

Vol. 23 No. 21 — November 18, 1978 — Rs. 2-00

TRIBUNE



SOVIET PERIODICALS

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

1979—1980—1981

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

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

People's Publishing House Ltd.,

124, Kumaran Ratnam Road,
Colombo 2.

Telephone: 36111.

Letter From The Editor

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS in Iran have already cast their shadows all over the world. Iran is one of the largest producers of oil; and a large number of refineries, like the one in Sri Lanka, were built to suit the sulphur content specifics of Iranian crude. The presently continuing general strike in Iran, including the strike in the oil industry, has created problems which the big and powerful nations of the West had not even thought possible even a few weeks ago. The USA, UK, FRG and other giants of the West have for a long time now comforted themselves with the fond belief that between the Shah and Savak, their investments and interests in Iran were safe for the foreseeable future. These hopes have now been shattered and these countries are now backing the Shah's last desperate gamble to save his throne, his wealth and also the investments of the West by Army rule and ruthless repression. But these events have taken a dangerous turn not only for the Shah but the Americans as well. The Shah will have to quit, sooner or later. With the fall of the Shah the USA will lose its influence in the country and in the whole region. The US has good reason to be alarmed because groups opposed to the Shah's regime are strongly anti-American. There are widespread public demands that all American advisers should be withdrawn from Iran, that Iran should give up purchases of American armaments at high prices and that all concessions given to American and other foreign companies should be abolished. Anti-American feelings in Iran have grown in recent years not only because of the long US domination in the country, but also because of the double-faced policy towards the Shah. President Carter in his sermons on human rights has publicly condemned the repression of Iranian dissidents, but when the Iranian people revolted against the tyrannical Shah, President Carter sent messages and special envoys to persuade the Shah to take stern and ruthless measures against the Opposition. And also, reportedly, Carter sent the Shah a group of experts in crowd control and methods of fighting popular opposition. The USA, understandably, is disturbed by the increase of terrorist and other hostile actions against the Americans in Iran. But the massive strike movement of the Iranian oil-mining and oil-refinery workers, which can create difficulties in oil supplies for the US, West European countries and Japan, is what has upset the US and other Western nations most. Foreign correspondents in Iran have hinted that Saudi Arabia is behind these strikes because it is interested in weakening the Iranian oil industry-main rival of Saudi Arabia in oil supplies for the Western world. In this situation, the only possible way out for the Shah is to suppress the Opposition with the Army, and everybody knows that it had equipped with the US arms and is assisted by US advisers. But in the Iranian army itself, reports show that there is growing opposition to the Shah's regime and the American presence. Will this lead to a situation where the US may have to commit its military personnel to support the Shah? Statements of President Carter and Secretary of State Vance indicate that the US will go the whole hog to defend their interests in Iran. Will this mean US troops in Iran to save the Shah? But what the US should remember is that all over the world there is sympathy and support for the Iranian people fighting against the Shah—for democracy. Will the US risk another Vietnam? It is well to remember that the concept of Islamic (Sh'ite) Republic desired by the religious groups determined to oust the Shah with the built-in support from secular nationalist, radical and leftwing forces in Iran has been welcomed by the entire Islamic world and substantial sections of the third world including the nonaligned. The socialist countries will naturally support any regime that frees Iran from Western control. Will the US want to destroy the bridges it has sought to build in the Middle East at Camp David through military intervention in Iran?

TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review
Founded In 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

Editor, S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

November 18, 1978

Vol. 23 No. 21

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET
COLOMBO - 2

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—The 1979 Budget	p. 2
THE WORLD TODAY	
—Iran	p. 4
BETWEEN THE LINES	
—Sick Man Of Agriculture	p. 9
FOR THE RECORD	
—Budget Estimates	p. 11
BATTICALOA	
—District Minister	p. 14
IN THE TUB	
—The Master Preaches	p. 16
SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS—2	
—Research	p. 17
ACID BOMB EXPLOSION—23	
—Army Rule	p. 20
SRI LANKA CHRONICLE	
—Oct. 28—Nov. 4	p. 23
CATHOLICS EDUCATION—5	
—Concluded	p. 27
BOOK REVIEW	
—Ceylon Farmer	p. 29
POEM	
—Outsider	p. 30
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Sri Lanka Lion	p. 32

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK**Budget 1979**

Colombo, Nov. 15,

THIS AFTERNOON IN PARLIAMENT, Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel, created history. Nearly everybody had expected an austere budget with further (and heavy) cuts in subsidies to be effected through price increases (eg. in flour, petroleum products, rail fares, etc) and through the elimination of many social welfare benefits (eg. health, education, etc). This expectation had been heightened by the fact that the estimates tabled on November 7 had disclosed a budgetary gap of over eight thousand million rupees. People had wondered how the Finance Minister would bridge this deficit.

In this situation, merchants, blackmarketeers, speculators and rich folk who had black money had stacked up as much of flour, sugar, kerosene, cigarettes and other consumer items which they thought would be affected by the Budget in the hope of making a quick million or two, have now been hoisted on their own petard. Even the managers of co-op stores who had hidden stocks of these commodities for a few days before the Budget now have to face angry members and customers. But this is not all. Many Big businessmen had been certain that a further devaluation of the rupee was inevitable and had tried their luck in the black market in currency. In the belief that the new parities that would be fixed to let the Sri Lanka rupee to float around Rs. 20 to 22 to the US dollar or about Rs. 37/38 to the pound sterling, they had dumped whatever blackmoney was lying about with them in foreign exchange at

rates higher than the current parities.

The Finance Minister must be congratulated for thwarting the calculations and machinations of these greedy and anti-social elements. There were no price increases and no devaluation in the Budget proposals. At least, so far as devaluation is concerned, it is not likely that there will be one in the near future. What is more probable that in another year or even sooner the rupee may be strong enough for an upward revaluation. In the meantime, the ladies and gentlemen who bought dollars and sterling in the black at Rs. 18 and Rs. 35/36 have to unload the same at the current parities to make use of the Government's handsome gesture of an Amnesty For Development (through the National Savings Bank and not through the Inland Revenue Dept.) at 8½%. The pettah-type speculators (many of them now inhabit mansions in Colombo 7) who hoarded flour, sugar, kerosene, cement, electrical goods, etc. etc. deserve no sympathy or mercy. The anti-Hoarding Vigilance Units of the Government should bring them to book.

But more than under-cutting these shady black market operators, the Finance Minister has outfoxed the Opposition. This is the main feature of the Budget in a political sense. Opposition parties had predicted that there would be price increases and slashed subsidies—on the orders of the IMF—and had hoped to base their political campaign against the Government on these increases coupled with heart-rending stories of hardships that stemmed from existing high prices.

But the Finance Minister has not given them this chance.

The debate on the Budget in the Second Reading and Committee stages will be bereft of the usual rhetorical fireworks because the Opposition has been denied any ammunition for this purpose. The Opposition can now only concentrate on the acts of omission and commission of the Government in the day to day business of administration and not have powder and shot from the imposition of high prices, increased taxes and other burdens "on the masses" to fire at the official benches.

The fact that opponents of the Government may claim that new levies and taxes will come in Gazette Notifications after the Budget is not likely to have an impact on the "masses" because of the many concessions offered to the highly volatile and vociferous middle class and upper working class sections. The concessions are real and substantial. In the first instance the public service has been specially singled out for attention. And this is a right step because the Government is the single biggest employer. There is a salary increase of 10% with a minimum of Rs. 50 at the lower end. But more than this, there will be no income tax for all categories of public servants or the pensions they will draw on retirement. Travelling and subsistence allowances will be upped.

The private sector has been asked to follow suit in granting the 10% increase, and in regard to income from employment (or "earned" income), there will be no tax up to a limit of Rs. 12,000 a year for individuals or Rs. 24,000 for a husband and wife who are both earning. The tax system is to be simplified and incentives have been offered for productive

enterprise. Taxation is being moved from the individual to the corporate sector. The bank debit tax has been abolished because it has proved to be counter-productive. The subsidy for rubber replanting has been increased and the export duties on minor crops have been decreased. Estate duties have been rationalised and incentives have been offered to house builders.

A detailed analysis of the budgetary proposals will be examined in the next and coming issues of *Tribune*, but for the moment it would suffice to say that the Budget is consistent with the Government's declared policy of promoting private enterprise alongside an efficient public sector. The new tax system is obviously intended to encourage capital accumulation by individuals, the corporate sector and the public sector.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Budget proposals are directed at providing incentives for work. Very correctly, the public service has been offered the most attractive incentives. Without the public service, development and productive effort cannot really get under way. At the moment, the general complaint is that the public service has not begun to throw its weight into the development effort. Everything is sluggish.

Tribune had carried a series of articles for and against the public service and the public servants to pinpoint the matters that needed correction. Even in this issue, we have a piece pin-pointing the serious lapses on the part of government servants. We hope to continue this series until all the essential defects have been spotlighted.

But, in the meantime, the Government's generous and real concessions should induce the public servants to wake up from their tradi-

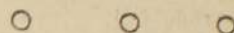
tional lethargy that had gripped them for some years now—from long before the 1970-77 period. This is a matter to which *Tribune* will revert very frequently. The public servant should now accept a cut in the number of holidays without a murmur. In a sense they have again become a very privileged class as they were in the days of the colonial administration, and it is to be hoped that they will start doing work as officials did in those days this time for the economic development of a free and independent sovereign republic.

The Budgetary proposals will create the necessary climate for some other measures which we think should be adopted. To mention one matter, the price of wheat flour must be increased. This must be done when the public are sure that enough rice is available at reasonable prices. In fact, there will be no harm in subsidising paddy production whilst fixing a world market price for wheat.

Secondly, it is essential that the use of petroleum products should be cut down, conserved and rationalised. A mere price increase will not do. Basic users who are involved in productive effort for economic development should be entitled to subsidised petrol, kerosene and diesel on a system of coupons whilst the jet set who have an excess of cars for gadding round should be made to pay a punitive rate. In India a gallon of petrol costs a little over 17 Indian rupees, that is about 35 Sri Lanka rupees. Why should those not involved really and truly in production be allowed subsidised petrol or diesel to tear up our roads?

These are a few matters for consideration in the immediate future.

The Finance Minister hopes to (and there is no reason why he cannot) balance the budget with domestic borrowing, project aid, foreign grants and standby credits. And if production increases in the plantation, industrial and agriculture sectors, in the months ahead, the task will be easier for the Finance Minister to deal with the monetary and fiscal policies of the Government. All in all, the first and immediate reaction to the new Budget proposals is to congratulate the Minister of Finance for producing a good Budget—from the economic point of view as well as from a political angle. He has outwitted the blackmarketeers and the political opponents of the Government. He has offered incentives to those who can help to make the economic plans of government a success. He has rationalised the tax system and paved the way for capital formation.



Daily News Summary of Budget Highlights

- * Salaries and wages increased by 10 per cent for all government servants, local government servants and pensioners, including widows and orphans. The minimum increase will be Rs. 50.
- * Revision in travelling and subsistence rates to public servants.
- * Similar wage increases for public corporations and private sector.
- * New Inland Revenue Act effective from 1979/80 designed to rationalise entire tax structure.
- * Husband and wife to be taxed separately and each gets an exemption of Rs. 12,000 per annum.
- * All other approved tax deductions allowed upto a one-third of income except donations to approved government projects which will be totally deductible.

(Continued on page 31)

THE WORLD TODAY

IRAN

IRAN: INDIA'S CONCERN

New Delhi, Nov. 2

India, which is greatly interested in the stability of Afghanistan and Iran, is obliged to adopt a low profile steering clear of any excessive identification with the present regimes there, while continuing to maintain its traditional policy of close friendship with the two neighbouring nations. The earlier Indian assessment that the new revolutionary regime in Afghanistan was more nationalist than communist has been disproved by subsequent events, while the deepening ferment in Iran has cast fresh doubts on the wisdom of placating the Shah and paying undue attention to his proclivities and predilections. The growing concern at the sharpening ideological conflicts within the ruling Khalq party in Afghanistan, and the rapid erosion of Iran's regional influence in the wake of the widespread unrest in the country against the Shah's obligarchical rule, is to some extent mollified by the feeling that the two super powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are not actively engaged in an all out power rivalry in these two countries that could have a profoundly unsettling effect in the whole region.

The neighbouring countries in the area, like India, Pakistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Sheikdoms, have been heaving a sigh of relief over the private understanding between Washington and Moscow to refrain from any overt or covert activity to undermine each other's interests. The recent events in Afghanistan have only led to an extension of the

traditional Soviet influence in this landlocked State without seriously upsetting the existing power balances in the region, while the current civil strife in Iran has much graver implications for the neighbouring countries as well as the big powers with vital political and economic stakes in its survival as a strong and unified nation. *It is this aspect of the Iranian crisis that is worrying India which is not in any way directly involved but is vitally interested in an amicable settlement between the Shah and his people.* The present political uncertainties have also cast some doubts about the future patterns of Indo-Iranian economic relations.

The new element of caution in India's dealings with Afghanistan can be partly attributed to the avowedly pro-Soviet orientation of Kabul's foreign policy postures which conflict with its own concept of genuine-non-alignment. The Taraki regime has extended all-out support to the Soviet proposal for an Asian collective security system, while maintaining that the socialist countries should be considered the natural allies of the non-aligned nations. The Indian view, as explained by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Vajpayee, during his recent visit to Afghanistan, is that the non-aligned nations could have mutually beneficial bilateral relations with socialist or non-socialist countries depending on their respective national interests, without attempting to develop any group affiliations that would be a negation of the very principles of non-alignment.

But in the case of Iran there is little scope for such sophistication or ideological argumentation in determining the broad framework for beneficial bilateralism. Both the previous and present govern-

ments in India had to placate the Shah and act according to his whims and fancies to get anything done in Iran, because of the very nature of his regime and the all-pervasive influence of those around him, who had a finger in almost every pie and nothing could be done without their co-operation. It goes to the credit of the Prime Minister, Mr. Moraji Desai, that he stepped in before it became too late to impose some curbs on this spoils system. One of the delicate tasks of Indian diplomacy now is to maintain some degree of continuity in India's politico-economic relations with the embattled Shah's regime, without foreclosing its options for forging equally cordial links with any popular Government that might emerge in Iran either through a political upheaval or process of liberalisation.

The Shah, who has been playing for high stakes, choosing wrong methods to achieve the right objectives of rapid development has established a high cost economy, triggered off unprecedented inflation through his spending spree squandering away billions and billions of dollars on grandiose projects and purposeful expansion of his armed forces. This has only helped a small elitist class to amass phenomenal wealth, while the great mass of people still remained poor, illiterate, under-employed and neglected.

