

Vol. 23 No. 24 — December 9, 1978 — Rs. 2-00

# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS





## Soviet Periodicals

Subscription Rates

1979—1980—1981

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This magazine throws light on the foreign policy of the USSR and other countries. The magazine carries theoretical articles and material on international relations, tells the readers of the work of international organisations and conferences. It includes information of Soviet and foreign literature on international events.

12 issues annually.

1 year — Rs. 16.00

2 years — Rs. 24.00

3 years — Rs. 32.00

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

**People's Publishing House Ltd.,**

124, Kumaran Ratnam Road,  
Colombo 2.

Telephone: 36111.



## Letter From The Editor

THE TRUE GREATNESS of a people, even if dormant for centuries owing to foreign domination or other causes, manifests itself, it is said, in times of crisis. In Sri Lanka, there have been crises without number in the thirty years after Independence, but whatever the crisis—political, economic, communal or natural disaster—the only outcome so far was a resurgence of the basest instincts of tribal clannishness and a selfish quest for loot and power. For the first time in living memory, a crisis caused by a cyclonic storm of unprecedented magnitude, has kindled the first embryonic stirrings of a new and noble spirit of oneness and unity among our people. All political parties have for once publicly extended their support to the national effort of the Government to rehabilitate the victims of the cyclone, and it is hoped that this will be further extended to the even greater task of reconstruction. The response from an unusually large number of people was immediate and spontaneous to help Government to bring succour to the distressed and displaced. Only a small minority in exclusive elitist groups in the drawing rooms of Colombo felt that "too much fuss was being made," that "the government was over-reacting", that it was "a political gimmick", that "our plans for Christmas and New Year holidays were upset", and "all leave has been unnecessarily cancelled".....and so on and so forth. But for asinine vagaries of this small minority of old brown sahibry and the new-rich gem mudalalidom, the rest of the population of this country has shown a new and a rare spirit of patriotism and selflessness. However, there is not the slightest doubt that the credit for this must go to the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, not only for giving the correct lead at this juncture but also for having prepared the ground for the vast majority of the people to respond in this way. Ever since he came to power J. R. Jayewardene's constant theme was a united country and a united people in spite of heterogeneity and diversity. He had matched his words with deeds. Chief lieutenants like Prime Minister Premadasa have followed in his footsteps with a deep sense of understanding and sincerity although the intemperate outpourings of maverick ministers like Mathews have often struck a discordant note. And when the hour of crisis came on November 24, the government of J. R. Jayewardene rose to the occasion as no government has done in the past. The damage caused by the cyclone was more than what the resources of this country could bear—for the immediate relief, and more so for long term rehabilitation. Mercifully, relief has come from many nations and from many countries. They were flown in with speed that took one's breath away. Without such help there is little this country could have done to alleviate the misery and hardships of more than million people affected by the cyclone. But all this help would have been of little avail if Sri Lanka was not able to help herself. The government has shown that it has an executive and administrative machine capable of coping with the situation. The armed services, the police and all departments of state power, have done a wonderful job of work. In less than forty eight hours, food was delivered to the most inaccessible places and to nearly all marooned groups. In less than 96 hours all the main road and rail communications were opened to traffic. This is no mean achievement considering the damage wrought by the cyclone. Many who claimed to be knowledgeable believed that it would take three to four weeks to bring road and rail communications to normal. This was done in as many days. As the work of rehabilitation proceeds, unfolded before the public is an amazing plan of action has which given birth to a new sense of confidence about the future.

## TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review  
Founded In 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and  
World Affairs

Editor, S. P. Amarasingam  
Every Saturday

December 9, 1978  
Vol. 23 No. 24

## TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET  
COLOMBO - 2  
Tel: 33172

### CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—Press Freedom & The PFA	p. 2
BETWEEN THE LINES	
—Parliament, Milk, Kurien	p. 5
IN THE TUB	
—More About Sri Lanka	p. 8
THE WORLD TODAY	
—China	p. 9
SEVEN MILLION POOR—3	
—Employment	p. 16
MARGINAL COMMENTS	
—Mathew's Fireworks	p. 19
SRI LANKA CHRONICLE	
—Nov. 23—29	p. 23
REVIEW	
—Gospel Of Mathew	p. 27
SPOTLIGHT	
—A Free Press?	p. 28
BACKGROUND	
—Kenya	p. 29
POEM	
—Why?	p. 30
LETTER	
—From A Reader	p. 31
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Railway's Tragedy	p. 32



## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

### Press Freedom

MUCH OF THE THUNDER which the organisers of the Press Foundation of Asia's Tenth Anniversary Assembly hoped to derive from the meeting in Colombo from November 27-30 was lost in sorrowful tales from the cyclone-stricken areas of Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, the local organisers managed to push the cyclone into insignificance on the front page of the *Daily News* on Tuesday November 28 to make the speeches made by the President, the Prime Minister, the Minister of State, and Chairman of the Organising Committee to cover practically the entirety of the front page. No wonder people now turn to the *Sun* for newsworthy news. The PFA was certainly news, but the cyclone judged by any yardstick was far more important news. Speeches of even the most eminent do not make front page news unless topically pertinent to the top news of the day.

Incidentally the *Daily News* did not miss the news of the cyclone as it did the November 15 DC-8 Crash at Katuravake for its November 16 city edition, but the *Sun* had far better and more readable reports than the *Daily News* about the cyclone. But, if a prize is to be awarded for news coverage of the cyclone it must go to the team from the SLBC which gave the most graphic and up to date account of the devastated areas and the work of bringing relief to the distressed. *Lake House* and *Times* correspondents had the same facilities as the SLBC men for reporting after viewing the cyclone-struck areas from the air, but *Lake House* reports were pedantic and uninspiring. Maybe the 80% of advertising in the *Daily News* crowded the livelier parts of the reports but in 15 to 30 minutes

broadcasts the SLBC did a better job than the *Daily News* did in several days of reporting in many pages. The *Daily News* has now promised its readers more reading material in a paper of more pages at an increased price, but nobody knows what the percentage of increase in the news columns and the advertising columns will be. Furthermore, nearly all dailies concentrated on the negative part of destruction and dwelt on sensational sob-stories. They did pay due attention to the heroic work of the brave men in our armed services and the police who had rushed food, water and medicines to the victims especially the marooned.

The PTA Assembly, to come back to it, was a high-cost tamasha in the manner well-funded organisations stage regional, continental or global seminars and anniversaries. The first Assembly held in Kandy in 1968 was an exclusive gathering of a few chosen publishers and their favourite pen-pushers who could be called journalists. The majority of those who were really connected with the Press had then been kept out. The Tenth Assembly held last week was only different in that a larger number

of persons in Sri Lanka connected with the Fourth Estate, the Printing Trade and the Paper Trade, together with a few bright lights in the Public Sector were invited to be present as "guests" at the opening session and some of the discussions.

But among the delegates at the PFA Assembly there were hardly any "journalists" as such—there were ex-journalists who have reached the rarified atmosphere of being managing editors but journalists there were none. There were writers connected with fabulously rich publishing organisations that printed sleek and luscious journals on high finance and like subjects. The rest of the bunch were the mudalalis of the newspaper world whose views on life and living in the vast areas of under-developed and developing Asia were as jaundiced as their views on press freedom itself and the rights of journalists to report fairly and comment frankly. One had only to talk to some of them to realise how far removed they were from the rough and tumble of Asian realities.

Among the observers were members of the well-paid international civil service, but they have little or

#### COVER

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER this week is not one of a cyclone victim though it might well be one. If the devastation of the cyclone has done one thing it has brought home to many people, complacently living in comfort, with dramatic ruthlessness, what it means for people not to have a roof over their heads, no food to eat and no water that is pure to drink. About a million people who have had these in varying degrees in the cyclone-affected areas have been suddenly deprived of them and a great campaign has been launched to restore the status quo ante. In this euphoric avalanche to help the victims of the cyclone, we must not forget the seven or more million people in Sri Lanka who are chronically poor, who do not have enough of nutritious food, who do not have regular work and who crave for shelter. The concluding part of R. Kahawita's three-part article on Sri Lanka's Seven Million Poor appears elsewhere in this issue. If the problems of the Seven Million Poor are not quickly resolved, the country will be faced with an internal eruption which will do more damage than the cyclone that struck the country last week.



nothing to contribute either to the development of new thinking or the growth of press freedom in this region. They dispense patronage, they can fix scholarships and arrange invitations to seminars for favoured "journalists", but little else. Excellent resolutions were adopted at the PFA but at every conference such resolutions are adopted. Nothing happens after that. The Press Foundation of Asia should be renamed Printers and Publishers Foundation of Asia.

In these circumstances the words of wisdom that fell from the lips of President, the Prime Minister and the Minister of State—all centred on press freedom—were no more than pearls of great value cast before a multitude of innocents: "President Jayewardene said the individual in a developing country was concerned with a little more food in his stomach, a little more clothing on his back, and a little more roof over his head. Do they care about Free Press? Or Freedom of Speech? They have to live; they have to find the food and develop. When a nation is going on this footing, can we allow unbounded liberty? If that liberty comes to a stage when the government is disrupted, what is the government to do? Hand over the reins of the government to the Free Press and say 'carry on' asked the President. President Jayewardene said the concept of Free Press was derived from the right of thinking freely and of expressing oneself freely in word and in writing. If one went back to the period of adolescence in the 6th century BC, great philosophers such as Plato, Socrates, Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster in Persia, Confucius in China learnt and thought and their thoughts were spread throughout the world firstly by word, and then in writing. Some of them were killed and others were sought to be harmed. Freedom of the

expression of thought began in the 6th century BC... The President said he was confident that nowhere in the world did anybody say that there should be no freedom of the Press. The problem and purpose of their discussions should not be so much about the freedom of the Press as about the boundaries that should be set. Throughout the world boundaries that had been accepted were that there should be no propagation of sex, violence, sedition and calumny. At this stage, the President said he would like to quote a statement by Samuel Johnson printed in 1779. He said Samuel Johnson had stated, 'If every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace; and if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The danger of such unbounded liberty and the danger of bounding it have produced a problem in the science of government which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve'. Therefore the problem even now is—the boundaries of that freedom are the boundaries that people set themselves."

We do not know how many of the PFA delegates appreciated the true content and meaning of the President's words. The President himself was probably misled into thinking that the PFA consisted of intellectuals who were alive to value and significance of concepts like freedom, and the need to contain freedom within boundaries. Most publishers are not concerned with freedom or the boundaries of freedom in the sense the President meant. They only want the freedom to make profits and money from the publishing of newspapers, and this even the most autocratic dictatorship was willing to give this right to all tycoons and mudalalis. Publishers sell sex

and sensation to mint money. And this freedom even the most undemocratic was willing to grant to those who run newspapers.

Then the President spoke a few words about the state of freedom in Sri Lanka. What he said is true, but how many countries in Asia (even countries from where the delegates hailed) enjoyed these freedoms? Did the PFA or any of its delegates raise questions of press freedom in Asian countries where they were denied? "Speaking of the press, in Sri Lanka, the President said India and Sri Lanka occupied a unique position where they enjoyed freedom of the Press, of speech and opposition and their governments had been changed by the ballot—several times in our country than any other country in the world. In both countries Commissions had been appointed to see how that freedom had been exercised."

Prime Minister Premadasa in more earthy language had also raised some fundamental questions about press freedom: "There is one aspect of this whole question of mass media to which I as a layman and politician would like to draw your attention. It is in a sense the fundamental question. What does the public—the ordinary man in the street—expect of the Press? What has he the right to expect particularly in a country which is prepared to tolerate varieties of opinion—in a country which does not count the holding of contrary views a crime against the State? Does the press as it functions in our representative countries do its duty by its patrons—the reading public? It has been my happy experience and no doubt it must have been the experience of many of you also to attend a public meeting or to be present at a function and to find it reported the following day in



the local press fully and in a balanced fashion. It is not necessarily the length or the flattering report that catches the eye and wins approval. It is the fairness and correctness of the report. With consummate skill the whole spirit of what took place has been recalled and recorded. That is one aspect of it. It has also been my experience where the contrary has been the case; what is recorded has had little or no bearing on what was actually said or what really took place. What is the reason for this difference? Why does one report correctly, spell out what took place and the other suppress or distort? Is it malice or indifference and carelessness or just sheer incompetence?"

How many of the delegates were concerned with the problem Mr. Premadasa raised? It was a problem that confronted a working journalist, the news editor and the chief editor, but was of little consequence to publishers who were not worried about what was reported as long as it did not already affect circulation or advertising revenue. If a politician was character-assassinated it did not bother the publisher as long as the writer kept clear of the laws of libel. If a politician was misrepresented, the publisher was not bothered—such misreporting could under some circumstances give a boost to circulation.

Prime Minister Premadasa then dealt with another important aspect of press freedom: "...it is not true as far as the present government of Sri Lanka is concerned. I have said times without number, both in Parliament and outside, 'correct us when we are wrong; encourage us when we are right; support us when we are in need'. Now I should like to ask 'Is this a very difficult task—this business of fair reporting and fair comment.' Judging by what appears in the daily newspapers through-

out the world this does indeed appear to be a formidable task. What is the reason for this? There are probably many reasons, but I should like to suggest a few tentative ones. Press work, and I include in this all type of mass media, is work carried on at a hectic pace and under difficult conditions. So the chance of error is great and consequently a wide allowance must be made for whatever mistakes and shortcomings that appear. Then again there is the alarming shortage of trained and competent personnel in the field of journalism and its related professions. I see that your organisation is paying particular attention to devising programmes of training for future Asian Journalists. This I observe is one of the major topics for discussion by you at this conference. When this scheme takes effect and when the average journalist and broadcaster brings to bear on his job the skill and professionalism that he has acquired after years of apprenticeship a considerable part of the present shortcomings might well disappear. But I am afraid that one drawback will still continue to bedevil this profession of journalism unless we make a firm resolve to root out this failing. There must be a total commitment to the truth."

Many delegates were astounded that a Prime Minister should welcome criticism from the press. Sri Lanka will be a model hard to follow in many Asian countries even where the PFA seems to prevail.

Minister of State Anandatisa de Alwis first raised an interesting point that flowed from the President's remarks: "Mr. de Alwis said that the President had asked them to think deeply on the boundaries and the limitations that should be placed on the liberties and freedom of the press. Mr. de

Alwis said that the Press was faced with a new responsibility. Quite often when he used to ask newspapermen why it was that they gave so much to sex, crime, disturbances, destruction, antagonism, anger and why it was that they do not concentrate on religion, sacrifice and peace, the answer was that they give what the people wanted. When he asked the readers, why they wanted sex, violence etc., instead of peace and sacrifice, their answer was that was what the newspapers give them, Mr. de Alwis said. In a developing country, in countries like India and Ceylon politics had full coverage in the newspapers but no such coverage was given to other matters which a common man might be engaged in. So there was a confusion in regard to the role we are to play quite apart from the limitations we are to follow. That was also a matter we should discuss."

The second matter was an excellent piece of self-criticism for the Asian press: "The question had been posed as to why the West was not publishing enough news about the Asian countries. Why are we asking this, when we do not publish enough news about the Asian countries ourselves? There is no India, no Philippines, no Bangladesh, no Hong Kong but if Mr. Jimmy Carter gets a cough, it becomes front page news. But if the Malaysian Prime Minister is seriously ill we may not know about it."

