

# TRIBUNE





## LOCAL SUBSCRIPTION

Valid July 1, 1978

RATES: Post Free

Single Copy Rs. 2.00.

|              |            |             |            |
|--------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| One Year     | Rs. 100.00 | Two Years   | Rs. 185.00 |
| Six Months   | Rs. 55 00  | Three Years | Rs 260 00  |
| Three Months | Rs. 30.00  | Five Years  | Rs 425 00  |

### TRIBUNE

43 Dawson Street  
Colombo 2  
Tel: 33172

---

## FOR SALE

### The Life Of **Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan**

by

M. Vytilingam, B. A. (Lond)

*formerly Principal Hindu College, Chavakachcheri*

### IN TWO VOLUMES

Vol. 1 Rs. 30.00

Vol. 2 Rs. 40.00

*Inland Postage Free*

*Foreign Postage Extra*

Available From

**M. Vytilingam**

79/B, Browns Road, Jaffna  
Sri Lanka.



# Letter From The Editor

THE LADIES ON OUR COVER this week did themselves well without government-sponsored imports. The artist or artists who depicted them in frescoes in Sigiriya may have given free rein to their artistic instincts by showing them without part of their clothing. Or it may be that these particular ladies preferred to be in the Bikinis of that era. It is not our purpose to enter into a discussion of the way of life in the Sigiriya era. The point we want to make is that a great civilisation had flourished in Sri Lanka with a minimum of imports and exports or even none at all. Goods must have filtered in from neighbouring countries and a few items were carried away as from the then Lanka. That was all. But what is the situation today? We have entered a frightening period of indiscriminate imports that threaten to submerge and obliterate everything local and indigenous. There is no doubt a craze for imported goods in this country. The liberalisation of imports has resulted in a staggering amount of money on imports of luxuries definitely beyond the means of a developing nation like Sri Lanka. In less than five months Letters of Credit to the tune of Rs. 3,000 million have been opened. The impression created is that we are on an uncontrolled consumerist spending spree. However, according to government statistics only 1 percent of our total imports come under the category of luxury goods. A commentator, Andrew Scott in the Sun of June 23 summed up thus: "One cannot understand why there is a mad craze for imported food items such as Bombay onions and potatoes which could be very successfully grown locally. A whole generation of Sri Lankans have grown up without the craze for luxury food items and even older people who once yearned for these learned to live without them. However, with the liberalising of imports everyone seems to have developed a mania for imported goods. In the long run it is essential that any country should meet its food requirements from locally available food resources. Importing food items to counteract the effects of crop failures is a sensible thing. However, importing items without a control is unwise and is a great drain of our economy. This craze for imported goods has also created a sense of frustration in those who cannot afford to buy them....." Further, the Government has not thought it fit to reduce or remove completely the import duties on a large number of items in the hope that the importers would pass the benefits of the duty-cuts to the consumer. This, the Government hopes, would bring down the cost of living. Under the new dispensation even live animals, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats and poultry can be imported duty free. Earlier a duty of 100% was chargeable. The import duty on meat and edible offal of animals has been reduced from earlier 100% to only 5%. This is also the case with regard to dead poultry imports. All this is excellent, but what will the consequences be? Apart from the inevitable but devastating blow to the local livestock industry, rinderpest and other animal and poultry disease will also come freely into the country duty free. Why has this been done after one year of the Dharmista government? In that one year the Ministry of Trade had tried to control the price of meat by Draconian laws and punishment, it had failed. Thereafter, evidently in desperation it has made all imports duty free. If in this one year, the Ministry of Trade had co-operated (much more than now) with the Ministry of Agriculture & Lands and other Ministries that deal with production of food, there may have been no need for the removal of import duties. As it is, those who are endeavouring to produce meat, chicken and eggs will be badly hit by the new duty free imports of live and dead animals. A new start will have to be made, but it will be a long and painful process.

# TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review

Founded in 1954

**A Journal of Ceylon and  
World Affairs**

**Editor S. P. Amarasingam  
Every Saturday**

July 29, 1978

Vol. 23 No. 5

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,  
COLOMBO - 2.

## CONTENTS

### EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—One Year After—3 p. 2

### BETWEEN THE LINES

—Bonn Summit p. 6

### POLITICS OF THE WEEK

—Durayappah Case, Civil  
Disabilities Bill, Passports,  
China & Vietnam p. 9

### QUIDNUNCUS

—National Milk Board p. 12

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

—Carter's Cold War p. 13

### FOR THE RECORD

—In Africa p. 14

### ACID BOMB EXPLOSION-7

—First Day In School p. 18

### CARAVAN FAMILY-16

—Horse Plains p. 22

### INTRODUCING

—George Marzipan p. 23

### BOOK REVIEW

Ophthalmic Surgeon, Black  
American p. 25

### SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

—June 30—July 3 p. 28

### LETTER

—Police p. 31

### CONFIDENTIALLY

—Lalith's Open Economy p. 32



## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

### One Year After—3

ALL THE TAMASHAS to mark one year of the UNP rule are over. Perhaps the most significant event from our point of view, connected with these celebrations is the well-planned tree planting campaign launched by the Ministry of Agriculture, and Lands. A communique issued by the Ministry is worthy of record:

"The Agriculture Department and the Department of Forest Conservation will issue nearly 2.5 million fruit and timber plants for the National Tree Planting Campaign to be inaugurated by President J. R. Jayewardene on July 22 at the Mahamaluwa Kandy. The Forest Department has also arranged to issue plants to schools free of charge, subject to an upper limit of 20 plants to a school, a spokesman for the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands said yesterday. The variety of fruit plants available for issue will include citrus, lime, sapodilla, gauva, mandarine, rambutan, jak, and cashew while the forest plants will include teak, nedun, pihimbiya, satin, pinus caribaea, calamander, kohomba, mahogany, albizia, kumbuk and casuarina. Meanwhile owing to the alarming rate at which the country's forest reserves have been dwindling on account of the rapid opening of land for large-scale cultivation and anticipated clearing of jungles for projects like Mahaweli it has become necessary to mount a massive propaganda drive to draw public attention to the need to replant land, states the Ministry of Agriculture & Lands. In a communication to all Secretaries of Ministries the Ministry has called for their co-operation to make the National Tree-Planting Campaign a success. It states that

the Cabinet of Ministers has directed the Minister of Agriculture and Lands Mr. E. L. Senanayake to formulate a program of a permanent nature to replant land to prevent soil erosion as well as to meet fuel requirements. Unlike in previous years this program will be continued over a long period and the Minister has directed that whilst making every attempt to enlist public participation special emphasis should be paid to schools and public institutions. Mr. D. H. J. Abeygoonesekera, Additional Secretary, Development has asked all Government Agents to co-ordinate the Tree Planting Program in consultation with the MP of the area. All departments and corporations coming under the Agriculture Ministry have been ordered to extend their co-operation to all those who are participating in this national drive. The plants will be available from the Departmental farms, nurseries and their sales points. Where the distance from schools and other institutions to the Agriculture or Forest Department nurseries or sales centres is great the Department has arranged to stock planting material at Agrarian Services Centres too, he said."

What is important is that there is a conscious effort to follow up the planting. In the past, as we have often pointed out in the *Tribune* little or nothing was done to look after the trees that were planted. Over the last fifteen years and more *Tribune* has carried on a consistent campaign not only to stop the wanton de-forestation especially in the high montane areas where the major rivers have their source but also to plant more and more utility trees. We hope that the present campaign will not suffer the fate so many campaigns have suffered in the past—of being forgotten soon after the planting amidst fanfare and publicity.

July 22 saw a propaganda barrage of an unprecedented nature. The two government-controlled media, *Lake House* and *Times* fell over each other in over-doing and over-praising the achievements of the government. For a week or ten days before this full page advertisements, sponsored jointly by a number of government corporations, about the plans of the government were lavishly spread out in the favoured media. Such propaganda with special supplements with an extra-over-dose of advertisements only tend to increase the credibility gap which has already taken deep root in the minds of the people. Even the *Dawasa* group did not make a serious attempt to reflect the views and sentiments of the common man who is overwhelmed with an inflation of an unexpectedly unbelievable nature.

However, none of the newspapers showed any initiative in making objective or independent interpretative analysis in this country. The *Dawasa* group publishes brief analytical articles, but they are yet to develop depth and quality. But the *Dawasa* group and sometimes the official media publish shortcomings in the bureaucracy and the administration, and very very rarely the misdeeds and peccadillos of the parliamentarians of the Government Parliamentary Party. **The Code of Conduct for MPs which was proclaimed with the beating of great big drums seems to have been relegated to the archives and forgotten as more and more MPs seem to relapse into the bad old habits which the Code was expected to correct. In the vast jungle of propaganda which had overtaken the country during the first anniversary celebrations, it is clear that the media without exception followed the guidelines set out by the President**



especially in the matter of writing about critical views of people adversely affected by the high prices.

President Jayewardene, with his consummate political experience, took the bull by the horns and faced the criticism fairly and squarely. In many of his speeches in the fortnight before the anniversary, the President sought to allay the misgivings of the people on the score of high prices. A speech he made at Kelaniya on July 10 was typical of the line he formulated for the government to pursue in the present difficult days. The *Daily News* of July 11, reported this speech with the banner headlines: **PRESIDENT AT KELANIYA SACRED CITY...ONE YEAR OF NOTEWORTHY PROGRESS...GOVT'S NOVEL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES YIELD RESULTS...**

"One year of office of this Government has shown noteworthy progress, said President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday. He was addressing a public meeting after declaring open the new buildings of the Kelani Maha Vidyalaya in the Kelaniya sacred city. President Jayewardene said this progress was the result of the Government's policies, never thought of by any previous Government and being carried out with development of the country as their main goal. 'My only regret is that the cost of living has gone up. But we will try to solve that too', the President said. He said that certain measures that had been taken, like the withdrawal of the rice ration and increasing the price of flour were on purpose, with development in view. We did not hide any facts from the people. President Jayewardene said that the money spent now on the flour subsidy could help to put up 1,200 buildings like the one costing 12½ lakhs which he had just declared open. The question before them

was whether they were to continue to incur heavy expenditure on subsidies or suffer a little hardships for the sake of developing the country. President Jayewardene said he agreed that the people were undergoing difficulties at present. Even to get a child one has to undergo pain quipped the President who added that if the people would bear a little hardship they would witness the country developed in the next six years. If you do not like it you can defeat us at the next elections. I am a person who has been used to defeat the President said.

"He said that he had asked the MP for Mahara (Mr. Tudor Gunasekera, who was accommodated with him on the stage) as to what the situation was in his area and received an interesting reply. The MP's reply was that pawn brokers in his electorate had virtually gone out of business. Whereas during the period of the previous Government people were bringing their valuable jewellery by the pound for pawning, today they were not pawning any jewellery. The reason was that the Government's policies had helped to provide more jobs even at village level. The restrictions on imports had been removed and people were able to get their machinery and spares even to run small scale industries. President Jayewardene said that when he visited his estate at Veyangoda during the weekend he asked a few persons for their opinion about the present conditions. Their reply was that unlike in the past there was enough to buy in the market and that there was money to buy them. In Anuradhapura, people worked in the paddy field while listening to songs over their radios which they carried with them to work. All this showed that the country was progressing. Whereas under the previous regime development was

at a standstill, due to the policies of the government we are witnessing development in several spheres, the President said. Referring to the Government's education policies, President Jayewardene said that there was no debate between the various political parties on the main policies on education. They were all agreed on free education and that Sinhala should be the first language. After this Government came into power, however there have been few changes in policy. One of them was to reduce the age of admission from six years to five years. This was to prevent mothers being burdened with their children at home for an extra year. As a result of this change the Government faced a certain amount of difficulty like finding the necessary buildings and teachers. 'But I think it is a good policy. We also felt that the books used were not suitable for our children like those on Marx and Lenin. We want to teach them our ancient books like the *Guttala Kavva* and the *Loveda Sangarava*'. He added that another change in policy was the reduction of the number of subjects from 10 or 12 to six. If possible he would reduce it further. Children could not cope with such a large number of subjects and books. What was necessary was not so much books but examples by teachers and lectures.

"The Government, the President said, had also decided to attach greater importance to the teaching of English. Only 70 lakhs of people in the whole world spoke Sinhala. English was essential as a world language. In the past few years English had been neglected in schools resulting in a whole generation of students having to walk the streets without a knowledge of English. The Government has now directed that students be taught English from the age of six years according to the availability of teachers. The Gov-



ernment did not believe that only the children of the President and the Prime Minister should know English and go to Oxford and Paris but that every student in this country should have equal opportunities. The Government also intended getting Sinhala children to learn Tamil and English and Tamil children to learn Sinhala and English. This would help the people of different communities to understand each other's ideas and exist in cordial relationship. They were all citizens of our land and must live unitedly, the President said.

"The President said that not only in regard to education but in other spheres too the government had decided upon plans never thought of earlier. Referring to a remark by Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs that the Government was ushering in an industrial age, the President said that Kelaniya too came within the Free Trade Zone. From 1970 Mrs. Bandaranaike appointed her brother to set up a Free Trade Zone but could not decide where it should be. She sent her brother to England and a team of experts came here. With the setting up of the Free Trade Zone not only will there be more jobs but more foreign exchange for the country. The Government intended holding elections to Local bodies shortly. It will also hold a General election on the due date. I will not postpone the elections as Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government did. But allow the Government to go on with its work, he said. President Jayewardene said that he was happy at being able to attend that function in the Kelaniya electorate which he had served for 13 years. When he was first elected as Member of the State Council for Kelaniya there was not a single school for higher education. During his period of 13 years he was able to provide nine such schools. He was also

able to provide roads, bridges culverts, hospitals, electricity for the electorate during his time."

The President thus briefly, referred to everything that could be regarded as concrete positive achievements, and explained that inflation would be brought under control with the FTZ and the Mahaweli Accelerated Programme getting under way. The Greater Colombo Development Scheme and the Housing Programme are expected to check inflation and bring better living standards to the people.

The FTZ is still in an embryonic stage and promises have been made that there will be significant progress before the end of the year. It is still a moot point whether the FTZ will add to the inflation in the rest of the country or help to reduce it. The money pumped into the FTZ as wages will increase the inflation, but what effects the resulting exports will have on the economy, so far as inflation is concerned, is hard to say. In Mahaweli too a similar danger exists. The money which contractors and government Departments will spend in construction works in the Mahaweli will also push the inflationary spiral higher, and it is yet problematic how soon the farmers and colonists will be settled to enable them to produce anything at all that will help to check the runaway inflation which already has the country in its grip.

The government, in the first flush of its coming to power, had sought to curb the trade unions and straight-jacket them into a Singaporean hire-and-fire-at-will mould. But the Jayewardene government was wise enough not to rush in where even angels would

have feared to go. It published a draft law on employment and labour relations as a White Paper for discussion and not as a Draft Law. The reactions to certain provisions of the proposed Draft Law were violently hostile even from the UNP and pro-UNP trade unions that the government has developed second thoughts on the matter. The White Paper remains a White Paper, and it is not known whether when the government will seek to implement even the more innocuous parts of the Draft Law.