The Soviet Union has nothing to gain by attempting to foment further unrest and force the pace of events, since it is bound to provoke the US to step in on a bigger scale to stem the tide. So it is clearly playing for time hoping that the kind of contrasts now abounding in Iran will sooner or later either sweep the Shah away or at least open the way for the emergence of a friendly Iraq-type Government that may not go so

far as the Taraki regime in Afghanistan but close enough to help extend Soviet influence to the Gulf region. It is against this complex back-ground of an embattled Shah striving hard to save his regime and the upsurge of popular forces inexorably at work striving for rapid changes in the political dispensation that India is obliged to steer a middle course to preserve its traditional bonds of friendship with Iran.

And perhaps next only to the problem of Sino-Indian normalisation, the Iranian situation poses the biggest challenge to Indian diplomacy and foresight at present in living up to its cherished values without exposing itself to the charge of excessive identification with any particular interest or involvement in the deepening crisis there.

—G. K. Reddy in *Madras Hindu*.

—O— —O— —O—

IRAN: THE SHAH WILL GO

New Delhi, November 5,

The Shah of Iran will have to quit, sooner than later. Born of a small military officer and making ridiculous attempts to link his "dynasty" with Cyrus the Great of the 6th century BC, Reza Shah Pahlavi is the anachronistic representative of a dead order, uglier than the kings and queens who have elsewhere been relieved of all effective power. A cruel ruler, he has been laying down, with the help of chosen countries, policies designed to boost the power and wealth of his family members, create a West-oriented elite to support the family and strengthen the framework of tyranny. Even the mildest opposition is ruthlessly suppressed. Thousands have been killed, jailed and tortured. Now the people and their leaders of different political persuasions have

come out with a clear call that the Pahlavi "dynasty" must go. They have vowed that unless it abdicates or is overthrown, there will be no peace in Iran.

Ayatullah Khomeini, the most respected leader among the clergy and exiled for his opposition to the Shah, and his close associate Shariat Madari, living under military guard in the holy city of Qom, were openly joined last week by Dr. Arim Sanjabi, the leader of the National Front formed by Dr. Mossadeq in whose time as Prime Minister Reza Shah was forced into exile—a memory that must be still haunting him. Apart from these opposition forces, there are many secret groups and parties which are even more bitter as they have been the main targets of the secret police, the dreaded Savak. And it is from them that a large number of university students and factory workers are drawing inspiration for their courageous battle. An on-and-off strike by the oil workers in Abandan over the past week has spread to other towns and turned into a general strike, affecting all departments of oil production and shutting off Iran's daily export of five million barrels. In addition, more than half of the country's public workers' force of one million is now on strike. Most significantly, the demands of these strikers are political as well as economic. Demonstrations are taking place in about 40 cities including Teheran and 11 other major cities placed under ruthless martial law. Daily, dozens of demonstrators are killed. The movement against the Shah is becoming a national insurrection.

The Shah is making desperate attempts to bribe the tribal population on the Iraqi border and elsewhere and push them into the fray as supporters of the mo-

narchy and turn the uprising into a civil war. This attempt is also doomed to failure as his earlier "reforms" were—as is evident from the mauling the horse-riding tribesmen received on the very first day. The wisest course for the Shah may be to get out of Iran when he can.

—Link

X X X X X

IRAN: WEST'S CONCERN

Teheran, November 7,

Iran's military Government, moving forcefully to restore order, on Monday imposed local press censorship, arrested five editors and dispatched troops to disperse rioters. Censorship was imposed on radio and television also but there was no censorship of outgoing news despatches. Besides the five editors arrested 30 were on a wanted list accused of inciting public unrest. Iranian opposition leader Karim Sanjaby said in Paris that the "popular movement will continue its struggle" in Iran "as long as the dictatorial and illegal regime" of Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi remains in power. In a communique, Mr. Sanjaby, leader of the National Front, a major opposition movement, said the Shah was "more isolated today than ever." The use of force and the control of the organs of the repression by the military over the past 25 years are among the essential causes of the current explosion in Iraq, he said. He said the solution of the crisis "demands above all a political solution which must take into consideration and satisfy the demands of the high religious authorities of the country and the respect of the independence of Iran."

The Shah's main religious opponent, Ayatollah Rytollah Khomeiny, denounced the formation of a military Government and called

on the Iranian people to struggle on until the Shah was overthrown. The 80-year-old spiritual leader of the world's 86 million Shi'ite Muslims said in a statement, he did not accept any Government formed under the Shah. "The monarchical regime must be abolished and an Islamic republic must replace it" he said. Ayatollah Khomeiny issued the statement from his suburban Paris headquarters where he has been living in exile since arriving in France from Iraq a month ago.

Meanwhile anxiety and concern mounted in Western capitals following reports of worsening internal situation in Iran and doubts about the Shah's own future. The *London Times* correspondent in the Iranian capital wrote of Sunday's riots, "Teheran is burning, a city of anarchy set ablaze by rampaging mobs bent on bringing down the Shah." One foreign journalist with experience of riots in America was quoted as saying: "I have never seen anything like it. Block after block of burnt out shells. It looked like a war had been and gone."

What is apparently worrying the Western Governments is that the Shah who had received strong support from them appears to be losing grip over the situation in the country and faces the real risk of being ousted from his throne. If that happens, the scenario they visualise is that of an unstable Iran that may tempt the Russians to spread their influence into a new regime. (Moving away from its earlier caution over the crisis in Iran, the Soviet Union, on Monday, described, through a report in the Communist Party daily, *Pravda*, the latest violence as "bloody events").

Britain and the United States in particular have high stakes in the continuance of the Shah in terms of business

investments and arms sales and in recent weeks they have reiterated their support for the Shah. The West is also worried about the impact on its economy from cuts in Iranian oil exports. Britain depends on Iran for 14 per cent of its oil requirements. Thousands of jobs and hundreds of millions of pounds may be at risk for Britain in an uncertain situation in Iran. Iran supplies five per cent of the US oil requirements but Western Europe depends to a larger extent on Iran's oil supplies. Additionally Israel and South Africa are dependent on Iran's oil. Before giving up Egyptian territory under its occupation, Israel obtained assurances that Iran would continue its oil supplies on an assured basis.

South Africa gets the bulk of its oil needs from Iran. The US has supplied billions of dollars worth of latest fighter bombers and sophisticated arms to Iran to bolster its strength in the region. Iran has a land border with the Soviet Union. Iran's navy also assures the safe passage of oil through the Persian Gulf to the American and West European coasts. The Iranian Navy has also been raised with American support. The former Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, blamed the present turmoil in Iran to President Carter's public support to human rights. On the other hand, another viewpoint expressed here blames the policy followed by President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger to overarm Iran. Iranian oil output and shipments abroad was again down sharply on Monday after a slight improvement on Sunday, according to the oil majors in the "Iranian consortium" which normally handles 90 per cent of that country's oil. Total consortium output on Monday was likely to

be 1,250,000 barrels against Sunday's 1,800,000. Exports were down to 850,000 barrels against Sunday's 1,250,000 according to the consortium's estimates. In normal circumstances the consortium's output is between 5,400,000 and 5,500,000 barrels daily.

—AP, Reuter, PTI & AFP.

X X X X X

IRAN: WILL THE SHAH SURVIVE?

THE APPOINTMENT OF the Iranian army chief, Gen. Gholamreza Azhari, as Prime Minister to lead a military government which has been officially characterised as a "temporary" arrangement clearly points to the choice the Shah has made as between the two courses that appeared open to him: drop all pretence of "liberal" rule by installing a full-scale military regime, or climb down the Peacock Throne through abdication or in stages. With the civilian government of Sharif-Emami throwing in the towel, Iran now appears to be headed for a period of intensified and more complex confrontation, reversing the trend of concessions made by the Shah to the popular movement in recent months and introducing the unknown military factor directly into the crisis-ridden politics of the country. As the forces of the third major opposition movement since the Shah's accession face a new situation, the monarch appears to be trapped in a vice of his own making. Verbal flings against "conspirators", the new promise to put an end to "mistakes and illegalities, cruelty and corruption" and, more significantly, a fresh wave of repression: none of these is likely to contain the popular upsurge against the monarchy, that has taken the shape of a three-pronged offensive-re-

ligious (headed by Ayatollah Khomeini, exiled for participating in the protest movement of June 1963), radical and liberal.

Iran is, politically, economically and militarily, one of the key States in the world and a great deal depends on the outcome of the current battle between the Shah's regime and the forces of the combined and growingly militant opposition. Twice before the regime had, backed strongly by Western powers, offered its own successful response to the political crisis that had overtaken that land. These challenges were met with severe repression and a package of politico-economic measures (primarily the Land Reform), which appeared to win for the Shah a measure of political stability that was supervised by the notorious "internal security" organisation, SAVAK. Spurred on by this factor and the mighty resources made available by the oil price boom inaugurated in December 1973, the Shah embarked upon a spectacularly adventurous course of politico-economic expansion that went by the name of modernisation. It seems that the weakness and contradictions of this experience—which once bred illusions of regional and even global pre-eminence—have now come home to roost. While Iran's economic infrastructure has proved far too vulnerable to bear the multiple weight of reckless military spending, doubling of the public investment target originally envisaged in the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1973-78), stepping up of foreign investment, grandiose projects (such as the Shah-pur petro-chemical plant and the gas trunklines to Russia) and the heady growth of the services sector, the process of inflation and bureaucratic mismanagement and corruption have made a shambles of the planning process.

Above all, Iran's people, es-

pecially its educated youth, have proved far too spirited and far too aspiring to accept the consequences of all this meekly. The denial of basic democratic rights and the brutalisation of the State apparatus have trained, tempered and expanded the ranks of the popular opposition. The process of concentration of discontent has been strengthened enormously by the migration of the rural population to the urban areas, evidenced, for example, in the doubling of Teheran's population between 1963 and 1973. Modernisation has made for the mobilisation of discontent on an unprecedented scale, imparting to the opposition new know-how, methods and values thrown into the battle against the Shah. While every act of suppression has invited fresh forces into the arena and promoted militancy, every concession (invariably too grudging and too late to make an impact on behalf of the Shah) has only spurred the protestors on to more open forms of revolt. Will the Shah be able to override the new political situation where the issue is no longer what is the consequence of this or that policy, but the unmistakable popular antipathy to the authoritarian monarchy that has been gathering force at quite a rapid pace over the last several months?

—Editorial, *Madras Hindu*,
November 8, 1978

IRAN: TRADE UNION STORY—2 Teheran,

The regime puts out much propaganda to provide that Iran has become an **INDUSTRIALISED** country. However, apart from Isfahan steelworks, the machine-tool factories in Tabriz and Arak built by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and a few other smaller enterprises, industrialisation in Iran is more or less limited to the creation of vast assembly

plants for western products. Top of the list are the car, lorry and bus assembly plants set up with the aid and under the control of big western companies (but under a different name). The finished product satisfies neither Iranian nor foreign customers. Spare parts are practically non-existent and repair services are becoming increasingly hard to find. Statistics show that in 1976 Iran produced 171,000 cars, buses etc. But during the same period it imported 150,000 cars from western capitalist countries and Japan as Iranian buyers prefer foreign makes because of the poor quality of vehicles produced in Iran. Vehicle exports were down by 46% in 1976 over the previous year.

One must also mention the energy crisis and the scandal created by the big Reza Shah hydro-electric power station in the summer of 1977. As a result of corruption in the construction industry to which the Iranian authorities (to whom the western company charged with construction gave bribes) turned a blind eye, this enormous dam which was to have revitalised an industrial area of high population density ceased to function, causing the stoppage of 150 factories and depriving 8 million people of electricity.

Only the oil industry which is almost exclusively in the hands of foreign companies, gains large sums of money for the country (22 thousand million dollars in 1977). Of this sum the regime has spent 5 thousand million dollars per year on buying arms since 1974. It is thanks to this industry that the regime can compensate for its financial deficits, build assembly plants, buy agricultural and food products and clothing and pay three and a half thousand million dollars in pay to 36,000 American officers whose job it is to teach

the Iranian army how to handle the sophisticated arms bought from the United States. It is by exploiting the oil reserves that the regime's leaders and their like are able to make themselves increasingly rich whilst the people are getting poorer day by day.

Finally a revealing statistics: Iranian exports (oil excluded) are 27 times less than imports (arms excepted). The USSR is the largest buyer of Iranian products. The United States is the country which sells the most to Iran (arms excluded).

EDUCATION. At present, more than 3 million children of school age, i.e., 70% are without schooling. For the two million children between the ages of 3-5 there are only 165,000 places in nursery schools. The charges for these schools (all of them private) are so high that only children of very fortunate families can go to them. The monthly charge can reach as much as 1,000 dollars. As a result, there are 1,300,000 working women in Iran whose children are deprived of nursery schooling. The regime, which resulted from the coup d'état, in "perfecting" the former literacy programme, already 40 years old, has maintained if not increased the percentage of illiterates which still represents 65% (90% in the countryside).

Primary school education is free and compulsory in Iran but only on paper. Two years ago, secondary and higher education also became free again, only on paper. However, State schools are so few in number and teaching in them is so mediocre that parents who have the means prefer to send their children to private schools for very high fees. Here are a few figures provided by the authorities themselves: "There are

150,000 university students in Iran, only 3% of whom complete their university studies...as opposed to 150,000 Iranian students abroad, 23% of whom receive a degree, and of that number over 72% go on to further studies."

HEALTH. According to official statistics there are 10,000 doctors in Iran—i.e., one doctor per 3,500 inhabitants, 55% of all doctors live in Teheran. There are 15,000 nurses in the country instead of the 150,000 there ought to be with a population of 35 million. There is one hospital bed for every 3,500 people. The concentration of doctors and health services in Teheran and 5 or 6 other big towns creates serious problems in the small towns and rural areas. Often, hospitals there close down through lack of staff. The brain drain, particularly among doctors, has reached considerable proportions. There are more Iranian doctors in the USA than in Iran and the same thing applies in West Germany and Britain.

"**CENSORSHIP** prevents the

progress of culture" it said in the semi-official press in response to complaints from artists, scientists and writers, and under pressure from the masses. A well-known film director was recently sent to prison for debt. Before he was jailed he told the press, "I have made several films that have been well received by all the critics. I have won prizes at various international film festivals. But I haven't made a penny and now I'm in debt, so they're sending me to prison." A short while ago, dozens of artists and writers wrote an open letter to the Prime Minister denouncing censorship as the major reason for the decline in science, letters and the arts.

In Iran, the Savak bans publication and even reading of contemporary works and also some classical authors from the 17th to the 20th centuries—especially J. J. Rousseau (The Social Contract) and Maxim Gorky.

(To be Concluded)

—Liaison Commission of Iranian Trade Unions.

THE PRESS AND THE TRIBUNE

Nearly 75% of space in a Sri Lankan Daily, is monopolised by Advertisers, says the *TRIBUNE*, in a recent analysis. And Advertisers, be they Private or State, have a "controlling" right over the Press, say !.

75% who thus control the Press aren't simpletons. If they team up, they can do a lot of damage to the so-called "Free" Press.