He also stressed the urgent need to make the lot of the working journalists better: "Mr. de Alwis said that there was not enough understanding among newspapermen of each other. It was such a dialogue between journalists that was wanted urgently. He was placing a proposal before the government to see that our own newspaper men and women were able to travel—not like UN experts—



but to go with their colleagues and live with them so that they might gain an indepth knowledge of the conditions under which other people were living. So that when they come back—they may be restless because they are journalists—but they could be better informed and would be able to bring the Asian peoples together."

The PFA is not an organisation of working journalists. So some of our remarks may appear catty. It is a working journalist more than anyone else who is concerned with press freedom. Mudalali publishers, like all mudalalis, are concerned only with the freedom to make money. They have no commitment to truth or service and Minister Anandatissa's final appeal must have fallen on deaf ears: "We are working in a developing world in the mass media in the guiding of opinion. Let us therefore get together and arrive at a consensus where all of us together can render a greater service to the country we live and the people to whom we owe a greater responsibility."

Minister Anandatissa talks the language of the common man. But it is a far cry from the PFA. The President, the Prime Minister and the Minister of State should have talked the language of the mudalalis to get a response from the PFA.

The PFA Assembly at Hotel Oberoi was a grand show. Kind things will be said of Sri Lanka in the papers the ladies and gentlemen of the PFA publish. It was good public relations and tourist promotion to flatter the PFA and the publishing giants who are the PFA.

All that we can say is that we value the right of freedom to say AMEN.

X X M X X

## BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

### Rare Unanimity Milky Mess Kurien Of Kaira

#### PARLIAMENT

THE DEBATE on the Second Reading of the Budget brought no surprises. The third reading, and the Committee Stage of the debate, however, brought a rare unanimity among all parties. Whether this willingness to deal with matters and issues on their merits is a result of the shock of the damage caused by the cyclone of November 24, or whether it is due to a growing awareness that sectarian party politics inhibits national economic development, is not clear. But there is no doubt that this is a healthy and welcome development.

The votes of most ministries and departments were adopted with near unanimity. Even the Police Department, which has at all times been the target of attack by all parties, fared very well this year. This was no doubt due to the fervent plea made by Minister Anandatissa de Alwis that the Police should be left alone without political interference (very correctly he had pointed out that all governments since Independence including UNP governments, had interfered with the Police). The Police also got off relatively scot free because of the prestige and popularity of Junior Minister Weraipitiya who has won confidence of all parties for fairplay and justice.

The votes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were adopted without even one single critical comment. This, has been pointed

out, is a record. Ever since Independence, the debate on votes for the Foreign Affairs ministry has always evoked acrimonious debate. This was nearly always triggered by the Leftists of the LSSP and CP and the so-called radical progressives. Not one of them was returned in the last General elections. It was also surprising that not a single SLFP MP in the present Parliament stood up to wave the flag of the much talked of Bandaranaike's policies. The Nation, the journal of the SLFP, regularly makes acidic and derogatory remarks on UNP's foreign policies, but in the debate on the vote of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no SLFP MP uttered even a single word. In a sense, this is a reflection of the fact that interest in foreign affairs has all but disappeared from the political scene. Minister Hameed had the field all to himself to expound the Government's foreign policies without as much as an interruption from any MP. He was loudly acclaimed. It was a signal triumph for Minister Hameed. He had started his record rather weakly, but there is no doubt that he has pursued the policy of non-alignment with acceptance to the nonaligned world, and today Sri Lanka is once again carving out a new place of significance in the niche of non-aligned and third world politics.

#### MILK FOODS

The only fly in the ointment in the entire Budget episode was the mess on the question of the prices of Milk Foods—Powdered Milk to be exact. The Minister of Finance after presenting his no-price-increase budget did a most surprising thing. No sooner the Parliament adjourned after listening to the Budget proposals, the Minister of Finance issued a gazette notification increasing the prices of all infant and milk foods. This



was no doubt to further withdraw the subsidy on imported milk powder and infant milk foods. Already most of the subsidy on the powdered milk food had been withdrawn, but the latest price hike affected even the infant milk foods which had continued to enjoy a subsidy.

Naturally there was an uproar. Before the Opposition Parties could make a popular national issue of the infant milk foods question, the Parliamentary Group and the Cabinet moved fast. At the first Cabinet meeting after November 15, the Government reversed the decision of the Ministry of Finance and decreed that imported milk foods would continue to be sold at the "old prices." However, to save face, press releases spoke about devising a scheme which would enable the "less affluent sections of the population" to get infant foods at the old prices. So far so good. The Government had nipped a mighty oppositional storm in the bud, important questions arise from this milk foods embroglio.

Does the Minister of Finance have the right to increase prices of essentials (even if it is to withdraw subsidies) without prior Cabinet sanction? At least, it is clear the Cabinet exercises the right to reverse prize-increasing gazette regulations it considers wrong, inopportune or unwise. This incident, once again raises the question of our entire milk—liquid and powdered—industry and trade.

Sri Lanka is a country which climatically and ecologically is suited to produce milk and dairy products even for export, but in spite of the billions of rupees invested in the livestock and milk industry from the forties, this country continues to import the bulk of its needs of milk and dairy products. Scandal after scandal has rocked the National Milk

Board but it has gone on spending untold millions of the tax-payers' money in order to provide milk (mostly from imports) for the population.

Now, some of the imports have been shifted to other departments of government. 'But no one seems to have a clue as to how the Milk Board can be pulled out of the mess. The latest is that the rats were leaving the sinking ship—but these rats are the only ones that can keep the ship afloat. Is there a conspiracy for all qualified persons to quit the Milk Board so that there will be nobody to run the Milk Board if the new go-getting Minister in charge, Thondaman, demands accountability from the big bosses of the Milk Board? Whether Thondaman can ever put the Milk Board right is the 64 million dollar question of the day.

However, there seems to be a silver lining in the sky. In a country where "recommendations" of foreign specialists are grabbed by the government to implement programmes worked out by local specialists who did not have the necessary political pull to have their plans accepted. A foreign expert who can deliver the goods is really a "saviour."

Sri Lanka has been lucky enough to persuade a specialist on the Milk, Dairy, and the Livestock industry in India to spend a few days here to help the government to make up its mind as to what programmes would help us. This visitor from India is no ordinary specialist. Most specialists on the international jet service are excellent paper men, but Kurien from India is a practical man who has revolutionised the dairy industry in India.

The August 1978 issue of *Readers Digest* had an article on Kurien by David Moller and Ashok Mahadevan. It was entitled *The Miracle*

*Worker of Kaira*. A few extracts from this article will show the man Kurien is: "Somewhat recklessly, Verghese Kurien, the young manager of a small milk co-operative, had invited Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to perform opening day honours at a new dairy and milk powder plant at Anand. Three weeks before, the two main boilers for the plant were still on their way from Scotland—at the bottom of a ship, 25th in line outside the strike-bound port of Bombay. It took a meeting of the entire board of the port trust to get the boilers unloaded and on the train for Anand. And it was just 24 frantic hours before Nehru's arrival on October 31, 1955, that the first bag of powdered milk bounced off the production line. An ecstatic Kurien promptly emptied it on his assistant's bald head. And no wonder—it was a first! powdered buffalo milk had never before been made on a large commercial scale; it was a breakthrough of great significance for India. Dr. Verghese Kurien, now 56, and head of the National Dairy Development Board, is the father of our 'White Revolution'. By 1950, he was manager of the fledgling co-operative and working punishing 16 hour days. Nothing was too menial for him. He cleaned milking equipment and loaded milk cans into trucks. At this time, the Indian dairy industry lagged considerably behind the rest of the world's. State-run milk schemes and greedy private contractors paid peasants such low prices—often as little as 12 paise for a quart of milk—that milk production, half from buffaloes, half from cows, was extremely poor. Most livestock were fed cheap, dry straw; animals were attended by superstitious quacks who often sought to protect them from the 'evil eye' with such devices, as black string twined around horns.



Since space was precious many good milch animals were kept in cramped, filthy conditions in teeming cities; most buffaloes were slaughtered and cows were starved to death when they temporarily went dry. Although the Anand Co-operative was a step ahead of this, Kurien had much to do. He introduced such innovations as qualified veterinarians, green-fodder feeding and breeding by artificial insemination. A real breakthrough and proof for the peasants that the researchers were on the right track, came when Kurien was able to increase the number of available milkers by shortening the time between pregnancies and subsequent lactations. Milk yield rose from 3 quarts to 4.5 quarts a day. In 1964, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri inaugurated the co-operative's seven-storey computerized cattle-feed factory near Kanjari. He stayed for a night at Aiarpura, a village nearby, and listened spell-bound to owners who talked of how the co-operative had transformed their lives. Once heavily in debt, they now earned three times what they earned ten years before and had ready cash. Thus usury, the bane of rural India, had declined in their area. The Aiarpura co-operative even made enough money to buy library books and medicines, build two schools and repair the village roads.

".. 'Why can't we build co-operatives like this all over India?' Shastri asked. 'Absolutely no reason at all,' Kurien promptly replied. From that brief exchange grew the National Dairy Development Board that Kurien now heads and 'Operation Flood' the project begun in 1971 to set up 17 other milk schemes, similar to the co-operative at Anand. Operation Flood may well be the largest and most successful nutritional project ever undertaken in India. Squalid city

dairies are being driven out of business, and an estimated 12 million people directly affected by the scheme have doubled their income. What's more, Delhi is now supplied three times as much milk—152,000 gallons—as it got six years ago, and Bombay consumers can get more milk than before. In a country where 40 per cent of the people are vegetarians, with milk as their sole source of animal protein, Operation Flood's role in combating malnutrition has been substantial.....

"Although Kurien is a rare combination of social visionary and hardheaded technologist, it is his abiding faith in India's peasants that makes the difference between success and failure. Only when power remains with local farmers, he believes, do peasants get a fair price for their milk and have the incentive to increase production. He agreed to head the National Dairy Development Board only on condition that it be set up in Anand. 'If it had been established in Delhi,' he said, 'it would soon have been snarled in bureaucratic red tape. And we would have been out of touch with those who actually produce the milk'. Today, Operation Flood is self-sustaining; in 1975 India did not have to import any milk powder, saving the country a foreign-exchange bill of Rs. 150 million. In addition to his national responsibilities, Kurien now plays an international role. Sponsored by the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation, groups of Asian and African trainees study dairying at Anand. And such countries as Malaysia, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and the Malagasy Republic increasingly ask for help on buffalo milk projects. In December 1974, Kurien presided over the International Dairy Congress in New Delhi—the first time this conference was held in a developing nation. Despite his renown, Verghese

Kurien still sees himself only as an 'instrument'. Indian farmers, he says, 'have shown they can fashion a brighter future for themselves'. Tribhuvandas Patel, his old friend, testifies that Kurien is much too modest: 'When he first joined us in 1949, I thought it was fortunate for Kaira's district; a few years later, I felt Gujarat State was lucky to have a man like him; yesterday, it was good for the whole country, and today? The world is beginning to realize its indebtedness to him.'

Kurien will be in Sri Lanka for a few days starting December 14. He is scheduled to address all those interested in livestock and Dairy Development at the BMICH on December 15. But more than public speeches, Kurien will be able to help our Government disentangle the numerous plans and programmes—prepared by vested interests in the Agriculture and Livestock Development who have been always at cross purposes because of petty departmental rivalries. The veterinarians have been at the throats of the animal husbandrymen and the agriculturists and all of them have scorned the research scientists. And so on and so forth. The nett result is that Livestock and Dairy Industry in Sri Lanka has gone round in circles for well over 40 years.

As Tribune has pointed out, the National Livestock Development Board (NLDB) re-structured after July 1977 has done an excellent job of work within its limited purview. The NLDB, however, cannot do the work of a National Dairy Development Board, nor can it organise dairy and livestock co-operative schemes on the Anand model. Livestock and Dairy Development in Sri Lanka has to be rescued from the Veterinarians, Agriculturists and Animal Husbandrymen who have been at war with each for three decades and more.



## IN THE TUB by Diogenes

### Waves And Vibrations

The Master in one of his deep contemplative moods saw waves and vibrations completely enveloping everything on this earth. He found that countries, nations and men are subject to their force and there are magnetic fields and every man is right in the centre of one. Newton discovered the law of gravitation but Diogenes saw how these waves and vibrations affected the lives and fates of nations. Human beings are affected by such waves and vibrations, surrounding them, and so are nations and countries affected. This is a fact still outside the full comprehension of scientists. It is not seen nor observed by the naked eye but evolved beings like Diogenes see these forces at work. They are like the thin strands of a cobweb, so thin that they cannot be detected even with the aid of the instruments of a scientist. The laws of men are enforced by the force of arms. The external Law of Cause and Effect is worked through these unseen strands. These are the strands that determine the lives of all beings, nations, empires and civilisations.

Diogenes saw how the great teaching of the Buddha, Christ and Mohamed and their lives on this planet had set these waves and vibrations as a neat pattern for the benefit of mankind. They have however been disturbed ever thereafter. Every act and every thought of man affect these strands not only surrounding him but also his fellow beings. For instance there has never been a house or abode on earth in which any being prospered if there has

been in that house or abode murder and bloodshed. The waves and vibrations disturbed therein affects the lives of all those who live in it thereafter causing misery and misfortune to them even though it was not they who disturbed these strands. Similarly in a relatively much larger context in a tiny island like Sri Lanka the blood of innocents and the sighs of those who are left to mourn and lament have put these strands into an utter disarray. The lamentations of the bereaved, the spirits of men, women and children burnt and murdered, the shame of the raped and the destitution of the robbed, have caused the waves and vibrations to shake and quiver without design or pattern and all this is taking place in this island of the Dhamma.

Diogenes could see something like a mist caused by injustice, violence, sin and hypocrisy hanging over the blessed island like a funeral pall covering an open coffin. The Master was able to see that the casket was in the shape of Sri Lanka and the nation lying in it stone dead while a few mealy mouthed Sri Lankans were singing their own praise. These hardly audible psalms were being drowned by the loud lamentations of the living and the dead. The waves and vibrations were swinging zig zag inviting cyclones and floods and every kind of national disaster and they were causing planes flying over the land to lose their direction and bearings as within the Bermuda Triangle. What the Master saw distressed him greatly. There were tidal waves, pestilence, famine and mountains that kept tumbling down. It is not some God that has cursed this blessed island and her people. It is a case of the waves and vibrations being violently disturbed and these disasters, Diogenes felt, could only be averted by righteous deeds

and not by mere righteous words. The natives must go on mourning and the sinners among them must cease to deceive themselves and the people. They must repeat and wash their defiled hands before it is too late. Let there be an end to righteous talk. It is now time for righteous deeds and only then will Sri Lanka not be cheated of her great destiny.

With such thoughts, Diogenes closed his eyes and thought he saw the glory that will be Sri Lanka.

X X X

---

#### LETTER

### Acid Bomb Explosion

Sir,

Tribune should be congratulated for bringing out James Goonewardene's new story and thereby a vast gap in the literary field gets filled. The post independence period which should have been a period of prolific writing that marked many changes and crises has on the contrary been one of lethargy without matching up to the colonial era. Besides, current writing had also the tendency to just follow and imitate ancient regime without such meaning and even my good friend James couldn't get over the hangover at the start but now he seems to be taking his own line and readers could only wish him well.

A. E. GUNAWARDENA.

44, Dharmapala Mawatha,  
Colombo.