Chris Sherwell, writing in the (London) *Financial Times* special Sri Lanka Supplement on Trade Unions stated:

"The Jayewardene Government came to power last July saying that the trade union movement was in chaos and promising to re-organise labour relations. The disparate elements of Sri Lanka's highly developed trade union movement have since united to oppose a draft law on employment relations, and the Government has retreated with a declaration that its provisions will apply only to the public sector. Although the government has the parliamentary muscle to push new legislation through, uncertainty continues to surround its specific plans. The United National Party's original intentions were always rather vague. In its manifesto the party said that 'organisations of employees managing their workplaces' would be formed 'without political affiliation.' There would also be regular elections and State supervision of the use of funds collected from paysheets. To a left-oriented trade union movement facing a new right-wing Government it all looked like a potential threat to its existence and a usurpation of its traditional powers. Thus when union leaders thought that the four-man cabinet sub-committee drafting the law to embody the UNP's ideas might



be planning to confine the organisation of labour to enterprises and even just factories, they began lobbying Government leaders, other trade union movements and international bodies. Some ordered token work stoppages in protest, and the Government assured the unions they were not threatened. In the event the draft law, published as a White Paper for discussion by the Government in January was everything the unions had feared. Greatest resentment has focussed on the proposal for elected employees councils, even though these are also to be the means of fostering worker participation. The unions see the council's prescribed function of representing workers and handling disputes as an attempt to make the unions redundant—or, as the union leaders, themselves put it, to cause them to "wither away". The councils—oriented as intended towards the plant or enterprise and elected by secret ballot—would, for example, take up grievances. A council's decision that a grievance is not well founded would be final. When it is well founded, and an attempt to obtain redress from an employer fails, the matter would go to a conciliation commission of people appointed by the employer and council whose decision would also be final.

"Strikes would not be allowed during the whole conciliation process. The right to strike under the proposed law would be restricted in other ways too. All strikes would require 21 days' notice, and strikes in essential services would be prohibited. Anyone helping to further an illegal strike would also be guilty of an offence. Job security, another benefit jealousy guarded by Sri Lanka's trade union movement, would also be affected. At the moment employers find it easy to hire but almost impossible to fire

under the Industrial Disputes Act and the labour tribunal system. The 1971 Termination of Employment of Workmen (Special Provisions) Act has taken this still further, making it criminal to terminate employment (save on obvious grounds where a worker has committed a theft, for example) without the consent of both the worker and the department of labour. The draft law repeals this act, and makes employment terminable at one month's notice on payment of fixed compensation without resort to the Industrial Disputes Act. Employers say they will think twice before firing workers because of the sums involved, but there is little doubt that they welcome the proposal. The unions naturally see it as wholly retrograde. They say it makes job security illusory, especially by allowing arbitrary and capricious dismissals.

"Representatives of 13 of the country's major unions joined, together to reject the White Paper completely on the grounds that it suppressed the fundamental right to strike, deprived employees of the right to deal or bargain collectively with employers through their trade unions and empowered an employer to get rid of any employee without the employee having any redress. But the unions gave no reasons for their rejection when they delivered their verdict to the government in early March. This would have opened the way to discussions on issues which they see as non-negotiable. A month later on April 6 and only two months after the White Paper had been published, the Minister of Labour announced in Parliament that the Government had decided to confine legislation based on the White Paper to employees in State sector only. This legislation, his statement said, would make provision for the

establishment of employee councils, and these 'will not take the place of trade unions that exist already but will be in addition to them.' The legislation, the Minister said, would be introduced 'shortly'. Officials at the Department of Labour are not saying whether it will be passed this year, nor whether the Government's retreat represents a victory for the unions' few unionists. Mr. Bala Tampoe of the powerful Ceylon Mercantile Union, for example, believes it is, but Mr. S. Thondaman of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, representing mainly plantation workers, prefers to see it as a process of learning for the Government and a democratic response to public opinion. Some union leaders meanwhile are continuing to mobilise their members against the planned legislation, and before May Day sought to take the fight on to a more openly political plane, a move that was rejected by others and has threatened to undermine the unity forged in reaction to the White Paper."

"Some State sector unions can be expected to try and resist the move to apply the law to them alone. Much therefore depends on the political will of the two sides. The Government has shown firmness over a lock-out at the National Textile Corporation's largest mill, but at the same time has sought to improve the position of its union at another mill. This is seen by some as part of the new customary and widespread practice of a new government replacing workers when it arrives in power—an overgrowing exercise in mass patronage which, in these particular cases, represents an attempt to get rid of opposition unions rather than unions as such. Some estimates put the number of workers dismissed since the July election as high as 10,000 and the number of 'punitive transfers' of teachers at 17,000. From the unions' point



of view the high unemployment rate—over 20 per cent—is hardly conducive to worker solidarity at shop-floor level. Again, political patronage is apparent: instead of implementing its promise to replace the "chit" system, which required a work-seeker to have a note from his MP, the Government's new 'job banks' scheme is tending to operate in a similar fashion, leaving the unions no stronger but making many people who had high expectations of the government more disgruntled. The Central Bank, however, foresees an improvement on the employment front under the new policies of liberalising the economy, accelerating development projects and encouraging export-oriented foreign investments. For those in work, wages remain among the lowest in the world—about US \$ 1.25 a day for skilled workers, US \$ 1 for semi-skilled and US \$ 0.80 for unskilled—and this is one of the main attractions the Government is offering to prospective foreign investors in the proposed free trade zone. Clarification of how the labour laws will apply there is still needed, however. If labour unrest has tended to hamper growth in the past it now appears to be doing no less. Government figures indicate that the number of mandays lost through strikes has fallen during the past three or four years, and over the past 12 months the unions have tended to confine their opposition to the Government's proposed legislation to comparatively mild action. *A more important labour problem is posed by the exodus of professional and skilled manpower for employment abroad, particularly in the Middle East and Africa. The shortage of doctors and accountants has become acute, and the loss of skilled middle-level technicians and craftsmen, such as electricians, mechanics and welders, while boosting foreign exchange reserves and ame-*

*liorating domestic unemployment, could hold up future expansion.* Businessmen are already complaining, but accept that the only way to cope is to train new people in the skills lost. Businessmen also object fundamentally to the government proposal for worker participation contained in the White Paper—one of the few ideas it welcomed by the Unions. Altogether it means that the UNP has brought a sterner face to labour relations in Sri Lanka and may have set back rather than promoted the chances of tripartite involvement by management, labour and Government in economic policy."

**This article sums the situation very completely and ably, and it is to see how a commentator in a newspaper from the world of international high finance views this matter.**

\* \* \*

## **BETWEEN THE LINES**

**BY SERENDIB**

### **Bonn Summit**

The July 16-17 Summit in Bonn of the seven richest nations of the world has not produced a magic formula either to solve the economic ills of the capitalist world or to pave the way for a new international order in which Third World countries could participate (certainly not on "equal terms" because such equality is not a practical possibility today but at least without being exploited unduly as in the past and the present). But the Bonn Summit focussed attention on some of the most important problems facing the capitalist world which had devastating impact on the third world of developing countries. Many of these

problems stemmed from the near cut-throat trade and economic rivalries between some of the richest capitalist countries.

Before the Bonn Summit, some of the leading countries of Western Europe, had met in Bremen to discuss the possibilities of stabilising the currencies for ECM countries (and, if possible, of having a common European currency in course of time) and also to have an organisation to foster and accelerate economic growth throughout the world, (more especially in the poor third world) through meaningful investment, transfer of technology, development of nuclear energy and the like quite contrary to the purely money-lending and interest-collecting Shylokian procedures of the IMF that had brought ruin to a large number of developing countries. (The IMF has not been interested in economic growth and development of the third world, but has only acted as an instrument of the rich countries to ensure markets and raw materials).

At the Bremen meeting of the leading European powers—as we have mentioned in this column earlier—a great deal of progress was registered. There was whole-hearted support (except from Britain which cannot do very much at the moment) for the Grand Design for world economic growth drawn up by West Germany and France relying on tacit support from the USSR and the COMECON and also on Saudi Arabia and OPEC. But all this is still very much in an embryonic stage of development. More progress was made in deciding to set up a European Monetary System (EMS) and to compel the IMF to change its policies or go out of business. By December the EMS is expected to take concrete shape. But even greater progress was made in bringing the complicated



currency problems within the scope of manageable options. There was a readiness among the majority of the participant countries at the Bremen talks to move away from the "anarchism" of the floating currencies which "had made the national economies of national countries the playthings of the elite group of European bankers"—to a position which appears to be a half-way house between "rigidly fixed exchange parities and absolutely free currency floats." The ground rules which seem to have emerged from Bremen offer several options to European countries. "In the order of popularity the major choices are a wider float, a broader currency basket and flexible target zones within which the fluctuations in exchange parities can be permitted. A wider float would please Britain, because the narrower band fixed by the EEC for currency swings smothered and therefore edged the British sterling out of the 'snake'. The wider basket, which relates EEC currencies to world currencies besides those of non-EEC countries, pleases only because it is too wide. But it has invited the jibe that it sought to fix the value of the Swiss franc to the British pound for eternity....."

But the discussions at Bremen were inconclusive because Britain wanted "all details to be worked out". Britain had stated that if the UK should restrict money supply to contain inflation, West Germany should reflate (expand currency) to contain its trade surplus. But the West Germans have not been willing to do so and have sought to currency fluctuation within the original 2.5 per cent limit on either side. This means that though the climate has improved in the ECM, the national pressures even to conduct pilot exercises to establish a monetary system, are still very acute.

That is why Batuk Gathani in a despatch to the *Hindu* of July 11 was published under the heading **NEW ECONOMIC ORDER RESTS ON COMPROMISE AMONG WEST.** He said: "The seven-nation Western summit is scheduled to meet at Bonn shortly and although the officials at the EEC headquarters one talks to are sanguine about the prospects of the summit, their conversations are laced with many imponderables. Everybody talks in terms of compromises amongst the Western world's big nations as a major prerequisite for world economic order. This would be the main task of Chancellor Schmidt, host to the summit. This could then be followed by a realistic dialogue with the raw material producing and Third World nations. In between the problems of trade and aid could also be discussed in a more meaningful way. That these are no more academic issues either for the rich or for the poor nations, most officials would readily agree. But the prevailing confusion on the monetary and energy fronts coupled with the nagging suspicions about one another's intentions, has created a horrific scenario about the world economic order. This cannot last indefinitely."

He went on to examine the position of India vis a vis the ECM: "In the EEC some four million young are either unemployed. The officials at the EEC headquarters have nightmarish visions about the consequences. *They wonder how this democratic will in India will be backed by solid economic gains.* And this perhaps, is the heart of the matter. Under the umbrella of the EEC, India could have a meaningful dialogue with the West. India could perhaps, also help the EEC understand the Third World better. Long cliché-ridden sermons would evoke mirth and ridicule—the Indian politicians and diplo-

mat's will need to display more maturity and better judgment. Can India be counted upon in all this? It is a nagging issue for them all. India has a vast market, resources, both natural and human, and above all a democratic will. This is why the dialogue with India should be more substantive not just academic stuff."

Finally, he advanced the view that the West should set its own home in order before seeking to solve the problems of the Third World—which the West undoubtedly dominates economically and exploits unmercifully). "But then it is also argued that the Western world must first sort out its own affairs to establish a new basis of relationship with the Third World nations. This is why in some ways many eyes are glued to the Bonn summit. First, the Western world must come to terms with the problems of inflation, recession, unemployment and monetary upheavals and there must be a concerted effort to find a way out of the present crises. Nobody here seriously believes that this is a case of 'solo operation' on the part of Japan and Germany to reflate their economy. The so-called 'locomotive theory' lacks credibility in the EEC headquarters. There is more talk about compromises and concerted effort on the part of everybody. In London they talk of the 'German hegemony' and in Paris the cynics wonder if President Giscard is not in the process of selling the honour of France to the Anglo-Germans. But in Brussels, at the EEC headquarters, they will tell you that statistics have a way of sobering both people and nations. The egocentrics of Western Europe have no place in today's grim realities."

Inside news of the outcome of the Bonn summit have not become available to us, but news-



paper reports indicate the IMF group (the US and UK chiefly) were willing to accept at least a substantial part of the Grand Design proposals for global economic growth of the EMS group (mainly France, West Germany, etc. etc.), and that therefore there were "compromises" on controversial matters on a give and take basis. But how far these compromises can bring about a new international order is yet to be seen.

For the moment, until more inside news reaches us, a despatch from Eugene Brake, USICA correspondent from Bonn on July 11 provides an interesting background on the general outcome of the Summit from the US point of view. Those who can read between the lines on the economic complexities of the capitalist world will be able to guess the trend of developments. This is what Eugene Brake wrote under the heading **SUMMIT ENDS WITH PLEDGES ON GROWTH, TRADE, ENERGY.** "Declaring that they 'are concerned, above all, about worldwide unemployment,' the leaders of seven major industrial nations have pledged concrete actions to boost world economic growth. In a declaration issued at the end of the July 16-17 economic summit meeting in Bonn and in public statements at its conclusion, the heads of government made these specific commitments: *The German delegation*, headed by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, said that by the end of August it would propose additional measures to stimulate faster growth of the Germany economy. It said the amount of stimulus would be equivalent to up to one percent of the country's total economic output. *President Carter* pledged unequivocally that by the end of the year 'measures will be in effect that will result in oil import savings of approximately 2.5 million barrels per day by

1985.' That is the amount of oil import savings originally expected to come from the energy program Mr. Carter proposed to the US Congress over a year ago. As in the case of other pledges by other countries, Mr. Carter did not specify precisely how the goal would be accomplished but US sources said that Mr. Carter's presentation appeared to convince the other leaders that he had a sound energy program and was determined to carry through with it. *Japan*, represented by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, said it was urging moderation on its exporters, and aiming to assure that the volume of its exports for 1978 will not exceed its volume in 1977. In volume terms, Japanese exports have already stopped rising in response to exchange rates change and other factors even though in dollar terms their value has still been rising. The Japanese pledge means that the government will try to assure that export volume does not start rising again this year. *President Carter and Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau* 'expressed their firm intention to continue as reliable suppliers of nuclear fuel.' *President Carter* has in the past used his Presidential powers to hold up some enriched uranium shipments because of concern over safeguards. But he said he now 'intends to use the full powers of his office to prevent an interruption of enriched uranium supply and to ensure that existing agreements will be respected.' All shipments will still be subject to approval by the nuclear regulatory commission of the US government, an independent body. Other pledges concerning growth, energy and inflation were made by *French Premier Valery Giscard d'Estaing*, *Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti*, and *British Prime Minister James Callaghan*.

"Jointly, the seven leaders ordered their trade negotiators to work with other participants in the trade talks in Geneva 'to resolve the outstanding issues and to conclude successfully the detailed negotiations by December 15, 1978.' They pledged that the developing nations can count on them for more financial assistance 'and other resources for their development.' They called especially for greater assistance in the energy field and said they recognize 'the requirement for better access to our countries' markets for the products of the developing countries'. In addition to the leaders of the seven nations, *President Roy Jenkins* of the European Community Commission attended the summit meeting as a Representative of the European Community. *President Carter* in his remarks at the concluding public session said that 'the results have exceeded the expectation of all of us... I think each leader has gone the limit within the bounds of political actualities to contribute everything possible from our own individual nations to the common well-being of the world', he said. Like some of the other leaders, Mr. Carter stressed that 'we will be carefully monitoring progress after this summit adjourns to make sure that those commitments made in sincerity are not forgotten, nor abandoned in the months ahead... I would like to say finally, that we have not forgotten the developing nations of the world', the US President said. The countries represented at the Bonn summit meeting 'have been blessed with economic and political and military strength and with a fine high standard of living for our own people', he said, and 'we recognize the need to share this with other [less developed countries]'. *Prime Minister Fukuda* reported that the seven leaders had agreed to under-



take a 'serious review' of relations with the developing nations in preparation for United Nations Trade And Development Conference scheduled to be held next May in Manila. The leaders said they 'intend to have a similar meeting among ourselves at an appropriate time next year'. Japan has been mentioned as a possible site, but no decision on this question was made at the Bonn meeting.