There is no Free Press in Sri Lanka, in the gathering and publication of news, (local), that has roughly 8 or 10% of space. There cannot be, as long as the Field Correspondents are not journalists. The "Saturday Magazine" carried a story by Miss Inthumathy Panjalingam recently. She had some amusing revelations. One Press Correspondent, she said was a better Egg Seller, and another she said was a better housewife. All she didn't say was, these were not Journalists!!

Free Lancers in Sri Lanka are a rarity. Foreign Syndicate Features are cheap and preferred.

There should be democratisation of the Press, in the sense that Journalists should be protected, and Readership must have its say.

A Press Commission is a Democratic Must.

John B. Kumarakulasinghe

Batticaloa.
10.11.78

BETWEEN THE LINES BY SERENDIB

The Sick Man Of Agricu'ture

We have received a very large number of letters and comments from our readers about the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research and also about the Department of Agriculture. Most of the writers desire to be anonymous, but nearly all the communications are properly authenticated. We have picked a few of the authenticated letters (where the authors wish to remain anonymous) for spotlighting in this column from time to time. This week we have selected a letter from Peradeniya. It is entitled **THE SICK MAN OF AGRICULTURE**. It makes interesting reading.

The Department of Agriculture, being always under the glare of the floodlights, has received both bouquets and brickbats (more brickbats though) from politicians, press and the public. As it is essentially an organisation that serves the people it is in this vulnerable position. It deals primarily with people. People often tend to forget the good work that is done and remember only the failings and shortcomings. Nobody, not even the worst critic of the department, would deny that agricultural production has made tremendous progress in this country. Research and Extension have in no small measure contributed to this rapid development.

The most vociferous critics of the department do not come from the thousands of humble small farmers who are scattered along the length and breadth of this country. The voice that is heard is not that of the tillers of the soil, but, is more often, that of a disgruntled minority

(who have an axe to grind) of the gentleman or weekend farmer type.

This does not mean that all is well with this once prestigious department. There are many defects and contradictions that cry for correction. A timely appraisal of the deficiencies and their expeditious remedy will make it once more to fulfill its roles and obligations more effectively.

The Department has in its cadres very competent, qualified and experienced men. The technical competence and talent available in this Department are of a high order comparable to that in any other country. The Research cadres are manned by highly qualified scientists who can be a pride to any country. The Extension services are manned by men with valuable experience gained in the soils of Sri Lanka, backed with scientific training.

In spite of this wealth of talent and fund of technical know-how, it is a sick department. Has senile decay set in or is it only a temporary phase of debilitation?

What then ails this Department?

THE MAIN THING that bugs this department is the constant internecine warfare that goes on amongst its members. This internal warfare has been the bane of this department from its inception. (It is rumoured that, often, the wives too get dragged into it). The battles arise both from personal and technical reasons. These have tended to cleave the department vertically into multifarious warring factions. Considerable time and energy is spent on these disputes. It is true that in a multi-disciplinary department like this, technical dissensions and differences are bound to occur. These, if held, at a scientific level are a healthy sign of a vibrant scientific community.

But when scientific differences are clouded by personal issues, the ugly face of factionalism emerges. It is a tragedy that men trained to analyse objectively cold scientific data allow their thinking to be subjected to personal considerations.

Some of the major lines of cleavage may be recognised as between Agriculturists and Veterinarians, Pure Scientists and Agricultural Scientists, Graduates and Non-graduates, Research Staff and Extension and Production Staff. There are various possible permutations and combinations of the above divisions and one could imagine ultimately how many different groups one could come up with.

Some of these differences have been removed in recent times. The Veterinarians have moved into a new Department under a new ministry. Pure-Science degree is no-longer a "sino-qua non" for a research job and the portals of the prestigious research jobs, (with a PhD thrown in), were opened to Agriculturists. But the echoes of the earlier battles can still be heard in the corridors of the Department, especially when senior appointments in the Department are under consideration. Sabres are rattled and old war cries raised when some new appointment is to be made or a vacancy filled.

FACTIONALISM overrides considerations of technical competence or suitability. This often results in senior and key management positions not being filled. Some senior positions have been kept vacant for over two years or more. Till such time as "their man" is ready, the posts are kept vacant. In the meantime "supermen" cover the functions of two or more major divisions. One can imagine at what great price this is done! (A survey of the number of vacancies at the Directorate level will bear testimony to this statement).

There is gross misuse of technically trained man-power in the department at all levels. Often, for personal reasons the services of trained men are not utilised in their fields of speciality. When trained officials are available in the department, favourites from other departments are surreptitiously smuggled in. This misuse of staff leads to frustration on the one hand and, incompetence and inefficiency on the other.

Due to lethargy of the administration, large number of vacancies in all grades of the department are left unfilled. There are large gaps in the Research programmes due to lack of adequate research and supporting staff.

Can research information flow steadily to vitalise the extension services without adequate researchers? Is it possible to give adequate extension coverage with a depleted staff—and yet meet the needs of a rapidly increasing and lightened farming community? Can the Department cope with the accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme and other District Development Programmes that this government has initiated? Will the department have to fall by the wayside and allow some other organisation to take up its functions purely due to the bungling by the bureaucrats?

There is a great deal of under-utilisation of existing staff. It is a common practise to send into "cold storage" any officer who is not of the faction in power. This is a wanton wastage of much needed man-power. How many senior experienced, qualified and capable men are warming their chairs in Peradeniya?

A PROPOSAL TO DECENTRALISE the activities of the department to make it more functional

was made but it has been effectively blocked by vested interests. The concentration of technical administrative and financial decision-making at the Head office in Peradeniya has stifled the development and expansion of the Agricultural programmes in the districts. This is also inimical to the maintenance of discipline amongst the staff. The men at the helm of affairs do not like to diffuse the authority and power. A logical step after the decentralisation of administration under the District Minister Scheme was to vest more authority with the District Staff so that they could implement the District Ministers' Scheme more effectively. Who is responsible for blocking the decentralisation proposal?

The Department of Agriculture made considerable progress in its role of guide, philosopher and friend of the farmer under the leadership of men of vision and courage. They were good managers of men or farms. It bred fast and expanded rapidly under the direction of an eminent plant breeder of international repute. During this period there was a meaning and direction in the programmes undertaken by the department.

Alas!—the drying up process started with a specialist in Dry Farming who was more concerned with land reforms than agricultural reforms. To sweeten the bitter pill of separation, and guide a department wedded to an integrated form of agriculture without one of the partners, an expert in sugar cane has been brought in. It is also rumoured that this tired and weakened horse is to be laid to pasture soon with the appointment of an agrostologist (pasture expert) as its jockey.

ogist (pasture expert) as its jockey.

The Minister of Agricultural Development and Research has a wonderful opportunity to correct this situation if he will act with courage and vision. He has all the time now to do some research into the working of the department.

Our advise to him is to concentrate his research into the activities of the Department and leave such mundane research as zero tillage to the more competent research workers under him.

Can the Secretary, who has a reputation as a man of action, inject some new spirit into this demoralised department? Can he remove the areas of frustration and excise the canker of factionalism with the skill of a surgeon. Has he the ability to clean-up the Augean Stables? Will he be the saviour or will he end up as the undertaker?

The Department needs a Director who will direct the Department and not one who will be directed. He should be above factionalism, be courageous, strong and capable of taking decisions without vacillating. The Director should formulate policies and leave it to his men to execute them. He should be one who can inspire the confidence of his men with the soundness of his agricultural policies.

Is there anyone in the department who will rise up to these expectations? If not, will it have to look for someone from outside—a person with the healing touch who can bring this sick patient around?

Can this sick patient recover?

There is no doubt that something is very wrong with the Department of Agriculture. The Augean stables seem to be daily getting worse. The Extension Services have collapsed. Only in very few places are the APPCs.

Agrarian Service Centres, or the Extension Services functioning properly. **Tribune** is aware that in many districts Als, COs and others of the same tribe have not paid visits to any farms for a long long time. In the Kobbekaduwa era, some "extension" work was done in spite of pre-occupation with Land Reform because of the driving force of Secretary Mahinda Silva, but as the SLFP regime drew to a close, the Extension and other Agricultural Services which had been labouriously built over the years had begun to totter. Mahinda Silva quit no sooner the government changed and easily found a job in one of the UN Agencies. He was an efficient administrator as well as a policy maker with vision—only his policies were cock-eyed and his vision blurred. As an administrator, pure and simple, he was **par excellence**. In the E. L. Senanayake era everything has gone from bad to worse. There is not even the shadow of a Mahinda Silva to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for EL. Talkers and buffoons seem to hold the centre of the stage as technocrats and administrators. Most farms which were visited weekly or at least fortnightly in the bad old days, have not sighted any agricultural field officers for several years now. The officials now want the farmers to go to their offices often many miles away, to get any advice or assistance. Seeds have become atrociously difficult to get. As imports have been liberalised the Department does not seem to have paid as much attention as before to the import of seed materials although Government had provided Rs. 35 million for importing seeds in the last Budget. And as for locally produced seeds by the Department the less said the better. The quantities available for sale are totally inadequate—but what is worse is that much of it does not germinate. Private importers have not yet come into the scene. And in the past, it

will be recalled, that the government and Department had stepped in because the private importers of seeds had made unconscionable profits. Today, the farmer is without enough seeds from any source—even at high prices. Planting materials, seeds, and seedlings are only talked of in expensive supplements in newspapers and in the speeches of politicians and bureaucrats reported with fulsome praise in newspapers in which they place high-priced advertisements. But, in all the places—departmental sales centres—where seeds, plants and seedlings had been sold before, there is little or nothing. Ask any farmer in any district and he will tell you the same story. Vegetable production could have been doubled or trebled during the last six months if seed materials were available—and also if fuel for water pumps and tractors had been readily available in the farming areas.

The papers every day publish photographs of the big wigs of the Agricultural Hierarchy. These important persons preach homilies, interspersed with threats to Als (Agricultural Instructors) that if they did not do their work, they would be "dealt with". Such homilies and threats have been heard before. Such big loud-mouthed talk will achieve nothing. The big shots in Colombo, Peradeniya and the big Agricultural centres must move out of their chairs and offices and go down to the farms of ordinary villagers to help people to farm better—as they once did. Only then will Als start to function as they should.

Full page and half page advertisements with photographs of a few currently important VIPs (or even four-to-eight page advertising supplements in the papers) cannot help agricultural development? Must the Minister's photo together with that of henchmen be affixed to a half page spread in the papers to say

that a kilo of tea had fetched Rs. 1000? Must such news be paid for by the Ministry in order to get the Kudos? Can the Minister take credit for this personally? And is it not a fact that this "record" was bettered at the next auctions—at Rs. 1300 a kilo? Why not full page advertisement about it?



FOR THE RECORD

Budget Estimates

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, tabled the estimates for 1970 in Parliament on November 7, 1978.

The estimated revenue is Rs. 11,353,838,440, while the estimated expenditure is Rs. 19,376,897,611. The comparative figures for the current year are: estimated receipts—Rs. 11,297,570,000; estimated expenditure Rs. 15,985,076,656; and estimated deficit—about Rs. 4,300 million. The biggest single source of anticipated revenue next year is export levies, which are expected to net a total of Rs. 4,530 million; with the duty on tea alone expected to yield Rs. 3,070 million. Import levies are expected to bring in Rs. 1,475 million, while the excise duty on tobacco is expected to provide another Rs. 850 million.

On the expenditure side, the single biggest item is the servicing of the Public Debt. Interest payments on rupees and foreign loans will absorb Rs. 1,653 million while repayment of medium and long term foreign loans will take up Rs. 1,328 million, making a total of Rs. 2,971 million. This will be about 45% of total Government expenditure. Capital expenditure of Rs. 8662 million and recurrent expenditure of Rs. 10,715 million have been provided for in the

Estimates. The second highest allocation is for the payment of salaries and allowances of public servants, which is estimated to take up Rs. 2,658 million. The food subsidies come next, the anticipated expenditure on this head being Rs. 2,333 million. As much as Rs. 8,662 million of the total estimated expenditure has been earmarked for capital expenditure, with sizeable chunks of it going for the Mahaweli project, the Kirindi Oya project, the Urea Fertilizer Project and the development of the transport, postal, telecommunication, electricity and health services. The deficit between estimated revenue and expenditure, according to the estimates is Rs. 8,323, 059, 171. The deficit is the gap that will have to be bridged by the budgetary proposals. The foreign aid component is however not reflected in the estimates. The amount of aid anticipated is expected to reduce the gap considerably.

At a Press Conference after the Estimates were tabled, the Minister of Finance said that Sri Lanka had got the necessary foreign resources, but must now concentrate on mobilizing domestic resources. Marshalling of domestic resources was a very big task. The resources could only be mopped up by taxation, savings or transfer from subsidies. He also requested the press to explain the forthcoming budget to the man-in-the-street in simple terms. Tax proposals were an important sector in the budget. It was concerned about the common man and the private sector. The proposals were very comprehensive and required elucidation. The explanations would be made by experts later. Mr. de Mel explained that legislation consequent to the budget took a long time but this time he had instructed officials including those in the Department

of Inland Revenue to have legislation ready almost immediately after the budget to implement the proposals speedily. Last time some of the legislation to be effective took over four months. The Minister lamented that the legislative process was very slow in Sri Lanka.

He said that monies voted for various Ministries this time was very large. The magnitude of the expenditure we were going to invest on development projects was great. The capital outlay that would be incurred would be the largest in the history of Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, experts from the Central Bank would write articles in layman's language on the economic and financial policies of the last budget. Furthermore, he said, for the first time in Sri Lanka the budget gap would be bridged without leaving a deficit. In the past, deficit budgeting had been the pattern and the present Minister of Finance and

Planning will seek to bridge the gap between expenditure and revenue fully without leaving a deficit to be bridged finally with the unspent votes, according to Parliamentary circles.

The record level of foreign aid to be received for 1970 will strictly be used for development projects, and not for consumption, according to government circles. However more money has been allocated for education and health services and Sri Lanka is one of the few countries in the world which provided education and health services free.

A study of the estimates show that the food subsidies in 1979 are expected to cost the country Rs. 2,332 million. This is about Rs. 250 million more than the revised estimated expenditure for the current year and Rs. 894 million more than the figure anticipated when the Finance Minister pre-

NEW CAMPUS?

MATARA

That the Matara Campus (Official name: Ruhunu University College) was declared ceremonially opened with political fanfare and Presidential trumpets many months ago, but on the opening day of the academic session on October 3, little if any work had been done to ensure that the basic amenities or services were available to the 325 students selected to begin higher studies in the South? That no furniture, equipment, staff or the very medium of library facilities have as yet been provided for this luckless batch of students? That about 6 million rupees are available for the current year? That no arrangements, however, had been made to utilise these lavish funds in a systematic fashion, and the administrative and academic infrastructure is conspicuous by its absence? That the clipping attached is a sad commentary on this place, trumped up by politicians on the campus of the century?