## THE WORLD TODAY

### CHINA

#### CHINESE LEADERS SPLIT OVER MAO'S TEACHINGS?

Tokyo, November 19,

The Chinese Communist Party leadership is apparently divided over the current campaign to reassess the importance of the teachings of the late Chairman, Mao Tse-tung according to a Japanese news report from Peking quoting observers. The observers quoted by Kyodo News Service said the division was between the party mainstream, led by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping, and the Opposition, led by Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing, Mao's former bodyguard, and his followers. The split surfaced about 10 days ago Kyodo said, when a wall poster appeared in Peking, accusing the party's theoretical journal, *Red Flag* of failing to join the current discussion on Mao's teachings on the relationship between practice and truth. The report said the *Red Flag* was believed "to be under the strong influence of Mr. Wang." In sharp contrast, reports from Peking said, the *People's Daily* kept the campaign alive subsequently with an article and editorial on a reassessment of Mao's teachings. A series of recent party decisions consisting of a re-examination of the "Tien An Men Square incident" of 1976, in which many persons paying homage to the late Premier Chou En-lai were arrested, and a call for the rehabilitation of many disgraced "reactionaries" was made public soon after Mr. Teng returned from a tour of Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. Peking's official *Hsinhua* News Agency said that people in Nanking and other parts of Kiangsu province, who had been "persecuted

under the Gang of Four for honouring Premier Chou En-lai and opposing the gang, must be rehabilitated." This was the decision of the Kiangsu Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.—A.P.

—X— —X— —X—

#### PEKING POSTERS PRAISE TENG, CRITICISE MAO.

Peking, Nov. 21,

Big character posters have appeared here claiming that the late Premier Chou En-lai was the only leader to have protected the Chinese people during 10 years of "facism" from 1966. Alongside was another poster directly, attacking the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung for his alleged support to the ousted "gang of four." The posters demanded the setting up of a committee to inquire into the bloody riots at Peking's Tien An Men Square in April 1976 and to find out who was responsible. Local residents have been jostling all day to read the posters and take notes. The posters seemed to raise embarrassing new questions about the riots and the writers said they were not satisfied with the recent declaration that they were heroic revolutionary actions instead of counter-revolutionary, as they were labelled at the time. The 1976 disturbances in Peking are being glorified along with similar outbursts in other cities, as popular opposition to the gang which was then at the height of its influence. The riots were followed by the removal from office of Senior Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping—restored to all his old positions last year—and the gang was arrested in October 1976, a month after Mao died.

The Chinese media has so far portrayed Mao as a victim of the gang, which is said to have kept him in the dark in recent years.

But the posters seemed designed to suggest, without naming him, that he played a more active role. One poster has been on a wall on a Peking main avenue for more than 24 hours—leading diplomats to speculate that it had some kind of official support—and says that Mao, "because his thinking was metaphysical during his old age and for all kinds of other reasons, supported the gang of four in raising their hands to strike down Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping." Posters written by workers at an instruments factory and workers at a factory run by the Chinese Academy of Sciences sought a full judicial investigation of the riots. The workers at the academy factory addressed their poster to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Procurator (legal investigator) and told of how they were arrested, jailed and persecuted after laying a wreath in Tien An Men in memory of Premier Chou En-lai. They named a number of minor officials whom they wanted arrested and tried in connection with the riots and listed their demands: the setting up of a grand jury to hold an open trial and punish those involved, an investigation of the "true nature" of the disturbances and the rehabilitation of all those arrested with compensation for people who suffered. The poster probably was prepared before the week-end announcement that all 388 people arrested in Peking had been exonerated. The poster written by workers at the instruments plant called Mr. Teng "the still-living Chou En-lai, the great Marxist whom the Chinese people love and respect."

—AFP, Reuter.

—X— —X— —X—



## SOVIET REPORT OF SPLIT IN CHINESE LEADERSHIP

Moscow, Nov. 21.

In what is believed to be a new charge here, the Kremlin now says it sees "differences" emerging between Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping in China. Western sources here believe it is the first time Soviets have pointed so bluntly to policy splits in the top Chinese leadership. The charge escalates the fierce Soviet verbal attacks on the post-Mao Tse-tung leadership which now are back to full pitch again after a slight lull in recent weeks. It also comes at a time when Moscow is trying to block Chinese influence in South East Asia by boosting Vietnamese foreign policies, and by warning Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand against Chinese blandishments. The new Soviet charge claims both personal and policy differences between Chairman Hua and Mr. Teng. While these are not spelled out in detail, they are said to involve relations with the United States and other countries, as well as the modernising of Chinese industry, agriculture, defence and science and technology. It cannot be ruled out the Soviets say, that such disputes will continue to grow. The charge comes in the latest, lengthy criticism of Chinese internal policies, written by an official Tass news agency commentator and published in the party newspaper *Pravda* October, 29.

The rest of the *Pravda* article given prominent display on the newspaper's main foreign news page, was devoted to an analysis of the purges of central and provincial party and government leaders now going on in China. Headlined "Instability Remains," it saw the purges as the result of Mr. Teng's gaining revenge on those supporters of "the Gang of Four" who kept him out of power

during the Cultural Revolution. While *Pravda* does not explicitly say so, the implication is that Mr. Teng is pushing ahead with the purges, and modernising industry and the Army, whereas Chairman Hua might be more reluctant to go so far so fast....

—Christian Science Monitor.

—X— —X— —X—

## CALLING TENG TO BECOME LEADER

Tokyo, November 23.

An apparent call for Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping to take over the Chinese leadership was made in wall posters which appeared on Central Peking today. According to the Japanese News Agency Kyodo, the

posters reminded the Chinese that they had enjoyed a peaceful and pleasant existence during the 28 years Premier Chou En-lai was in power, with Teng as his deputy. But this peace was shattered in April 1976 when ceremonies of Peking's Tienanmen Square to mark Chou's death turned into riots which were brutally put down. Teng was dismissed from all his offices two days later, but since has been reinstated. "All the people would feel at ease under Teng Hsiao-ping's leadership," the posters said. They also called for the dismissal of unnamed "big shots" who were responsible for crushing the Tienanmen protests in which a number of people were reportedly killed. The reference to the "leadership" role of Teng comes against the background of a letter sent by Mao Tse Tung shortly before his

## SLEEPLESS NIGHTS

### MOSQUITO MENACE

A reader has sent us this note: "Some weeks ago there was an *INSIGHT* story in the *Weekend* on the Mosquito Menace but the contents centered mainly on Malaria and Filariasis. Surely, these are two minor variations of the major problem. From the talk of casual labour up to managerial staff, wherever one goes today, it is the same old story, now delivered with a little bit of venom. Mosquitoes—no sleep—tired next day—output dropping—all because of the wretched mosquito. A combination of the result of sleepless nights with the number of holidays enjoyed in this country should put paid to development plans. Can the authorities not make a concerted effort on the worst affected areas and also provide sections of householders, equipment and raw material with which to control the menace in their own areas?"

An excellent suggestion. At least the raw material will be actually sprayed—otherwise it is usually sold by those employed to spray. There has been a permanent and continuous invasion for some years now of the air space in and around Colombo by billions and billions of mosquitoes. The ladies and gentlemen employed by the Municipalities and Town Councils to eradicate mosquitoes comfort the victims by saying that the mosquitoes in and around Colombo are not carriers of Malaria. But, they buzz, bite and sting. They keep everybody awake. They creep into mosquito nets. They are environmentalised to swirling fans and even to air-conditioning. However, in the outstations, where the Anti-Malaria Department is in charge, mosquitoes have been physically eliminated. And in these areas malaria has once again been eradicated. Very soon mosquitoes and malaria will disappear from all jungle and rural areas—and remain only in urban areas where the local authorities are in charge of mosquito fighting. Prime Minister Premadasa must do something.



death to Hua Kuo-Feng in which the Chairman reportedly said he would feel at ease if Hua took control when Mao died. Hua eventually became Prime Minister and Party Chairman. The letter was used by Hua's supporters as proof that their man was the personal choice of Mao. The Tiananmen demonstration is the central theme of a wall poster campaign which began in Peking on Sunday.

According to China watchers here the posters are directed against opponents of Teng, who was the most prominent political victim of the riots. Teng was later rehabilitated by Hua and observers here say the Vice-Premier's supporters are now out for revenge.

The biggest casualty in the apparent reassessment of the Tiananmen incident is Wu Teh, recently dismissed as Peking Mayor. It was he who ordered the crackdown against the rioters. Today's wall posters said that rehabilitation of those politicians who fell into disgrace following the demonstrations was not sufficient. The posters called on the authorities to reveal the names of the "big shots" behind the "oppression." They said that in capitalist countries "big shots" had been charged in connection with scandals like Watergate and the Lockheed Bribery Affair. Observers here believe the main target of the campaign could be Wang Tung-Hsing, a communist party vice-chairman, who has been accused of failing to speed up the new evaluation of Mao's teachings.

## INSIDE CHINA

### China's Three Immortals

W. Lionel Fernando

This article was written soon after the author's return from a tour of China in August 1978. Since then many developments have taken place in China. The Chou En-lai cult has gained considerable momentum. Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, nominee of Premier Chou En-lai for succession, disgraced during Mao's time (when the gang of four was wielding power) has gained in strength. Wall Posters have come up criticising Chairman Mao and questioning the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the C.C.P., Commander of the armed forces and Premier of State Council is under scrutiny.

The author W. Lionel Fernando was in Peking in 1957-58 as the Private Secretary of the first Sri Lanka Ambassador to China. Later he joined the Information Department when Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was Prime Minister. After his retirement from the Public Service he was Editor, Ceylon Observer until July 1977.

—Ed.

SOON AFTER CHAIRMAN MAO'S DEATH the question in parlor-politics was "what next in China?". This same question was put by me to an Asian Ambassador in Peking. "Will there be any changes in Mao's poli-

cies," I asked him. "One thing is certain," he said, "there will never be a de-Maoization in China as it happened to Stalin in the Soviet Union. China can never be without a Mao. Even when a change is contemplated, the leaders resort to the writings of Mao for that change. They quote him in support of any such move. They will never follow the Moscow line in regard to Mao. The new leadership may want to put right some of the decisions taken by "the gang of four" in the name of Mao when actually he was not functioning physically during the last few years of his life. Even these changes will be in accordance with the teachings of Mao."

Political observers raised this same issue and thought that events that followed Mao's death on September 9, 1976 were the beginnings of the end of Maoism in China. Some thought that the purge of the gang of four amounted to a "posthumous military coup against Mao" while some others thought that the de-Maoization process had already begun and that "by the 1990's the Chinese political atmosphere can be expected to be heavy with stagnation, elitism, bureaucracy and related ills."

These views, however, were not shared by many students of Chinese politics. For instance, a Professor of Political Science of Stanford University, Mr. Harry Harding, Jr., the author of several published articles and monographs on Chinese politics does not share this view. He does not think that China will follow Soviet example. He says: "for one thing Mao is more a Lenin than a Stalin; he was the principal founder of the Chinese Communist movement and it would be extraordinarily difficult to keep the movement intact if its founder was denounced.

For another, there is no real need to condemn Mao: scapegoats have already been found for most of his errors, and his writings are complex enough



that they can be manipulated to justify virtually any policy. The costs to the party of renouncing Mao would be infinitely greater than any possible gains. A much more likely possibility is that Maoism while maintained officially as the ideological basis of the Chinese political system, might gradually become routinized, losing much of its role as a guide to policy-making and political action and serving more as a means of legitimating policies arrived at pragmatically."

IN CHINA three names are still held in reverence, Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai. They are immortalised in China. Mao is a god to them, the inspirer of their life; their saviour. Nine hundred million people sing in his praise every day. They owe the success of their struggle and the victory over the enemy to him. They owe their 'glorious new life' to him. He is their teacher and father. Following him their life will be happier and richer, they say.

His statues, more than life-size, have come practically in every city in the country. All public buildings have his bust or his full figure in large sizes made in marble. Millions pay homage to his remains in the Peking Mausoleum which is open to the public three mornings a week. I watched how thousands of men and women, both Chinese and foreigners wait patiently from early morning on those days in long queues sometimes three-deep to get a glimpse of this great man who has brought new life to them.

Erected in Tien An Men Square work on this majestic structure had commenced in November 24, 1976 and it was completed on May 24 1977. At the entrance to the Hall is written in Chairman Hua's handwriting in Chinese characters "The Chairman Mao Memorial Hall."

On the first anniversary of Mao's death, Chairman Hua reflected the views of the Chinese people when

he said at the Commemorating meeting: "We may now assure our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, that under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the country, adhering to the Party's basic line, are advancing in big strides confidently and unswervingly along the road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as Chairman Mao indicated... "All attempts by class enemies at home and abroad to cause our Party to change its Marxist-Leninist line, which were formulated by Chairman Mao, are merely re-actionary day-dreams.... We must cherish the great banner of Chairman Mao as our precious heritage and hand it on from generation to generation."

CHU-TEH, Commander-in-chief of the Army and Premier Chou En-lai predeceased him. These three men are eternal in China and will always be remembered as the architects of modern China. Chu Teh was above all a military man and could not be described as a people's man as Chou En-lai was. From the time of the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-45), he had associated himself with Mao and has been a member of the Communist Party. Born to a peasant family, Chu Teh grew in poverty and learnt from his mother, as he says to struggle against difficulties. Having gone through hardships at home he was able to weather more of them in his career of 30 years of revolutionary activity. It was his mother, he says, who gave him a strong constitution and the habit of hard work. To tell his story in his own words: "Mother gave birth with me to thirteen children. As the family was too poor to support them all, only the first eight lived. The latter five were drowned at birth. Each time

it left a searing pain in her, but she had no other way out."

Chu Teh was very fond of his mother and her loss was irreparable to him. He says: "Mother has left me for ever. I will never see her again. Her death is an irreparable loss. Mother was an ordinary person, one of millions of the Chinese working people. Yet it is these millions who have made and are still making the history of China. How can I repay my mother's kindness? I will continue to be loyal to our nation and people and the Chinese Communist Party, their hope, so that others like her will have a happy life. This is what I can do and will do. May my mother rest in peace." Continuing he says: "As the Chinese revolution developed, my ideology underwent more changes. When I found that the Chinese Communist Party was leading the revolution in the correct direction, I joined it."

TO THE MILLIONS of Chinese people, Chou En-lai is "our respected and beloved Premier." No other leader in China is referred to with such affection. He is their idol. Numerous poems and songs have been written in his praise. Articles recalling his exemplary life and his close touch with the people, his friendship with the third world and his efforts to establish friendly ties with all nations appear in the Chinese press. As I watched the people's reaction to his memory, I thought a Chou En-lai cult was in the offing which some observers think may finally crystallize in a Mao-chou En-lai cult.

The first shot against the "gang of four" which brought about its downfall was fired by Chou En-lai when he summoned the veteran cadres of the Shantung province to Peking and drew up a ten-point programme against them. The "gang of four" had its dagger



at him. They tried to frame him and even interfere with his medical treatment. Being in charge of the mass media, they saw to it that no publicity or memorial articles were allowed at the time of his death. Public demonstrations of grief were banned and the coverage of the funeral in the Chinese press blacked out.

But today a permanent Exhibition in his memory has been set up in Tien-An-Men Square on the East side of Mao's Mausoleum. This Exhibition, which is a permanent feature in Peking is housed in a separate section of the Museum of Chinese History and Chinese Revolution and is termed "The Exhibition in Memory of Comrade Chou En-lai." As one enters the hall a huge oil painting of the three leaders, Mao, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai strikes your eye. An English speaking girl takes you round-explaining to you the 1000 odd relics, documents and pictures in the Exhibition Hall. Going through half of the Exhibition, her place is taken by another girl. It takes quite a long time to go through every item.