No sensational developments can be expected from the Bonn Summit. The possible clash between the IMF and EMS has been softened with President Carter accepting the Growth programmes of the European Grand Design.

The official communique emphasised on strategies to fight inflation. Extracts from the Reuter report also indicate the scope of the Bonn discussions: "The seven major industrial democracies tonight announced they had agreed on a new strategy to pull the non-Communist world out of industrial stagnation and high unemployment. At the end of a two day economic summit here their leaders issued a communique of promises—in which each government pledged to follow a particular course as part of a concerted effort for international recovery. The communique made it clear that key parts of the plan were promises by West Germany to boost domestic demand and by the United States administration to fight to reduce America's dependence on imported oil. The leaders said they would act through measures to ensure growth and combat the rising unemployment in the industrial world.

The communique said: 'We agreed on a comprehensive strategy covering growth, employment and inflation, international monetary policy energy trade and other issues of particular interest to developing countries...We must

create more jobs and fight inflation, strengthen international trading reduce payments imbalances and achieve greater stability in exchange markets. We are dealing with longterm problems which will only yield to sustained efforts. This strategy is a coherent whole whose parts are interdependent. To this strategy each of our countries can contribute to it each can benefit.' It said that 'we are concerned above all about worldwide unemployment...' The nations pledged to act through measures to assure growth and develop needed skills to increase jobs.

"Then, instead of following the trend of the three previous economic summits which set out general targets the leaders said different programmes were needed by countries which faced different conditions. In countries whose balance of payments situation and inflation rate does not impose special restrictions this requires a faster rise in domestic demand. In countries where rising prices and costs are creating strong pressures this means taking new measures against inflation. It listed the pledges of the separate nations. West Germany it said had indicated that by the end of August it would propose to its legislative bodies attitional and quantitatively substantial measures up to one per cent of its gross national product designed to achieve a significant strengthening of demand and a higher rate of growth. It said President Carter had made fighting inflation the top priority of US economic policy and a very tight budget is being prepared for 1979. The United States pledged to cut its huge oil imports which have been a major factor in its big trade deficit undermining confidence in the dollar. 'By year end', said the communique "measures will be in effect that will result in oil import savings of approximately 2.5

million barrels per day by 1979. The communique said nothing could be solved by relapsing into open or concealed protectionism.'

There is not much the Third World of developing countries can hope for from the Bonn Summit. The richest countries are still grouping in the dark to resolve problems that torment them.

+ + +

## POLITICS OF THE WEEK

BY NARADA

- Durayappah Murder Case
- Civil Disabilities Bills
- Exodus ● Passports
- China vs Vietnam

ACQUITTAL INEVITABLE. The acquittal of the five accused in the Durayappah murder case was inevitable under the normal laws of the country at the trial before a jury in the High Court. There was no evidence at all against four. The State conceded this. (Why were they charged at all?). From all that has transpired in the proceedings and the remarks of the Judge in his charge to the Jury it was clear that the evidence even against the first accused was insufficient to sustain a conviction. It can be truly said that justice has been done according to the law.

But there are very important lessons to be drawn from the Durayappah murder case, especially if one studies the history from its inception. An examination of some of the salient features and facts will speak for themselves.

1. The accused were arrested under the Emergency Regulations without any evidence and were



kept in custody and indefinite detention from about July 1975. Many others too, including possible witnesses and suspects, were similarly detained from time to time.

2. Statements were recorded and re-recorded by the Police who had powers to investigate *carte blanche*—on a blank cheque, so to say. The suspects were interrogated for weeks and months. The police had powers to take the suspects out of fiscal custody and this they did as and when they pleased. It is a fact that most of the statements were recorded after six months of arrest and detention!

3. The Police, in this case, instead of doing "detective" work and "investigating the crime", as the police usually do and should do, concentrated on extracting statements from persons indefinitely detained to unravel the mysteries of Durayappah's death. *Tribune* has pointed out on many occasions that under the special powers and Emergency Rule, the Police had stopped investigating and detecting and had relied solely on "informers" and "confessions." The Police were no longer detectives but extractors of statements or confessions. Even in political matters, intelligence was collected on from informers and those from whom confessions could be extracted. The Police had made this a fine art. This was done because the "law" was changed by the old regime to make confessions contrary to the provisions of the Evidence Ordinance admissible in evidence.

4. One of the strangest aspects of this case is that, in the first instance, the accused were charged with "causing death" and for "murder." And this was coupled with a certificate from the Attorney General that Durayappah's death "was caused in the course of a

civil disturbance prevailing at the time the death was caused." So far the police was concerned there was no civil disturbance, but this certificate was essential to take the case out of the purview and jurisdiction of the ordinary law of the land and bring it within the scope of the then prevailing Emergency Laws under which confessions were admissible.

5. The first Trial-at-Bar before Three High Court Judges without a Jury became possible only because of the Attorney-General's certificate that the accused were indicted for causing death in furtherance of, in pursuance of, in connection with or in the course of a civil disturbance prevailing at the time the offence was committed. It was a Special Court at Bar before whom the accused were first indicted.

6. It would be relevant and pertinent to refer to the dissenting judgement of Justice T. W. Rajaratnam in a Writ application—to the Supreme Court to prohibit proceedings in the Special High Court at Bar without a Jury and confessions made admissible. The dissenting judgement held that it was an invalid court, and he had observed: **"...It is not only a court created by the Executive, it is a court through which the judicial powers of the people is not exercised by the National State Assembly. It is a court of confessions which departs from the well established laws of evidence and the traditional principles of justice in the Criminal Law."**

The Attorney-General withdrew the questionable indictment in the questionable court and justice has now been done according to the laws of the land. Looked at from any angle, it is a triumph for justice. Only the Police must be blamed for not doing proper detective and investi-

gative work to bring to book those responsible for the unpardonable crime of political murder and terrorism—they had pinned all their hopes on confessions and statements they extracted anyhow, any place and any time under the Emergency Laws.

The full proceedings are not yet available to us, but for the record it would be useful to refer to some of the remarks of the Judge, Mr. J. F. A Soza, in his 3 1/2-hour address to the Jury as reported in the *Ceylon Daily Mirror*, of July 18. He said, "although the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was one single unit, it had two different units one championed by Mr. C. Kumarasuriar and the other championed by Mr. Alfred Durayappah. Mr. Raja Sunderam although a member of the Municipal Council, Jaffna, under the Mayoralty of the late Mr. Durayappah was an erstwhile friend of Mr. Kumarasuriar. By some mysterious way yet to be unearthed, Mr. Raja Sunderam in Jaffna was the first to have got the news of the shooting of Mr. Durayappah at Ponnali Krishnan Kovil and in fact is the person who first informed the police about this tragedy. Furthermore, when Sivanu, Mr. Durayappah's driver and Yoganathan a MPCS Director under Mr. Durayappah's Chairmanship were making desperate attempts to find some vehicle to take Mr. Durayappah to the Moolai Co-operative Hospital, it was this very Raja Sunderam who had very kindly obliged to place at the disposal of Sivanu and Yoganathan a van belonging to the MPCS Jaffna. There is yet another unexplained mystery in this episode. That particular van was not used on the trip driven by its usual driver but by a different driver. What is more startling was that some of the occupants in the van numbering about five, all unknown to Sivanu and Yoganathan took



away the wrist watch belonging to Mr. Durayappah and neither Sivanu nor Yoganathan had any objections to this daylight robbery. *These are some of the missing links in the chain of the prosecution.*

"Dealing with the witnesses called, the Judge said: 'You need not have several witnesses to repeat the same thing over and over again. One would be quite ample. But when it happens to be one and only one witness who bears testimony to the act or acts of the charge, the jury has to be extremely cautious to weed out the possibles and the impossibles.' Dealing with the charges, the accused faced the Judge observed that if it was conspiracy, several people should get together and plan what they wanted to do. After so planning, all except one may back out but then the one that faces the charge is still guilty of conspiracy. As for the common object the prosecution must prove beyond reasonable doubt their ultimate object. As for murder it should be intentional murder and nothing else and murder must be complete, with the actions the planners planned. Of the Medical evidence the Judge observed that except for one injury all others had been from the front. This means that when Durayappah got the first shot he turned and tried to run and in the process he had received three other injuries fired from the front which were all fatal.

On the witnesses the Judge observed that Kanmani the first witness had nothing to say except that she saw three young men sitting on the half wall of the resting-room (madama) and one of them buying a bottle of soda and Necto. Beyond that she heard reports of gunshots and she had taken shelter in her own boutique. Sivanu is a very rash witness. At the identification parade, he had identified one who had

merely come to Courts on other business. But Sivanu who on October 6 just two months and a few days later could not identify any other except the first accused and identified the second accused for the first time in this court. The Judge concluding his address to the jury observed that there were no fingerprints of any of the accused on the car or any of the productions."

*IN THE NSA.* On July 20, the Prime Minister introduced the Civil Disabilities Bill—two Bills, one in respect of Commission. He also introduced the Local Government Elections Amendment Bill. The Government had wanted to introduce the first Bill about a week earlier but had postponed it. In the meantime, Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike had filed a writ of Certiorari in the Supreme Court to quash the findings of the Colombo Municipal Council. In the NSA, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake raised an objection against the Bill on the ground that the matter was now *sub judice* because of the Writ application before the Supreme Court. The speaker overruled this objection because even by the 1972 Constitution, the NSA was supreme representing the sovereignty of the people. The Prime Minister also pointed out that even if the Constitutional Court, which was soon to go out of existence, found the new Bills inconsistent with the 1972 Constitution, the NSA could pass the Bills with a two-thirds majority.

The Acting President of the SLFP on July 18 issued a statement to the Local Authorities (Imposition of Civil Disabilities) Bill. It read: "The Government is taking the unprecedented step of enacting legislation to take away the civic rights of individuals without findings of corruption or findings that are judicial in character. In the Bills that are gazetted by the Govern-

ment under the Local Authorities (Imposition of Civic Disabilities) Act—whether it is gazetted as one bill or two bills—we are shocked that among the persons selected in the scheduled as persons whose civic rights are to be taken away from them, are persons who were never even summoned to appear before the commission, either as witnesses or as accused persons; and who until the publication in the newspapers that there was a move to deprive them of their civic rights or that the commissions were investigating about them did not know that they had been put to 'trial' and 'found guilty' by a commission. Under section 16 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act there is a clear duty upon the commissioner to inform every person whose conduct he thinks is a subject of an inquiry, or who is concerned or implicated in an inquiry, that he is entitled to be represented by one or more lawyers for the whole of the inquiry. In many cases this has not been done. Many of the persons whose civic rights are to be taken away by this legislation, have not been found guilty of corruption in any form by the commission; and it is monstrous to think that there

can be any justification for depriving a person of his civic rights for anything else. If any of the persons found guilty by either commission is actually guilty there is surely adequate provision under the existing laws to deal with them. Under the contemplated amendment to the Constitution which a Select Committee of the National State Assembly has already reported upon, there is express provision prohibiting retroactive legislation. In the face of those it is indeed that on the eve of this amendment the Government is seeking by these bills to enact retroactive legislation. The statement goes on to mention some of the



names of persons mentioned in the two bills concerned and claims that they will be making applications to the Supreme Court to set aside the Commission's findings against them." (*Ceylon Daily News*, July 18)

**EXPORT OF MANPOWER.** Perhaps the most lucrative export from Sri Lanka today, in terms of monthly ready cash in foreign exchange, is the export of manpower to the Middle East and Africa. There are guess-estimates that monthly about Rs. 300 million come into the island, officially and unofficially, from Sri Lankans employed abroad. This has increased the inflationary trend and brought a new class of consumer into the market with very high purchasing power—and still untroubled by tax deductions and the like.

The exodus to the Middle East, Africa and other places, of even unskilled and semi-skilled labour has eased the unemployment problem among youth in the Colombo and Jaffna areas in particular. Some unfortunate experiences suffered by females who had gone out as housekeepers, nannies and housemaids, but these are the customary risks connected with the export of manpower. There are similar risks in the local tourist industry where a large number of women workers have to discharge the additional functions of prostitutes for the delectation of foreign tourists.

**ISSUE OF PASSPORTS.** The recent increase in the export of manpower could not have been possible without the magic transformation that has come over the Department of Immigration and Emigration. A phenomenally large number of passports are issued every day. Applications are processed without undue delay and bonds, where required, can be signed without excessive and painful red tape.

Many readers of *Tribune* have commented on the speedy issue of passports in recent months. The chaos and anarchy at the entrances of the Passport Office have all but disappeared. The touts find it difficult to exploit applicants because the officials are more accessible and courteous.

We do not have the detailed statistics, but we had thought that this tremendous increase in the number of passports issued was possible only on equally big increase in the staff in the Passport Section in the dilapidated buildings which house the Department of Immigration and Emigration. To our utter surprise we discovered that there has been no increase in staff. How this miracle of the passports was achieved only the Controller Mr. Newton Samarasinghe can tell.

**TAIL PIECE.** A cyclostyled bulletin from an SLFP trade union centre (which one of the splinters it is hard to say) had an interesting item in its recent issue. It said that the Executive Committee of the Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association had, after due deliberations, decided to back China against Vietnam in the current dispute. It was also decided, the report said to issue a public statement.

No statement, however, it is said had appeared. The story is that the "membership" had protested and had demanded that the Executive Committee should reconsider this decision.

Strange events are taking place in the world of the Maoists in Sri Lanka!

## QUIDNUNC

### National Milk Board

A **QUIDNUNC**, according to the Shorter Oxford Dictionary, is "one who is constantly asking 'what now?', 'what news?'" hence an inquisitive person, a gossip. The word comes from the Latin, *quid* (what) *nunc* (now)—*what now?*—and is defined in Webster's Dictionary as "one who seeks to know all the latest gossip." Our own era, especially in Sri Lanka, is admittedly the *Quidnuncs'* Golden Age. Gossip is now a marketable commodity. The stories our *Quidnuncs* bring are based on a substratum of truth and *Tribune* publishes them only if the fire from which the smoke has arisen has some kind of reality. Apart from a few kite-flying stories to provoke investigation, most stories in this column have quite enough for a daily paper to go to town with a banner headline.

**SHOW PROGRESS BY 1979 OR CLOSE DOWN — EL WARNS MILK BOARD.** The Sun of Tuesday, July, 18 reported under the above heading: "If the National Milk Board does not show any progress in producing the country's full requirement of milk by the end of 1979, the Board may have to close down," warned the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. E. L. Senanayake at Polonnaruwa yesterday, while on a visit to the Government animal husbandry farm at Kandakaduwa. The Minister observed that the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene had established the National Milk Board in 1954 when he was Minister of Food and Agriculture, to make the country self-sufficient in



milk for the betterment of the younger generation. It is a pity to note today, that the National Milk Board has turned out to be an agency for importing powdered milk to the tune of Rs. 150 million a year. The Minister acknowledged that this was the only farm of its kind which ran at a profit."

The Minister's attitude *vis a vis* the National Milk Board (NMB) is in heartening contrast to that of his predecessor who is said to have stayed on occasions at the NMB Circuit Bungalow but never visited the Condensary on those visits. Mr. E. L. Senanayake has so far shown no signs of fatigue or diminishing interest in the task allotted to him—a formidable one. It is true that he girdled a part of the world, but he also traversed very large areas in Sri Lanka—including all spheres of activity of agricultural development. More power to his elbow!