Quidnunc

ARTS FACULTY FENCE POSTS STOLEN

Matara,

Hundreds of concrete barbed wire posts along the fences of the Arts Faculty at the old training school have been removed by some women and children. They break the concrete posts and sell the iron netting found inside, for a few rupees,

Quidnunc CDN 18.10.78

Budget Estimates

senied the Budget. His estimat at the time was Rs. 1,180 million, but the increase in world food prices resulted in increased losses to the government on the subsidy. The anticipated expenditure next year on the rice subsidy to the consumer is Rs. 1,476 million, while the subsidy on flour is estimated to cost Rs. 741 million, the subsidy on sugar Rs. 34 million and that on infant milk food Rs. 75 million.

Finally, it is expected that a wide range of tax incentives will be made available to mobilise investment locally for development soon. The Government has undertaken the biggest ever development program in the history of the country. The Accelerated Mahaveli Project alone calls for an investment of Rs. 11 billion in foreign and local expenditure in the next five years. In the first budget, Mr. Ronnie de Mel went all out to mobilise savings, an exercise which has been successful from the start. It also reduced the subsidies burden on the Government, while providing, however, for the first-ever scheme of employment relief. Under this scheme Rs. 50 is paid per month to unemployed persons who qual for relief. It is generally understood that there are three ways open to a Finance Minister to mobilise funds for development. He can promote savings, cut subsidies and recurrent expenditure or resort to tax incentives. It is expected that tax incentives will be the crux of the second budget of the UNP Government and that carefully prepared measures which could not have been presented in the first budget owing to the lack of time will be presented on November 15.

TOTAL EXPENDITURE

Here is a summary of the total estimated expenditure for 1979, divided on the basis of recurrent and capital expenditure.

TOTAL RECURRENT PROVISION

Break-down by Major Items

	Rs. Millions
Personal Emoluments	2658
Interest Paymetns in Rupees and Foreign Loans ..	1653
Income support for the indigent and Persons without gainful occupation	243
Pensions	500
Subsidy to Fertilizer Corporation	580
Subsidy to Petroleum Corporation	450
Interest subsidy to National Savings Bank	113
Food losses	2333
Others	2185
	<hr/>
	Rs. 10,715

TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

Break-down by Major Items

Contribution to the GCEC	123
Decentralised Budget.. .. .	306
Transport Services	702
Postal & Telecommunication Services	261
Contribution to Capital of Mahaveli Development Board ..	944
Health Services	212
Urea Fertilizer Project	539
Nylon Six Project	45
Hydro Cracker (Estimated cost Rs. 1059 m.)	Token Vote
Sinking Fund Contribution and repayment of Medium and long term Foreign Loans	1328
Integrated Rural Development Projects	94
Kirindi Oya Irrigation & Settlement Projec	105
Improvements to Ship Buildings and repair favilities ..	55
Investments on Ceylon Electricity Board	356
Water Supply & Drainage Schemes	215
Construction of Living Units	379
Contribution to Land Reform Commission	340
Paddy Marketing Board	136
Fisheries	112
Others	1910
	<hr/>
	Rs. 8662

EXPENDITURE ESTIMATE BREAK DOWN

The following are the main heads of estimated expenditure in 1979, alongside the revised estimates expenditure for the current year.

	1978	1979
President	1,571,700	126,650,000
Prime Minister	639,100	1,586,000
Supreme Court	850,000	890,000

Cabinet of Ministers	1,129,400	1,994,700
Parliament	8,168,800	10,311,505
Auditor-General	10,070,900	12,648,880
Leader of Parliament	201,500	336,770
Leader of Opposition	125,750	236,750
Dept. of Elections	9,996,800	10,652,980
Ministry of Defence	392,028,910	732,749,000
Foreign Affairs	63,872,000	100,228,000
Plan Implementation	449,617,740	674,115,300
Lands & Land Development	318,472,305	614,043,485
Trade & Shipping	87,691,080	187,284,777
Education	1,037,477,410	1,114,299,120
Higher Education	77,865,110	166,580,220
Power & Highways	179,775,808	628,276,620
Labour	22,917,834	29,763,935
Public Administration & Home Affairs	1,187,794,150	608,060,100
Rural Development	13,621,750	15,026,310
Local Govt. Housing & Construction	444,362,902	1,082,912,828
Industries & Scientific Affairs	620,488,865	753,361,670
Finance & Planning	6,719,928,894	5,222,218,361
Transport	565,125,310	1,032,106,700
Plantation Industry	104,362,315	63,619,010
Justice	80,645,390	95,901,223
Agricultural Development & Research	453,430,660	781,358,350
Fisheries	127,794,915	126,204,090
Mahaweli Development		979,891,090
Youth Affairs & Employment		108,634,000
Rural Industrial Development		95,067,103
Posts & Telecommunications	243,039,133	504,306,315
Health	528,298,409	861,924,898
State	78,220,640	103,664,490
Social Services	50,276,154	68,906,875
Cultural Affairs	15,187,620	21,225,720
Parliamentary Affairs & Sports	9,161,890	7,670,720
Food & Co-operatives	2,099,566,620	2,361,135,569
Textile Industries	22,687,060	40,424,03
Coconut Industry		29,640,9100
Grand Total		19,376,197,611

BATTICALOA'S

District Minister Thinks Aloud

*In an exclusive dialogue
with John B. Kumarakula-
singhe*

There cannot be development without a plan and one cannot plan without understanding the needs, problems, aspirations and attitudes of the masses. With this as the base, Batticaloa's youthful

District Minister, Mr. M. Canagaratnam, has decided on a vigorous break-through into the rural frontiers, and harking back to Plato's "The Government should be to the advantage of the governed," the DM put forward the need to draw the preponderant masses into the mainstream of development.

In an exclusive dialogue, District Minister Canagaratnam, began to think aloud.

Q. Where would development originate?

A. Where it should, at the grass roots level, where the masses belong.

Q. How would this affect development?

A. It would accelerate development.

Q. Would you please lay down norms for approach?

A. By the simple devise of taking Service to the Villages. Officials would accompany me and we would have to make on-the-spot snap decisions.

A flip back of the pages of recent political history in the country exposes the region, as it were of a political phenomenon—the District Political Authority—and it was the one farce that field the Sirimavo government. The District Minister has to project a New Image of Service into the governed, tempered with Justice. Ours is a new Institution and the country would see the build-up of traditions. The New Dimensions would bring out Democratic Socialism.

Q. What new norms and traditions would you postulate for your Ministry?

A. All norms and traditions, our Leader-President has told us, is best on the bed-rock of Justice.

Q. How would you lay down Justice?

A. You don't lay down Justice? Do you? It is there and one follows it. That's the essence of a Dharmista Society we have to establish.

The callers at the office of the District Minister, were mostly youth Job-seekers. His office has become the nerve-centre of Justice, and of Development. A deputation of angry Youth waited on the District Minister, protesting against the use of Drift Nets, that destroyed Infant Marine life.

Q. The drift nets of Mudalalis pose

a peril. How would you check this, Sir?

A. Mudalalis or no Mudalalis, I sense danger in such Drift Nets being used in the Lagoon. This issue has legal implications, that would have to be examined.

Q. How about alerting the Police?

A. The police can't go wild-geese chasing. Statutory adjustments would be necessary, to tighten matters.

District Minister Canagaratnam, at 54, was himself a man in a hurry. Educated at the Jesuit St. Michael's College, Batticaloa. Mr. Canagaratnam, knows his onions, the backwoods and the crooks in Batticaloa. Above all he always uses the language of the masses, interspersed with idioms familiar to the common man.

Q. You have many Members of Parliament in your District. How do they fit into the canvas of development?

A. Everybody would have to share in the development process.

Q. Wouldn't there be a duplication of service?

A. What harm, when it is service? Service begets contentment and contentment begets development.

Two youths walked in. They wanted the District Minister to be their Distinguished Guest, and share a banquet too. The DM smiled and lit another cigarette off the dying one. Was the Project development-oriented? Was the MP of the area briefed? They hadn't. They were asked to do first things first. One saw, on the faces of those youth, the crisis in their conscience.

Q. Wouldn't town work generate development?

A. At the Planning stage, it certainly would. Beyond that concerted action, with everybody throwing in his weight would

take us towards the Just Society that would bring development.

Q. How do you propose drawing in talent?

A. The District Minister's Secretary would arrange to invite experienced citizens, to the various development sub-units, that would help in Planning our objectives.

Q. Would you have the machinery to entertain individual suggestions?

All suggestions are welcome and I would have to set up a Unit to gather and monitor such suggestions.

D.M Canagaratnam, was not happy about the activities of "brokers" who found it profitable to take their "clients" to the Members of Parliament. He was conscious of the grave danger in this rather unhappy process. He was equally hard on "introductions" and "influence" that were redundant.

Q. Would you limit or restraint the line of approach?

A. My office is open to any Member of the public. I want direct contact with the masses and individuals (not through brokers).

The District Minister was alive to the problems that face Agriculturists and Fishermen. He was aware, he told the writer, that there must be an element of speedy assistance to the Farmers and Fishermen, who are the backbone of the District's economy. The issue of loans on time and the release of other subsidy must be speeded up. Mr. Canagaratnam was also alive to the problem of Job-seekers. He felt that the government had already a Job Bank. He would have to fall back on the Bank, for jobs and would advise all Job seekers to get themselves registered.

Q. There is quite some heartburns that the Job Bank appli-

cations have not reached those whom these should have reached. There was some speculation as to whether those forms were issued to political patrons.

A. Jobs are for the unemployed of whatever political party they might be.

Q. What would be your criterion of selection for jobs?

A. Computer selection solves a big headache.

Q. For others not in the job bank?

A. Merit, would be the criterion.

It was abundantly clear that District Minister, Mr. M. Canagaratnam, was out to infuse into the Youth, some sort of attitudinal changes, that were essential in today's spirit of accelerated development. One sees an honest attempt to enthrone Merit, in his approach and the Youth are aware of this, indeed.

Batticaloa District has from time immemorial been the victim of annual ravage by floods. He was also aware that the rains in Batticaloa caused a great deal of havoc. Batticaloa has been afflicted by floods and it was time, some plan was ready to check this annual menace.

Q. Floods pose problems, that are perilous and pathetic. How would you combat this?

A. We are already caught in the midst of rains. Lets escape this time and plan flood prevention measures later.

It was appropriate to sound the District Minister, on how he proposed to eliminate nepotism, favouritism and the other woeful "isms" that had reduced the Member of Parliament in the past, to a putrid level.

Q. Have you a Think Tank?

A. If you mean people to whom I turn to, it is yes. But I take responsibility for all decisions.

Q. In the past in-betweens, caused untold misery to the masses. What are your preventive measures?

A. I am a politician by accident. I know the problems of the masses, as I have spent my entire life, with them.

Q. Assistance to farmers has been niggardly in the past. How would you get over this delay?

A. More than niggardly. It was absurd. I propose accelerating relief at the proper time. I am myself an active farmer in a hurry.

When the subject of bureaucratic lethargy was pointed out, he said that he had been on the receiving end of such delays. These delays, he said, are despicable, and go hand in hand with corruption and bribery. He was determined, he said to eliminate this from public life.

Q. How would you combat nepotism?

A. By ignoring it.

Mr. Canagaratnam, was a hardened farmer of more than thirty summers (monsoons-Ed) in the field. He was alive to the needs of farmers. He was also alive to the fact that when the farmers' needs are denied or delayed, development is held to ransom. Commenting on the bureaucracy of the country, Mr. Canagaratnam, was not quite happy.

The District Minister knows his bearings. He also knows that development is the reward of hard work. His life at his desk had that inertia of motion. He talked little, if at all. He listened. He was aware that a great responsibility was thrust on him. He also confessed that he had mighty powers; but would positively use such powers for the greater good of the greater number. Fishing, Rural Transport, Education, and Agro-oriented ventures, he conceded would have

to be placed on a rational footing; free from favours of any sort.

And all round him was smoke from a cigarette that goes to bed, only after District Minister Canagaratnam goes to bed himself.

X X X X X

IN THE TUB

by Diogenes

The Master Preaches

"There are tears in the affairs of men and there is nothing in this world which does not ultimately end in sorrow for those who find pleasure in what appear to be the good things in this life", said the Master to his friends round him.

"He who finds pleasure in nothing, him I call happy as he finds pleasure in everything. He who possesses nothing, him I call blessed as he possesses all things. To hurt another by word or deed is the only sin and to help another is the only virtue. This is knowledge and this is religion. Love is God and God is love. Live in love among those who hate. The highest achievement in life is a conquest of oneself and the only respect worth earning is self respect. The most shameful act is to pay respect to those who cannot respect themselves but feel honoured by positions and wealth they have gained by foul means and intrigue. Do not hate them but be compassionate towards them for though they have gained the whole world they have lost their souls. Follow the Greek Ideal of doing what is good and beautiful and shun what is bad and ugly. To hate is bad and ugly, to help is good and beautiful. To be calm preserve one's equanimity

is good and beautiful, to be angry and revengeful is bad and ugly. To treat all men with kindness and understanding is good and beautiful. To treat a fellow being with unkindness and lack of understanding is bad and ugly. Follow the path of the good and the beautiful and you will experience the wonder and beauty of this world."

So saying the Master came out of his Tub and leaving his friends walked the streets of Athens with his lantern lit looking for the man who was following the path of the good and the beautiful. He came back to his Tub, having found none and was heard to say, "I would not have gone on this search had I not heard so much talk these days on the good and the beautiful".

X X X X

FROM BATTICALOA

The Mystery of the Missing File

The Personal File of a Teacher in the Batticaloa region, had not been received from the Kalmunai. The Administrative Officer kept on firing reminders. This Personal file had been sent to the Batticaloa Education Office, one year ago, and that too under Registered Cover, by the Kalmunai Office. But the AO continued to send reminders and the Kalmunai Office ignored them.

The Teacher, on the eve of retirement, has appealed to the District Minister, who has called for a Report. And the story goes that the Chief EO, Kalmuna, has asked the AO to go and fly a kite!!

Quidnunc

November 10, 1978.

SCIENCE, SCIENTISTS &
SOVEREIGNTY—2

Neglect Of Research In Sri Lanka

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

BELIEVING AS I DO that science and scientists have a vital role to play in securing true sovereignty for a nation state in the Third World, I propose now to make the attempt to draw attention to crucial matters which have, for too long, been neglected or ignored or discreetly avoided.

In every area of national development, whether it be in the

production of improved varieties of crops or in the exploitation of our mineral resources, scientists are actively involved. Yet, in planning our national strategy for development, in identifying our priorities for investment, in determining the apportionment of funds from the national budget, scientists virtually have no voice. These matters are the prerogative of an elite class who breathe the rarefied atmosphere of air-conditioned buildings in Colombo, for the most part persons who have read economics or classics or languages. Of course they are clever men, important men, impressive men. But they have one massive disadvantage—inhabiting those air-conditioned cubicles in the city, they are hopelessly out of touch with reality and their superb isolation from the fields where the country's battle for survival must be fought guarantees their insensitivity to the most crucial factors in winning that battle. Not infrequently, their plans, projections and these become sterile academic exercises, obsolete before they roll off the press.