Articles of Chou En-lai's daily use are prominently displayed in the Exhibition in separate enclosures. In one enclosure are his darned socks, patched shirts and towels, two pairs of leather shoes of twenty years, his mug, tooth brush, sock-darning block are in this enclosure. The bed which he used in hospital especially made enabling him to go through official papers and have meals without having to move about and the special pair of cloth shoes are also there. This pair of shoes had been specially made for him because, at the last stages of his life he could not wear leather shoes owing to the swollen nature of his feet. The articles in his room at home, his bed, writing and

conference table, his book case are all there.

Though born to aristocracy and with a foreign education in France and Germany, the exhibition shows the frugal life followed by Chou En-lai as a revolutionary. The Exhibition also preserves the bed-table made for him to have it fixed to his bed when he was in hospital for him to go through and correct official documents. The Exhibition is in four parts showing his young days, his activities during the New Democratic Revolutionary period and the period of socialist revolution and construction and finally the "Eternal Glory to Comrade Chou En-lai." A book entitled "Selected Photos in Memory of Chou En-lai" carrying 800 photographs with captions describing Chou En-lai's life has also been published in China.

-X- -X- -X-

## CHINA REVISITED—I

### After 22 Years

by Nikil Chakravathy

Editor, "Mainstream", New Delhi.

THE NON-STOP FLIGHT FROM BOMBAY to Peking was comfortable and provided restful seven hours to ponder over many thoughts that came crowding upon me. To visit any country after twenty-two long years is ordinarily a matter of excitement, but China is a different world altogether. How much has happened in these intervening years—misunderstanding, annoyance, bitter polemics and even blood was shed in armed conflict. Inside China and India, convulsions have come and gone, stability has given place to uncertainty, mighty giants have departed and new leaders have surfaced. How could everything be

the same again, and yet why should there be animosity in perpetuity on either side of the High Himalayas?

As the Swissair took me due east—over-flying Aurangabad, Nagpur, Calcutta and Chittagong—and then a sharp turn to the north—over the mighty Mekong river, the city of Kunming with its stone-flower garden, the steel centre of Wuhan with its blast furnaces—and on to Peking, once the imperial capital and now of a late-coming world power, replacing Confucius by Communism—I wondered if I would be breathing the same relaxed air of 1956. Where are the old friends and comrades? Would it at all be discreet even to enquire about them? How should I measure what might strike me as new and above all, what thoughts dominate this country where over 900 million people live today?

The faces of fellow passengers betrayed no such worries: a large contingent of German business executives and engineers of various denominations, a strange assortment of sentimental revolutionaries from different corners of Western Europe. With them from Bombay three executives of our proud HMT whose modest appearance could hardly betray their standing, came along with this wandering journalist. It was indeed a journey into a stange twilight without being sure when the night would fall or the day break.

The very first impression on landing at the airport dominated by larger-than-life portrait of Mao, was that the new building though recently constructed bears a striking resemblance to any old style Soviet airport with its huge columned hall and portico outside. The long drive to the city interspersed with occasional hoardings bearing Mao's quotations, is lined with thick rows of trees on both sides.



And this remained a continuing impression from Peking down to Canton right up to the Lowu frontier post, that afforestation has been taken up in China in a manner which any country can emulate with profit. We have our ceremonial *vanamahotsavas* followed up, more often than not, by the saplings being equally unceremoniously eaten up by stray cattle since nobody is put in charge to look after them.

Enter the newly laid out diplomatic enclave, so different from the old Legation quarters with their musty, pre-revolutionary smell. These enclaves are perhaps easy to look after—or watch over—by the Chinese security authorities, reminding one of Manila's up-town "villages" where the rich live away from the eyesore of poverty—in the case of Peking, away from being infected by the ferment that is China today.

Not that the diplomatic corps has always been left in peace: at the height of the Cultural Revolution, the British Embassy had to bear the brunt—part of its building was set on fire, which neither Shirley Williams nor Edmund Dell during their current visits with expectations of Chinese bonanza would have liked to be reminded about. Those ultra-revolutionary nightmares left their mark not only on the "arch-revisionist" Soviet Embassy put virtually seige, but the Indian Embassy as well, with any amount of harassment which spared neither the senior nor the junior officers of our mission at the time.

THESE ARE of course things of the past which the Chinese in their present euphoria of Four Modernisations prefer to keep aside. And our Embassy under the perceptive and widely respected guidance of Ambassador Narayanan and his hand of alert but extremely

level-headed officers—exuding both warmth and diligence—has earned a standing in the diplomatic set, even if it does not belong to the tribe of extra-favourites of the Peking Establishment.

An amusing case of one of these most-favoured missions falling from grace could be seen in the treatment received by Albania. Long hailed as the unshakable outpost of Maoist Marxism fearlessly holding out against the counter-revolutionary Europe, Albania has now earned the wrath of the present powers-that-be in Peking. The huge mansion that has been built by the Albanians for their Embassy in Peking is still vacant as the Chinese authorities have not yet handed over the keys to the naughty Albanians. Meanwhile, the so-called Liaison Office of the US—already known in popular parlance as the American Embassy—with its fast expanding activity, is in search of more accommodation, and one would not be surprised if the sprawling building meant for the Albanians ultimately falls to the lot of the Americans. Unexpected hypertension, they say, occurs in Peking's fluctuating air-pressure.

Many things in Peking strike one as new. The roads, at least some of them, have been widened beyond recognition. Thousands on cycles—many more than I had seen in 1956. No taxis to hail, the few are available only by appointment. Coloured TV, but confined to a few cities.

Peking's Red Square the Tien-An-Men has got a face uplift, and the old Railway Station which I had seen opposite to it in 1956 has moved further up. Instead, the wide vista in front of the Tien-An-Men is flanked on one side by the Great Hall of the People where all the major conclaves are held and by the Museum of

the Revolution and History on the other; facing it at the other end of the massive concrete square is the Mausoleum of Mao Tse-tung. In front of the Mausoleum stands the monument of the People's Heroes, the martyrs' memorial, the scene of demonstrations against the then Establishment sometime after Chou En-lai's death in 1976.

THE HUGE PORTRAIT of Marx and Engels at one end of the Square and of Lenin and Stalin at the other end, stand where they were when I had seen them twenty-two years ago—mute witnesses to waves of turbulence in between. Peking Hotel has been modernised and the signboards on many of the shops and establishments bear their names not only in Chinese but Roman script as well—a new innovation not for the benefit of the tourists I am told, but as part of the drive for modernisation making the Chinese familiar with the script that will help them to know more than two thirds of the world. Hindi fanatics in our country may gain from it, if they are in a mood to learn.

There are a number of things common to our world which is missing in the Chinese scene. No birds to greet you in the freshness of the morning but millions of crickets chirp in chorus. There was a Sparrow Extermination drive at the time of the Great Leap Forward to save grain stocks, but it led to imbalance in environment as insects grew in billions, there being no birds to peck them. Only in the thick patch of trees in the Indian Embassy compound, I could see a couple of sparrows enjoying the morning sun.

Except for the foreigners, nobody takes milk or butter in China—not even the Mandarins in the days of old—and one can hardly see any cattle in the countryside



or potato in the meal—part of the Chinese culture which preceded the Cultural Revolution.

If one notices the absence of birds or pet dogs, or of butter and potato, what hits the outsider most is the conspicuous absence of poverty in the China of today—as impression sharply embossed as one reaches there from the world outside, from India for instance. The eighty-two year old retired peasant in the Evergreen Commune, twenty kilo meters outside Peking, would not stop narrating his searing destitution under the landlord's heel in the days before liberation, and if he is engrossed today in the worship of Mao to the point of deification, there is good ground for it. As he looks around at the wide open fields beyond his personal vegetable garden, he looks upon them as the dream of his forefathers having at last come true.

This is the secret of the sustenance that keeps China going despite the twists and turns which her millions have gone through so far.

(To be Continued)

—O— —O— —O—

#### SNIPPETS

1. He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief.

—Francis Bacon.

—O— —O— —O—

2. Being a husband is a whole-time job. That is why so many husbands fail. They cannot give their whole attention to it.

—E. A. Bennett.

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

### Report On Political Imprisonment

Amnesty International is a worldwide human rights movement which works impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience: men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, colour, ethnic origin, sex, religion or language, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. Amnesty International opposes torture and the death penalty in all cases without reservation and advocates fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners. Amnesty International is independent of all governments, political factions, ideologies, economic interests and religious creeds. It is financed by its membership and by subscriptions from all parts of the world. Amnesty International has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and the Council of Europe has co-operative relations with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, and has observer status with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees).

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL on Monday, 27 November 1978 published a major report on political imprisonment in the People's Republic of China. The 176-page report outlines in detail the country's constitutional, legal and penal systems under which sus-

pected political dissenters are detained, interrogated, tried and punished without access to fair trials and without safeguards against maltreatment during detention.

AI said it had submitted the draft of its report to the Chinese government in June 1978 and had offered to publish any comments or corrections from the government. "We have heard nothing from the Chinese authorities, despite repeated efforts on our part," said AI. "However, within the last month it has been reported in the international press that Chiang Hua, President of China's Supreme Court, has said there are still many people wrongfully imprisoned in the country, and that 'all sorts of excuses' were being used to avoid reviewing miscarriages of justice. In a series of judicial conferences, he has reminded officials that the extraction of forced confessions is prohibited and that the courts and police should deal seriously with this problem."

In a letter to Premier Hua Guofeng dated 2 November, AI presented recommendations based on its report urging the Chinese government to: (a) repeal all laws prescribing administrative or criminal punishment for the non-violent expression of beliefs; (b) establish formal safeguards to prevent the torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment of prisoners; (c) abolish the death penalty; (d) ensure that all persons currently detained on political grounds are quickly brought to open trial before impartial tribunals where full rights of defence are guaranteed; (e) apply internationally-recognized standards in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and other human rights instruments.



THE AI REPORT is the result of several years of intensive research. It draws on the case histories of prisoners of conscience in China currently under adoption or investigation by AI, some of whom are serving sentences ranging from 15 or 20 years to life imprisonment. Among them are Lin Xiling, a girl student arrested in 1957 at the age of 20; Chamba Lobsang, a Tibetan monk arrested in 1959; Deng Qingshan, a young peasant sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in 1970, and others detained for their beliefs. The report is also based on testimonies of former prisoners who have been held in labour camps and prisons in different parts of the country.

The report criticizes the existence of legislation in China which provides for political imprisonment and says that laws are loosely-worded and have been interpreted broadly, permitting large scale imprisonment on political grounds (see report pages 1-7). Under the Chinese constitution, certain categories of people, defined as "class enemies" can be deprived of their political and civil rights solely on the basis of their "class origin" or political background (see report pages 7-13).

"The continuous 'mass mobilization campaigns' since the early 1950s have been used to identify people dissenting from official policy", said AI. "These campaigns have broadened the range of political offences to the extent that each of them has defined new types of offenders according to the politics of the period." (see report pages 13-31).

AI said it was concerned that under Chinese law, pre-trial detention is unlimited once an arrest warrant has been issued by the Public Security (police). The trial does not normally begin until the detainee has "confessed" in writing.

Political defendants are usually tried in camera, or by "mass public trials" where no defence is possible. According to the report, "Trials are a mere formality; rather than 'trials', they are, in fact, meetings to announce the sentence." (see report pages 37-57).

CERTAIN POLITICAL OFFENDERS said AI, could be punished by compulsory labour without even judicial investigation (see report pages 57-61). Formal punishments range from a term of imprisonment to execution. "The government of the People's Republic of China is, today, one of those governments which, in the last year, has executed persons convicted of political offences," AI said. The report cites the case of He Chunshu who was sentenced to death in February 1978 for writing and distributing a "counter-revolutionary" leaflet. According to the court notice, he had "obstinately refused to admit his crime", and was executed immediately after sentencing (see report pages 61-65).

AI emphasized that it was not possible to present a comprehensive portrait of detention conditions prevailing in China at any one time due to a lack of detailed information resulting, in part from restrictions on the flow of information within the country (Corrective labour and penal policy: prison conditions, see report Chapters 3 and 4). "Although," said AI, "to our knowledge there have been constant complaints by prisoners about punishments, insufficient food and inadequate medical care."

AI stated that its primary concern was the release of all prisoners of conscience. It welcomed the announcement that efforts are being made in the People's Republic of China to redress miscarriages of justice committed in the past. However, AI said, the

legislation providing for political imprisonment is still in force and arrests on political grounds are continuing. "We would welcome any steps by the government to review the laws and procedures affecting the detention and treatment of political offenders. All provisions prescribing punishment for non-violent expression of beliefs should be repealed", AI said.

—X— —X— —X—  
SEVEN MILLION POOR—3

## Employment

—train for work, not produce  
unemployable on dole—

by R. Kahawita

THE OTHER VOICE we hear today is the clamour for employment. Within the year gone by we have taken steps to fix many in employment as announced at various political meetings. But the employment provided is no better, and no different to a government the people condemned. Such employment is neither satisfying nor productive. It is done just to get rid of some one clamouring at your door for a job, any kind of job is what they ask to secure a morsel of food.

So we keep on plugging more hands into every establishment whether extra hands are needed or not. Even to the private sector an order had gone out to increase the numbers employed by 10%. There was no question of increased production, effect on consumer prices by such additional idle hands, inflation and such other repercussions on our economy by increasing employment without a reciprocal increase in production.



There are several avenues available for employment with production and they are all short term: to name a few, sugar cane, cotton growing, market gardening and may be a vegetable oil industry. Instead we have several long term plans which will be years before we get results. To satisfy the present unemployed we must have parallel plans—short term to absorb as many as possible remember we get 500,000 coming into the labour market annually. We must adopt a different approach to settle this problem from the previous government.

A good example of how they did it is best illustrated by what I experienced at a post office. At the stamp counter there was one man to sell the stamp, another to lick it, another to affix it to the letter and yet another to cancel the stamp and throw it to the despatch basket. What is the outcome of this operation? There are four people after one loaf of bread—inflation, and we complain that fish, meat, eggs, vegetables, clothing etc., are scarce and consequently prices are high. The four persons have to be maintained on the fifteen cents stamp. No wonder the postal service is running at a loss, like many other national ventures.

I do not know whether we have grasped the magnitude of the unemployment problem and how employable even if we have the jobs for them. If we did we will not speak of increasing or multiplying university educational facilities. I do not know how, but we seem to believe that every boy and girl should be put through a University course irrespective of the ability of the student for higher education or employment opportunities thereafter, or whether the country needs such education and in such numbers to meet the national needs. It may be popular poli-

tics. But it is not the need of the moment. If so, we will not see advertisement for foreign Engineers. Due to our short-sightedness it may be necessary to import technical officers, surveyors, agriculturists etc., and then masons, carpenters, fitters down to semi-skilled labour.

Today, if we look for trained draughtsmen, surveyors, architectural draughtsmen, electrical, mechanical, civil technical foremen, book-keepers, stenographers, typists, management assistants, dress makers etc. etc., can we get them? To push through our many long term development programmes in five years we require an army of such trained men and women. The same problem is there in the private sector. What are the teaching and training facilities the country has today? Yet we speak of university education in arts, humanities, classics, history etc. This kind of thinking would have been quite in place during the good old days, when liberal education was a *sine qua non* to be admitted to a leisured society. Today we must fit our education to bread and butter.

DURING THE YEAR the government was in power, we have set up Commissions and Committees to investigate university education, elementary education and so on. Have we so far given any thought to technical and job oriented teaching and training after the 'GCE'O level and the school dropouts? Have we appointed a commission or committee to investigate into the manpower shortage in the technical trades and artisan grades and take steps to set up training facilities? Without this lesser level of "specialists" how are we going to complete Mahaweli, infrastructure for the Free Trade Zone, Greater Colombo Development plan, Housing programmes, Irriga-

tion projects, agricultural development etc?