And, what happens to the NMB now?

*Quidnuncs* have been asking for a long time the same questions EL has raised now. What really has happened since the time the President destablished the National Milk Board (NMB) in 1954? Why are we importing 150 million rupees of milk powder per annum? What next? Will the NMB in fact show progress by 1979? What are the targets for the dairies? What are the capacities of these units? Are milk collecting and processing the primary functions of the Board or has the packeting of imported milk powder become its main objective? How much does the Condensary produce? Where does Perakum vanish to? A year has passed since the new Government took over. Apart for increased imports of Milk powder—what are the achievements of the NMB? what are its policies? Mr. Senanayake seems to be unduly optimistic about the production

of the island's requirements by 1979? How does he hope to achieve it? Can it be done? Should not the producer be paid more if collections are to be increased?

But all this apart, *Tribune* would like to be factory-wise and have some set targets. What targets can we hope to achieve for December 1978, June 1979 and December 1979? What percentage of our requirements to these targets represent.

We would ask the Chairman of the National Milk Board to outline his plans for 1979. Will he make a statement on policies and concrete targets and follow it up with a Press Conference? And, can he tell the public how much milk is collected at the centres and how much of it is accepted by the factories and plants? How much of the collected milk—bowser loads—is spoilt and thrown away? Is anybody held responsible? Has any body been surcharged?

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

by Ariel

### Carter's Cold War

President Carter has stepped up his campaign against the Soviet Union on the human rights question. His Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, had in this connection used his prerogative of the freedom of speech to say that when one talked of human rights anywhere it was necessary to know that there were hundreds, if not thousands of "political prisoners" languishing in the jails of the USA. Andrew Young, with his long record as a civil rights campaigner for the Blacks in the USA is conscious of the struggles of his peoples. It is no doubt true that the term "political prisoners"

has a different connotation in the USA, but nevertheless Andrew Young's remarks raised a hornet's nest in the Conservative circles in the USA. There were demands from Senators and Congressmen that the President should sack Young. After an unduly long delay, President Carter reprimanded Andrew Young and accepted his apology. But White America was not satisfied. They wanted the Black Ambassador sacked and Carter has been pushed into warning Young that if he repeated the performance he would have to go.

It is not only Andrew Young who has misgivings about Carter's onslaught on the Soviet Union. Many have raised the question why the President is solely concerned about the human rights in the Soviet Union. Why not human rights in South Korea, the Philippines and the numerous dictatorships which are closely allied to the USA?

Many allege that Carter's campaign on the Soviet Union is a new version of the cold war; and they say that circles close to him have triggered this attack on the USSR as a cover for his failures in his domestic policies. Many of his election promises have not been kept: e.g. to reduce the rate of inflation, to cut military expenditures and restrict the arms race, to bring down military exports to solve the Middle East problem, to establish more just economic relations with developing countries, and to overcome existing financial and economic differences with the industrially developed countries.

The inability of the US administration to solve important socio-economic and international problems has naturally aroused growing dissatisfaction and discontent among many sections of the population in the United States. The tax revolts in some States



is an indicator—and it will be seen that Carter increased his attacks on the USSR after the Tax Revolts gathered momentum. The popularity rating of President Carter has gone down, according to the latest popularity polls.

President Carter's present line can only lead to tensions and an increase in the army race between the two super powers. *Newsweek* in a recent issue estimated that by 1985, the two countries will have enough nuclear warheads and missiles not merely to blow themselves up, but to blow up the whole world three times over. Unless Carter drops his cold war in and events to detente he will go down to history with the appellation NEUTRON PRESIDENT. His chances in the 1980 elections can be considered slim with his quarrel with Andrew Young and the Black Americans.

Carter's campaign has not impressed the Third World. He has not only started a cold war on the USSR but also on the Third World—and this mainly through Brzezinski. Peter Buck writing on June 10, in the *New Solidarity* said: "Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere this week delivered a singing riposte to Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet Annapolis, Md. Policy address with a warning to the US Administration that Africa's front-line states will not tolerate Zbigniew Brzezinski's Cold War on the African continent.

Nyerere's speech, delivered to the entire Tanzanian press corps the morning after Carter's June 6 diatribe set the tone for this weekend's meeting of the African front line states in Luanda, Angola. The principal agenda topics of the Luanda meeting are the negotiation of a detente between Angola and neighbouring Zaire, and an effort to move the Namibian liberation movement, SWAPO, toward acceptance of

a Western-sponsored plan for peaceful transition to independence for that South African colony.

In his press conference, Nyerere pointed directly at Zbigniew Brzezinski as the main obstacle to peace in the region.

"If President Carter wants to turn around and listen to the new Kissinger in his Administration, for this is the real problem," said Nyerere, "he should not be surprised if we change our views, because then he's saying he doesn't care about one-man one-vote in Africa. He only cares about confrontation with the Soviet Union and defense of capitalism in Africa."

Pointing out another, "progressive" voice is still present in the Administration, Nyerere went on: "Let that (be the) voice which is still speaking to Africa, not this hysterical voice about Africa being taken over by Cuba. It is an absurdity. I don't think it becomes a powerful country like the US'. The Soviet Union maintains a significant presence only in Angola and Ethiopia, said Nyerere in both cases "...at the request of the legitimate governments concerned, for reasons that are well known and completely understandable by all reasonable people.... Current developments show that the greater immediate danger to Africa's freedom comes from nations in the Western bloc."

Nyerere's broadside against the prime wrecker of peace in southern Africa accompanied diplomacy by Zambia, France, Zaire and Angola to achieve a rapprochement between Zaire and Angola. In a statement opening the front line meeting in Luanda last night, Angolan President Neto affirmed that neither Cuba, the Soviet Union nor Angola were responsible for the invasion of Zaire, and that good relations between Zaire and Angola were necessary for peace

and development in the region. Neto's opening to Zaire followed a trip to both countries by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, another front line leader.

After Kaunda's departure from Zaire, Zairean President Mobutu made his own backhanded peace overture to Angola, offering to stop aiding the anti-government guerillas operating against Neto's government. Telling reporters he was being advised to start "arming and training opponents of (the Angolan) regime," Mobutu said, "I haven't taken a decision on that subject," meaning that he was prepared to stop."

It is time that the cold war is ended. If not, the world is faced with total disaster.

\* \* \*

#### FOR THE RECORD

## Western Manoeuvres In Africa

by Julius Nyerere

This statement by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, made early in June, about the situation in Africa after the French-Belgian military intervention in Zaire and after President Carter's many verbal onslaughts on alleged "Soviet and Cuban penetration in Africa" reflects front-line African nationalist logic. This statement will also explain the attitude and policies of the African States.

I have been very concerned indeed about world reactions to recent events in Africa and it seems to me to be necessary that I should make Tanzania's position clear. For the events of the past few weeks have once again demons-



trated that although our legal independence is officially recognised, our need and our right to develop our countries and our continent in our own interests has not yet been conceded in practice. The habit of regarding Africa as an appendage of Western Europe has not yet been broken.

In Angola the MPLA did almost all the fighting against the Portuguese colonialists. As independence approached after the revolution in Portugal, various Western countries led by the United States of America decided to try to prevent the establishment of an MPLA government in that country. They conspired with South Africa, and gave under cover finance and arms to rival nationalist movements which had previously been almost inactive. Faced with this conspiracy and the consequent attacks on Angola from South Africa and across the Zaire border, the MPLA government sought help from those who had given support to the movement during the independence struggle. Cuba and the Soviet Union responded to those requests. With their help the Angolan government overcame the immediate military threat to its existence, pushed South African troops back across the border into Namibia, and pushed the FNLA troops back to where they had come from—Zaire.

Cuban troops are still in Angola and the Soviet Union continues to give military assistance to Angola. The Angolan government is forced to ask for this assistance to be continued because the threat to the integrity of Angola still exists. Only last month South African troops entered Southern Angola again, and inflicted heavy casualties upon Namibian refugees. Unita continues to get outside support. There have been continual attacks made across the Angolan-Zaire border by FNLA troops, who are

financed and supplied with weapons by external forces and who operate with the active or tacit support of the Zaire government. *That all this is happening, is known to the Secret Services of South Africa, and of USA, France and some other Western countries. It would not be happening without their connivance and their involvement. It would be incredible if the governments of those countries did not know what their agencies were doing.*

The history of the ex-Katangese gendarmes predates the independence of Angola. It was not actions of the MPLA which took them to Angola, nor were they trained by MPLA. They are a living reminder to Africa of the determined and shameless attempt by the West to dismember the former Congo (Leopoldville) in their own economic interest. When that attempt was defeated, some of these gendarmes moved into Angola and remained there as refugees. Now things have changed, the West has a different view of Zaire and is using it to de-stabilise Angola. It would therefore not be surprising if Angola felt forced to withdraw the restraints it had been imposing on those Zairean refugees in Northern Angola. Whether such a policy of retaliation is correct or wise is a matter of judgement; it is nevertheless understandable.

**But one thing is clear. There is no evidence of Cuban or Soviet involvement in this retaliation. The US State Department was at one time reported to have said as much, the Cubans have persisted and convincingly repudiated such allegations.**

So Cuba and the Soviet Union went into Angola and are still in Angola for understandable reasons, at the request of the Angolan government. There is no evidence at all that they have been involved

directly or indirectly, in any fighting in Zaire.

Cuban and Soviet forces are also in Ethiopia, at the request of the Ethiopian government. The reasons for their presence are well-known. They have helped the Ethiopian to defend their country against external aggression. They have not and nor has the Ethiopian government engaged in any fighting outside Ethiopia's borders. And there is some evidence to suggest that the Cuban government at any rate makes a distinction between the fighting in the Ogaden and the fighting in Eritrea.

Apart from those two countries, where else in Africa are there Soviet or Cuban forces? There are a few Cuban and Soviet nationals and a few Chinese nationals helping to train the freedom fighters of Southern Africa in the use of weapons. Africa gets from communist countries for the liberation struggle in Rhodesia and Namibia. Apart from vague generalities, and rumours based on the jackets people wear, there is no serious suggestion that these forces are operating or stationed anywhere else in Africa.

*It is, then, on the basis of Soviet and Cuban forces in two African countries that there is a great furore in the West about a so-called Soviet penetration of Africa. And those forces are in those two countries at the request of the legitimate and recognised governments of the countries concerned, and for reasons which are well-known and completely understandable to all reasonable people. Yet Western countries are objecting, and are holding meetings ostensibly about how to defend the freedom of Africa against what they call Soviet penetration.*

Let me make it quite clear. Tanzania does not want anyone from outside to govern Africa. We regret, even while we recognise,



the occasional necessity for an African government to ask for military assistance from a non-African country when it is faced with an external threat to its national integrity. We know that a response to such a request by any of the big powers is determined by what that big power sees as its own interests. We have been forced to recognise that most of the countries acknowledged as world powers do not find it beneath their dignity to exacerbate existing and genuine African problems and conflicts when they believe they can benefit by doing so.

**We in Tanzania believe that African countries, separately and through the OAU, need to guard against such actions. But we need to guard Africa against being used by any other nation or group of nations. The danger to Africa does not come just from nations in the Eastern bloc. The West still considers Africa to be within its sphere of influence and acts accordingly. Current developments show that the greater immediate danger to Africa's freedom comes from nations in that Western bloc.**

It might be a good thing if the OAU was sufficiently united to establish an African High Command and a Pan-African Security Force. If, having done so, the OAU then decided to ask for external support for this force, no one could legitimately object. But the OAU has made no such decision. It is highly unlikely that the OAU Meeting in Khartoum will be able to agree unanimously on the creation of such a military force, or—if it did—that it would be able to agree unanimously on which countries to ask for support if that was needed. Yet until Africa, at the OAU has made such a deci-

sion, there can be no Pan-African Security Force which will uphold the freedom of Africa. It is the height of arrogance for anyone else to talk of establishing a Pan-African force to defend Africa. It is quite obvious, moreover, that those who have put forward this idea, and those who seek to initiate such a force, are not interested in the freedom of Africa. They are interested in the domination of Africa.

It was from Paris that this talk of a Pan-African Security Force has emanated. It is in Paris, and later in Brussels that there is to be a meeting to discuss this and related matters pertaining to the "freedom" of Africa. *The OAU meets in Khartoum in July, but we are told that African freedom and its defence is being discussed in Paris and Brussels in June.*

There is only one reason why the idea of Europe setting up, or initiating a Pan-African Security Force—does not meet amazement and consternation. It is the continual assumption that Africa, is, and must always remain, part of the West European "sphere of influence". This assumption is hardly being questioned yet. Even some African States take it for granted. We all know the facts of power in the world. But we cannot all be expected to accept without question this new insult to Africa and to Africans. We may be weak but we are human, we do know when we are being deliberately provoked and insulted.

**The french have troops in many countries of Africa. In West Sahara, in Mauritania and now also in Zaire, French forces are engaged in combat against Africans. France continues to occupy Mayotte. But there are no meetings in Washington, even in Moscow to discuss the threat to Africa's freedom by the French**

**penetration of Africa. Nor should there be. But not even Africans, in Africa discusses the question. The reason is very simple. It is the continued assumption that it is natural for French troops or Belgian troops, or British troops, to be in Africa, but it is a threat for troops from any non-member or the Western bloc to be in Africa. A threat to whom? To African freedom, or to the domination of Africa by ex-colonial powers and their allies, operated now through more subtle means and with the help of an African fifth column? The answers to those questions are very obvious. There have been continued incursions by South Africa and Rhodesia into Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique. The West has not shown much concern about these, nor have their new found surrogates in Africa.**

When the USSR sent its troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968, Tanzania was one of the many countries which protested. Is it expected that we should not protest when Western powers send their troops into an African country? These "rescue operations" almost always seem to result in the death of a lot of innocent people and the rescue of a government. But that is apparently not regarded in Europe as interference in African affairs. Instead the same country which initiated the military expedition then calls a meeting to discuss, they say, the freedom of Africa. There should be no mistakes. Whatever the official agenda the Paris and Brussels meetings are not discussing the freedom of Africa. They are discussing the continued domination of Africa, and the continued use of



Africa by Western powers. They are intended to be, taken together, a Second Berlin Conference.

The real agenda inside and outside the formal sessions of these meetings will be concerned with two things: It will be concerned with neo-colonialism in Africa for economic purpose—the real control of Africa and African States. That will be led by the French. It will be concerned also with the use of Africa in the East-West conflict. That will be led by the Americans. These two purposes will be coordinated so that they are mutually supportive and the appointment of the expected benefits and costs will be worked out. It is at that point—the division of the spoils—that disputes are most likely to occur.

But the costs may also be higher than the participants anticipated. Tanzania is not the only nationalist country in Africa. There are nationalists everywhere. Sooner or later and for so long as necessary, Africa will fight against neo-colonialism as it has fought against colonialism. And eventually it will win. Western bloc countries which try to resist the struggle against neo-colonialism as it has fought against colonialism. And eventually it will win. Western bloc countries which try to resist the struggle against neo-colonialism need to recognise that it will not only be African countries which will suffer in the process.

Nor will the whole of Africa acquiesce in being used in the East-West confrontation. We are weak, but our countries have before now caused a great deal of embarrassment and some difficulty for big powers. If the West wants to prove, either to the Russians or to their own people, that they are not soft on communism they should direct their attention to where the Soviet tanks are, and the Soviet front-line is. They

should not invest an excuse to bring the East-West conflict into Africa. For if they succeed in doing that Africa will suffer, and African freedom will suffer, but it may also turn out to be very expensive for those who choose Africa as another site for East-West confrontation.