It is not impossible to overcome the defects inherent in this system. It is perfectly possible for scientists to be drawn into the national development processes to work in partnership with our planners and policy makers. Perhaps a comprehensive panel of scientists ought to be established to play a consultative and advisory role, scientists in the various specialities drawn from this panel could be included in the highest organisational bodies planning, executing and continually evaluating national programmes and projects. Perhaps every Ministry ought to devise organisational arrangements to reach out to its scientific personnel operating in actual work situations so that a continuous dialogue could take place between

active scientists and those who determine the content and direction of the work in a Ministry.

The organisational arrangements for scientists to participate in national planning and development can be established within the National Science Council. Such a role can also be conceived for the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science in its quest for new avenues for advancing science in this country. If the initial task can be accomplished—to awaken in our planners, directors and administrators an awareness that there is a species called scientists and that these creatures can contribute to the transformation of our state of national poverty and dependence on others to one of national prosperity and self-reliance a major barrier would have been breached.

Next, it is necessary to determine an order of priorities to which the resources we have of funds and personnel ought to be diverted. It is essential that criteria relevant to the situation in this country, its available resources, raw materials and social considerations be recognised in determining these priorities. Agriculture, industry, tourism, all make their claims. It is evident that agriculture must, for a long time to come, remain the dominant sector in the life of this country. It is the principal occupation of our greatest numbers. It can release this country from its dependence on imported food supplies. Of equal significance is the unique position of agriculture in the social context. For agriculture alone can produce in this country a proud and strong peasantry, a cohesive stability to the village community, and a prosperous farming sector. It alone can check the migration of restless villagers into the cities in search of employment, only to create more social problems and

to be drawn into the trade of illicit liquor, prostitution and violence.

Availability of local raw materials must also strongly influence the ordering of our priorities. We have natural rubber and endless possibilities for the production of a wide range of finished quality products. Our natural resources must receive the recognition they deserve. The hydro-electric power that can be generated in this country has yet to be fully harnessed. In these areas too, science and technology will determine what we make of our raw materials and our natural resources. An increased commitment to science, to scientists and their principal activity—research, is therefore inescapable.

IT WAS OUR GENERAL PRESIDENT, Dr. Ernest Abeyratne, who once said, "The Research Base is the main spring of activity." Unfortunately being a soft spoken and mild mannered man, he did not organise public demonstrations or lead processions to draw the attention of those who govern the destinies of this country to this truth. Take agriculture. Since independence, successive governments have recognised agriculture as an important area in our national life. And sincere men have held the portfolio of Minister of Agriculture. The sincerity and integrity of our present Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa and of his predecessor, Mr. M. D. Banda, have never been disputed even by their political opponents.

Yet, even they have not been sufficiently alive to this main spring of activity—Mr. Kobbekaduwa did not include research as a "cardinal commitment" in National Policy needed for a large scale transformation of the agricultural sector to solve problems like employment and food shortages. How

could this be? Dr. Charles Raven, a former Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, once said, "You know the trouble about us is not merely that we are, most of us, incredibly stupid and incredibly lazy and incredibly selfish, but that we are only partially alive. Yes, only partially alive. I have no sense of the beauty of music, and I have no knowledge whatever of mathematics. Well, you think of what that means. I'm half dead, to that extent and I can't say I'm alone in my defect." Perhaps our Ministers, their Secretaries, Makers of Policy and many others share the defect and are insensitive to the creative possibilities of research.

All credit to this Government and particularly to our Minister for the massive changes that have been set in motion affecting the land and the people. In various parts of the country Agricultural Service Centres have been opened. The buildings have come up or are coming up. However, these imposing edifices can become barren monuments if the technical knowledge to give content to the whole programme of agricultural development is lacking. Edna O'Brien wrote about the church in Cuba—"The church is rather like a disconnected arm: there is flesh and bones, knuckles and nails and cuticles, but the blood flow is missing." In our agricultural development programmes also, the blood flow is missing—that blood is the technical knowledge that comes from research.

We ought to take a lesson or two from our colonial masters. They developed the plantation sector. They established research institutes. In independent Sri Lanka, we have recognized that besides the plantation sector, the present agricultural sector and the crops to make us self

sufficient in food are important considerations. Yet, the national commitment to research to support their development has been wholly inadequate.

The Agricultural Research Station at Maha Illuppalama is a gift of the New Zealand Government. The Central Agricultural Research Institute at Peradeniya is a gift of the Australian Government. The Agricultural Research Station at Nuwara Eliya is a gift of the West German Government. And the Research Officers bat on, often working at a fraction of their capacity—short of equipment, facilities, living amenities, transport—and hoping for a better day when these inadequacies will cease; hoping also for a better tomorrow with a possibility of escape from their confinement in the recruitment grade.

The research effort must be supported by a conscious commitment—foreign exchange for essential requirements, competent personnel, and not least by decent conditions of employment for those engaged in the task.

The receptivity of those responsible for allocating funds is as it were, controlled by a single switch—'on' if no valuable foreign exchange is involved, "off" if it is. Some years ago, J. B. S. Haldane ('Jack' to his friends, 'bastard' to his enemies) addressed our Association on research with simple apparatus. An observer with a watch recorded the number of times a butterfly alighted on a flower of a particular colour! Some remarkable discoveries were made with this type of investigation. Much valuable information can be obtained from experiments which

require little more than a measuring tape and a balance. Unfortunately, this situation does not apply to all research. Equipment, chemicals, etc., are indispensable for research into many areas in which information of vital significance to development must be obtained. The information now available on the numerous viruses causing diseases in plants was not all obtained by looking meticulously at affected plants. We in the Third World must ask for no more than the essentials to make meaningful work possible. And these essentials must be obtained by expending foreign exchange. To deny these essentials to the scientists is to virtually immobilise them and to deny the country, in the long term of the contributions which scientists can make to national development.

IT IS A PATHETIC COMMENTARY on our scale of values that while foreign liquor and toilet paper are imported to encourage that most corruptive and corrosive of industries, tourism, equipment and other requirements for research to support a productive and creative occupation, agriculture, are not even considered.

It is a frightening thought that while vast amounts in foreign exchange are expended in procuring arms and ammunition for defence, the most stringent controls are imposed on expenditure for science. Yet, what foreign invader do we fear? The fact is that this expenditure on armaments is incurred to ensure internal law and order because frustration and poverty drive people to disorder and even to insurrection. It is a costly business keeping them under control.

In the People's Republic of China where one of the greatest agricultural revolutions of all time has occurred, there is no such disorder to fear. The People's Militia composed of teenagers and old

people with access to arms serves as a voluntary organisation, a 'national guard' in readiness for the defence of their motherland.

We can spare our nation the agony of our restless rising generations being slaughtered as they challenge the authority of the state in their struggle for a fairer social order. It has happened once and it can happen again unless we can persuade them that it is a preferable alternative to convert swords into plough shares. Their conversion cannot be achieved by channeling our meagre resources to procure sophisticated armaments.

But there is more than an outside chance that giant strides in agricultural development and in the exploitation of our natural resources could achieve this objective—as has been demonstrated by China. In 1974, Dr. Sterling Worthman led a group of twelve eminent American scientists on a visit to China sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences of the United States. His impressions were summed up as follows. "The most populous nation appears to have achieved the objectives of producing enough food for all its people. It has done so largely by the adoption of improved strains of rice and wheat." The International Rice Research Institute released the indica dwarf IR 8 in 1966. The People's Republic of China was established in 1949. I have already referred to China's commitment to science and education. By the early 1960's China had already put into commercial production dwarf indica varieties similar to IR 8 developed in China by means of local breeding programmes that were initiated in 1956.

We can take a lesson from China by making a conscious nation-

nal commitment to agricultural research. That commitment must involve the allocation of foreign exchange to support our research. Such an allocation should best be administered by a competent scientific body capable of assessing the relevance of national research programmes, a body before which any competent scientist could plead his case for support for his work—and he heard. Perhaps the organisation to operate such a system could be established within the National Science Council or a Research Council established in which our Association too can play a valuable role.

Money is necessary. But more important are the men for the long march to sovereignty. A dominant feature of the Arusha Declaration, the manifesto of Julius Nyerere's ruling party in Tanzania is its emphasis on self-reliance. And Nyerere has unequivocally answered the question as to what education should be doing in his country—"It must encourage the growth of a independent and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development." No country which relies on any other source can hope to rise to the status of a proud and sovereign state. That is why it is essential to ensure that adequate knowledge, technical skill and expertise for development are available within one's own citizenry.

In this context, a passionate plea must be made for the training of our scientific officers as competent specialists in the many different disciplines essential for the national development effort, for a fuller utilisation of their specialist skills, and not least for fairer conditions of employment that will encourage them to throw themselves without reserve into the national effort.

Most of the professionally qualified scientists in this country have received their post-graduate

training abroad. Clearly, we in Sri Lanka must develop our own institutions for post-graduate training. But we should not be totally insensitive to the shortcomings of our own situation or to advantages of post-graduate study in well established institutions abroad. Agriculture being a vital sector in our national life, first rate institutions for training competent agriculturists should have been functioning many years ago. But what in fact is the situation?

The Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Sri Lanka has been reported as expanding at an explosive rate. True, there are more chairs than there were some years ago and certainly more students; the problem is that there are only a handful of competent teachers. A Post-graduates Institute of Agriculture has also been established within the Faculty of Agriculture. M.Sc and Ph.D degrees are to be given in several specialities, including my own, Plant Pathology. Yet, for Plant Pathology, there isn't a single qualified lecturer in the Faculty of Agriculture competent to teach the subject at under-graduate level, let alone organise post-graduate courses.

Who kiddeth whom? Those of us who are professionally qualified owe a duty to the University to assist it in its tasks. But it is futile to argue that persons already in full time employment elsewhere can shoulder the responsibilities of a teaching institution.

Obviously, an accelerated pace in providing adequate numbers of professionally qualified specialists to undertake these courses is essential. And such specialists must be recognised by the quality of their work and publications. They must be thoroughly immersed in University life. And they must also be fully alive to the developments in their own specialities taking place elsewhere in the world. Unless these requirements are ful-

filled, there can be little confidence in the quality of the courses provided by the Institute. At best, it might confer sentimental degrees and honorary doctorates. And until the credibility of its degrees is assured we must continue to send at least our most promising young scientists for post-graduate training to institutions abroad.

(To be Concluded)

X X X

ACID BOMB EXPLOSION — 23

Chapter Twenty Three

Army Rule

by James Goonewardene

About mid-day an army jeep stopped outside Sedaraman's house. In charge of the five men in the jeep was a stockily built officer, square jawed, round bellied and red in the eyes from much food and booze. People in the town had already learned to fear and avoid him. He had earned a reputation as a ruthless executioner, and also a man who enjoyed interrogating captured insurgent girls in the privacy of his room. He had in addition, earned some notoriety for his much quoted quip that the army was entitled to a bit of relaxation at the expense of the bastards they had been pulled out of their barracks to fight. It was this officer who had now come to Sedaraman's house.

Sedaraman came out to the verandah when the jeep stopped outside his home. The officer took his time climbing out of the jeep—he swaggered in a lazy casual way, followed by three of his men, all carrying guns. He walked in and surveyed the house a moment; his men stayed down in the compound. He came to the point at once.

‘You are Sedaraman?’

“Sedaraman, yes...” said Sedaraman stumbling over his name

“Yes have a son who's in this—what they call the Peramuna?”

“I had a son,” said Sedaraman, “but he was not in the Peramuna.”

The officer chuckled. He felt his chin and squinted his eyes at the old man.

“Where's your son now?”

“He'd dead—they shot him. The insurgents shot him.”

“This is what they all say. Nobody's son was in the Peramuna. How did he come to be shot if he was not in the Peramuna?”

“They shot him. He didn't join them—so they shot him.”

“We have been told he's still around. You'll save us trouble if you tell us at once where he is.”

“They shot him—I tell you they shot him.”

“All right men, go in and make a search—bring out everybody there's in the house.”

The men made their search and returned pushing Yaso Hamy and Kamala. A weary, bored expression came over the face of the officer, it was as if he were bored with being constantly obstructed. They always did this to him—they never told him the truth—it was so frustrating for an officer.

“This daughter of yours—has been in the Peramuna?”

“No, cried Yaso Hamy. “My daughter was never in the Peramuna. How could she join them knowing what they did to her brother?”

The officer stood unmoved. His face took on a more distorted expression as his eyes examined Kamala; Kamala, terror stricken, entwined herself round her mother.

“We'll have to take your daughter.”

"Take our daughter?"

"Yes, we are checking on everyone."

"You can't do that. You can't take the girl. We told you she's innocent," said Sedaraman stepping up and standing between the officer and Kamala.

"We have had other parents obstruct us—we have had to burn their homes. We discovered many of these young fools that way". Kamala had started to move back into the house. The officer stepped forward, grabbed her by the hand and pulled her to him.

"Ikmung venda eppa!"

The old couple grew still as if by staying motionless it might stay the fulfilment of this horrible nightmare.

"So you are not an insurgent," said the officer, his eyes burning into Kamala.

"Leave her alone please," pleaded Sedaraman. "Please, leave her alone. She has done nothing. You can't harm innocent people."

"Take her to the jeep," ordered the officer.

There was a brief struggle. Sedaraman tried to free Kamala from the soldier's grasp, but he was overpowered. Kamala broke down and sobbing they dragged her along to the jeep. The frantic parents followed the men to the jeep, still struggling to get their daughter back; one of the men shoved Sedaraman away with his boot. The jeep was then started up and driven away with Yaso Hamy running after it screaming. They fired a gun into the air, but she continued to run after it.

The distracted couple went off to look for help. There was nowhere to go and no one to turn to, but they went; not to do something would drive them mad; they went to Deva's boarding—they had need of someone, anyone, Deva might

think up something to do—anything. They told their tale, in between sobs and then pitifully turned to each of their friends standing round—the landlady and her husband and Deva, but they were themselves already driven to distraction by what had been taking place to do anything but stare back—it was as if they were looking at a house on the top of a hill that was going down to destruction in a landslide. The old couple turned from one face to the other.

"We got to do something," they said. "We got to do something." Deva was too stunned to talk; they were suddenly staring at him and he turned abruptly.

"Are you going to do something?" cried the mother. "It will soon be too late."

"I'll go now," he said. "I'll go at once."

"What are you going to do?"

"I don't know," he said. He didn't turn back. He went on in the hope that motion, just movement might get his faculties working again. It was to Ariya he went. Where else could he go?

"You've got to get to someone high up," advised Ariya. "It's the only thing to do now."

He didn't speak for a long moment then he stirred. "My brother," he said as if coming out of a dream.

"My brother—I could telephone my brohher. He has influence."

"From where do you hope to telephone?"

"From the post office, from the railway station—from anywhere." "The wires" of the sub-post office were cut by the insurgents."

"I know that. The main post office—that should have a telephone."

They came up against a blank wall at the post office. "No private calls," said the postmaster. "Army orders,"

They tried to reason with the post master who had had to abandon the post office when the insurgents took the town, and had returned only with the army.