These are our omissions. So let us start an intensive training programme to meet the country's needs before we embark on expanding university facilities. Let us build schools and teacher facilities at the village level and move up from there to the urban areas and district levels. Let us organize trade schools in every village council area so that the school dropouts could be trained in a trade useful to the community and not loiter in the village lanes in search of employment or be idle and qualify for the fifty rupee dole as unemployables and unemployed. Let us start training these boys and girls for employment or train them to be on their own, rather than lead them to a university and prevent their being unemployed. We have already one and a half million of this class in our hands.

What have we planned for this group? A fifty rupees a month will not lead them anywhere. What we have got to do is to train them to be employable. Therefore the government must plan and implement a training programme so that every year a certain number of employable and trained boys and girls are available to the country. Instead of paying Rs. 50/- a month for being unemployed, let the government pay that allowance to boys and girls who are being trained in Trades.

To implement a programme of this nature the government must set up Training Schools and Centres with buildings, equipment and implements, and teacher artisans and specialists. Let us not start these in the city and towns. These schools and training centres must be in the villages, electorates and the districts.

Buildings. Take over some of the redundant school buildings,



vacant school buildings after the school take over and convert and equip them to be trade schools. There are over 400 buildings built during the last regime called 'Agricultural Development centres'; many of them are now abandoned or partially occupied. Convert them into trade schools. I am certain about 300 of these buildings will be available for immediate conversion. **Staff:** There are hundreds of artisans who have learnt the trade in the hard way. They know their onions so to say, though they may not be educated in the bureaucratic way of thinking. With a little bit of revision, and training in teaching methods, they can be deployed in the training centres to start with while we build up the training staff. **Equipment and implements:** We have already admitted that we have all the goodwill of the world to help us in pushing ahead with the development schemes. So let us get the necessary tools through these agencies, not highly sophisticated equipment but simple hand tools or in the alternative cut out the import of cheese and cake and use that foreign exchange to import trade tools required in these training centres.

To take off on a meaningful job orientated training programme, we must make an assessment of facilities available and facilities to be provided. For this a Commission or Committee should be appointed within the shortest possible time, to investigate, inquire and make recommendations to the government with a target date if possible to commence training by the end of this year.

We HEAR of rumblings and tension in the country due to our omissions of not implementing short term programmes to deal with

immediate problems. To do this let us not wait for an eruption. What are the needs of the moment? **Priority one:** bring down cost of living to the common man, cut out import of luxuries. Instead, liberalize import of food, clothing and other essential goods of the average citizen. Throw open the distribution and servicing trades to the small traders scattered in the rural areas as many as can be accommodated. **Priority two:** Ensure import of basic needs regularly and in quantity so that there is always a surplus; enforce a pricing structure so that the importer, distributor, retailer and consumer are equally benefited. **Priority three:** Local industries to be geared to produce the needs of the average man. Any spare machine time thereafter may be used for expensive items. Provide all the exchange necessary to import the raw materials to meet the first obligation. **Priority four:** Increase local product on food items and set up facilities for efficient transport and distribution of market produce. Vegetables, meat, fish and eggs. Give incentives to the private sector to expand these services in the rural areas.

**IN EMPLOYMENT,** appoint a commission to inquire into the facilities available now to train technicians in the Public and private sector institutions, training institutions to be organised to absorb post GCE school drop-outs and post elementary education, work out content, scope and curricula for such training and teaching institutions.

**AND,** appoint a committee to find out ways and means of placing the present unemployed youth in self-employment and set up base training facilities prior to placement in self-employment.

The two committees to report on practical schemes to enable the government to take action on the recommendations at the beginning of 1979. In the meantime, the private sector should be requested to undertake training and provide training facilities in their factories, workshops and work places. To encourage them to participate in solving the national problem of unemployment, a scheme of income tax relief can be worked out to benefit those participating in the scheme and produce results. **What the government is attempting to do now in worker camps, apprenticeship schemes, land armies will not produce the desired results—a content and job satisfied worker with a future. We cannot afford to create "dissidents."**

At the end of the year gone by we have a backlog of unemployment around 20% of the work force, very high prices for normal consumer goods, scarcity of these items, low agricultural productivity and the consequent scarcity, of vegetables etc. These are the many problems we took over a year ago and these are the very problems the people wanted the new government to solve for them. We have not done this yet and why a government cannot do it overnight the people will not understand and will not brook explanation. So let us create the impression that a very purposeful attempt is being made in our second year. But how? We have sought goodwill from other nations and that plenty of money is available to us. So money is not the problem. The problems are policy decisions and implementation thereof.

In the foregoing we have listed what policy decisions are needed and now let us reiterate them:—  
(a) Expand and liberalize import of consumer goods which we classed as B group in the foregoing.



(b) Open the import of these goods to the private sector also. Allow the private sector to wholesale, distribute and retail them. (c) Restrict and control the import of non-essential consumer goods. Those who have the contacts and facilities to import such items let them break into the import and distribution of essential consumer goods. (d) Encourage the small scale trader to set up business in the rural areas for selling and buying; also to retail all rationed items of consumer goods. (e) Develop the production, price support and effective marketing of Group A. To achieve this deploy a trained Agricultural and livestock extension service based in the rural Agricultural communities. (f) Appoint a committee to go into the content, quality, levels of training, training facilities, job fixation of technical and tradesmen, teaching and training facilities for technical personnel, certificated tradesmen, junior grade management levels, sub-grade specialist and recommend ways and means of achieving a comprehensive training programme within the shortest possible time. (g) In the meantime, enlist the corporation of the private sector and government institutions undertake a crash programme of training in their offices, industries, factories, workshops, work places. Offer them some scheme of tax relief for such training. (h) Finally set up a working group within the Ministry of Planning to follow the training schemes and assess the results. (i) At cabinet level a portfolio for youth affairs and training for the purpose of Policy making, implementation and follow up should be created. We said so in our manifesto, a year ago.

Concluded.

Montreal.  
26th August 1973.

## MARGINAL COMMENTS

### The Mathew Fireworks

by Pertinax

MINISTER CYRIL MATHEW, who has recently acquired a special kind of notoriety by tilting at Tamil Windmills with a Sinnala Lance of doubtful quality in the style and manner of Don Quixote of old, launched a new war, this time in the field of education, in the garden of fellow Minister, Nissanka Wijeyeratne. He was assisted not by one dutiful Pancho, but had three Panchos, to carry the ministerial armour and helmet. In fact, it looked as if the three Panchos had inveigled the Don Quixotic minister to launch this new war.

It is necessary to place on record the manner in which the battle was joined. The Daily News on Monday, November 13 had a front-page lead entitled 4000 TAMIL STUDENTS GIVEN HIGH MARKS - INDUSTRIES MINISTER. The report read: "The main purpose in spotlighting the discrepancies found in the marking of Tamil GCE (AL) papers was not intended to create communal dissension as alleged by certain TULF MPs but to bring to book the crime committed against a vast number of pupils who sat the examination. Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, told a Press Conference on Friday. At the 1977 GCE (AL) Examination about 4000 Tamil students were given high marks due to over-marking of their papers by some Tamil examiners, Mr. Mathew said. Professor P. P. G. L. Siriwardene, Vice Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka, Professor J. K. P. Ariyaratne, Professor of Chemistry of the Vidyalandara Campus and Professor Susantha de Silva were

associated with the Minister at the Press Conference. Mr. Mathew produced at the Press Conference, the relevant Tamil Answer Scripts which showed these over-markings and invited the Pressmen to have a close look at them. Professor Siriwardene answering a question, said that where University places were concerned, every single mark counted and one mark could easily displace the positions of at least 50 students. The Professor said these discrepancies in the Tamil answer scripts had been detected at the re-scrutiny stage in an answer, which had to be given with diagrams. These scripts had been picked at random and re-scrutiny was generally done by One Chief Examiner and two Assistant Examiners."

Below this report was a second headline with equal prominence. DISCREPANCIES IN GSQ TAMIL SCRIPTS MARKING, and the report read: "Discrepancies have been suspected in the marking of Tamil answer scripts in the 1977 General Science Qualifying Examination of the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka. A high percentage of 'A' passes in the Tamil medium indicates discrepancies. Forty five Sinhala students sat this examination and their results indicated that there were only two "A" passes, thirty five "B" passes and eight "C" passes. Whereas in the Tamil medium where only 12 students sat, ten of them had got "A" passes and two "B" passes. In the Jaffna campus, the results of the General science Qualifying Examination revealed there were only 1st and 2nd class passes, and not a single third class. This high percentage of "A" passes in the Tamil medium indicate discrepancies and this matter will be inquired into, said Professor P. P. G. L. Siriwardene, Vice Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka at a



Press Conference on Friday. It is accepted that a large population of Sinhala children are clamouring for a higher education and this is the same in the Tamil areas. Discrepancies of this nature have a fatal effect on the Sinhala children because their population is great, the Professor said. Professor Siriwardene said at the press conference standardisation did not seem a fool-proof method, since discrepancies such as over-marking, could take place. Therefore, he said the best method would be to divide the students according to their media, standardise according to subjects and allot places in the university in relation to the population percentage of the races. This method would ensure proper representation of the different races and would protect students against cheating, he said."

THE Daily Mirror, also of November 13 had a front page splash entitled FULL SCALE PROBE INTO MARKING OF TAMIL MEDIUM SCRIPTS: MATHEW. The report (byline B. C. Perera) read: "The Government would institute full scale investigations into the discrepancies noted in the marking of Tamil-medium GCE (AL) science answer scripts of April 1978. This was said by Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs at a Press Conference on Friday night at his residence in Colombo. Mr. Mathew said the investigations may even cover a longer period because there was proof of favouritism by some Tamil-medium examiners over a number of years. Associated with the Minister were Prof. P. P. G. L. Siriwardene, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka, Prof. J. K. P. Ariyaratne and Prof. S. de Silva. Showing pressmen several marked Sinhala and Tamil answer scripts of the GCE (AL) Zoology paper, the Minister said one question was the drawing of a series of diagrams showing the stages of life of the

mosquito. According to the instructions to all examiners no marks at all were to be given out of 25 marks allotted for the question, if even one of the stages of the life of the mosquito was not drawn. Several marked Sinhala answer scripts selected at random showed that no marks had been given when one of the stages of the growth of the mosquito had not been drawn. But in six of the Tamil answer scripts, which had passed through at least four examiners, marks had been given even for three drawings. This the Minister maintained, appeared to be a regular feature in the marking of papers in respect of Tamil medium students. This was very unfair by the other students. Mr. Mathew said that if favouritism could be shown in drawings one could only imagine how written answer scripts had been corrected. The Minister then pointed out several glaring discrepancies that had occurred at the General Science Qualifying

Examination in Botany of the Peradeniya Campus in the Tamil medium. He said he had received information that at a recently concluded degree examination the results of which had been sent to the Universities Senate approval there was only first and second class passes. There had been no failures. This must be the first time in the world that students had achieved such results at an examination. Mr. Mathew added that firm and fool-proof methods are now contemplated by the Government to arrest these discrepancies."

Strangely enough, not one of the Sun-Davasa group of newspapers carried any report about this press conference. The Virakesari of Tuesday 14th carried a report of this Press Conference", but it was obviously pirated from the Lake House and Times newspapers. It looks very much as if the government media alone, i.e., the Lake House and the Times were invited

for the Press Conference—if there was a conference at all. We shall revert to this later.

It is also only fair to mention that Minister Mathew had raised this red-herring in Parliament when the new Universities Bill was debated on November 7. For the record, extracts from the Lobby Notes by Ajit Samaranayake in the Ceylon Observer of November 8 under the heading TAMIL STUDENTS FAVOURED AT EXAMS, CLAIMS CYRIL MATHEW are published below: Industries Minister Mr. Cyril Mathew dropped a bombshell alleging favouritism towards Tamil pre-university and university students on the part of Tamil university lecturers. Mr. Mathew produced marking schemes and question papers, affidavits and memoranda to back up his charge of Tamil favouritism. He rattled off a long list of academics who had made the identical charge ranging from Prof. A. D. V. de S. Indraratne to the Vice Chancellor, Prof. P. P. G. L. Siriwardene, himself. The Minister's prize production was a diagram. Students of Zoology at the 1977 Advanced Level examination had been asked to draw the stages of life of a mosquito. Examiners had been specifically instructed that marks be given only if all the stages were drawn. But the Minister produced a Tamil answer script in which the student had scored 5 marks without giving the final stage. A similar answer script of a Sinhala student had been given nought. Mr. Mathew's charge was that Tamil university lecturers over-marked the scripts of students of their community, that they leaked out questions to Tamil students and that they were invited to, and attended seminars at Tamil schools where they tackled certain examination questions which curiously enough cropped up in question papers at the next exam. .... On the general charge of Tamil



favouritism Mr. Sivasithambaram on behalf of the TULF pointed out that a committee headed by Prof. Perera had exonerated Tamil dons of this oft-repeated charge. But replying to the ministerial revelation later Kayts MP, Pandit K. P. Ratnam, said that he did not intend to defend at all whoever had overmarked the scripts. He, however, put the ball into the Government's court by demanding why it did not act against such miscreants. He also volunteered to produce similar examples of overmarking in Sinhala Medium scripts if a committee of the House was appointed to go through all the scripts. So much for the sub-plot which the Industries Minister introduced into the main academic drama....."

What was said in Parliament is privileged and other Parliamentarians have already dealt with it and will no doubt deal with it in the future also. But important questions have arisen in regard to the "Press Conference" reported in the *Lake House* and *Times* papers on November 13 which greatly concerns the credibility of the government media.

A *Tribune* reader has raised the following questions about this "Press Conference": "The *Daily Mirror* reported that the Press Conference was held on Friday night at the Minister's residence in Colombo i.e., on 10th Nov. 1978. The question I ask are: (1) Who gave the authority to Minister Mathew to summon a press conference on the topic of education, which is outside his concern? Even if we accept the fact that Minister of Education is out of the island, an acting minister is there. And why the acting minister was not present at the "conference" which comes under his purview? (2) Is it normal for a minister to hold a press conference at his residence, if not at his office at day time? Even if we accept that the topic was of urgent nature, then

why the Saturday's (11th Nov. 78) papers didn't report this? If it was too late to go for print on Saturday, then why did the Sunday's (12th Nov. 78) papers miss it? Why was there an undue delay of two days for the conference to be reported? And why did *Sun* and *Davasa* (normally in the forefront of this type of reporting) not report this? Is it that reporters of these papers were not invited?

"From the way it had reported the story, it looks like "Virakesari" reporter had just copied the story which appeared on Monday's *Daily News* and *Daily Mirror*. And this report does not say, when the news conference was held? And if it was held on Friday night, why was there an undue delay of 3 days for the *Virakesari* to report on it? It may be that, in order to accommodate Mr. M. Sivasithamparam's observation on the "Minister's Conference", *Virakesari* had to "educate its readers by publishing a report of the so-called Ministers Conference pinching the story from other papers.