The African people have the same desire as every other people to be free and to use their own benefit. They have the same determination to work and to struggle to that end. They know that no one else is interested in their freedom. This talk in Europe about a Pan-African Security Force is an insult to Africa and a derogation of African freedom.

It makes little difference if the European initiators of this plan find African to do their fighting for them. There were Africans who fought with the colonial invaders; there were Africans who assisted in the enslavement of fellow Africans; and there are Africans who fought against the freedom movements. But we ask those African government which may have agreed to participate in this plan to consider well before they go further. We have the OAU with all its faults and its incapacities, it is the only Pan-African Organisation which exists and which is concerned with African freedom. Do not let us split it—and Africa—between those who are militant and allied with the West and those who may in consequence find themselves forced to seek assistance from elsewhere against African-assisted neo-colonialism.

We do not deny the principle that any African State has the right to ask for assistance, either military or economic, from the country of its choice. On the contrary, we assert that right. Angola, Ethiopia, Chad, Zaire, and all of us, have that right. It is not for

the west to object when Angola asks assistance from the USSR. It is not for the East to object when Djibouti ask for assistance from France. And the requested country always has the right to decide whether to give that assistance.

We do not deny either that all African governments can be threatened by a few malcontents, possibly financed by external elements, even while they are fully supported by the mass of the people. In such circumstances a government is surely justified in seeking assistance to overcome a temporary crisis, and the donor country should not be accused of neo-colonialism for responding. Other governments in Africa have inherited situations and need longer term support while they genuinely try to bring peace to their people and to develop their country in the interests of those-people.

But we must reject the principle that external powers have the right to maintain in power African governments which are universally recognised to be corrupt, or incompetent or a bunch of murderers when their peoples try to make a change. Africa cannot have its present governments frozen into position for all time by neo-colonialism, or because there are cold war or ideological conflicts between Big Powers. The peoples of an individual African country have as much right to change their corrupt government in the last half of the twentieth century, as in the past, the British French and Russian people had to overthrow their own rotten regimes. The people of China waged a long, historic, and exemplary struggle against the lackeys and running dogs of imperialism in so-called independent China. Are African peoples to be denied that same right?

Under which category any particular African government crisis falls



may be a matter of genuine difference of opinion. But when the same government constantly needs to make recourse to external assistance to maintain its control over the country, most people would begin to question whether it really has the backing of its citizens. Those foreign powers which are really interested in the freedom of Africa, and not in dominating it, will then decide that the time has come to call a halt. And if they do not do so, they must not be surprised if the rest of Africa interprets their intervention as an expression of neo-colonialist domination and as being intended to maintain their control over that part of Africa.

Western Europe and the United States of America are interested in having continued access to the minerals of Africa to sustain their own economics. But that access is not ensured by corruption, or support for corruption. It is endangered by such support. That access is not dependent either upon the ideology espoused by particular African governments. The present realities of African politics and economics force all African countries to sell their minerals where they can get the best prices for them, and where they can get in exchange the goods they themselves need. There is much evidence of for both those propositions.

The purpose of this statement is to make it clear that we reject the West European countries to dominate Africa, just as much as we would reject attempts by Eastern Bloc countries to dominate Africa. In particular, we want it to be clear that Tanzania resents the arrogance and the contempt of those who purport to set up a Pan-African Security Force. Either Africa will do that for itself, or there will be no Pan-African Force defending the freedom of Africa, only something calling itself by some such name which is an instrument for rene-

wed foreign domination of this continent.

Tanzania repudiates the claim that African Freedom can be defended by a Security Force organised or initiated by European powers. We shall regard such a force is an instrument of neo-colonialism in our continent.

The purpose of Africa's independence struggle was the freedom of Africa and of Africans. Our independence and governments must not become the instruments through which foreign domination as main-

tained in a new form. Rather they must be the instruments through which the peoples of Africa develop themselves and their countries, and enlarge their freedom until it means a life of dignity for every individual. We have a long way to go—all of us, in every African nation. But Tanzania will resist every attempt to circumscribe our development and to prevent it moving in that direction. It will resist any attempt to reassert and strengthen the domination of Africa under cover of a pretence to defend Africa.

#### ACID BOMB EXPLOSION—7

### Chapter Seven

## First Day In School

by James Goonewardene

#### THE STORY SO FAR

*Deva, an England-returned artist, failed to get a response from the art-world of Sri Lanka. He found himself a job as an Art Master in a Maha Vidyalaya in a remote area by the sea. The Principal, Piyaratne, is a figure from the old world of Sri Lanka's educational system, while Ariya, the manager of the local resthouse with whom Deva has struck up a friendship, is sensitive to the disturbing realities, even the underground trends, swelling up in the country at this time. In a discussion, after Deva's appointment, Ariya reveals that he was perturbed about many strange things that have happened in the neighbourhood recently. Deva gives up his rooms in Colombo and asks his brother, a highly successful money-spinning architect to look after his collection of unsold sculptures. The brother, aghast at the thought that Deva should waste his talents in a rural school, offers his money to enable him to go back to London to resume his career as a sculptor and regain his former popularity, wealth and success. Deva refuses because he has no desire to escape to London and what the world regarded as fame. Before leaving Colombo, finally for the village, Deva wanted to meet an old friend who, though an important bureaucrat, was a kindly man. In the government office where the bureaucrat had worked he found a strange new atmosphere where the newly elevated peon and a revolutionary sounding clerk told him that his friend had been thrown as a reactionary. With his ties with the world he had known snapping, Deva turned to the village. Back in the village, Deva looks for a lodging as he does not want to stay in the school hostel. He cannot afford the resthouse. His friend Ariya, the resthouse keeper, found him a room in the house of the village subpostmaster whose wife was a school mistress.*

When Deva arrived on his first day at school the sun was barely catching the tops of the coconut trees. The school compound had been turned into a playing field. The younger boys were yelling out



there trying to catch up on some fun. Deva turned in through the gateway and went self-consciously past them. The corridor, as he entered it, was deserted. He went on to the Principla's office. This too was empty. He stood outside, lit a cigar and waited. For nothing better to do he watched a group of upper form students gathered some distance away, their earnest rustic faces seeming to contain some unexpressed anger and resentment against some yet unidentified object. Certainly, they had no illusions about their future. They were being turned out of the schools like hastily prepared mash to be sent to the poultry farms round the country. Deva felt a slight nervousness when their sullen face were turned in his direction. They were being brought into the school with the promise of education, development and a healthy understanding of their human needs and functions and were then quickly thrown out to fend for themselves as best as they could—half baked, underdone mash. They had not been fooled—one could see that in the way they looked at you and appraised you. They were the whirlwind being engineered on the basis of a scheme they had hatched in the secret hiding places.

He heard footsteps behind him at the moment and turned round to see the old man turning up for work as if everything had collapsed round him. "Ah yes, come in," he said gloomily and Deva followed him in. "Sit down". He himself wearily flopped into his seat and passed his hand over his head with a tired gesture. Afterwards he sat a moment as if trying to gather his thouthgts.

"Yes, we must get you started. I have the time table ready. I have it somewhere here. Your appointment by the way, has been approved. So there is no problem there."

He started to rummage among the papers. Deva observed the shadow under his eyes. The eyes themselves were blood shot. He had, either spent the night drinking or in sleeplessness. Deva slowly began to get the impression that Piyaratne took his drinks heavily. What was the truth about him? Was it his work or his private life that had driven him to drink? A tippler for a Principal of a school. Piyaratne looked up and gazed at him as if he were trying to concentrate on something that was eluding him.

"I hope we are right about what we are trying to do," he said as if it was this he had been trying to get his mind to think about. Sometimes, we try to do things for people who are not yet ready for it or not been given the right opportunities."

The old man was echoing something that had occupied Deva's mind not five minutes back.

"Only time must show."

He muttered the last in a numbling voice as if it wasn't meant for Deva's ears—it was just an idea he was trying out in his own mind, a judgement he was passing on the predicament he found himself in, after twenty five years of teaching.

"Only time must show," he said again, his voice sound even fainter.

The bell rang and there was a rush of feet as the students swarmed into their classes. Piyaratne waited until the noise had died. Deva continued to be puzzled at the change that had come over Piyaratne. He was no longer the garrulous old man he had met the first time. Not knowing what had caused this change Deva wondered if Piyaratne was not just as effete, incompetent old fool who had begun to find his task too big for him.

The principal continued to listen. The old man's furtive manner began to irritate Deva. His behaviour was that of a cornered animal, driven into his hole and trying to

burrow into it. Deva wondered what it was he had let himself into by taking this job here. The old man's confidence seemed to return the next moment.

'Well...I hope your coming to work with us here is going to benefit us all. It is not possible anymore to say what might happen from day to day. I don't know how much you know of what has been taking place around us here. I had hoped when you arrived this morning that I could give you all the help you needed. I had hoped to guarantee you a peaceful environment in which to work. I am not trying to frighten you. I only want to give as accurate a picture as possible so that both you and I would be disappointed. You see, I have been Principal of this school for over fifteen years. I have seen it go through various changes, various phases of development."

Piyaratne paused to clear his throat.

"I have had very good staff," he continued, "well read men—not all of them had degrees, but they were well informed and enjoyed teaching, imparting their knowledge good men who cooperated with me and together we inspired confidence in the boys. This is a small school here, no facilities, no opportunities for extra-mural activities, but we did things had debating and drama societies, gave these village boys an opportunity to go beyond their text books. You'll be surprised what you can do when you get simple boys like those we had here and gave them an insight into bigger things—a window into the bigger world. Despite the handicaps we were faced with we were able to bring out what there was in the boys. Some of them from here now hold high places in the medical and legal professions. This, you must admit is quite an achievement for a small school".



Deva was struck by the change that had come over the old man. He was suddenly getting a glimpse of another facet of the man's character, a facet one did not suspect as being present. Looking at the round potato shaped head, with its balding top and flushed cheeks and his furtive, frightened manner, Deva's thoughts went back to the look of disappointment he saw in Ariya's face the first time he made that adverse remark about Piyaratne. He had not known at the time that there ran this deeper current in the old man's veins.

Piyaratne had paused to see what impression he had made on Deva.

"Of course, the good ones don't stay. They go looking for better jobs. One can't blame them. It's natural for the good ones to seek jobs in the better schools. The trouble now is that most of the teachers I get now are of such poor quality. It's why I was happy to bring you here. I had hoped to inject some new blood into the school, but I have fears now, fears of a kind that I cannot at the moment understand myself. I only know I am uneasy."

The old man stopped here and searched Deva's face. The earlier tiredness had left his face. There was for a moment as old intensity is it like in a piece of dying coal that has been whipped into life by a passing breeze, but it was gone the next moment. The moment of intensity had gone. The creases in the face had returned. It had sagged with a fresh dying. He looked very old suddenly. It was also suddenly as if he wished he could go to sleep and not awake again.

"Well, I've talked enough for one morning," he said, stirring himself briefly.

"The less said the better these days. All one can do now is to learn simply how to survive, and yet...try to salvage some little thing of value."

He rose and pushed his chair back.

"I don't have to tell you your job. If there is any talent here you'll dig it out. I feel sure. It is just some little thing we can still do, that and how to be honest with ourselves. This is the most difficult thing—that we don't cheat ourselves. This is not something we do for this power group or that. It is what each of us must do—look into ourselves and see if there's still something false lurking in the dark places inside us. All this, no doubt, is how yourself feel. I cannot imagine that you will want to cheat in any matter. I know you will not cheat and be false to something you have undertaken—it all depends on how you are trained and have disciplined yourself. It sometimes boils down to something that has happened to you in childhood and you have been sent into a tail-spin out of which you cannot pull yourself—so you learn how to rifle someone's till or cook the figures in another's ledger—sorry about the way I talk. This is all I do nowadays—talk, do nothing but talk. I, sometimes, find I cannot help myself when I discover someone who I think can understand that I am talking about....."

Deva didn't know whether to sympathise with the old man or ask what had happened to make him talk as he did. The old man himself, the next moment tried to offer an explanation and gave up.

"You must wonder what suddenly brought all this on. I do not know whether to begin at the beginning or just give you a gist of it—my problem is that I cannot make head or tail of this myself. I feel we are all trapped in something out of which no one will come unscathed. I have tried to blind myself to things happening right here, under my nose, for fear of things that are going to happen". He sighed and then paused. "It's a madness.... there's madness here too....but

its my problem—I can't get anyone else into it. I must deal with it myself....but how does one deal with a madness?"

The old man stretched out a hand to Deva who took it. Then he stood a moment just looking at Deva. "This is not how I should be talking to you on your first day.....but don't mind me.....I am just an old man."

Deva was more moved by what he had been told than his face registered, but he was too new to make sense out of all this, but he needed somewhere to sit a moment and sort out his impressions. He headed for the teachers' room. He could be alone here to think things out. He sat there and tried to calm his mind. He tried to distract himself. He began by examining the room, its walls and scanty furniture. Most of the space was taken by four lounge chairs placed close together. It was a tight little place. He breathed slowly, up and down, trying to calm himself—no good trying to work oneself up thinking it was a dump he had landed himself in. One lies in the bed one makes for oneself. That's all there is to it.

He picked up a couple of magazines from the table and glanced through them. Pages had been torn free and were lying loosely within the covers. Not much reading fare for teachers, he thought—trade bulletins from a couple of East-European countries—socialist countries—with their dry recounting of official statistics and supported by photographs of machines and factories. He tossed them back on the table. He yawned. He hadn't a class until eleven—the first in his new job. He tried to reconcile himself to a long, exhausting wait. Adjusting himself to long waits in between classes would be one of his tasks. He could meditate. He could read or swap yarns with a fellow teacher.



Almost as if he had the power to summon a genie the doorway was darkened. Deva looked to see a big boned, gangling man of about thirty five standing in the doorway and staring down at him. It was a long, brooding stare. It was as if some private and secret place he had reserved for himself had been invaded. He stepped in and settled in one of the chairs. He seemed suddenly to fill the room. It suddenly seemed to become crowded. There was however, nothing to distinguish him from any other school teacher he might have expected to meet in this school. There was only this feeling that he brought with him a sense of crowdedness. The new arrival spent several moments scrutinising Deva with side-long glances. He then brought out an exercise book from a pile of books. He opened this, turned over several pages, all filled with an untidy scrawl. He turned to a page only half filled. He read this and then started to write.

Deva began to feel strange chemical reactions take place within him. He felt uneasy. What impressed him was his colleague's face, its aggressive jaw. His body was bony. He had a pair of long hands and feet. This, together, with the angular body helped to convey the impression of a man who would have been big if his body had been properly filled out. He was a nervous man who could give way to fits of anger and violence.

He sat there writing for several minutes and then read what he had written. He put this away and picked up a slim booklet, the cover of which had a liberal splash of red that faded off into crimson. The man moved in his seat and accidentally revealed the title. It was a booklet Deva had heard about in Colombo. It had subsequently appeared in several other places and had all been taken in an island wide raid conducted, one day, by the

police in an attempt to stamp out various mushroom centres of seditious literature.

Deva was jerked out of his indifference. His neighbour had suddenly acquired a character and image contrary to that which was first formed in his mind. The booklet itself was unimportant as a political work. It did not enunciate any important theoretical position. It was a simple but rather detailed account of how to start an underground movement, fight a guerilla war. Deva remembered the excitement the booklet had caused in the official world not many months back. The talk in Colombo at the time was that the booklet had had its origin in some foreign country and had been smuggled into the island along with other left wing literature.