"Do you want to be shot?"

"But they have got this innocent girl."

"There are a lot more innocent people going to pay for all this."

"But we can get a call through to Colombo?"

"It's the order—security measures; the telephone's only for defence. This is not a football match they are playing." He went back—tried to stop army trucks, jeeps anything; he was shouted at and threatened, but he kept going; a gun was thrust at his chest. "Get going. If we see you on the street again you will be shot." He had already started to walk as if in a dream. His head began to throb and buzz with the voices of uniformed men in the trucks and jeeps—"Get going, you b—y ass; f..off—you'll get shot, you'll get shot, you'll get shot." It drummed in his head.

At three that afternoon when the curfew came on he had to give up. He left Ariya and went back to the boarding. The old couple rushed and clung to him. "Have you done anything?" "No," he said, brushing them off and going to his room. He lay on his bed to think. After a time he came out of his room deciding to walk down to the beach.

"Its curfew, you'll get shot."

He went nevertheless because he couldn't stay in his room and do nothing. When night came he lay on his bed and fussed fitfully about.

He waited for a morning that never seemed to come. Out there he could hear the waves break on the beach with frightening mono-

tony. Even the wind appeared to blow stronger than before.

In the morning, before people had begun to stir, a jeep drove up to Sedaraman's closed up house. The sound of the jeep, however, had brought people out to their windows in the few habitations that lay scattered around nearby. The jeep stopped outside there and they saw some one being pushed out of it in the grey light, and the jeep had driven off. It was Kamala. They had brought Kamala back and dumped her in front of her empty home, her hair tangled and falling across her worn, haggard face. Her frock torn in several places, and badly crumpled, she stood staring at the empty house for a long time. She collapsed then on the doorstep; and lay there a long while, and then she stirred and started to look about her—it was so desolate; she looked at the houses round about. There were people in the doorways of these houses, staring at her; the moment they saw her head turn in their direction they went in and shut their doors. They were careful not to be involved with insurgents—was she an insurgent—they didn't know; but her brother was one; better have nothing to do with them.

She rose, at last, and wandered off, in a slow, painful walk. She sometimes, appeared to lurch as if she were drunk. She went on until she reached Deva's boarding where some instinct had told her, her parents must be, and there, once more, she collapsed on the verandah. Taken to bed she lay there with her eyes fixed on the ceiling. There were no tears in her eyes. It had no message to give. It said nothing. When the others had failed to get replies from her Deva tried to talk with her, but she recoiled from him with such violence that he fell back with a

shock. She turned round then to face the wall and there she lay.

A horribly shaken Deva wandered off towards the resthouse where his friend Ariya was waiting for him. When he had got sufficient control of himself he told Ariya the tale.

"My god Ariya," he said, "one reaches a point beyond which one cannot go. One must say I have had enough—this is all I can take; someone has to say this—enough is enough. One has to call a halt." Ariya sighed, but he said nothing, because he knew both of them had to survive these things. The pendulum had swung too far in one direction and it had started to come back in the opposite, but one had to survive it all, but now there were no answers he could give. Answers—were there answers to anything? Questions and answers. It was all terribly involved and tiring, so very tiring.

They sat there and watched the sea. It was perfectly still this morning—not a wave or a ripple out there. It was glassy. It was almost as if it were trying to give a lie to the things they were perpetrating around them. Behind them the river flowed as before. It had borne the bodies of some of the slaughtered down to the sea, but it was calm now—having done all that. It was as if its task was just that—to wash away any visible evidence of man's folly.

Ariya glanced at Deva. He tried to recall the day he had first come here, with just an overnight bag, a stranger in the place looking for a bit of quiet and rest. He was different now. He had changed. Physically too he had changed. He was thinner, but that could be understood—it had not been an easy time—food was short, but something had happened inside him. He turned his eyes slowly in the direction of the unfinished hotels,

abandoned now, but to be started again when things had come back to normal. The tourists would eventually come and there wouldn't be a trace of all these things that had happened. Man had a terrific capacity for removing traces of his crimes.

"You've got anything to drink, Ariya—you've got any beer, any arrack?"

Ariya smiled—"you mean that seriously?"

"Yes, I need something desperately."

"But there's none—you know that—the insurgents took it all."

"Yes, that's right—I feel a bit dazed—I find it difficult to connect things up."

Ariya glanced at his friend. Deva's head was bowed and resting on his clenched fists, and down his cheeks the tears had started to trickle down.

The End.

Copyright Reserved

FROM BATTICALOA

Colonial Education

Batticaloa has gone back to the era of Colonial Education. The Director of Education—on extension at 58—does not know Tamil and is dependent on a "Politburo."

Direct contact by the Tamil speaking residents is denied. The PRO, a Grade 3 teacher, knows neither Tamil nor English and limits his Public Relations work to the Sinhala Schools, while being on the PTA Committee of a school already.

Tamil and English knowing teachers have suggested to the DE, that both he and his partisan PRO must go.

J.K.B.

7.11.78

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Oct. 28—Nov. 4

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

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

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28: The Sri Lanka President and Indian PM held talks in New Delhi yesterday; the talks between the two leaders lasted an hour and were warm and cordial. The President of India welcoming President Jayawardene on his arrival at Palam airport in Delhi said the visit will not only lead to the strengthening of endeavours of both countries but will also contribute to the well being and prosperity of the people of the region. The government of Australia has made available in grant form a sum of Australian dollars 1 million to Sri Lanka—CDN. The Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education said that there was no wave of sadistic acts nor was there a series of sordid ragings of freshers in the universities according to reports of a police investigating team—CDM. President Jayawardene said that he was a lover of India and her people and an admirer of her noble heritage and a follower of her greatest sons. The government yesterday announced an increase in the licensing fee of several categories of motor vehicles—SUN. The Secretary of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress stated that the threat of resignation given by Mr. Sivasitham-

param MP for Vavunlya was a mere stunt and would not take place in reality—DP. The 23,000 students who passed the GCE 'A' level but failed to get admission to the University will be given a chance to get higher education in technical and politechnical institutions.—LD. The Somali government yesterday publicly executed by firing squad 16 Army and Air force officers and one civilian convicted of trying to overthrow President Mohamed Sied Barre in a coup last April. UNESCO Director-General yesterday appealed to all member governments to approve a draft declaration on the mass media which western countries see as a threat to press freedom. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Premier Menachem Begin today jointly won the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize—SU. Tanzanian troops backed by Cubans have again invaded Uganda, Uganda radio said today. Algerian President Boumedienne has reportedly delegated his authority to foreign Minister Bontafine because of lung cancer and a resulting loss of voice—CDM. French President Vallery Giscard D'Estaing said yesterday he thought a detailed agreement in principle on the projected European Monetary System could be reached by the end of the year. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko yesterday agreed to consider French proposals for a disarmament conference in Europe—CDN.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29: Visiting Sri Lanka President and the Indian PM held wide ranging discussions yesterday during an informal round of talks. The market for blue sahpires has hit a peak of Rs. 15,000 a carat for high quality stones the Colombo Gem trade said. Budget day will be on the 15th of November. The government has decided that the district Ministers be paid the same remuneration as Deputy Ministers and District Secretaries be paid the same as Additional

Secretaries to Ministries—SO. "We need the help of our neighbour, we need the help of all those who are willing to help us in the international sphere, and of our neighbours, the greatest, the most important and the friendliest is your Republic of India", said the President in reply to the toast proposed by Indian President at a banquet in his honour. Colombo has now become one of the transit points through which narcotics—especially opium, ganja and hashish—were smuggled in by air and then smuggled out by sea to foreign destinations according to customs intelligence reports. Rukmani Devi, queen of the Sinhala screen singer and stage actress for over 40 years died yesterday morning when the van in which she was travelling collided with a bowser—ST. The Minister of Justice said yesterday that the example set by the TULF MPs in the Eastern Province would lead the way for the betterment of the Tamils and he hoped that other TULF MPs would follow in their footsteps—VK. A new political problem has been created for the Tamil speaking people with the controversy over the acceptance of the district ministerships with one faction of the TULF and its affiliated organisations claiming that acceptance would only be a stepping stone for achieving Tamil Eelam and the other faction opposing it—EN. Most co-ops are unable to purchase the required amount of stocks as 80% of their earnings are being used to pay salaries to employees—SLDP. A total of 13 developing countries asked the West German government to wipe out their debts. Britain's ruling Labour Party successfully defended seats in two by-elections on Thursday. Iraq and Syria have concluded a charter for joint national action between the two countries—WK. P.M. Menachem Begin appeared unruffled yesterday by angry American comments about

his decision to send more Jewish settlers to the Jordan West Bank at a time of peace negotiations with Egypt.—ST.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 30: The government has decided to place at the disposal of the President a special fund through which he will be able to give relief to the poor and the needy; the fund which will be called the 'President's Fund' will be initially launched with contributions from public, private institutions, private individuals and also from foreign social service and welfare organisations. The estimated expenditure for the next financial year beginning January 1 is Rs. 16,604,854,774 according to the Appropriation Bill prepared by the government. The sixth batch of 360 youth left for Maduru Oya yesterday to participate in the Mahaweli Sramadana Project. Massive crowds flocked to Bolawalana in Negombo throughout yesterday to pay their last respects to Rukmani Devi, the undisputed queen of Sinhala cinema who died in a road accident on Saturday morning. The first factory within the IPZ at Katunayake goes into production early next month—CDN. President Jayawardene was hailed as a strong follower of democracy and of having provided in true democratic spirit a strong leadership to Sri Lanka's citizens throughout his career; this compliment was paid by the Mayor Delhi at a civic reception accorded to him. The government has decided that the private sector on its own or with foreign collaboration should develop the Echelon Square area in the city which would cover 16 acres. The post of the Chairman of the Leather Corporation may be offered to Mrs. Amirthalingam, wife of the leader of the Opposition—CDM. Electricity rates are to go up from December 1. President Jayawardene speaking in New Delhi yesterday declared that his visit to India had

been successful. The TULF's radical youths who belong to the Tamil Ellaignar Peravai may quit their parent body; at a meeting yesterday the Youth Front resolved that its members should not join any political organisation—SU. The Central Committee of the TULF decided that explanations will be demanded from the three TULF MP's who were exceeding the limits of party rules—VK. The Minister of Rural Industrial Development said that 'stateless citizens' will not have problems very soon for they will be made full fledged citizens when citizenship laws are amended—DP. The TULF Youth Front has decided that they will not participate in any elections held by the Government in the future—EN. The Ministry of Plantation Industries has decided to pay equal wages to workers of both sexes—DV. West Germany yesterday joined the US and Britain in declaring strong support for the embattled state of Iran in the country's worst political crisis in 15 years. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat responding to a personal appeal from President Carter yesterday reversed his decision to recall his chief negotiators from Peace Treaty talks with Israel and Washington—CDN. The Soviet Union wants to develop its relations with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and has expressed support for the peaceful character at the five nation grouping—CDM. More than 3000 students demonstrated against the Shah inside Teheran University campus today as 3 more deaths were reported in anti-government protests in the provinces. Carrado Alunni wanted for the kidnap of former Premier Aldo Moro and captured less than 2 months ago and sentenced for 12 years was sentenced for seven more years for striking at police. India's ex-Premier Indira Gandhi engaged in a grim election battle in Chikmagalur in South India received responsive crowds yesterday as she

campaigned through the sprawling but picturesque country side—SV.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31:

The government has approved a scheme by which kachcheri staff will play the role of 'barefoot administrators' and take their administrative functions to the people; under the scheme kachcheri staff will camp out in remote areas and create 'mini kachcheris' making it possible for the people to have their matters attended to virtually at their doorsteps. The National Agricultural Diversification and Settlement Authority has started the implementation of its Rs. 100 million project covering Gampola, Hewaheta, Aranayake, Yatiyantota and Nawalapitiya electorates. The talks between President Jayawardene and Premier Morarji Desai and other ministers were conducted in a spirit of cordiality and friendship and were very fruitful. A massive crowd converged on Negombo yesterday to pay their last respects to Rukmani Devi, the singer who stole millions of hearts by her melodious voice and also remained the undisputed queen of the Sinhala screen—CDN. The Central Working Committee of the TULF met on Sunday at party HQ's in Jaffna and decided to call for the explanations of the three TULF MP's—Mr. C. Rajadurai (1st MP for Batticaloa) Mr. T. Sivasi-thamparam (MP for Vavuniya) and Mr. R. Ganeshalingam (MP for Padiruppu)—for allegedly violating party discipline and also allegedly attempting to bring discredit to the party. India and Sri Lanka agreed to increase trade between the two countries and to stimulate Indian investment in joint ventures in Sri Lanka. Over 10,000 sugar cane growers and their families in the Moneragala and Badulla Districts are facing a bleak future as the Sri Lanka Sugar Corporation has stopped buying any sugar cane from private sources—CDM.