(3) "Those who were associated with the Minister at the Conference (according to the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily News* reports) were, Vice Chancellor P. P. G. L. Siriwardene, Prof. Ariyaratne and Prof. S. de Silva. Let me ask this. The Minister was making a serious charge on a matter concerning Tamil lecturers. But not one of them was invited to be present. There are two Tamil Professors in Zoology (the test paper, the Minister had seen and quoted) —namely Prof. K. D. Arudpragasam (Colombo Campus) and Prof. V. K. Ganesalingam (Jaffna Campus). Were these two summoned for this conference? Or was the chief examiner in charge of the Tamil medium scripts, summoned? If not, why? Even if these Tamil authorities were not summoned by the Minister, why did the press reporters not contact them to have

a follow up or explanation. And mark you, there was a two-days gap before the story appeared in print? Was it not the duty of the *Lake House* and the *Times* to have got the views of the Tamil lecturers?

(4) "*Daily Mirror* report says that, Minister "showing pressmen several marked Sinhala and Tamil answer scripts...." What is the range of this "several"? Was it in the region of tens, or hundreds or thousands?—Why was it not said strictly? If the pressmen were so keen on accurate reporting, could they not have taken photographs or photostats, of alleged irregular marking in Tamil medium answer scripts, to authenticate the story? why haven't they done this? The *Daily News* headlined its story by saying "400 Tamil students given high marks". What sort of sampling was taken? Who were present there, when these detections were made? Was this 4000 number pertaining only to the *Zoology paper of Tamil Medium* where the detection was made? Or does this 4000 number encompass all the subjects in Tamil medium? Similarly has any check been made on the Sinhala medium scripts? If so, who made it?"

TULF spokesmen and the TULF press (such as there is) have protested against this Mathews onslaught assisted by Vice-Chancellor Siriwardene and two other obvious hatchet-men. But there has been a total silence in the government media—*Lake House* and *Times*—about these protests inspite of numerous memoranda (which has also reached *Tribune* and which we will publish in due course) by students and staff members of different campuses. Is this fair, correct or ethical journalism? Is this not slanting and distorting of news? Should those who have criticized and challenged the statements of Mathew and Siriwardene not be given an opportunity to state their case? Has the Govern-



ment-owned media become so perverse?

The Communist Party fortnightly *Forward* of November 15, 1978 alone made a pertinent comment (the SLFP and LSSP have been silent on this matter so far). This is what the *Forward* said: "Why Mathew? That is the first thing that strikes one about Industries Minister Cyril Mathew's statement in Parliament and later at a press conference at his residence on November 10th, regarding the alleged overmarking of exam papers of Tamil-medium students by Tamil-medium examiners for the GCE (A Level) Science examination and for the 1977 General Science Qualifying Exam for entrance to the Peradeniya Campus of the University. Such matters, surely, come under the Minister of Education and Higher Education. Although the permanent Minister is temporarily out of Sri Lanka, the matters referred to go back to earlier times when he was among us. Dr. Nissanka Wijeratne is also too ingrained an obscurantist and Sinhala-chauvinist to remain quiet over such a matter. But both he and his deputy Minister, who acts for him, have remained strangely and significantly, silent, even though, if there is any truth in the allegation, a major scandal has taken place in respect of institutions in their charge. Mr Mathew may also be the Minister of Scientific Affairs. But this cannot explain how examination papers, which should be kept in the security possession of educational authorities, came into his hands, to be exhibited to newsmen. Nor does it explain how the Vice-Chancellor and some other Professors came to be associated with Mr. Mathew in a press conference held in his private house.

"If there has been any tampering with marks, it is a serious matter that no one can condone. Those responsible should certainly be identified and sternly dealt with.

But from the statement of Mr. Mathew himself, it seems obvious that the government has not yet investigated the allegations. For the *Daily Mirror* (13/11) quotes Mr. Mathew as promising a "full-scale investigation". If the matter is still to be investigated, why has Minister Mathew been so quick to rush to public conclusions, especially on matters for which he bears no Ministerial responsibility? After all a number of different conclusions can be reached if matters are fully investigated. It may be found that the allegations are false. Or that a genuine mistake has been made. Or that some personal or limited favouritism has taken place.

"Brushing all these possibilities aside, Minister Mathew suggests that there has been for several years and not merely for these examinations a systematic, organised and wide-spread conspiracy by examiners in the Tamil medium deliberately to inflate the marks of examinees in the same medium, so as to give them unjustified advantages vis-a-vis their Sinhala-medium counter-parts in selection for medical, science and engineering courses in the University. The allegation is not merely premature, but capable of stirring up racist antagonisms. Especially when it is made before proper investigation and by a person in Mr. Mathew's position.

"The big question is why Mr. Mathew should have chosen to raise this matter at this time, especially when the President whose close and trusted colleague Mr. Mathew is, has just been regaling audiences in India with tales about how much he and his government want to be friends with the Tamils, and how much he has already done to solve their problems. Some think that Mr. Mathew has been made a catpaw by chauvinist elements in and around the Ministry of Education, who are lobbying to have the decisions to abolish mediawise standardisation

reversed. But while such pressures are undoubtedly there, Mr. Mathew is no political baby and cannot easily be led by the nose. He is not only a red-baiter and crypto-fascist, but also the most racist-oriented Minister in the Cabinet. He led the campaign to keep Mr. Tondaman out of the Cabinet and to oppose even the small concessions given to the Tamil language in the new Constitution. What people want to know is whether Mr. Mathew's latest shots are part of a pre-emptive volley, inspired by fears that there may be some truth that the TULF or parts thereof may soon be coming closer to the government. President Jayawardene's indication in India that some TULF MPs want to join the government, and that he is giving thought to how the Constitutional obstacles can be overcome, must be giving Mr. Mathew and his racist friends the creeps. What is most likely is that President Jayawardene's sermons on national unity and Mr. Mathew's racist sallies are two sides of the same policy. After all, the President and Mr. Mathew are too close political buddies to clash over a matter like this. Anyway, it is small wonder that Mr. Amirthalingam, on his return from abroad a few days ago, re-affirmed the statement he made while abroad, that the Tamil community in Sri Lanka had been more secure during the seven years of the previous government than in the past year of the present government".

Before we go on to set out and discuss the memorandum circulated by the Teaching Staff in the Jaffna Campus we think it best to first publish the Statement of the Peradeniya University Teachers Association on Examination Malpractices. It is dated November 21, 1978. The document is signed by Dr. P. V. J. Jayasekera, President, and Dr. B. Gajameraredera, Secretary, and it reads: "The PUTA is perturbed to note that attempts are being made to mislead



the general public regarding the conduct of a section of the examiners of the G.C.E. (AL) and University Examinations (General Science Qualifying, 1977). The statements made at a press conference by a Cabinet Minister and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka which were reported in the national newspapers of the 13th of November, 1978 are particularly disturbing. The PUTA regretfully notes that these statements could only result in stirring up communal dissension rather than solving any problems that may exist regarding the examinations referred to at the press conference. The PUTA observes that no official inquiry has been held into any of the alleged examination offences or discrepancies referred to and hence considers it unfair for responsible officers of the University to issue public statements on such matters in a manner that: (i) brings this University and its examinations into disrepute; (ii) maligns one section of the examiners of the GCE (AL) and University examinations; and (iii) prejudices any possible official inquiry into the alleged offences. The results of the General Science Qualifying examination were released two months ago and the Vice-Chancellor had sufficient time to hold an inquiry and take appropriate action before making public pronouncements. The PUTA urges the Hon. Minister of Education and Higher Education and the University Authorities to initiate immediate and impartial inquiries into alleged offences regarding GCE (AL) and the General Science Qualifying Examinations respectively. Such inquiries should also cover possible shortcomings in the examination systems and recommend appropriate corrective measures. Any examiner found guilty should be duly punished."

This statement, we are aware, was sent to all newspapers, including

*Lake House* and *Times* with the following note: We are sending herewith a statement of the Executive Committee of the PUTA on the alleged examinations malpractices which were given wide publicity in the national newspapers of 13th November 1978. We believe that this issue will have widespread repercussions in the country and earnestly hope that our views will receive your serious consideration."

Why was this blacked out?

(To be continued)

X X X

# SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Nov. 23—Nov. 29

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

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

## THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23:

The President said that many were asking why a government pledged to create a just and righteous society is harassing certain people by appointing a Special Presidential Commission but he said the purpose of appointing the Commission was not to harass or politically victimise anybody but to find out the misdeeds committed during the previous regime. The pilot who was to have taken over the controls of the ill-fated Ice-landic Airlines Loftleider DC-8 from here to Indonesia said

that he could find nothing wrong with the Katunayake Airport. Infant milk foods and all other varieties of milk food will be made available to everybody at prices that prevailed before November 15—Budget Day. Severe penalties including fine and imprisonment await traders who hoard goods, refuse to sell, monopolise trade and engage in profiteering and unfair trade practices under the Consumer Protection Bill the Minister of Trade has placed before Parliament. The 34 resthouses managed by the local authorities and coming under the purview of the Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction are to receive a new look on the directions of the PM. A cyclonic storm with an intensity of 75 miles per hour is expected to cross the east-coast near Batticaloa about noon today and cross the island.—CDN. The President asked yesterday why persons who condemned the government for appointing the Special Presidential Commission are disturbed if they have done nowrong. The leader of the Opposition denied yesterday that he had said in America that there was persecuting of Tamils in Sri Lanka; He had been misquoted he said.—CDM. The Minister of Land, Land Development etc has ordered a full probe into allegations against certain government officials who are said to have provided misleading information to a visiting World Bank team. The state is to take part in the brokerage business; legislation to enable this would be introduced in Parliament soon, said the Minister of Finance. Trade and Shipping Minister Athulathmudali leaves today for Malaysia to present his views to the prestigious Willy Brandt Commission sitting in Kuala Lumpur.—SU. The PM speaking in Parliament stated that the government would find a solution to the problems of the Tamils soon if the TULF co-operated with the government.



The Minister of Finance said in Parliament that however many buses are imported the transport services cannot be improved as the administration was too corrupt.—VK. The MP for Tangalle speaking in Parliament said while Sinhala blood flowed in their veins Tamil Eelam cannot be got.—DP. 25,000 hundred weights of dry fish stocked at Welisara is facing the possibility of getting spoilt as co-operatives do not wish to buy it; a further consignment of the same quantity is expected in the island shortly. The Minister of Textiles said that Sri Lanka will be in a position to export textiles in two year's time.—LD. 1,50,000 yards of various textiles will be distributed among co-ops, private traders and Laksala for the festive season.—DV. Algerian President Boumedienne is in a coma and his condition is very serious. Iran's oil industry badly hit by strikes and work stoppages which have cost the country more than a billion dollars in lost revenues is slowly returning to normal.—CDM. The UNESCO will in future support the return of cultural objects taken from third world countries to industrialised countries during the colonial era. Cuba announced it would release 3,000 political prisoners about 80% of them remaining on the island; however the US would have to accept those prisoners who wished to go there. The Justice Department said it would permit 2500 homeless Vietnamese now living in over-crowded camps in Malaysia to enter the US.—SU.

**FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24:** Cyclonic weather which hit the east coast yesterday evening is reported to have affected over 500 families; all communication between the Batticaloa district and the rest of the island were cut off around 6.40 p.m.; situation reports reaching Colombo through the Police Radio Command Centre Fort earlier stated that 30 houses and 10 fishing wadiyas had

been badly damaged by 80 m.p.h. cyclonic winds and waves reaching over 15 feet. A severe shortage of food supplies in the cyclone affected areas was the last report received before communication were out last night. The PM has appointed a committee for the delimitation of the proposed Rural Councils. The first batch of UN volunteers who arrived in the island on the 21st began their 9 day orientation course at Kalutara yesterday. The government has decided to issue comprehensive insurance cover to all fishing craft operating off the coast of Sri Lanka.—CDN. Widespread damage is believed to have been caused when a severe cyclonic storm with hurricane winds and high seas lashed the east coast of the island from noon yesterday; gale force winds around 80mph were experienced in Kalmunai and Batticaloa. The Chairman of the Port Cargo Corporation yesterday ordered the sale by auction of nearly Rs. 35 million worth of uncleared cargo lying for over 30 days in various port warehouses in a drastic move to ease the congestion in the port of Colombo. The IMF has increased Sri Lanka's quota for borrowing from the fund very substantially—the country can draw upto 178.5 million dollars. The recruitment of 500 police constables including women will get under way immediately to fill existing vacancies.—CDM. A major teacher training program is to be launched by the Ministry of Education from January next year.—SU. The cyclone is expected to move northwards.—DP. The Ministry of Trade is taking steps to export 2500 tons of rice to the Maldives.—DM. The government has decided to explore for oil in Pesalai and in the coastal areas from Trincomalee to Galle; the Petroleum Corporation has decided to grant the exploring rights to a Norwegian firm.—DM. The official wing of India's once-powerful Con-

gress Party was split over an appeal from former PM Indira Gandhi to unite with her congress faction to fight the government of PM Morarji Desai. CP leaders and Premiers from the Soviet bloc gathered in the Kremlin for the first Summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact military alliance since 1976. The Shah of Iran said that he is not going to abdicate in response to the rioting in the streets of his country. The Iranian military-led government of General Azhari won a confidence vote in Parliament yesterday and the PM pledged political and social freedom for all once law and order was restored.—CDN. Tension over a possible civil war gripped Nicaragua as General Anastasio Somoza defied an opposition demand for his resignation as President. Fighting involving armoured forces has flared up once more between Uganda and Tanzania, both countries claiming the clash took place on their own territory.—CDM. An apparent call for Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-Ping to take over the Chinese leadership was made in wall posters which appeared in Central Peking yesterday. Iraq is seeking increased military support from the Soviet Union according to Arab diplomatic sources. British Foreign Secretary David Owen made clear that Rhodesian PM Ian Smith would still be liable to arrest as a rebel if he visited Britain.—SUX.

#### **SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25:**

The hundred and forty nine persons were reported to have lost their lives, 115 of them in the Batticaloa district alone, in the cyclonic storm which hit the Eastern Province last Thursday morning and spread to other areas leaving a trail of devastation. The government yesterday rushed a team of Parliamentarians and simultaneously mounted a massive relief and rescue operation in the areas affected by the cyclonic storm. The Finance Ministry has



said a firm 'no' to requests made by doctors and engineers for a reduction of import duty on cars they are permitted to import on free exchange. The Red Cross Society answering the SOS for relief for cyclone victims in the Eastern Province has made arrangements to despatch volunteers with medicines, food supplies and clothing to the stricken areas. Train services to Kandy, Matale, Badulla, Batticaloa, Puttalam and Trincomalee had to be cancelled last night. 188 prisoners in the Batticaloa jail escaped during the confusion caused by the cyclonic storm. A massive flood relief operation was launched by the National Security Council when reports reaching Colombo revealed that the cyclone had devastated many parts of the island.—CDN. Over 100,000 were rendered homeless by the havoc wrought by the cyclonic storm that ravaged the eastern and northern provinces and the incessant rains throughout the country. The fury of Thursday night's cyclonic storm was felt not only in the east and north but even in the hill country where heavy rain and gale force winds caused earthslips and floods which left many dead and injured and thousands homeless or marooned as well as extensive damage to property.—CDM. The government yesterday appointed eight co-ordinating officers for areas badly affected by the cyclone. Power supplies in the North Central Province and Eastern Province have been completely interrupted following the cyclone. The giant Parakrama Samudra Reservoir in the Polonnaruwa district is reported to have reached almost spill level.—SU. All train services operating on the main lines have been cancelled due to floods and damage to rail tracks.—DP. Since there was gale force winds up to 80 mph all planes were diverted from Katunayake airport. The government is to launch a program to export coconut oil

needed for the soap industry and import tallow instead; the country can save over Rs. 30 million worth of foreign exchange this way. Telephone subscribers will get direct dialling facilities to 200 countries by June next year.—DM. Ethiopia announced a major break through in its war against Eritrean separatists and said it had re-opened a key road to the province's main outlet to the sea. Authorities urged Iranians who fled the country for fear of persecution on corruption charges to give themselves up or face trial in their absence and possible loss of their property. The Shah of Iran's principal religious opponent Ruhollah Khomeini has called on his followers to launch a campaign of civil disobedience to oust the country's new military government. A personal envoy of British PM will leave for Southern Africa next week in an urgent attempt to set up a Camp David style summit meeting over Rhodesia.—CDN. Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev has warned British PM of serious consequences if Britain sold China military equipment.—CDM. The Bolivian armed forces overthrew President Juan Pereda in a coup four months after he came to power.—SU.

