaya movement has come forward to rehabilitate 80 villages ravaged by the recent cyclone; it will also reconstruct all the damaged school buildings in the Polonnaruwa area—SU. The President and the PM will visit the cyclone devastated areas this weekend—VK. A committee to help the cyclone victims in the east has sprung up in the north; it comprises mainly TULF MP's and they will send volunteers to assist in these areas—DP. A report published by a special committee of the US Senate on CIA activities has named five Sri Lanka journalists, four of them in Lake House as CIA agents—ATH. A poster went up in Peking this weekend calling for the open trial of the Gang of Four and their henchmen as large crowds continued to gather to read statements pasted on 'democracy wall'. Radio Hanoi yesterday announced the creation of an anti-Phnom Penh guerilla movement called the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation—CDN. The Israeli Cabinet yesterday agreed on the outlines of a crucial message responding to President Sadat's proposals for reviving peace treaty negotiations. S. Yemen President yesterday dismissed claims that the Soviet Union had a marine base in the Port of Aden—CDM. Police in Windhoek arrested five leaders of the internal wing of the SWAPO following pre-election bomb blasts on Saturday which injured 14 people in the Namibian capital.

Iranian Shiite Muslim leader Ruholla Khomeini called on Iranian soldiers to join the struggle against the Shah—SU.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6:

Two policemen were shot dead and another critically wounded when gunmen robbed the Nailur Branch of the People's Bank, Jaffna of over one million rupees in a daring daylight raid yesterday; according to first reports the armed gang had rushed into the bank about 10.30 am when the manager was removing cash Rs. 1,180,000 which was to be despatched to the People's Bank at Main Street Jaffna where the surplus collections are deposited. The IGP, Mr. Ana Seneviratne flew last evening to Jaffna to direct investigations into the murder of the two police constables. The National Water Supply and Drainage Board and the Colombo Municipal Council have planned a new scheme of distributing and supplying water to residences in the Colombo Municipality—CDN. The President has directed the re-employment of bank employees who were recruited by the previous government after the dissolution of Parliament and were discontinued after the present government came to power—CDM. President Jayewardene has invited Mr. Daniel Moi President of the Republic of Kenya to visit Sri Lanka. About 500 regulars of the Sri Lanka Army will leave for Batticaloa and Amparal today to begin rehabilitation work there. The Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Highways has said that the damage caused by the recent floods was about Rs. 500 lakhs. The government has sent out a stern warning against state employees who get drunk while on duty—SU. The 23 convicts who did not run away from the Batticaloa jail even when they had the opportunity during the

cyclone will be released—DP. The Cabinet will today consider a proposal to grant Rs. 750 as cyclone relief to persons who were affected—VK. The State Trading Corporation has been unable to sell Rs. 8 million worth of goods including car spare parts imported recently—DV. The Minister of Transport has decided to allow private bus companies to operate on five routes in Colombo and the suburbs—LD. The four big trade unions in the CTB have protested to the Minister of Transport on his decision to permit private bus companies to compete with the CTB—JD. Shooting erupted in Tehran yesterday as the government denied foreign press reports that a regency council would be formed to take over from the Shah of Iran. The US expressed deep concern yesterday at the arrest in Namibia of six officials of the SWAPO guerilla organisation and the violence that preceded their detention—CDN. Mobs of students went on the rampage in the Northeastern Indian city of Bihar yesterday burning down colleges, buildings and railway stations in protest against the reservation of government jobs for untouchables—CDM. Former Home Minister Charan Singh turned down Indian PM Morarji Desai's offer to become the number two man in the cabinet without the charge of the Home Ministry. PM Morarji Desai has called for maximum punishment against former PM Indira Gandhi for breach of privilege and contempt of the lower house—SU.



Confidentially

More About The FTZ

IS IT NOT A FACT that the *Sun* of Thursday, December 1, had as its main front-page lead the story that GCEC MEMBERS MAY RESIGN—FOLLOWING DIFFERENCES OF OPINION. The report by Iqbal Athas stated: "The Government is likely to call upon all five members of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission to resign to enable President, J. R. Jayewardene, to reconstitute it. The move comes in the wake of serious differences of opinion that have arisen among the members in regard to policy, administration and allied matters. The crisis reached a peak recently necessitating the intervention of President Jayewardene under whose purview this premier body functions. Efforts to reconcile the warring factions, it is learnt, did not meet with much success in view of the complicated issues involved. The *Sun* learns that the GCEC impasse was discussed at length at yesterday's weekly Cabinet meeting. The five-member Commission is headed by Mr. Upali Wijewardene, Director General and includes Mr. E. P. Paul Perera, Deputy Director-General (Administration), Dr. Sivali Ratwatte, Deputy Director-General (Investments), Mr. A. Y. S. Gnanam and Mr. Alavi Macan Markar. Mr. Wijewardene and Dr. Ratwatte are now away in Hong Kong attending a seminar on Sri Lanka's Export Promotion Zone sponsored by the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Mr. Perera is presently in New Delhi as a member of an official delegation assisting Shipping and Trade

Minister, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali who is holding bilateral economic talks with the Indian Government. The GCEC which supervises the setting up of one of Government's high priority projects, the Free Trade Zone, which was established on January 31 this year. It has been able to attract Rs. 1.6 billion in investments to the FTZ in 46 industrial projects approved so far...."

IS IT ALSO NOT A FACT that what the *Sun* seems to have missed is that some Cabinet Ministers had strongly expressed the view that it would be imprudent to "sack" the entire GCEC Board by calling for their resignations in order to reconstitute it as such a step might undermine confidence of international financial circles in the GCEC? That it was also felt that some way should be found to "settle" the "differences" among the members of the Board and thus continue to present an image of a good and stable Board to the investing world? That this sentiment had gained support and reports indicate that Cabinet decided to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the President to decide what should be done with the GCEC Board? That it will be up to him to reconstitute the Board or leave it as it is after composing the "differences" between the members? That it is no doubt an old device to let sleeping dogs lie and to give the impression to the international plutocracy that all is well with the GCEC? That whilst there is no doubt that the international investing plutocracy is an important factor in the economic development plans of Sri Lanka, the UNP must remember that its future as a political party is dependent on the voters of this country? That if the confidence of the voters of Sri Lanka is shaken by continuing tales of

monkey business in the FTZ, it is the UNP that will suffer at the next elections? That the voters will not tolerate the kind of corruption and skulduggery that seems to be rearing its head in the FTZ? That the President must put an end to the shady deals that seem to be cropping up more and more frequently in the FTZ—whether it is by reconstituting the Board or by "composing the differences" among the members—if he hopes to retain the confidence of the public in his *dharma* government?

That it is difficult to see how "differences" which arise from corruption versus anti-corruption conflicts can be composed without drastic surgery? That little by little a big dark cloud of corruption has begun to hang over the FTZ and it cannot be said that the President and the UNP have not been forewarned? That the little "benefits" the FTZ may bring to a few thousands in the form of employment will not be able to offset the scandal of a few dirty deals that brings millions in profit to a favoured few? That the big sharks operating in the FTZ seem to think that once technicalities and formalities are seemingly observed everything in the garden is well and good? That no fault can be found with the awarding of the contract to ASIAN EXPRESS CO. LTD at a Board meeting held in the bedroom of a sick Director because there was the requisite quorum as required by law and the rules. That the suspicions which have been aroused by the way the whole thing was done has left a stink that will gather momentum as more and more such deals are put through? That experience has shown that voters are never duped by the observance of mere formalities and legalities? That this is something that the bigwigs in the UNP must think about?

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