Laksala, now functioning under the Department of Small Industries will soon form the nucleus of a new Department. Transport Authorities have proposed that the Sri Lanka Central Transport Board and the Regional Transport Boards undertake the repair and maintenance of all minor roads on which the bus services operate—SU. Youth leaders of three left parties have invited the Youth Group of the TULF to join them on a socialist path to fight for racial freedom; they are Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, Mr. Upatissa Gamanayake (JVP) and Mr. Nihal Perera (PDP). An amendment will soon be brought to change the rule which says that an MP can be dismissed from a political party on charges—VK. The government is now in the process of restoring about 600 damaged tanks in various parts of the country—DP. Agricultural loans for paddy farmers last year amounted to Rs. 99 million which is a 33.5% increase from the previous year—DV. Black African leaders opposing the government last night ended what were apparently inconclusive talks aimed at healing rifts in their five-nation alliance. Five planes carrying British military equipment flew into Lusaka under cover of darkness at the weekend as Zambia sought to store up its defenses following Rhodesia's deepest ever strike. Conservative Senator Barry Goldwater says he would introduce a motion to impeach President Carter if the President attempted to cancel the US defence treaty without consulting Congress—CDN. The leader of Iran's opposition National Front Party met exiled religious leader Rholia Kho Meing in Paris and said they agreed completely in their struggle against the Shah. Uganda said yesterday it would attack Dar Es Salaam and other Tanzanian cities unless Tanzania withdrew its forces from Uganda

by tomorrow night—SU. Pakistan's army regime is planning to arrest several hundred supporters of ex-PM Bhutto before the Supreme Court rules next month on his appeal against death sentence—CDM.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1: The River Valleys Development Board last week confirmed orders for heavy machinery worth Rs. 60 million for the Maduru Oya scheme; this is for use in the Maduru Oya project. The administration of the General Hospital Colombo will soon be brought under an advisory committee to bring about a more effective hospital service. Parliament meets today and tomorrow to debate the Universities Bill. The cost of telephone calls has gone up from today. The SP Negombo has estimated that about one million people attended the funeral of Rukmani Devi on Monday evening—CDN. The President in a Delhi TV interview stated that his government had done its best and it was now up to the TULF. Mr. Mustafa K. Gokal, Federal Minister for Shipping, Ports and Exports Promotion of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan will arrive for talks with the Sri Lanka government. The Colombo Municipal Authorities have decided not to permit for slaughter, cattle which are breedable. At 8 pm on Monday night vandals were found digging up the grave of Rukmani Devi—CDM. Tax holidays to business enterprises in the FTZ have been extended to seven years—SU. There is no room for talk saying that the TULF will join the government said the MP for Manipay Mr. V. Tharmalingam. A new organisation called the 'Tamil Liberation Movement' is soon to be established in the North and East; this will be a combination of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (part of the Tamil Youth Front which broke away in 1975) And the Tamil Elaignar Peravai

(Youth Front) —VK. The government has decided to set up a separate institute to buy, sell and export products of small scale rural producers—DM. The Minister of Finance is expected to raise the price of flour by 50 cents in the coming budget—ATH. The country imports Rs. 7 million worth of vehicles daily—JD. The OPEC is certain to increase oil prices next year but the rise is likely to be small initially and perhaps staggered. Israel and Egypt signalled progress in their peace negotiations. Namibia was admitted to UNESCO as its 145th member. Two Ministers resigned from the two month old government already battered by widespread street unrest and violence in Iran's worst political crisis in 25 years—CDN. A Kenyan newspaper reported that Ugandan Army Units had mutinied against President Idi Amin near the border with Tanzania—CDM. The Arab Foreign Minister's Conference in Baghdad formed a six member draft committee to draft the agenda for the ninth Arab Summit Conference opening in Baghdad on Thursday—SU.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2: The Special Presidential Commission issued notices yesterday on Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, a former Minister of Lands, Mr. Jaya Pathirana, a former Judge of the Supreme Court, Mr. Ian Wickremanayake, former Bribery Commissioner, Mr. A. H. M. Fowzie, former Mayor of Colombo and Mr. C. Manohara, District Judge, Batticaloa. Public officers in occupation of government quarters have been warned that sub-letting, renting or leasing of such quarters would lead to severe disciplinary action, including dismissal—CDN. The government has approved a multi-million rupee petroleum refinery expansion scheme at the Sapugaskande oil refinery—a project which has been classified as

'top priority' in view of the impending oil price hike by the OPEC countries. A high powered Cuban delegation led by the country's Foreign Minister Mr. Isadore Malmerca Peoli is expected to arrive in Sri Lanka in the middle of this month. The Acting Auditor General has not been sent on compulsory leave said the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports in Parliament yesterday—SU. The TULF MP for Padiruppu said that he had no intention whatever of joining the present government and the only aim for which he would work is for the establishment of Tamil Eelam—VK. Mr. Santhathiar, Secretary of the Tamil Youth Front stated that there was no point in joining Mr. Rohana Wijeweera and the JVP as they were suspicious of the Tamils—DP. Vacancies in the police and the other forces will not be filled through job banks—LD. The CTB is facing an acute shortage of engineers as most of them have or are leaving for employment abroad. The Palmyrah Development Board has asked for 50 acres of land from each District to cultivate palmyrah; one million seeds will be distributed next year. The Japanese government has promised to donate Rs. 114 million worth of fertilizer to Sri Lanka—DV. Egyptian, Israeli and American negotiators reported that they had made headway in talks on a peace treaty between the two Middle East neighbours. Arab leaders meeting in Baghdad completed a draft plan for a major offensive against Egyptian Israeli peace moves. Ugandan troops backed by tanks and heavy artillery have pushed deep into Tanzania and are fighting Tanzanian forces near Lake Victoria. Martial law was extended to cover nearly one half of Rhodesia—CDN. The Bolivian military command has called President Juan Pereda Asban to form a majority

military cabinet following the unrest of five civilian politicians allegedly involved in a left wing coup due to have taken place last Sunday. A leading African member of the Security Council warned of general war in the middle east unless the fifteen nation body applied punitive measures against S. Africa soon—CDM. Iranian PM Sharif Emami won a vote of confidence in Parliament but the country's political crisis worsened and strikes halved oil exports—SU.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3:

Over two thousand million rupees now lying in the Employee's Provident Fund administered by the Labour Department are to be used to provide better amenities and welfare facilities to worker contributors including the granting of housing loans. The Urban Development Authority which has been formed under the Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction will undertake the setting up of towns in several parts of the island. A Fishery Development Authority which will be the highest policy making body with regard to all matters connected with the fishing industry will soon be set up. Sri Lanka will soon be able to field a 75,000-strong youth army; the fully trained army will bear the brunt of the country's struggle to achieve rapid development. Sri Lanka will grow two special varieties of rice for export; a project to undertake this venture and to export 60,000 tons of rice next year has been set up. The leader of the Opposition has curtailed his overseas visit and is due in the island on Sunday. The PM yesterday called upon all public servants to cultivate self-reliance and confidence in themselves—CDM. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation has accepted a proposal submitted by the Director of Civil Aviation that a direct fuel line be established

from Kolonnawa upto Colombo Airport, Katunayake. The National Apprenticeship Board is implementing a crash programme to train 8,000 skilled workers to meet the government's housing programme and urban renewal programme and 10,000 skilled personnel for the Mahaweli project—SU. The MP for Vavuniya stated "after losing our traditional territory it would be difficult to achieve our aim—Eelam; we have to will towards achieving it and if we fail to, we should lose our responsible positions"—VK. The MP for Vavuniya has said that if the TULF leadership considered his actions as violating the party's discipline he was prepared to take the punishment but it was never his intention to change parties—EN. The Department of Motor Vehicles has issued 150 special licenses permitting private sector bus owners to compete with the CTB in the transportation of people—DK. The Ministry of Public Administration etc has abolished the law that limited the number of females in the administrative service to 17%; now all females who pass the examination will be employed in the service—DM. There will be vacancies for 1800 carpenters and skilled bricklayers soon in the Mahaweli Project to build the 10,000 planned houses—LD. Uganda announced yesterday it had sacked a salient of Tanzanian territory in a 25 minute military operation. A 19 year old college girl was killed and 95 people injured in Chikmagalur yesterday in an outbreak of violence during the by-election campaign in which former PM Indira Gandhi is attempting to re-enter parliament. PM James Callaghan strongly warned Britain's military trade unions that he would fight to keep down wages and said his anti-inflation policy faced a major break next month—CDN. Tanzania is considering a general mobilisation

following the Ugandan invasion of her territory with heavy artillery and tanks. The Soviet Union is supporting Uganda's invasion of Tanzania with military equipment and technicians said a member of the House of Representatives in Washington. Protests against the Shah of Iran's government crippled the world's second biggest source of oil and grounded the National Airlines—SU.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4:

Sri Lanka, yesterday was on the verge of being hit by a cyclonic storm according to the pictures that were being flashed to Colombo Observatory from American and Japanese satellites last morning; however the storm that was heading for Sri Lanka by 11.30 pm was turning away towards the west coast of India. Fisheries co-operatives will be scrapped and their fleet of 927 boats will be distributed among the fishermen. Air Ceylon suspended its flights until further notice following its only operational aircraft, the remaining Avro-748, being damaged during yesterday morning's gale. President Jayewardene on Thursday opened the Palaeography Akshara Vidya Library at the Maha Bodhi Society, Patna. The Ministry of Transport has set up two committees—one to bring about a uniform fare for taxis and the other to recommend a scheme with regard to the import of taxis—CDN. The government has decided to ban all social service institutions by the private sector. The penalty for killing an elephant would be a fine of Rs. 10,000 and a year's rigorous imprisonment. The first Executive Committee meeting of the SLFP after the last general elections will be held on November 11. Mr. N. Satvendra has been appointed Secretary of the Ministry of Labour—CDM. The President has approved a new

five year tourism development plan; it sets a target of 500,000 tourists by 1984 and will get under way with a major promotional drive beginning January next year said the Minister of State. Former Finance Minister Dr. N. M. Perera leaves for Geneva to attend a conference of leading economists of developing countries on the invitation of Dr. Gamani Corea. The government is to amend the Widow's and Orphans' Pension Fund Ordinance to enable the payment of a pension to widowers of women public servants—SU. Due to the heavy rains experienced in most parts of the island's coastal areas like Jaffna, Trinco, Batticaloa, Galle, Hambantota and hill country towns like Kandy, Avissawella, Nuwara Eliya, and Ratnapura have undergone widespread damage; in addition over 10,000 people living in low lying areas have been rendered homeless and have sought refuge in schools—VK. The Minister of Agriculture said the target for the next Maha Paddy harvest is 100 million bushels—LD. Israeli PM Menachim Begin said yesterday that there had been real progress towards an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and then met President Carter unexpectedly. France, the main supplier of armaments to South Africa said it had cancelled all its arms contracts with the country and halted deliveries. Iraq President Ahmed Al-Kakr opened a pan-Arab summit conference without Egypt by calling on President Anwar Sadat to reject any separate peace treaty with Israel. West Germany and France agreed to admit Italy into the proposed European Monetary System with an initial US currency fluctuation—CDN. Rhodesian war planes staged their closest ever strike into the Zambian capital to hit a camp of Nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo, in the second major Rhodesian incursion in two weeks. The US

State Department and the British Foreign Ministry condemned Rhodesian Air raids on neighbouring Zambia—CDN. The US and France rejected a controversial draft declaration on the media being prepared by the UNESCO. Commonwealth countries asked Britain to seek guarantees from South Africa that it would not export oil to the breakaway colony and Rhodesia—SU.

—X— —X— —X—

CATHOLICS AND EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA—5

Private (Fee & Non-Fee) School And Community School

by Rev. Tissa Balasuriya O.M.I.

LET US NOW ASK ourselves whether the idea of the community school can help us meet the special difficulties around the private schools. The private schools have been a great strain on the Catholic community during the past two decades. Recently the Messenger reported that the Holy See had indicated to His Grace the Archbishop that they could even be handed over to the State if the difficulties were insurmountable.

What is bad about the private school is not that it is not State managed and financed but that it inexorably tends to be elitist, to give additional help to the children of the already affluent, and thus increases inequalities in society. Its values tend to be by and large elitist, segregationist and snobbish, even in spite of a token presence of the poor or a fair sprinkling of scholarships. The overall atmosphere is elitist.

These it shares with the public privileged school. It is in the aspect of being privileged that it is unjust, and a counter witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. But we are not for a State monopoly of education in all its aspects; management, teacher training, content, methods etc.

We prefer effective decentralisation within an equalitarian framework. The community school is a type of decentralized approach to education with the public interest in mind. We would like to suggest that the community school is a way by which the "privateness" of the school and its specific identity can be reasonably maintained without being elitist.

This implies a change in the curriculum and organisation of the school. If creative and productive work are an integral part of the school stage of a child's life, then the children can contribute to their own education by working. If all children have to work, and if the fruits or work of both teachers and pupils are used to maintain the school, then it will be possible for a school to admit children without reference to their parents capacity to pay monthly fees and or a lump sum entrance fee.

The prestigious private schools have the land and resource base for such a diversification of education in relation to work. Were they to do so, they would, in our society, lend the value of a certain demonstration effect.

At present certain lines of development have been undertaken by priests and religious such as at the Radio Lab of F. Ignatius Perera, Diyagala Boys' Town by the Christian Brothers, the Girls' Training School at Halgashena run by the Good Shepherd Nuns, at Piliyandala by the Franciscan Missionaries, at Hali Elle by the Holy Family

Nuns etc. But these are marginal to the school system—which is still very largely academically oriented. If the approach of these institutions which have work facilities can be integrated with the other facilities of private schools then these latter can be valuable path finders in the educational search of this country. They would have to combine also the values of social justice to the process of working and learning. Then these schools will be in the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore who are among Asia's great modern educational leaders...

In this context think of the potentialities for a school like St. Joseph's College. Already the Beira Grounds have been turned to gardening and food production. If all the land and the facilities were used for developing an all round education, with part work and part study, the college can be largely self-sufficient, there could be technical studies, poultry farming, carpentry, mechanical labs, boat making, marine engineering, inland fisheries etc. The vast playground need not be used only occasionally for a few boys to play cricket. Sports are necessary. There could be several basket ball courts where different groups can have physical exercise. But the land and buildings can overall be used for more fruitfully. Then the boys of the slums on the other side of Darley Road need not be at a disadvantage. They too can contribute by work, as all would work. The college can relate to the community around and not be elitist. This is only an example. The thinking and example of Fr. M. J. LeGoc was in this direction, with the SJC farm at Kelaniya.

At a discussion following the meeting a religious sister suggested that the big private schools could be for children of grade VI

upwards then work experience would be easier. All the younger children could go to other schools. In this way more children could profit from the big schools, which could be some type of diversified central schools open to the more talented from a given area, but specially of the immediate neighbourhood.

In some way or other the Catholic community must face the dilemma of its privileged private schools. Their elitism is a running sore on the conscience of the community. Not even the weight of authority or the praise of Ministers can wash away the injustice of elitism. Somehow the problem will be before the community. Its witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ is not only compromised, but also impeded by the preoccupation with these institutions which have not yet found a meaningful and just place within the national search for a democratic and socialist educational system and society.

We cannot live an ostrich like existence and think there is no problem, or that we are not part of the problem. We have been shying away from this problem or passing the buck to Rome. We cannot be merely content with the views of a section of the past pupils of the prestigious schools. In some of these schools many of the less affluent pupils of former decades hardly ever attend an Old Boys or Past Pupils meeting or Dinner. It is only when we can satisfactorily face this issue of these private schools that the Catholic Community can fully participate in the national quest for a just and creative educational system.

We have to ask ourselves whether religion can be taught integ-

rally in a situation of privilege without contesting it. Would we not be involved in the grave social sin of our society without a sincere act of contrition and a firm purpose of amendment? We need a collective frank re-assessment of our role as a community in the good and in the social sinfulness of our educational system. It condemns millions of children to be non-participants, "Drop-outs" and dysfunctional members of society. The greatest waste in our society is in the underdevelopment and stunting of the innate intelligence and abilities of the millions of the under privileged in the villages, estates and city slums and shanties. We have all our share of responsibility in this. I have myself been 18 years in the work of formal education and speak with both an awareness of the issue and a sense of responsibility.

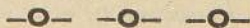
My intention is not to hurt anyone. We appreciate the immense personal good work being done by so many in the schools. But we must also see the deficiencies and try to meet them. The universal Church is in a very creative period of its history. Christians are in the forefront of educational development in many parts of the world. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, a Catholic teacher is a foremost pathfinder in modern education.

We in Sri Lanka must reflect seriously on these issues. We must try to cease to be part of the problem, and endeavour to be determinedly agents for the transformation of education for the benefit of all in our land.

The Catholic Union of Sri Lanka can be powerful agent of educational renewal in social justice if it would mobilize its associated groups to create public opinion for such measures. We are very grateful to you for participating

in this session to share in our search. The discussion has helped us to further clarify and develop these perspectives.