**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26:** A massive relief effort got underway yesterday as state agencies and private organisations began coping with the trail of death and destruction left in the wake of the cyclonic storm which crossed the east coast of the island late thursday night early Friday morning. The Department of Marketing Development despatched ten lorry loads of dry provisions to Batticaloa and other flood stricken areas yesterday.—SO. About 500 persons are feared dead and nearly one million rendered homeless as a result of the cyclone which raged over several parts of the island last thursday. The National Milk Board is expected to incur a loss of over Rs. 85 million on its

import of skimmed milk powder and payment of rents and dues for the warehousing of imports. About 2 p.m. yesterday the Maha Oya overflowed causing extensive damage to people, property and animals; according to police reports over 400 houses have collapsed on either side of the river. Two Indian Air Force Avro planes and two helicopters as well as a Russian Air Force plane was expected yesterday; fourteen SLAF Aircraft are being used for rescue and relief operations. (A trail of havoc has been left in the Kelani basin too reminiscent of the 1947 floods. A crisis is brewing in the SLFP owing to its youth league refusing to nominate its representative to the Party's Political Bureau.—ST. The death toll in Friday mornings' cyclone havoc, the worst in Sri Lanka's history reached over 600 yesterday. Many tanks in the traditional 'rice bowl' have breached and overflowed. The multi-million rupee Valachenai paper mills factory is out of operation and rendered incapacitated by the devastating cyclonic storm. On the orders of the President all operations connected with the cyclone have been placed on a 'war footing'; reinforcements of armed services and Police personnel were being rushed to the affected areas yesterday. The Minister of Justice said that the havoc is a deadly setback for the government's development efforts and it would take at least six months to restore normalcy. Paddy worth eight million has been destroyed in Batticaloa as a result of the cyclone.—WK. The extent of damage sustained in Kalmunai has still not been estimated.—VK. The conservative government of PM Robert Muldoon of New Zealand won yesterday's general elections but with a greatly reduced majority. The known death toll from last week end's mass suicide and murders of Jones Town religious commune rose to 775 and it could go still



higher.—SO. Rhodesia slapped martial law on another 10% of the country bringing almost three quarters of its territory under military control in the war with black nationalist guerrillas. Eritrean rebels claimed that the Soviet backed Ethiopian Air Force was attacking them with bombs and said 120,000 government troops were trying to regain control of the province.—ST. The view among analysts in Peking on the latest wall poster campaign is that Vice Premier Teng Hsiao Ping is the favourite of those putting up the posters.—WK.

**MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27:** The Ministry of Social Services will undertake a rehabilitation and reconstruction program in the cyclone and flood devastated areas on the directions of the President to rehabilitate all victims within three months; they will be given free clothing and food and assistance to rebuild irrigation channels, paddy fields, houses and school buildings. The official death toll has been confirmed at 375. The Ministry of Health has organised an immunisation program against typhoid in all cyclone affected areas. India yesterday decided to send tents, blankets, light clothing for 10,000 persons and 100 tonnes of rice and biscuits for people affected by the cyclone in Sri Lanka.—CDN. With the cyclone death toll now at an unofficially estimated 1000 and nearly 1 million homeless the government will allocate about Rs. 200,000,000 for immediate relief measures for relief in cyclone and flood devastated areas. Foreign aid to provide relief to cyclone victims has been mobilised on a top priority level; representatives from CARE, Red Cross, UNICEF, WHO, UNDP etc and governments of USA, UK, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Japan and India participated at a meeting and indicated that aid on a massive scale would be forthcoming.—CDM. More

than one million people affected by last week's cyclone will receive free food for three months the government announced yesterday. 24 people from the NC Province village of Manampitiya have died of starvation; they are said to have been without food and water since the cyclone hit the area. A British Royal Airforce VC 10 Airliner packed with medical supplies will arrive in the country tomorrow. The Kelani Ganga has exceeded minor flood level and already several low lying areas of Colombo are going under water. Ruwanwella, Yatiyantota and Dehiowita in the Kegalle district are under water and people are living on tree tops. A large number of doctors and nurses are being rushed to the cyclone affected areas for relief operations. Over fifty thousand persons have been rendered homeless in the Batticaloa district alone. The army is working round the clock on road clearance in the cyclone affected areas of Kandy, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Amparai, Dambulla and Batticaloa.—SU. Reports reaching Colombo about the kalmunai situation reveal that everything has been razed to the ground — trees as well as buildings but no news of the people and their plight has yet come.—VK. The government or Sri Lanka has appointed Mr. Mohamed Lebbe Ahamed Refai as Ambassador to Yugoslavia.—IDPR. No. 256/78. The government of Sri Lanka has appointed Mr. B. P. Tilakaratne Ambassador of Sri Lanka in Japan.—IDPR No. 245/78. The government of Sri Lanka has appointed Mr. C. R. D. Desinghe Ambassador in China as Ambassador to Democratic People's Republic of Korea with residence in Peking.—IDPR No. 247/78. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has informed Heads of Diplomatic missions and others that the UN Disaster Relief Organisation UNDP and UNIDO had contributed

US dollars 65,000 to meet Sri Lanka's immediate requirements.—IDPR. The Flour Milling Corporation has taken steps to distribute Rs. 1 million worth of flour among the cyclone victims. The second MP for Harispattuwa Mr. P. Wijesiri disclosed in Parliament yesterday that Mr. A. C. de Zoysa has misused his position as the Chairman of the Air Ceylon Commission by giving an agency of Air Ceylon to Miller Travel Agency who's director is his wife.—DK. Egypt said yesterday no agreement had been reached on either the draft peace treaty with Israel or any of the annexed documents related to it. An Israeli Justice Minister said that Jews would continue to settle in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza strip once the local Palestinians were given self rule. S. Africa has agreed to a supervised election in Namibia but with reservations that will require further negotiations.—CDM. A string of sensational wall posters attacking late Chinese CP Leader Mao Tse Tung and praising Taiwan and the USA have opened the way to freedom of speech dramatised by an open discussion between foreigners and crowds of cheering people.—SU.

**TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28:** The President making the opening address at the tenth anniversary assembly of the Press Foundation of Asia said that no one disputed that the press should be free but the issue that has to be resolved is what the boundaries of this freedom are. The Minister of State in his keynote address of the Press Foundation sessions stated that the press today faces a new responsibility. The Press Foundation of Asia has been able to give the press of our countries a certain degree of stability and also some thrust to proceed in the right direction during certain dark periods said the PM who was chief guest at a luncheon meeting of the



Press Foundation of Asia. The Minister of Finance made an appeal to the TULF in Parliament to co-operate with the government as he said that this was perhaps the last time that national unity can be achieved.—CDN. A badly-shaken Justice Minister yesterday said that he estimated the death toll to be around 1000 and the damage about Rs. 100 million in the Eastern Province alone. Flood waters were receding all over the island except for a few areas where rising waters were causing anxiety and alarm.—CDM. The PM said in Parliament that the cyclone that struck Sri Lanka last Thursday was the worst in our history. The Batticaloa distillery which had its roof blown away by the cyclone was later looted of its entire stock of bottled arrack. A contingent of 100 prisoners of Welikada prison have volunteered to assist in relief work on the cyclone ravaged east coast; they will help to clear roads.—SU. Justice Minister said that there was no way out other than building an entirely new city in Batticaloa for there was nothing left, not even one place of worship was intact. As the tidal waves reached over 20-30 feet in height the entire coast of Kalmunai has been washed out during the recent cyclone.—DP. The PM speaking in Parliament on the budget debate requested the TULF to join the government as district ministers and work to build a better Sri Lanka. The first buses to go to Jaffna after the cyclone will operate today.—VK. Masayoshi Ohira 68-year old Christian became Japan's next PM after incumbent Takeo Fukuda suffered a stunning election reversal.—CDM. The release by Egypt and Israel of previously secret portions of their draft treaty package may signal that the middle east peace process is heading towards a successful conclusion diplomatic sources said. Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu publicly broke ranks with the Warsaw Pact this week-

end when he declared that Rumania had refused to sign a pact statement condemning the current Middle East peace talks and resisted moves to boost the alliance's defence spending at a summit meeting of the seven member alliance in Moscow last week.—CDM

### WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29:

The SLFP and TULF yesterday voted with the government to muster a two-thirds majority to pass two important bills—the National Housing (Amendment) Bill and the Consumer Protection Bill. The leaders of parties at a meeting held in parliament yesterday unanimously decided to postpone the elections to Local Authorities which were to have been held in January next year. Reports reaching the Ministry of Defence yesterday revealed that the machinery being used for the Mahaweli Development Scheme had not been damaged by the cyclone. Parliament yesterday unanimously passed the Sri Lanka Export Credit Corporation Bill. The GCE 'O' level examination will be held from December 12 to 20 as scheduled. The US has made a grant of US dollars 25,000 through UNICEF for the purchase of medical supplies for those affected by last week's cyclone.—CDN. Errant traders could be banned from carrying out and trading under the provisions of the Consumer Protection Law which was passed unanimously by Parliament yesterday. A Parliamentary co-ordinating committee comprising representatives of government and opposition parties was formed yesterday to co-ordinate relief work in cyclone hit areas. Sri Lanka's yawning trade gap with India will be the chief topic when trade and Shipping Minister holds bilateral trade talks in New Delhi next week.—SU. The GA Batticaloa has informed the government that the food situation was now under control but there was urgent need of clothes, utensils, lamps, oil,

candles, medicines etc.—DP. 50% of the residents of Polonnaruwa have been affected by the cyclone.—LD. The government has decided to appoint a commission to look into allegations that Tamil students were given more marks at the GCE 'A' Level examination.—DM. More than a thousand people were arrested and police teargassed and baton-charged supporters of India's opposition Congress Party in the Western Indian city of Nagpur yesterday. The 11 day strike by port and dock workers around India was called off last night. Soviet President Brezhnev said yesterday this year's grain harvest totalled 235 million tonnes, an all time record.—CDM. The governments in Cairo and Jerusalem were making efforts today to present compromise proposals which would enable continuation of the stalled peace talks in Washington. Ethiopia has publicly confirmed for the first time that it is receiving military assistance from East Germany. Soviet bloc governments have called their ambassadors home from Bucharest in a dramatic sharpening of tension with Romania.—SU.

X X X X X

### REVIEW

## Exploding The Gospel Of Mathew

by Jayantha Somasundaram

THE allegation that Tamil examiners discriminate in favour of Tamil-speaking students, is a charge that became very prominent once swabasha was introduced for Advanced Level and University examinations. It was this accusation of favouritism in admission to the Engineering faculty in 1970 that prompted the setting up of a committee of investigation. But notwithstanding the clean bill of health given by that committee,



the infamous practice of standardisation was introduced for university admissions in that academic year.

In practice it meant that the authorities decided in advance how many from each media would be selected; regardless of relative merit, by the arbitrary introduction of cut-out marks. Thus Sinhala medium students who got 227 marks were admitted to the Engineering Faculty at Peradeniya. But a Tamil-medium student had to get 250 marks to enter the same faculty.

This was followed in subsequent years by an equally notorious practice, also called 'standardisation,' whereby the mean marks in different media were equated. In practice this meant that if students in one media had scored higher marks on an average, if their frequency distribution was superior, they suffered, because mean marks were equated and they received new, lower, "standardised-marks."

Later came the district quota system where weightage was given to so-called backward districts. Once again behind the altruistic facade one could detect the vicious communalism lurking in the fiercely competitive business of university admissions.

The new J. R. Jayawardena government stepped in with a new, ambiguous, policy. While abolishing 'standardisation', ostensibly because it discriminated against the Tamils, "The Government increased the number of students admitted," pointed out A. Amirthalingam (*Lanka Guardian* No. 7), "thereby ensuring that deserving Tamil students are admitted, while at the same time ensuring the admission of all Sinhalese students who would have been admitted if standardisation was in operation." So that's how you have your cake and eat it as well.

While one arm of the Government seemed to be making concessions to the Tamil-media students, another

arm of the Government was enunciating the gospel according to Mathew. It was claimed that proof existed that Tamil-media students were helped by their examiners. A press conference was held at the Minister's Residence at which Cyril Mathew and Vice Chancellor P. P. G. L. Siriwardena made damning statements. "In the Jaffna campus, the results of the General Science Qualifying Examination revealed there were only first and second class passes, and not a single third class."

This high percentage 'A' passes and the first and second class passes in the Tamil medium indicate discrepancies and this matter will be inquired into, said Prof. P. P. G. L. Siriwardena, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka at the press conference on Friday.—*Ceylon Daily News* 13th November.

The Science Students Union of the Jaffna Campus has taken up the issue and exposed the Vice Chancellor's statements. They point out that there is no such exam as the GSQ held in this country anymore, the qualifying exam is called the First-in-Science. In any case, classes are not awarded for qualifying examinations, only for final ones. But Jaffna had no BSc exam in the Tamil medium. In the English medium, Tamil speaking candidates scored a failure of 35.6 percent.

	Tamil	Sinhalese
Failure	35.6	16.7
Ordinary pass	13.7	20.0
Second Class-lower	23.3	33.3
Second-Class-upper	15.1	20.0
First Class	12.3	10.0

Given above are the percentage of passes and failures among Tamil speaking and Sinhalese speaking candidates for the BSc examination held by the Jaffna campus.

The Peradeniya University Teacher's Association commenting on the Press Conference, has this to

say: These statements could only result in stirring up communal dissension.

So much for the Gospel of Mathew.

X X X

## SPOTLIGHT

### Anyone Else For A Free Press?

by Canax

THERE no doubt has been a lot of debate throughout the country, even confusion, after President Jayewardene's reference to the Free Press in his inaugural address to the Press Foundation of Asia meeting in Colombo the other day. But I have only His Excellency to thank for helping to clear up confusion on the subject in my own home. Which only goes to show, by the way, that you can live with a woman for years and still be a stranger to her thoughts.

It all started with her remark that the President had made a jolly good, no-nonsense speech. Truth is, she has been an admirer of his for years. So when J. R. talked about limitations on the Free Press, she interpreted it as being his bold and inimitable way of using the PFA forum to do what Finance Minister Ronnie had been too scared to announce in the Budget. Admiration aside, if it was for the good of the country, she was all for limitations.

I thought I was getting the drift of things when she put forward the theory that, in much the same way the Free Ration was cut, the government would soon introduce drastic, though necessary, cuts on the Free Press as well, restricting newspapers only to those who fell below the poverty line.

"But you can't eat newspapers!" I said.



She agreed with me up to a point. "Not except as a last resort," she replied. The way she saw it, no newspaper should be given to the needy for its nutritive value, for that could create complications; one family given, say, the "Daily News", might get no more than its daily requirements of starch and perhaps a pinch of protein, while another on a daily diet of the "Sun" might possibly get the added advantage of Vitamins A & D. Even more problematical, in her view, was that several big families in dire need of help might not, for instance, be able to stomach the "Tribune" at all, finding it too acid for their tender digestive tracts.