After a time the man seemed to become conscious of Deva's interest in the booklet. Suddenly, then, he snapped it shut and dumped it with the rest of the books and turned to Deva.

"You have come to work here—a teacher?" he said.

"Yes, that's right. I've come to teach art."

"To teach art", he said smiling. He then suddenly stretched the legs out and pulling his feet out of his sandals he put them on the top of the sandals. This was a gesture that Deva came later to identify with his colleagues.

"Art", he repeated chuckling and turning to stare at Deva.

"Why?" said Deva, "is it funny?"

"It's a waste of time. What use is art to these boys? Young men have no jobs in this country—what can they do with art? They must be taught something that will help to get them jobs. What they are doing in these schools is all a big joke."

Deva was totally unprepared for the turn the conversation took, which started off straight away as

an attack. When a conversation began on a note of this nature what could one say? His colleague, however, continued: "There are still a lot of colonial stooges running these schools. They don't teach these students the right things—about how the imperialists destroyed the language and culture of this country. The boys are kept dark about these things and are made pawns in the imperialist's game...."

"But you said something about jobs....?" interrupted Deva.

"Yes, that's right. Socialism is what we need in this country. When you get rid of the imperialists and their capitalist stooges and bring in socialism the jobs will come."

"I am a bit ignorant about these things....I mean about imperialists and capitalists".

"Yes, that's the trouble with you people".

"I mean how will all this create jobs"?

His angular colleague was suddenly staring at Deva as if he were getting annoyed.

"Jobs!" he said, "Jobs will come. You people want everything explained—made simple." He suddenly started to fumble with his books—arranged and rearranged them irritably. "What's wrong with teaching these boys agriculture—we are an agricultural country—teach them what is useful—all this big time stuff—good for the rich countries. Its part of the imperialist plot to keep up tied down—tied to their industries. We got to change all this."

Deva suddenly felt he was drifting away. He had lost contact with his colleagues and his argument. Perhaps there were sense in what the other one was saying, but he had lost contact with it. It had ceased to make sense to him. He was really, perhaps, on the other side of the fence—a man who had



no contact with current trends—a cultural alien, whatever that meant. Everyone was labelled, and what was his—cultural alien, imperialist stooge, expatriate—the more a man's hates become crystallised and the more confused one became as a result the more other people seem to fall into categories and classifications. Nationalism bred a whole lot of vermin. What really was the truth about himself, though Deva—what was it that drove him to sculpt in a foreign land, become an expatriate—heaven knew how much he loved this country he had returned to and how much he cared for the things the ordinary folk did, for the songs they sang. How often, as he sat in his London digs had his mind gone to those days as a boy when he used to sit awake in the night and listen to the carters sing their melancholy songs as their carts went rumbling along the remote roadways, and back to the times when he listened to the farmer drag out his high-pitched song keeping the wild boar at bay as he kept vigil over his crop. He had no need to go arguing about how deep his love went for the things that this man and the others like him would never know, not having the sensitivity or the capacity to love or understand those things anymore. Who was this man, with his foreign bred ideologies and his hates and his violence to talk to him of cultural alienation.

"You have still not told me how these things you hope to do will create the jobs that these boys, when out of school are going to need?" said Deva, clinging to his idea like a cat would a dead rat. He had begun to enjoy doing this now.

"Jobs!" replied his companion, turning to Deva with a violence that shook his chair. "You cannot find jobs while the imperialist stooges continue to control things. The few jobs that there are being handed

out to their friends and relations. All this has to be changed first. Don't worry, you'll soon see it happening. There is still too much colonialism clinging to the life here. We must make a clean sweep of all this. Not before then can anything be done. Don't worry—you'll see things happening...."

He gathered his books together and suddenly turning to Deva asked.

"What's your name?"

"Deva!"

"Deva what?"

"Deva Sumanadasa."

"All right, we'll meet again Mr. Sumanadasa and talk about these things."

"Yes, we must talk about these things again."

#### NEXT WEEK

UDA KANDEY BAAS

(Copyright Reserved)

X X

#### CARAVAN FAMILY—16

### In Delft—Horse Plains

by Inna Trimmer

At four o'clock they were off again taking the road due south to the Horse Plains. On all sides could be seen the ramshackle stone walls which the Maniyagar spoke of, loose stones placed one on top of the other.

They came to a vast tireless plain that spread from the centre of the island to the sea.

"Is this the famous Horse Plains?" asked mummie.

"Yes the whole of the southern part of Delft belongs to the horses. It's about 3 or 4 miles wide by 2 miles or more, long".

The westering sun beat fireceley down and even the little wind that came from the sea barely tempered

the heat. However, they all dismounted and stood by an ancient stone wall that demarcated the horse territory from the rest of the land. Straining their eyes they gazed into the dept hsof this infinitely arid, desolate country.

"Daddy, where are the horses?" asked Ranjit, his face puckered with disappointment.

"What a God-forsaken spot", caried Mummie. "Not a tree and only an apology for grass. What can those poor creatures live on!"

"If there are any", said Daddy. "Pass my binoculars. Ah! I can see one. No, there are two under the distant palmyrah."

"Please don't go away Daddy", pleaded Nila. "Perhaps they'll come closer if we wait."

As if in answer to her prayer four horses came galloping up, inquisitively or perhaps in search of food.

"Oh the poor darlings!" whispered Varuni. "Don't talk loud or they'll run away. How thin they are!"

"And mangy", added Mummie. "They are all bones! Haven't we anything we can throw to them? See their poor tummies bulging with ricketts".

"No wonder! They are ill—nourished with only that n iserable dried up grass to live on".

"But anyway they are still graceful and beautiful, aren't they?" asked Varuni.

"The horses, no sooner they approached the little group by the wall wheeled round and in sudden far galloped back into the distance and shelter of their plain.

They rumbled on westward through deserted, flat country, the sea on their left, the sky abaze with the glory of the setting sun.

They were alone in on elemental world.



Suddenly from behind came life and movement—catamarans, about fifty of them, their deep red sails redder for the glowing sunlight, like a flight of giant butterflies winging out into the dying sun.

"Red sails in the sunset", sang Mummie.

The road wound on, following the coast line, northwards. In the gathering darkness the white road and the white hills alone stood out clear cut distinct in the flat desolation of sea and plain.

"Where are we!" asked Mummie.

"The North-western coast of Delft".

"But the sea, Richard? Is this the Indian Ocean?"

"Well to be exact it's Palk Strait".

"Between India and Ceylon?"

"Yes!"

"Do let's get off here. I want to sit by Palk Strait. Unfortunately it's too late to paddle."

Again they dismounted. Mummie led the way over the rough tussocky spiny grass and sat down close to the edge of the narrow beach.

"Ugh! This place is eerie! Listen to these seagulls mewling! There they are, swooping down to the water. Fish must be abundant here. I can't remember having seen seagulls along the southern coast except in two and threes. How lonely it is! Not a soul in sight, just ourselves only in this waste of land, and sea, and sky".

Suddenly from nowhere, as it were, three figures appeared, two men and a woman. Passing not far from them they hurried down to the sea. One man carried a hand net, and the other two what seemed to be small ekel brooms. Obvious of the little group seated by the shore they walked into the water waist deep.

"What are they up to, Richard?"

Even as she spoke the man threw the net with a quick twist of his

wrist the other two who had gone deeper in on either side began to thrash the water violently with their brooms. They kept on beating steadily, whipping with their brooms as hard as they could.

"Look!" whispered mummie. They are churning up the water, those two with the brooms. What can they possibly catch in that commotion and tumult!"

But the man with the net gave the answer to her scepticism. A few minutes later he walked ashore and emptied some fish out of the net, then returned again where the three of them carried out the same process.

"My goodness!" gasped mummie. They actually caught some fish. Strangest way of fishing I ever saw!"

They left the three fishers and turned homewards but Mummie was still not satisfied.

"I want to sit on the jetty for a while. It's too early for dinner, and the moon is due to rise soon. We'll sit down and wait for it. May we Richard?"

"Why, of course".

No sooner had they sat at the further end of the jetty, swinging their legs over the water, the moon appeared, a shining rim on the horizon.

The dhonies and boats rocked gently at anchor with a steady cycle of sound, creaking in the incoming tides, their masts gaunt in the half-light.

"A scene of ineffable peace", said mummie softly.



FOLK TALES OF  
THE PUBLIC SERVICE—I

Introducing George  
by Glucorasa

I had just walked into my room—my office room. You see, I am blessed with the services of an Assistant, a donkey who was not wanted elsewhere. He was already a vegetable by the time he made his entry into my arms. The authorities thought perhaps that this chap will do less harm to the public service, and to the public, by being with me. In a government office, you get all sorts of chaps with designations that would stun the uninitiated. My misfortune is that one morning with my Assistant would ordinarily require one week to bring down my blood pressure. Today was a particularly excruciating day with this fellow. I was sorely in need of rest.

I watched the clock the whole morning. It seemed to me that time stood still. The hands moved very slowly indeed. Fortunately it struck 12—I thanked the merciful Lord for this benign kindness. I could now get lost and my staff would tell whoever called me that the boss had gone for lunch. Lunch hour in any government office generally begins around this time, and goes on till even as late as 2.30 pm when it is almost tea time, indicating another break away from work.

I rang the bell and my faithful old friend and cook walked in with a broad grin and my plate of rice. He always held the plate of rice with the tenderness he would bestow on his firstborn. What is in that palte is a different kettle of fish—not the expensive variety of the fish of Festus, as the *Tribune* would call the fish laddled out at the Corporation outlets. The fish my man manages to serve reminds me of the Beira.



With considerable difficulty I ate my lunch. This ritual over, I retired to a passage safely secluded from prying eyes, for the rest I had earned that morning. Comfortably seated, I closed my eyes. I can sleep anytime, anywhere. When I got back to my desk, it was tea time. You, see, in most government offices, one can sleep, get lost or even play a game of carrom and no one will be any the wiser—provided of course your colleagues do not rat on you. That way, my Assistant was a paragon. The rest of the staff were equally devoted to me with a devotion an Alsatian would give his master. On that count, I was safe. Else chaps like me who sleep or get lost would be facing Commissions of Inquiry.

This day, when I got back to my desk, my hands went automatically towards my pipe—a habit cultivated over the years—and the Gold Block a kind friend had given me. It has a lovely aroma. Those who may suspect I am a smuggler should know that Gold Block is a brand of pipe tobacco. As I lit my pipe, I walked George Marzipan. Marzipan is not the name those who fathered him had given. It was conferred upon him by me. I had loved Marzipans to delight my palate and since George delighted be considerably I thought I would call him Marzipan. George was thrilled with this name. In fact he is now better known as Marzipan. I am told that even his parents call him Marzipan.

"How are you George. And what brings you at this time. Sure you know I got my tea at this hour—don't you?"

"Yes Sir. I love the tea you serve. What I get at the roadside boutique is probably made from water from the nearby canal. I was hospitalised for one week after just one encounter with that brew"

"And how did you fare in the hospital?"

"At least they say, that tea is made under aseptic conditions. If I did get worse, they would never have permitted me to die"

"But surely George they gain nothing by keeping you alive. Well—let's get back to the purpose of your most welcome visit. Have your tea and here's a Black & White for you—it's a brand imported from Pakistan." I held out my lighter, but Marzipan drew back as if he had seen a ghost. "No Sir, I want to have this after dinner. Today is pay day and I will get home tight. My wife knows this and she will have an excellent dinner for me—and Black & White will be fine after it"

Marzipan finished his tea and lit the other cigarette I offered. "I came to speak to you about a Seminar I wish to organise. I need your advice and help. Above all your active involvement"

"We will see about the involvement later, but why on earth a Seminar, my dear fellow—and on what" I asked Marzipan.

"You see, Sir, our membership is open to males and females. So I thought a Seminar of Family Planning would not be a bad idea. And moreover our profession is multi-disciplinary."

"Look Marzipan—it is not multi-dimensional I hope!"

"No Sir, our primary interests are not on vital statistics" said Marzipan with a mischievous smile.

"OK—go ahead, and where do I come in?"

"We will not trouble you much. It will be only a one day Seminar. We want to invite the Minister to inaugurate the Seminar."

"Why not make it 2 or 3 days and invite two other Ministers, Marzipan. You can then have yourself photographed with each of them. I am certain that will impress your wife who will give you better dinners with each additional photograph."

"The problem is to find an organisation to sponsor this Seminar. If it is sponsored, all expenses will be met—I am even told that they pay you for attending the Seminar—our employing institutions will pay us our subsistence, travelling and what not. We will take all this, see Colombo, do our shopping in the World Market, take a ride in the baby train in Vihara Maha Devi Park, get pickpocketed in the CTB bus and get back home"

I thought to myself what a brilliant chap Marzipan was. He had seen through the sham. I was silent, contemplating what a national lose it was that this man's talents were being frittered away in an occupation that could very well have been performed even by my Assistant with equal acceptance, if not with *elan*. George was the Secretary of the Union. He had a perpetual toothpaste smile decorating his pale face. Without it, he would have the look of a corpse—a living corpse one finds in many government institutions, including hospitals. I had been told by some of the membership that he had been elected to this post, in order to save him from dismissal—for he did no work. You see office bearers in Trade Unions are powerful people—Heads of Departments tremble before them. But Marzipan was cast in a different mould, a very delightful fellow who only wants to be liked by all about the Town—invariably he is followed by 6-8 members who paid for his tea and cigarettes.

"Sir—you have not advised about my Mission."

"What? You are going to be Head of a Mission? To which country are you being accredited Marzipan? The Central African Federation or to the Court of the Queen of Tonga? Look, my dear fellow, accept this—it is a national duty. Go wherever you are sent" I said.



George had got up from his chair. I feared he was about to collapse. I moved over and held him to prevent him from falling.

"You are joking Sir. My mission today was about the Seminar and you are trying to send me out of this blessed Isle where no one has to work even during the 187 working days of the 365 days of the year. I do not work even during those 187 days. I am looking after the interests of my boys and girls in the Union. I want to give them more holidays."

"That's your business, but what do you want me to do at this Seminar?"

"Be the Moderator—that's all. And of course you will grace the occasion."

"Look Marzipan, I have nothing with which to grace the occasion. You at least possess the distinction of siring 8 children."

"You have everything...."

"Yes Marzipan, I know that and am fully conscious of it. But I am sure there are many who are cut out to grace occasion such as the one you propose"

"But surely you have participated in Seminars" countered George.

"Yes in fact I have. I derived immense satisfaction. Four days away from work. Free lunch, free tea and best of all I was able to sleep right through every session in air-conditioned comfort. Fortunately my neighbour was an understanding sort of chap, who undertook to wake me at the correct times. It was run by a well funded Association that has much money to spend. I advise you to get hold of one of these organisations—there are many around here who would be happy to help, and if you can arrange for a Minister or two to come round for a few minutes they will go flat out

to run the Seminar for you, Marzipan. Your smile, your fine presence and your....." I could not proceed further. "You are embarrassing me Sir".

"What nonsense. I mean every word I said. You are the General Secretary, are you not?"

"No—I am the Hony. Secy."

"Now Marzipan, don't talk in riddles. My IQ is not so high. What the devil does Hony. Secy. mean anyway?"

"Honorary Secretary. I am not paid for all the work I do for the Union".

"I see—but Government pays your salary each month—am I right" George was a trifle embarrassed, but I did not intend it.