Concluded.



BOOK REVIEW

For The Farmer

HANDBOOK FOR THE CEYLON FARMER BY AGRICOLA—A STUDIO TIMES PUBLICATION, SECOND EDITION (REVISED 1978) RS. 65/- The first edition of the book published in 1965 was one of the best books of its kind written in this country. It was a "must" for every one interested or involved in any agricultural pursuit—from cultivation of land to keeping livestock. For me personally it was a gold mine of information and contained practical guidance of a kind I could never get elsewhere. The second edition which I have read and re-read very carefully (mainly to educate myself particularly on the matters I am specially interested in) is a marked improvement in every way on the first edition. It is fully up-to-date and the information is better set out in extremely readable language. But, what makes the second edition something distinct, different and better than the first is the plentitude of sketches, diagrams and drawings in the book. In addition to this, there are 40 pages of appendices containing information on a variety of subjects not normally available in a single volume.

PART I deals with **SOIL AND WATER**. There are 5 chapters: (i) Fertility Characteristics of Soil; (ii) Soil groups and their agricultural potential; (iii) Maintenance of Soil Fertility; (iv) Soil conservation; and (v) Irrigation.

Apart from helping a farmer to identify the different kinds of soil in his area, the book tells him how to maintain soil fertility. The table setting out the nutrients removed (from the soil) by some commonly cultivated crops—from rice and other cereals to vegetables—is of great practical assistance to any serious farmer. The hints on soil conservation and on highland irrigation are adequate for all purposes.

PART II deals with **CEREALS, YAMS and PULSES**. Among cereals are rice, maize, sorghum, kurakkan, meneri and thana hal. Yams cover a wider range—Cassava, Sweet Potato, Large Leaved Yams, Dioscoreas, Innala, Elephant Yam, Edible Cannia and Jerusalem Artichoke. And the main Pulses dealt with are Green gram, Black gram, Cowpea, Soyabean, Groundnut.

One of the most useful sections in this part is the paragraph on *Cooking Manioc The Safe way*, because "manioc is a potentially poisonous yam unless it is handled and cooked properly. It is potentially poisonous because it contains a cyanogenetic glucoside which has hydrocyanic acid or prussic acid in the bound form. Manioc also contains a certain enzyme which if it is allowed to come in contact with cyanogenetic glucoside immediately releases prussic acid. The enzyme is activated when manioc tubers are damaged or allowed to go stale after harvest. So the first precaution is to select only undamaged tubers which are fresh and not more than three days old. If the tubers are damaged or stale the inner flesh will show a discoloration or purplish-blue streaks extending from outer skin to the middle. Such tubers are unfit for human consumption. The undamaged fresh tubers should be peeled of their outer skin (which contains a high proportion of

cyanogenetic glucoside) before they are cut into pieces and boiled in plenty of water. Boiling must be done for about an hour in an open pan. An open pan is essential to ensure that the prussic acid is allowed to escape as a volatile gas in the process."

The book is full of homely hints of this kind in every chapter. The comparative nutrient values of the different kinds of yams are also given.

PART III deals with vegetables: Potato; Cabbage; Lettuce; Leek; Peas; Beans; Brinjal, Capsium & Tomato; Bandakka; Gourds, Cucumber and Pumpkin; local Leafy Vegetables; Ash Plantain; Jak; Breadfruit. This is as much as any practical farmer would want. As in regard to all other crops, the book details the preparation of the soil and manuring, suitable planting time, nurseries, transplanting, after care, pest control, harvesting etc. etc.

PART IV covers a very wide range of FRUITS, and the chapter begins with a note on vegetative propagation. The fruit plants which are discussed in great detail are: banana, passion fruit, pineapples, mango, papaw, cashew, grapes, oranges, lime, strawberry, apple, peach, pear, guava, avocado, sapodilla, anonas, pomegranate, rambottan, mangosteen and durian.

PART V deals with SPICES AND CONDIMENTS; cinnamon, pepper, cardamon, clove, nutmeg, vanilla, chilli, red onion, bombay onion, turmeric, ginger, other condiments (eg. coriander, cumin, fenugreek, fennel, garlic etc) **PART VI** covers a wide range of MISCELLANEOUS CROPS: coffee, cocoa, coconut, castor, citronella, lemon grass, gingelly, kenaf, cotton, cigarette tobacco, beedi tobacco, betel, sugar cane, papaw for papain, mushrooms, anthuriums, dendrobiums, vandas, scor-

pions, spiders and hybrids and husk culture for orchids.

PART VII is about LIVESTOCK: (a) dairy cattle; (b) buffalo; (c) small stock—mutton goats, milk-goats, sheep, pigs, rabbits; (d) poultry—chickens, broilers, ducks, turkeys; (e) bee-keeping. This part is as comprehensive and detailed as any farmer will want. But the appendices are of even greater interest. The topics dealt with are as varied as they are useful to the farmer: Crop Diversification in Plantation Agriculture—Mixed Farming in Plantation Agriculture—Recent Research on Grass and Legumes in the Mid-country and the Coconut-Triangle—Ipil as a partial substitute for Coconut Poonac—Estimating the Weight of Cattle—Statistics of Cattle and Buffaloes raised under local conditions—Trinity Farm: a fine example of integrated farming—Two wheel Tractors; their operation and maintenance—Mechanisation of Farm Operations in Hours and Acres per day—Labour requirement for different cultural practices and tasks—Sprayers and Dusters—Generalized Pest Control Methods—Vegetable Cultivation: Ready Reckoner—Nutrient Analyses of Local Fruits—Nutrient Analyses of Local Leafy vegetables—Vitamin 'C' content of some Local Fruits and Vegetables—Laying out an Orchard—Income Tax and the Farmer.

In a foreward to the book, the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has stressed on the usefulness of the book to all those endeavouring to make this country self-sufficient in food:

"Every family be it in rural or urban areas can make its contribution to the overall effort at self-sufficiency in food. It is in this context, in addition to many others that the 'Handbook for the Ceylon Farmer' which is soon to be available in Sinhala as well makes

an extremely valuable contribution. This books lay down clearly for the farmer in Sri Lanka, whatever his stakes are, the practical application of the insights gained from numerous investigations into the many facts of agriculture and animal husbandry."

This book is a ready-reference to all those who do farming—from the smallest home garden to the largest agricultural unit or estate. I can personally recommend the book because I have used it with great profit to help me in my farming from the time the first edition was released nearly 14 years ago. The second edition is a tremendous improvement on the first. The book is cheap for the price considering the wealth of information brought together in the 400 odd pages of the book,

S.P.A.



OUTSIDER

I view life as an
outsider
a mere looker-on.
Why do
I feel so detached,
aloof as
though I don't belong.
I laugh,
I talk and mingle in
a crowd
and yet I feel apart—
an alien.
Am I bizarre? Do others
feel the
way I do? Lookers-on
on the
drama that is life. Yet
each man
has to play a part.
The ones
who cannot get involved
are poor

actors but what is
gained
by involvement? Pain,
heartbreak
and grief! No! I would
rather be
a looker-on as I
now am,
aloof, uninvolved, alone
on this
vast stage. A bad player
no doubt,
unsuccessful in the eyes
of the
world—a freak. I have
yet to
meet a kindred soul who
thinks the
world is all a great
big joke
and all the fever and
the fret
amounts to nothing in
the end.
A mad scramble, I fail
to see

for what, or where they
think
they will carry the name
and fame
and wealth. For when a
body dies
and rots in the grave
and
disintegrates, where then
does all
the glory go? Into the
realms
of the forgotten past and
what
perhaps remains is a dim
memory.
Why do they not realise
that the
world is transient—fleeting,
impermanent,
brief, like dust and ashes
scattered by
the wind?

VINODINI

**The Land Acquisition Act
(Cap. 460) as Amended by the
Land Acquisition (Amend-
ment) Act, No. 28 of 1964.**

Notice under Section 7

Ref. No. 3/69/9/1.75 H. 165

It is intended to acquire the land/
Lands described in the Schedule
below. For further particulars
please see the Gazette of the De-
mocratic Socialist Republic of Sri
Lanka, No. 11 (Part iii) of 17.11.1978

Schedule

Name of Village Etc.:—

Polgahawela village in (Wars
No. 4 of Polgahawela Town
Council) Polgahawela D.R.O's
Division, Kurunegala District.

Name of land:— Pittalakade Watta

Plan & Lot Nos.:— Lot No. 1
in Parliamentary Plan No. Ku. 821

K. A. Gunasekara

District Land Officer,

Kurunegala District.

The Kachcheri, Kurunegala 6.11.78.

**The Land Acquisition Act
(Chapter 460) as Amended by
The Land Acquisition (Amend-
ment) Act No. 28 of 1964**

Notice Under Section 7(I)

Reference No. LD/A 535

It is intended to acquire the land
described in the Schedule below
for a public purpose. For further
particulars please see the Gazette
of the Democratic Socialist Re-
public of Sri Lanka No. 11 (Part iii)
of 17-11-1978.

R. B. Bulumulla

Assistant Government Agent

Kandy District.

The Kachcheri, Kandy.

12th November 1978

Schedule

Situation:— Rilamulle village, Udis-
pattuwa North Minor Division-
Meda Dumbara D.R.O's Division,
Kandy District.

Name of Land:— Welegederawatte

Plan and Lot Nos.:—

Lot 1 in P. P. Maha 1866

Budget Summary

(Continued from page 3)

* Higher incentives for savings
in National Savings Bank—one-
third of interest earned upto
Rs. 2000 tax free.

* Total tax exemption for public
servants.

* Housing reliefs standardized.

* Concession on capital gains
extended to movable properties.

* Owner occupied house free
from wealth tax.

* Interest on delayed income tax
refunds.

* Four months' tax amnesty for
specific investment.

* Estate duty exemption limited
raised to Rs. 100,000.

TAXATION PROPOSALS

* The export duty on block rub-
ber increased from 50 % to 75 %

* Export duties on minor export
crops reduced to following levels—

—Cinnamon chips 5 % cinnamon
quills 10% cardamoms 12½% Citro-
nella oil 5 % Cocoa 12½ %.

* Charitable assistance increased
—allocation of Rs. 40 million.

* Rs. 5 million each for Ministries
of Cultural Affairs and Sports.

* Scope of tax holidays for small
and medium industries to be en-
larged.

* Tax holiday for new companies.

* New scheme of capital allowance
proposed.

* Tax deduction to all business
for research expenditure.

* New Company Law and Stock
Exchange proposed.

* No tax exemption for sale of
paddy to PMB.

* Company tax reduced to 50
per cent. Foreign companies will
pay 5 per cent more in lieu of estate
duty.

* Tax on religious and charitable
institutions, reduced.

* Limited tax exemptions for sports
clubs.

* Bank debit tax repealed.

* Stamp Duty Ordinance to be
reformed.

Confidentially

The Lion And The Bureaucrat—1

IS IT NOT A FACT that the SRI LANKA LION, as the picture on the Cover this week shows, has been rudely disturbed in his sleep? That he is alarmed and angry? That some may think that this is because the Budgetary gap is over rupees eight thousand million? That *Tribune*, however, is in a position to assure its readers that it is not the Budget that has upset Mr. Sri Lanka Lion? That a little fly which has found permanent asylum in our Lion's tail has whispered the truth to us? That we will not be betraying a secret if we reveal that what has angered our Lion, is the fact that the powerful SLAS (Sri Lanka Administrative Service) bureaucrats, who have already surreptitiously managed to perpetuate their grip even on the new UNP administration, have begun to play havoc and are fast turning the President's well intentioned dreams of dharmista society into something far from dharmista? That unless the President, our Lion feels, takes immediate steps to check the activities of these bureaucrats—old, new and even the newest—most of them are strategically placed as secretaries, additional secretaries and the like, the UNP will foster a society far worse than any so far? That these bureaucrats hide their arrogance by fawning on ministers and others with political punch and inflict their true bureaucratic authority on ordinary people? That their selfish activities to promote their personal careers and safeguard the vested interests of chosen members of their clan is tantamount to a bureaucratic cons-

piracy to subvert the plans of this government? That in the 15 months since this Government was formed, these bureaucrats have succeeded in tying up the government in knots in many key sectors? That it looks very doubtful if the Ministers and the new District Ministers can break this stranglehold for the simple reason that Ministers and District Ministers have found that the path of least resistance is to rely on some politicalised bureaucrats who have worked their way into the favour and confidence of powerful VIPs? IS IT NOT THE EXPERIENCE OF HISTORY (in this country at least) that the bureaucratic steel-frame left behind by the British has indigenised itself so much that there is not the slightest doubt that today it is the most powerful factor in our socio-political set up? That this bureaucracy has the additional virtue of having survived the inhibitions, prejudices and reforming zeal of every Government since the days the British handed over power to the local brown sahibs? That they have successfully lived through the radical revolutions of 1956 and 1970 and have come through the ordeal more powerful than ever? That though different governments from 1947 to this day have victimised and eliminated different bureaucrats they did not like, the SLAS has emerged victorious and supreme? That names and personalities in the higher rungs of the bureaucracy may have changed with every change of government, but the system goes on? That each government has also chosen to appoint some persons it has imagined to be its political loyalists to top positions only to find that they do double somersaults and become turncoats more quickly and more easily than the ordinary career bureaucrats of the service? That it is

interesting to recall the highly radical United Front government in 1970 had thrown out all whom it regarded as "counter-revolutionary" and appointed some of its political adherents to top secretarial positions (and also a whole legion of additional and assistant secretaries)? That before long these new officials became more bureaucratic than the career men without their efficiency or competence in getting things done? That the SLFP-UF had imagined that with the sackings, transfers (to Siberia) and the appointments of new hopefuls, they had won the battle against bureaucracy? That too late in the day the SLFP-UF discovered that far from ending bureaucratism they had built up a new Frankensteinian monster of a politicalised bureaucracy adept at mouthing radical slogans—bureaucrats who brought defeat to the UF and then the SLFP? That it is interesting to note that the character of the bureaucracy has not fundamentally changed from 1947 to 1977 and even to this day? That it inherited the arrogance, aloofness and bossiness of the colonial past and what is bad is that it has displayed this in exaggerated and freakish forms? That the UNP government which came to power in 1977 moved out some UF and SLFP stalwarts and appointed some of its own political loyalists to top bureaucratic posts? That this has not improved matters and the present bureaucracy is as bad as anything in the past? That the President and the Prime Minister are everyday making thundering speeches against bureaucracy and bureaucrats, but unless the malady is diagnosed in concrete terms such sermons will serve no purpose?

(To be Continued)



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 1,

Tel; 29118.

A Studio Times Publication

Handbook

for the

Ceylon Farmer

by Agricola

".....For the citizen concerned with producing even a little bit of the food he consumes the Handbook will be a companion guide and friend.. .."

—Sunday Times, 15/10/78

Available at

STUDIO TIMES

Times Building
Colombo 1.

Revised Edition

400 pages

Illustrated and updated

Price Rs. 65/-