So nutritive value was not the criterion. The only valid and equitable basis for distribution was a newspaper's value. To ascertain that, one had to trust the proven expertise of the "bottle-man". My wife had worked out all the details and was all set to give His Excellency the benefit of her unsolicited advice. Her proposal was that the most needy families, the ones with the most dependants, should qualify for the paper with the most number of pages, and so on. Of course, ability to read on the part of any member of a family would automatically disqualify it regardless of all other considerations. After all, it was important to ensure that assistance was put to proper, not improper use.

Her masterstroke was the proposal for a Presidential Directive for all government departments and corporations to have regular "supplements" in the Press to help to increase, however slightly, a newspaper's value.

By then I decided to tell her the truth, but she simply wouldn't believe me. "You mean we actually pay good money for those papers?" she asked, incredulous. She had had this wonderful illusion that, like Santa Claus coming on Christmas

Eve, newspapers got slipped under our door, and everybody else's, before dawn every morning as part of the government's Free Press Subsidy Scheme.

Poor girl, she's taking it really hard. So hard she won't even look at the papers now.

\* \* \*

## BACKGROUND TO KENYA

### Mzee Jomo Kenyatta

by

Michael Wannypa LL.B (Cey.)  
Advocate of the Supreme Court  
of Sri Lanka, presently Resident  
Magistrate, Meru, Kenya

Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was undoubtedly the greatest leader that Africa had produced in this era. It came as a shock to all of us in Kenya, to hear that he had breathed his last on the 22nd of August, 1978 at Mombasa, at the sea coast.

From the time of independence in 1963 up to the time of his death, he was the undisputed leader of Kenya, and was more popularly called MZEE (MZEE in Swahili—means a respected old man), and was the father of the Nation. The late President freed the country from the bonds of colonialism, bound the various tribes in the country, with the unifying call of HARAMBEE (Unity in Swahili), and established a solid political and economic foundation in Kenya, and was respected as a statesman the world over. Today, Kenya and the world outside mourns as this revered leader is no more, but his rallying call for peace is felt all over in Kenya, and moreover is needed in turbulent Africa, and beyond.

On the 31st of August, 1978 MZEE Jomo Kenyatta was laid to rest in Parliament, in a specially

constructed mausoleum. Millions of mourners from all walks of life thronged the State House, Nairobi for more than a week, where his body lay in State, paying homage to their beloved leader. World leaders from all the continents came to bid farewell to this great statesman. Among the mourners from Africa were Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Idi Amin of Uganda, Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, Ahmed Abdalla of Comoro Islands; Somalia and Sudan were represented by their Vice Presidents. The Prime Minister of India Morarji Desai and the Pakistan leader General Zia Ul Haq were notable leaders from the East. Britain's Queen Elizabeth was represented by Prince Charles, while the Soviet Union was represented by its President Mr. A. M. Klychev. The US Government was represented by the Chief Justice Mr. Thurgood Marshall, and the UN Ambassador Andrew Young, Jeff Carter and others. All the other countries were represented by their Ministers or their envoys. This was a fitting finale for a leader who held sway over Kenya for the past 15 years.

Kenya ranks as a fast developing nation in Africa, and is lined as a third world country, and it follows a policy of non-alignment, but has close links with the west. It has a population of about 14 million people, who live mainly on agriculture, and its earnings from tourism, which centres around wild life, the sunny beaches of Mombasa, colourful scenery and the warm and generous hospitality of its people. Two of its major exports are tea and coffee. Kenya is self sufficient in food, and has quite a number of light (consumer) industries which have strengthened the economy. Attempts have been made to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, but it still



remains a difficult task. Foreign aid and foreign capital has flowed in liberally following the policy of the Government to encourage private investment. Nairobi, it's picturesque capital, is considered a mini London.

In the spheres of education, health services and transport, there have been vast changes after independence, but a lot remains to be done. The administration including the administration of justice is based on the British pattern. Politically there is only one party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), as the Kenya Peoples' Union was banned in 1969. The system of Government is that of a Parliamentary Democracy.

The major tribes in the country are the Kikuyus, Luos, Luhyas, Akamba, Meru, Embu, Masai, Turkana, Kalenjin and so on. Each tribe speaks it's own language, while most people speak Swahili the national language. English also has become a medium of communication between the various tribes and the races living in Kenya, due to years of British domination. Tribalism is a factor which cannot be ignored in politics, or in the administration, apart from having a fundamental impact on one's personal life. Most Kenyans are Christians by religion, and freedom of worship is guaranteed by the constitution, and it's practice could be seen by any visitor to Kenya, who will find it, a country full of contrasts, interesting and fascinating. Apart from the Africans who are the majority, Asians and Europeans also live in Kenya, in an amicable manner, while preserving their own characteristics.

This in short is the Kenya which was ruled by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, who lived up to the age of 89 years. When his life story is unfolded it is seen, that he was born as the son of a poor peasant called Ngengi, in or about 1889 (nobody is cer-

tain), at Ngenda, Gatundu Division, Kiambu District, Nairobi. His mother was Wambui. He was a Kikuyu by tribe. Kikuyu are the biggest tribe in Kenya. His parents named him Kamau Wa Ngengi. When he was about 12 years old, he on his own had gone to a school run by the Church of Scotland Mission, at Thogoto, where he studied for 5 years. There, he was baptised as Johnstone in 1914.

After sometime he had found employment in a farm, belonging to an European. In 1917 when he was employed by a contractor at Narok, he was called Kinyatta which by usage became Kenyatta. In 1922 he secured a job as a Stores Clerk cum meter reader in the Nairobi Town Council and obtained a salary of K. shillings 250/- p.m, a rather high salary for an African at the time. During this period he purchased a house at Dagoretti and converted a part of it into a shop. He bought a bicycle, and then a motorbicycle, and was the first African to obtain a driving licence in Kenya. These were all taboo to Africans before. Later he became an inspector of Water Supplies.

His active political life began in 1922 when he joined the Kikuyu Central Association when he was hardly 25 years of age, and he became a trade unionist. In 1929, Kenyatta was sent to England to represent the interest of the Kikuyus whose lands had been taken over and converted into the White Highlands, and when Africans had to carry identity cards wherever they went, and were treated like dirt by the British rulers. In 1930 he became the editor of MWIGWI-THANIYA (conciliator) a nationalist newspaper published in Swahili. Kenya was then another Rhodesia where discrimination was practised against the African in their own land.

(To be Concluded)

## POEM

### Why?

Mother Nature!

Bounteous giver, source of life, Why did you turn your scorn upon this race of men? Wherefore your fury and ire; like Goddess Kali roused from slumber and full of wrath who sweeps across the world and leaves devastation in her wake; why go berserk in this our beauteous isle and ravage the land from shore to shore leaving scarceley anything

intact? Why choose this place to rage and storm and rant and roar to create havoc in our midst? You have turned demon, virago, fiend! Has your fury abated? Have you completed your mission of destruction

for the sins we do not know? Do you feel justified to see the horror and the pain? Does your heart

feel glad that men have suffered and died; that they starve and wander leafless without a place to rest their heads; to see the labour of their hands and minds laid

to waste, to ruin? You are cold and cruel and do not feel remorse. When the very shelter of man's life, his

ha/en and refuge becomes a hell, what then does he do? When the very source of life, the giver turns destroyer where



then does he go? To think I sat on  
these self-same  
shores and watched the ripples and  
soft waves break  
and felt the wafting breeze on

my face  
when I sought  
solace from the world of men.  
But now

You who were  
a balm to soothe the trembling of my  
soul have turned  
traitor. Ruthless, hard and  
cruel. All

the love I  
had for you is gone.  
all faith shattered

and now I  
Know not where to go or to  
whom to turn!

Vinodini

—O— —O— —O—

## LETTER

### Discriminative Taxation Proposals And Higher Salaries

Sir,

Although I still have my doubts about the timing of it (the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, himself having stated a few months ago that seven million people of this Country are living on the verge of abject poverty) I welcome the exemption from Income Tax and other concessions showered by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, on the public sector workers but I cannot understand why he has discriminated against the workers in the private sector in his Taxation Proposals. Public sector workers including bureaucrats have been completely freed from the payment of Income Tax and given a ten percent salary rise irrespective of the quanta of salaries which they now draw but the economically hard-pressed worker in the private sector who

earns over Rs. 1,000/- per month is liable to Income Tax which will cause a lot of heartburning and resentment. Do not the workers in the private sector work for the benefit and betterment of Sri Lanka? Are planters, engineers, accountants, managers and other executives in the Private Sector less useful to the Country than their counterparts in the public sector? If their services are appreciated, why have they been discriminated against in regard to taxation?

It was not long ago that, in an article of his which was published in the press, Mr. Esmond Wickremasinghe whose views are respected and heeded, advocated the exemption from Income Tax the salaries of all workers up to a limit of Rs. 3,500 per month or Rs. 42,000 per year. But Mr. Ronnie de Mel has gone farther than this in respect of public servants.

I feel that all workers should be treated on an equal footing as far as taxation is concerned. And in view of the low value of the rupee and the high cost of living, the tax free allowance of all Income Tax payers should be raised to at least Rs. 2,000 per month or Rs. 24,000 per year.

I was pleased to read that all pensions will be free of Income Tax. Similarly, the tax of up to 15% which is levied at present on withdrawals of Employees' Provident Fund benefits and gratuities at the time of retirement, should be abolished. Employees who contribute to Provident Fund in the private sector do not get monthly pensions.

I trust that suitable amendments will be made at the Committee Stage of the Budget to ease the hardships of the private sector workers also which will only be just and equitable. Incidentally, the workers in the private sector are not legally entitled to the ten per cent wage increase which all workers including the lethargic

bureaucrats in the public sector will receive.

I have no personal axe to grind being an employee on a Government-owned estate but I am at the same time employer of over 200 workers in the private sector who have my sympathy and whom I prefer to the pampered arones in the public sector.

ROBERT HARLEY,

Monte Cristo Estate,  
Nawalapitiya,  
20.11.78.

Mr. Harley, an old Tribune subscriber, died on November 22. This letter was written two days before his death. Over the years Mr. Harley has written many letters to the Tribune on the problems of the plantation industry—

—Editor.

—O— —O— —O—

## YOUTH

Youth is not a time of life, it is a state of mind. We grow old only by deserting our ideals. Years wrinkle the skin but to give up enthusiasm wrinkles the soul. Worry, doubt, self-distrust, fear and despair—these are the long, long years that bow the head and turn the growing spirit back to dust. There is in the hearts of all of us, whether seven or seventy, the love of wonder and love of life. We are as young as our faith and as old as our doubt.....as young as our self confidence..... and as old as our fear..... as young as our hope and as old as our despair.

Samuel Ullman.



# Confidentially

## Railway's Tragedy

IS IT NOT A FACT that CGR has failed to make the progress the present UNP government promised to achieve when it came to power 18 months ago? That the Minister of Transport had boasted that the CGR would function efficiently in three months? That six such three-month periods have come and gone and the Railway is still in square one? That in some matters like the Catering Service, things have gone from bad to worse? That when the Minister was on his Haj pilgrimage recently, the Junior Minister had addressed a press conference in which he had said, among other things, that nothing more could be done in the CGR until the new locomotives and carriages arrived in the course of 1979? That this is undoubtedly a confession of failure? That it will be recalled that in 1969-70 the CGR had fewer locomotives than now and that it had run a far better service then? That the secret of success then was that the locomotives, carriages and waggons were serviced, maintained and kept in repair without procrastination? That the deterioration had started from 1971 when the LSSP's Transport Ministry in the UF government kicked out efficient managers and replaced them with union favourites? That this feather-bedding of a select trade union coterie had led the rot in the CGR? That, step by step, from 1971 the work of repairing, servicing and maintaining locomotives and the rolling stock at Ratmalana had come to a grinding halt? That workers at running sheds also went to sleep and neither cleaned nor oiled the engines or carriages? That as a result of this, engines

and carriages became "unservicable" and were left to rust in the yards? That supervisors could not get any work done because union officials were more powerful than these supervisors? That any supervisor who tried to enforce discipline was thrown out at the behest of the Union? That when the Government tried belatedly to enforce discipline, go-slow and strikes became the order of the day? That when the UNP came to power the CGR was on the verge of total collapse?

IS IT NOT A FACT that in the first euphoria of UNP's victory a great deal of boloney was promised? That the new brooms swept with vigour for a while? That the LSSP hardliners were moved out from positions of strength? That instead of picking on efficient supervisors to run the Railways, the new Ministry began to rely on the kingpins of the UNP's CGR union officialdom even to choose supervisors and departmental heads? That as a result of this new kind of feather-bedding, the Ratmalana Workshop has still not attained even a fraction of the pre-1970 outturn of work? That there are still a very large number of locomotives, carriages and waggons in various stages of break-down—and most of them can be easily repaired and put back on the tracks? That instead of doing this, the CGR—Ministry as well as Department—have found an easy way out of their difficulties by making everyone in authority believe that the existing rolling stock and locomotives were inadequate and that the "unservicable" ones were beyond repair and that the only thing to do was to import a large number of locomotives, carriages and other rolling stock? That this is what is being done? That this is a crime against the nation? That new imports can be justified only if the repair and service facilities are run at least at minimum levels

of efficiency? That it is for this reason that World Bank complex has refused to touch the CGR? IS IT NOT TRUE TOO that imports even on a massive scale will only help the CGR to have a facade of an efficient service for a short while? That the new locomotives, carriages and waggons will soon suffer the fate of the old without the necessary maintenance and servicing? That such tragedies have overtaken railway systems in developing countries where ideological slogans and predilections—be they LSSP, SLFP or UNP—prevent efficient administration? That the *Time* magazine of November 7, 1978 had a revealing report entitled *The Great Railway Disaster*? That it concerned the 1,160 mile railway built by the Chinese in Zambia and Tanzania? "...The equipment was only two years old and already showed signs of neglect. Toilets that the Chinese once scrubbed meticulously were now subjected to desultory and occasional swabbings by Tanzanian and Zambian workers...The express finally chugged into its Zambian terminal eleven hours late. We were lucky at that. Freight trains normally require 20 days or more to make the round trip, owing to equipment failures, crashes, derailments and endemic small-scale pilfering. About 30% of the 2,100 freight cars, and up to a third of the locomotives, are out of commission at a time."? That what has happened in Tanzania-Zambia can well take place here if the Ratmalana Workshop and the Running Sheds of the CGR function as they do now? That the completely brand new railway system in Tanzania—with new locomotives, new carriages, in fact, new everything—has begun to collapse because the service and maintenance facilities do not function properly? That this fate will predictably overtake the new locomotives and carriages of the CGR. If matters are not put right immediately?



For All Your Requirements of

# PAPER

Manufacturers of

**MONITOR'S EXERCISE BOOKS**

**DRAWING BOOKS**

**ACCOUNTS BOOKS**

**C. R. BOOKS ETC. ETC.**

## GLOBE INDUSTRIES

95, PEER SAIBO STREET, COLOMBO - 12.

TELEPHONE: 32992



A Studio Times Publication

# Handbook

for the

## Ceylon Farmer

by Agricola

The book is authoritative in an unpretentious way. It involves you and does not intimidate.

—Sunday Observer 8/10/78

*Available at*

**STUDIO TIMES**

Times Building  
Colombo 1.

**Revised Edition**

**400 pages**

**Illustrated and updated**

**Price Rs. 65/-**