It was getting late. My Karyalaya Karya Sahayaka seemed restless. He had to run for the CTB bus that never comes. Incidentally KKS means an office aide, in the colonial days they were called Peons, a designation which was humiliating and it's use offensive.

I stood up. Marzipan understood what it meant. I assured Marzipan when he managed to get the Seminar under way, I would be around to lend a hand, at least during the lunch and tea breaks and when I wanted to be away from my Assistant. We both walked down. In the garden the catchers were there waiting to take Marzipan for another round of tea and cigarettes.

"Good luck George—come again." and went my way.

I turned back to see Marzipan. He truly reminded me of the Pied Piper of Hamelin of whom I had read when I was quite young. George was bound to see me again. He sees me regularly.

• • •

## BOOK REVIEW

### Experiences Of An Asian Ophthalmic Surgeon

—an Autobiography—

by Dr. Arumugam Viswalingam, O.B.E.

A few years back I was at the counter of a prestigious departmental store waiting for the prescription I had handed in to be dispensed. It did not seem to be a particularly busy day for I found quite a number—all of them pharmacists I imagined—idling behind the counter. This is normal practice in a government hospital—but that is beside the point.

As if from nowhere a gentlemen, very nattily dressed in jodhpurs walked in to the same counter. He asked for something, which he was told was not available. But he would not move—he called the head of that department and had a word with him. Within minutes the medicine was produced and the gentleman walked away as briskly as he had come in.

"Do you know him, the man at the counter asked me". Yes, It was Dr. Viswalingam. His name had become a household word in the field of ophthalmology within years of his setting up his surgery in Colombo, after his return from Malaya. I had read about him in the newspapers and it was therefore a matter of much delight to me to read what the doctor had to say about his own career.

It was Anton Chekov who wrote "Medicine is my leagl spouse and literature is my mistress. When I get tired of one I go to sleep with the other". Dr. Viswalingam's dedication to the cause of medicine and in particular to his aversion to it's practice as a means to amass wealth is discernible when he declined the 100 acres of land to



become a planter. Dr. Viswalingam writes "...if I became a planter I should cease to be a doctor, since my interest in my profession would be diverted to another channel."

Dr. Viswalingam's decision to write the autobiography certainly does not indicate his inclination to desert his legal spouse—medicine for literature. His interest in medicine remains undiminished as will be obvious from the curriculum vitae given at page 84 of the book. It would have been a calamity if it were so. On the other hand the younger members of this noble profession should be grateful to Dr. Viswalingam for having taken time to put down for posterity the difficulties that could frustrate men with less determination—the jealousies, the race prejudices and other pin pricks. Nothing could keep him down. He reached the top of the profession.

Of particular interest was Dr. Viswalingam's comments at page 18 on the need for 'Coordination of Medical and Health Services' because of its relevance to Sri Lanka. He had realised the need for this coordination as far back as 1920 in the Federated Malay States, Malaysia, as it was then called. Let us listen to the doctor "This was the objective I had in mind when I pleaded for coordination under one authority. The head of the medical service in the country should have a sanitary authority, to advise on, and initiate, measures for preventive work."

Everyone knows that prevention is better than cure. None has disputed this apothegm. Let us see how Sri Lanka's medical services are organised. The emphasis is clearly on the curative and not on the preventive. The figures I have been able to ascertain (subject to correction ofcourse) is as follows:

1977—Total expenditure Rs. 405 million. Patient care (hospital services) 71%. Public Health (community health services) 21%. Administration 8%

1976—Total expenditure Rs. 373 million. Patient care (hospital services) 70%, Public Health (community health services) 22%, Administration 8%

If the administration decides to up it's expenditure on the community health services, known as Public Health Service in our country to most of us, the expenditure incurred on the maintenance of hospital services would considerably be reduced, the health of the entire country enhanced and the congestion in hospitals eased. What is more, the patient care services will not need the massive physical infrastructure needed for the hospital services. There is no doubt more money in curative medicine!

Who for instance would believe that "assembling farm hands and directing them to their respective jobs for the day, such as irrigation and preparation of sites for planting" would have helped a surgeon in his early life. But this is precisely what the doctor says "This knowledge gathered in early life would appear to have implanted an innate aptitude, which later in my professional life helped me in fashioning, shaping and preparing sites for grafting, as it were, in the practice of surgery, in which I was engaged throughout my career...."

The section on "An ideal town for flies" is of contemporary interest, at least to those who live in housing complexes. It seems worthwhile quoting him "The collection and disposal of town refuse in Kuala Kangsar was very unsatisfactory. These were erected at convenient spots one or two dumps for each street or for each section of the town. These were enclosures about 4 ft. by 3ft. by 3ft. with brick walls, cement floors and open tops. They were built at ground level, and there was no cemented area round about in which the overflow might fall when the capacity of the dumps was taxed". These are the type of structures we find within the City

limits. It is understood that these were constructed some years back, NOT by the present City Council administration, against competent advice. It might be worthwhile to look into this problems, because it is very real.

In his retirement, I wonder if Dr. Viswalingam would not like to spearhead a move to sponsor institutions such as St. Christopher's Hospice in London. The terminally ill who put up with unrelenting pain because of the absence of the legal right to demand withdrawal of life-support treatment would be grateful for such an institution. George Will describes the Hospice in London as a "therapeutic community within the community, helping the dying to live until they die and helping the families to live on" I have personally witnessed the pain and anguish of a terminally ill cancer patient who would much rather have preferred the "withdrawal of life-support treatment" than go through what she did. Cancer is stated to be the consequence of aberrant cellular mutation. Medical science has yet to find a cure, except surgical intervention at a very early stage: this too does not carry an assurance of 100% success. I was deeply emotionally upset when I read that "all but about twenty of more than 600 persons who died (at St. Christopher's; there in 1977 died of cancer" The mean length of stay at Hospice is twelve days. Is there nothing that can be done for our terminally ill patients in this country when "concern for the patient should become concern for a dignified death, for palliative care for symptoms and needs".

Printed in Surrey by Dimbley Printers on excellent paper, it is not price marked. I assume therefore that it is not available for sale. It is certainly a book our young medicoes should read. The address given in the book is 26, Ward Place, Colombo. D. D.



## BOOK REVIEW

**Black Man In U.S.**

We are almost half way through the Decade for Action to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination launched by the UN General Assembly in 1972. As we take stock of our performance to date in combating racial discriminations we are presented with a tale of a woe in the form of *The Black American*. It tells the story of racial discrimination shown to 28 million Negroes, 11 million Chicanos, 2 million Puerto Ricans, 2 million Americans of Asian origin and finally one million Red Indians. They are all full-fledged citizens of United States and in fact more than three-fourths of the Black Americans are mulattos and need not be described as Negroes at all. Reading the contents of this book one is perplexed as to how the US can go about sermonising the world on human rights, advise Pretoria against apartheid and Salisbury on majority rule. It also unmarks the secret behind the support given by the United States to certain reactionary regimes. The fact that Andrew A. Young occupies a prestigious position in Carters administration, nor the success of Alex Haley or the economic prosperity of nearly six percent or so of the Blacks in no way affect the "conditions of the Blacks, who as before, are herded in ghettos, crushed by the iron heels of social and economic discrimination."

The book is written in the form of notes and divided into parts with suitable sub-titles. This could be further reduced into two main sections. The first section deals mainly with the "Hot Years" of agitations and struggle beginning with the Supreme Court decision of 1954 on segregation in schools and ends up with the enactment of Civil Rights Act of 1964, during Johnson's administration. The second section

describes the attempts made by the "White establishment" to negativate and nullify all the concessions extorted during the "Hot years".

In 1954, the Supreme Court of US ruled that the segregation in schools was contrary to the constitution. This sparked off a series of protests against segregation by the Blacks and reprisals of the whites against de-segregation. In certain instances state governors were the first to defy the ruling and the Presidential authority had to be brought in to compel them to give effect to the Supreme Court ruling. Ruling was a serious blow to the white racists, while the liberal minded Americans and Blacks considered it to be a legal platform from which they could direct, organise and intensify their attack of the whole system of racial oppression. In this section pp 11-19 is valuable as a chronicle. It also describes the way in which the "White citizens" councils sabotaged the laws governing civil rights while the Ku-Klux-Klan organised violent attacks on Black civil rights activists. In the city of Birmingham (Alabama) in six years, the whites blew up the houses of Negro activists eighteen times, that the city came to be described as Bombingham. "In spite of the provocation and terror on the part of white racists organisations and local authorities this struggle was waged (by the blacks) with peaceful and non-violent means. Martin Luther King claimed that tactics of non-violence paralysed the fanatic segregationists physically. The tactics of non-violence such as "sit-ins" in cafes, "swim-ins" in parks and theatres, "read-ins" in libraries and reading rooms "lay-downs" in roads obstructing traffic, boycott of business premises and "freedom-raids" bear some striking similarities adopted closer home and owes their inspiration to Mahatma Gandhi. Mounting pressure from Blacks and the necessity

to pose as champion of human rights and freedom compelled the administration of Kennedy and later Johnson to enact the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (pp. 30-31). The second section is more important. Here, the author with facts and figures attempts to show the type of equality and justice meted to blacks and coloureds. In the field of education the blacks and coloureds still remain segregated from the whites (p. 46) and some of the southern states have not to date amended their laws permitting interracial marriages (semblance of apartheid p. 142). In matters of registration of votes for elections, the state and local election laws differ from the Presidential election laws. Blacks and Coloureds are permitted to participate in Presidential elections but not in certain state and local government elections.

As a proof of the economic disparity he points out that in the last 15 years the incomes of Black families have been on the average twice as low as those of the white families. In 1960 they compared to 55 per cent of the income of the white families in 1962 to 57 per cent, 1970 to 61 percent in 1972 to 59 percent and in 1974 to 58 per cent (p. 58).

These and other reasons therefore perforce compelled the Negroes and other coloureds to continue their struggle. The least of the book is part vii pp 49-74 which actually consumes one third of the book. This section is entitled "They want to deprive our leaders" gives a graphic description of the way in which Pentagon and FBI, and more particularly that evil genius behind the FBI for a long time, Edward Hoover dealt with the civil rights leaders who are mostly advocates of non-violence. If one were to believe all what the author says regarding the performance of FBI it will throw CIA into shade on its foreign ventures. Edward Hoover got all the civil rights leaders either



liquidated for all times or put them behind the bars through Sham and Vengeance trials. Martin Luther King himself fell victim to a FBI plot. Though the author concentrates more on the Negroes he has not completely neglected the other minorities, especially the American Indians who were the original inhabitants. Any one who is in touch with the events will find that the authors contentions have been corroborated by other sources. Recent happenings in the states, subsequent to the publication of the book, shows that American White are bent upon annulling all the 371 treaties which they signed with various Indian tribes and assimilate them. In fact the Inter-state Congress for Equal Rights have recommended such a step, and members of the House, John Cunningham and Lloyd Meeds are keen that all treaties should be amended as the Indians have gone too far in an attempt to assert their self-identity. And the Indians are today on the march to Washington to express their protests.

Though written by a doctor of medicine who disowns any claim that his work is scholarly, yet the book will prove valuable to anyone who is interested in the subject. Author has brought enough material to bear testimony to his conclusions, only object being that he does not mention them. If he has given a bibliography of the books he consulted it would have helped the students who are interested in the subject very much.

K. Arumainayagam.

\* \* \*

## SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

### June 30 - July 3

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; DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; CM—Chintamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release; DK—Dinakara; DW—Dawasa.

**FRIDAY, JUNE 30:** The first two agreements for the establishment of major industrial projects in the Greater Colombo Economic Commission's 500 acre investment promotion zone at Katunayake were signed yesterday in Colombo; the two projects worth 38 million rupees are among 25 that have already been approved by the GCEC; contracts for the remaining 23 projects which will generate 14000 jobs by the end of the year will be signed within the coming week. Indian Foreign Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee who was due in Colombo yesterday has put off his visit; he has been asked by the Indian PM to remain in Delhi for urgent and important internal political reasons. Present economic conditions and the liberalising programmes launched by India and Sri Lanka favour the inclusion of Sri Lanka in India's internal tourist package; this would mean that Indian nationals visiting Sri Lanka would be able to consider such travel as 'domestic' and not counted as foreign travel by India said the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Minister of Trade said yesterday that the Cabinet

had approved the granting of loans to vegetable growers to free them from the clutches of mudalalis and ensure increased production. The Ministers of Health yesterday stressed the need for a community based family health programme—CDM. Police will levy on the spot fines for motor offences; this is one of the several changes proposed by the government in the draft Road Traffic Bill which is expected to be presented before the NSA shortly. The British government has decided to write off Sri Lanka's debts and the debts of poor countries from July this year; following the deliberations at the last UNCTAD meeting our debts amounting to 5,414,000 US dollar will be written off—SU. The new Road Traffic Bill is to bring in controlled taxi fares and fares of private hiring cars. The Minister of Trade has said that there will not be an increase in the price of sugar and textiles—DP. An international conference of Muslims with an aim to solving problems facing the Muslims of the world is to be inaugurated this evening—VK. A new scheme of allocating special seats in the buses for women will be started in the Northern Province from tomorrow—EN. The Chairman of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation, Rear Admiral Rajan Kadiragamar has resigned; Mr. M. L. D. Casperz has been appointed chairman with effect from June 30—IDPR. Co-operative elections will be held in 15 electorates shortly—DM. The CTB has decided to import buses similar to those operating in London and Paris in order to streamline the bus services in the rural as well as urban areas; 200 such buses will be imported by the end of next year—DW. TULF youths are pressing its leadership to raise a no-confidence motion against the government—DK. PM Morarji Desai's Janata Party government was today believed to have called for the resignation



of Home Minister Charan Singh and the Health Minister Raj Narain as the leadership battle in the ruling party reached a crucial stage; the cabinet was unanimous that Mr. Singh's statement yesterday demanding the government should immediately arrest former PM Indira Gandhi amounted to criticism of his own ministry. Vietnam yesterday handed another note to the Chinese embassy in Hanoi on the evacuation of Chinese residents saying that it could only deadlock current talks on the issue—SU. A communique issued by the 30,000 strong Syrian dominated Arab League Peace Force police in the Lebanese civil war truce said that 22 bodies had been discovered in a forest after gunmen stormed into four villages. Ethiopia said that not less than nine assassination attempts had been made on the Head of State Mengistu Haile Mariam in the last ten months and that he was wounded in one of them—CDM.

**SATURDAY, JULY 1:** It was about the second century B.C. that one of our kings—the Tamil king Elara came to be called Elara the Dharmista (Elara the just); he was known to be a just ruler—just to his people, the Sinhalese and Tamils! that is what we are trying to achieve said the President when he inaugurated the International Muslim Seminar. The government is likely to reduce the number of holidays public servants enjoy annually at present; the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs is now studying the national holiday system with a view to turning down the number of holidays. The Kandy district judge yesterday rejected the plaint and dismissed with costs the action filed by Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, MP for Attanagalla claiming Rs. 3 lakhs from Mr. E. L. Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture and Lands and MP for Kandy for alleged defamation.

Agreement has been reached between Sri Lanka and India to explore the possibilities of blending Sri Lanka and India tea produced by the two countries for joint marketing abroad with a view to improving the uniform price realisation from this important export commodity; experts from both sides are to meet in the near future for this purpose. Air Ceylon Ltd has received 22 offers from foreign airlines to form a new international airline in partnership—CDN. The government would not allow anyone who received scholarships at government expense to leave the country to take up employment abroad; but it would not permit other professionals like engineers going abroad, for employment on high remuneration and returning to the country after a few years with their earnings said the Minister of Irrigation. The death occurred yesterday morning of Mr. Neil de Livera Bandaranaike, Secretary to the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs. The Board of Directors of the International Monetary Fund last week approved a loan for Sri Lanka amounting to over Rs. 28.26 million—CDM. The PM said yesterday that Sri Lanka should follow the example set by the Chinese people and the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung to develop the country. The President announced yesterday that a new Constitution would be adopted within the next two weeks, enabling the elected President and the elected legislature to work together for the welfare of our people. About 450 workers most of them in the manual grade have now completed studies under the new University programme of worker's education and will present themselves for the first qualifying examination prior to undergraduate studies. The sixth meeting of the Sub Committee for Economic Co-operation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Joint Commission for Economic,

Trade and Technical Co-operation ended in Colombo yesterday—SU. Over a thousand houses are to be built in the Jaffna district under the village expansion scheme as well as the housing construction schemes—EN. The PM has said that it was essential to reconsider the number of holidays in the country. The Job Bank hopes to give 720 jobs this month—LD. Sri Lanka will be able to export gems, coconut oil, cement, cocoa seeds, cinnamon and a number of other goods to India shortly. The price of fertilizer will be doubled from the 18th when the subsidiary of 50% is reduced by half—DM. A Technical Training Centre is to be set up in every district; the Ministry hopes to train 5000 youths each year—DW. Delegates to the UN Special Session on disarmament last night reached final agreement on a document expected to win approval by consensus diplomats reported. Six Indian government ministers resigned today confronting PM Morarji Desai's cabinet with its worst crisis since it won power 15 months ago. Israeli PM Menachim Begin today called on Egypt to return to the negotiating table and discuss West Asian peace directly with Israel. N. Yemen said today that an official investigation had proved S. Yemen was responsible for the assassination of President Ahamed Hussein Al Ghashim in Sanaa on Saturday—SU. Thousands of Ethiopian troops fighting secessionist guerillas began this week to drive towards Eritrea from bases in neighbouring Tigray Province according a spokesman for the Tigray People's Liberation Front. Soviet experts installed three radar stations in Vietnam along the border with China's Yunnan Province while Vietnamese troops reinforcements have been sent to the area. Vietnam yesterday accused Cambodia of large scale incursions along their common border but denied it had



launched a major offensive against its communist neighbour —CDM. The two biggest Eritrean guerilla organisations called for direct negotiations with Ethiopia's left wing military rulers to end 17 years of bitter war for the independence of strategic Red Sea Province of Eritrea—CDN.

**SUNDAY, JULY 2 :** The Finance Minister announced yesterday the establishment of two new state sector banks, the State Mortgage and Investment Bank and the Development Bank; the State Mortgage and Investment Bank which will start operating 'almost immediately' will take over the assets and liabilities of the old State Mortgage Bank and the Agricultural and Industrial Credit Corporation. The CTB is losing its best drivers to the Middle East said the Chairman of the CTB yesterday—SO. The World Bank has recommended to the Aid Consortium countries that Sri Lanka should be given aid during the next four years to implement her development projects and maintain the tempo of import liberalisation successfully. Mr. Taha Muhyiddin Marouf, Vice President of Iraq arrives tomorrow on a three day visit. The government has made a firm decision not to grant any further loans for the Maha agricultural season to farmers who have defaulted the payment of the previous loans. A complete re-organisation of the State-owned plantation sector got under way yesterday. A Mahaweli youth army would be organised shortly with the National Youth Council and the Sri Lanka Army to be used for development work said the Minister of Irrigation. The government through the strong arms of the law, the armed forces and the police have directed the further strengthening of the full scale island wide joint operation to deal with all forms of violence or imminent violence. Sri Lanka's declining fertility rate despite its

low economic growth has been singled out as a unique example for Third World population control by the UN. Customs authorities are in a quandary over the unprecedented spate of big time smuggling operations that was posing a threat to the economy of the country. An Indian Professor is here to popularise a new branch of knowledge—'futurology'; he is Prof R. Jameel Ahmed, Director of Studies at the Institute of Techno-Economic Studies in Madras; this new branch of knowledge the professor explains is perspective planning for the year 2080. Six thousand Ayurvedic physicians in the country will be instructed on birth control—WK. A scheme is being devised to utilise the subscription fees paid by workers to their trade unions to build houses, markets etc for their use; the Deputy Minister of Labour hopes to do this with the money collected from the UNP affiliated Jathika Seva Sangamaya and five other trade unions—CM. The Job Bank will recruit  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs for government and corporation jobs before the end of September—SM. Three foreign firms have shown an interest in mining copper deposits that have been found in this country; it is estimated that there are 69,000 tons of copper worth about Rs. 240 million in the area that has been surveyed so far; this is only 1/5 of the total area that has to be surveyed. The State Film Corporation has decided to import six lakhs of Rs. worth of Tamil films this year—RR. Sri Lanka is to get 35 'detectors' to locate unlicensed radio receiving sets in the near future—SLDP. PM Morarji Desai freed the prospect of reshuffling his Janata Party government after the resignation of six ministers confronted his cabinet with its worst crisis since coming to power 15 months ago—SO. French President Giscard d'Estaing told journalists in Madrid at the close of the official part of his visit to Spain that

France would work to achieve Spain's entry into the European community. Troops loyal to the deposed President of Sotuh Yemen are being arrested and shot by forces of the new government, a former South Yemeni army officer was quoted as saying—WK. The UN General Assembly called last night for fresh efforts to stop the world's 400 billion dollar a year arms race and established new negotiating machinery to replace the 16 year old Geneva Conference. US Vice President Walter Mondale arrived in Israel on his delicate goodwill mission and made a prayer for peace at Jerusalem's Wailing Wall, most holy shrine of the Jewish religion; hostile demonstrators shouted 'don't sell us out you did Vietnam' as he approached the wall shielded by a heavy pack of security men—ST.

**MONDAY, JULY 3 :** The 'area rule' applicable in the admission of children in the kindergarten in schools has been revised by the Ministry of Education; hereafter only 50% of the vacancies will be filled on the basis of the proximity of the parent's permanent place of residence to the school; the balance 50% will be selected on the basis of their parents being past pupils, brothers or sisters attending the same school, and in the case of denominational schools taken over by the government the children of that denomination. Allegations of malpractices and abuse of authority by public servants and politicians during the Sirima Bandaranaike government will be taken up ministry by ministry when the presidential Commission appointed to inquire and report on such misdeeds begins sitting soon. Sri Lanka registered an increase of 29.2% in tourist arrivals in 1977 with a total of 153,665 tourists averaging a stay of ten nights each. Leading demographers and statisticians from the world over meet in Colombo today



with their Sri Lankan counterparts to discuss the findings of the fertility survey carried out in Sri Lanka in 1975-76 as part of the World Fertility Survey programme launched to assess the current state of human fertility throughout the world—CDN. The Ministry of Health has sounded international agencies and governments to obtain the services of medical volunteers to overcome the shortage of doctors in state medical institutions here; apparently the country is in need of around 700 medical officers to run the hospitals and other medical institutions efficiently. The highest standards would be ensured in the recruitment of academic staff to the universities on Sri Lanka; the Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education said that it had been found that the past regime had recruited several persons who had a bare first degree. The Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs during a tour of the salterns of Hambantota said that according to the government's industrial projects will be sited where the main raw materials were found—CDM. All local recruiting agencies for jobs abroad should in future submit to the Labour Commissioner a copy of the contract entered into between the agency and its principals overseas and seek the prior approval of the commissioner before recruiting Sri Lankans for employment abroad. Cycle stands with wardens to look after cycles will shortly be installed at all busy points in the city. The government has approved a draft bill for the setting up of the 'Mahaveli Authority' which is likely to assume the status of a new ministry functioning under the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways—SU. When the Minister of Fisheries visited Batticaloa he has said that he would help the fishermen in Tamil speaking areas in the same way as the others and that he would try hard to develop the fishing industry like the agricultural in-

dustry—VK. The Minister of Fisheries has said that the government would grant interest-free loans to fishermen to build their own houses; the loans could be repaid on a long term basis in small instalments. Representatives of Muslim countries speaking at the Muslim Seminar said that the punishments meted out in their countries like cutting off arms and legs or whipping were neither brutal nor barbaric as they only helped the person concerned to realise his mistake and it also acted as a lesson for others.—DP. The government is to launch a new scheme to give jobs to those who do not have education, technical training or any kind of experience; under this scheme which has been recommended by the President, youths will be recruited as estate workers, fishermen etc. The Chairman of the Hingurana Sugar Factory of the Sugar Corporation has said that a pound of sugar could be sold for Rs. 1.50 if sugar production is done on a well planned basis. The Health Ministry will recruit 800 nurses in the next two weeks—DM. A new organisation is to be set up shortly to uplift the handloom industry. The government has decided to export rubber through the Galle Harbour—DW.



LETTER FROM ABROAD

● Police

Sometime back, I wrote to you regarding the Police Special Branch. Since then the Royal Commission appointed by the South Australian Govt. held that the dismissal of the Commissioner of Police by the Premier was justified.

As a result of these findings the Premier of N.S.W. after a report on the activities of the special branch N.S.W. compiled by the N.S.W.

Privacy Committee was released, instructed the Branch to stop keeping, records and information on a number of people and to destroy about 50,000 existing files on those.

The Premier of Victoria has drawn up guidelines for the operation of the special branch in his state and this is to be released publicly soon.

Similarly I believe it is time that the Sri Lanka Department of Defence overhauled the whole system of Political Intelligence in Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka Intelligence as you say should be based on the Constitution and the Dharmista way of life.

The recent appointment to the post of I.G.P. must be causing some heartburning. I have the highest regard for the new I.G.P. but at the same time justice must not only be done but seem to be done. The claims of an officer who is two years senior to the new I.G.P. have been overlooked. Quidnunc or Quidnuncs may now ask, why were his claims overlooked? Was he inefficient to hold this post or was it because he was a minority Tamil—Christian? Will this promotion not strain the Sinhalese-Tamil relationship further and so on.

Years back when a similar appointment was made, the claims of an officer senior to the appointee was overlooked probably because he was a catholic and not a Sinhala-Buddhist. I see no other reasons for his claims to have been overlooked, as he was a very efficient and experienced officer and was an editor of the history of the Ceylon Police Service.

Jac. Van Sanden  
Retired DIG, Police

4, Westdale Court,  
Watsonia,  
Victoria 3087,  
Australia.  
24.06.78.

+ +



# Confidentially

## Lalith's "Open Economy"

IS IT NOT TRAGIC that this country has slipped into an import-mania without any consideration for local production? That under the plea of protecting the consumer, the floodgates have been opened and all local production will soon be submerged by things foreign? That our young, enthusiastic and otherwise excellent Minister Lalith Athulathmudali seems to have two fixations: (a) "that government is not prepared to pamper local industries and agricultural production at the cost of exploiting the consumer"; and (b) "In the open economic policy of this government, local industrialists must stand up to foreign competition and agricultural producers will not be permitted to create shortages as in the past when a pound of dried chillies cost Rs. 40/- a lb"? That the perennial platform slogan about chillies at Rs. 40/- a lb was not due to the greed of the producer? That bad weather, the absence of storage facilities and the total inability of the Marketing Department and the Co-op Movement to discharge their functions combined to enable the trader and the middleman to exploit the consumer? That the Rs 40/- miracle (chilli prices which lasted under six weeks) did not repeat itself a second time? That the money in any case, did not go out of the country? That thereafter the price of chillies only averaged between Rs. 6/- to 8/- a lb. for the producer? That it was again the corrupt incompetence of the Marketing Department and the Co-op Movement that enabled traders

and middlemen to exploit consumers at prices ranging from Rs. 12/- to Rs. 15/- a lb? That with the Rs. 40/- a lb. of dried chillies bee-in-the-bonnet the floodgates have been opened to indiscriminate imports? That already an increasing number of local farmers have stopped growing onions potatoes and chillies? That bureaucrats in their air-conditioned offices, it is said, worked out the costs of production (CP) a year or so ago and found that the cp was about Rs. 4/50 for a lb. of chillie and therefore decided that a price of Rs. 6/- would be a fair price for the farmer or producer? That on paper all this sounds excellent? That the cp of Rs. 4/50 was based on prices of fertilizer, insecticides etc., some time last year? That since then all prices have moved up especially wages (really the cost of keeping oneself alive)? That, further, only if the farmer is able to attain the high productivity level of about 15 cwts. of dried chillies an acre would the cost be Rs. 4/50 a lb.?

That assuming for argument's sake that the buying price of Rs. 6/- or Rs. 7/- a lb. is fixed as a floor (guaranteed) price, the farmer hasn't ghost of a chance of selling it to the government buying agencies at this price? That a farmer has to travel miles before he can reach a MD centre or Co-op Union (that has money to purchase local produce)? That the farmer makes this journey because he has heard over the SLBC that the government was buying chillies at Rs. 6/- to Rs. 7/- a lb? That once he gets there, the local MD or Co-op official will find so many faults with his chillies and reject it as unfit that the farmer has no alternative but to go to the trader (in business, close to the MD centre or the Co-op Union) and to sell it to him at Rs. 4/- or even Rs. 3/50 a lb? That after the farmer

departs, the MD or Co-op officials buy the same chillies at Rs. 7/-? The difference between the traders' purchase price and sale price is shared between the trader and the officials? That in the books the name of the farmer from whom the trader had bought the chillies is entered? That whilst Minister Athulathmudali plays the gallant knight protecting the urban consumer by flooding the market with cheap food imports, there is no one to protect the poor farmer, who is caught in a tight squeeze between increasing costs of production, on the one hand, and a combination of the MD/Co-op mudalali and the greedy trader, on the other? That the farmer finds it easier to sell his chillies to the trader who calls at his farm at half the MD price? That bureaucrats in urban ivory towers talk big (with their tongues hanging out of their cheeks repeating the magic formula "chillies at Rs. 40/- a lb") about protecting the consumer from the greedy farmer? That the present avalanche of imports will slowly but surely ensure the end of local production of chillies, onions and potatoes? That one has only to go around potato, onion and chilli areas in the NCP and NP to know the extent of land that has already gone out of production? That in this "mania" to protect the consumer, and to glorify the "open economy", the interests of the country has been thrown to the winds? That already the writing on the wall has appeared in blood red letters? That it is only in crazy Alice-in-Wonderland Sri Lanka today that youthful "open economy" theorists like Lalith Athulathmudali can temporarily flourish? That one can only say Amen and wait for the Revolution to set matters right? That it is time Minister Athulathmudali did a little serious rethinking about matters economic on which he talks so glibly?



Retain Your  
Original Documents  
And Submit

**EXTRA COPIES  
OF**

LETTERS  
CERTIFICATES  
DEEDS  
INVOICES  
PLANS  
SURVEY DRAWINGS  
BOOKS

**Rapid Service  
with  
Latest Photocopying Equipment**

**STUDIO TIMES**  
TIMES BUILDING  
COLOMBO-1.  
TEL: 21331



ABOUT EVERYTHING

# INSURANCE

CONSULT

Management Consultants Ltd.

Insurance Consultants Ltd.

Insurance Institute Of Ceylon

**Pioneers In Sri Lanka**

**Established 1956**

**Founder Director, Dr. Linus Silva**

P. O. Box 1342,  
Colombo.

Third Floor, Y.M.B.A. Bldg.,  
Fort, Colombo I.

Tel; 29118.