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# TRIBUNE





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# Letter From The Editor

TRIBUNE HAS RECEIVED a number of letters, this week, from emotionally-aroused Tamil readers who are indignant that *Tribune* has editorially attacked the policies and actions of the TULF in the context of the recent communal disturbances. The (unsaid) assumption seems to be that *Tribune's* editor being a Tamil (by the accident of birth) should "understand" the Tamil cause and therefore unquestioningly endorse everything said and done by the TULF, especially its leadership: that every Tamil (including those condescendingly and contemptuously described by the Tamils in Jaffna as "Colombo Tamils") should accept the TULF not only because it won a majority of votes in 18 of the 28 electorates dominated by Tamil-speaking people (including Muslims) but also because it is thought necessary to maintain a facade of Tamil "unity". It is sometimes difficult to forget the accident (karmic or otherwise) that results in birth in a particular community, but *Tribune* has at all times endeavoured to rise above emotional sectarian considerations. No doubt there have been occasions when we have slipped or faltered, but every time we have done so we have tried to make amends. It is not easy to achieve, maintain and sustain editorial independence and objectivity, but over the years our readers know that our mistakes are honestly made—either through ignorance of facts or bias that stems from inadequate knowledge. Political journalism is a difficult and exacting discipline. It is a strenuous, delicately sensitive and ticklish day-to-day exercise. What has prompted us to stray into this apologia of introspective self-analysis, on this occasion, is the fact that a number of Tamil readers have written to us to say that *Tribune* has been unfair to the TULF vis-a-vis its role in, and its responsibility for, the current communal disturbances. We have picked on one letter as the most typical written with a touch of historical plausibility but in harsh and acidic idiom, and we have published it elsewhere in this issue. The writer is an old *Tribune* reader, S. Mahalingam of Jaffna. What he suggests is that fairness and objectivity can be maintained only by criticising and scolding the Sinhala government and the Sinhala chauvinists (to him all Sinhalese seem to be communal extremists) all the time and at every turn, and at the same time tolerate and approve antics, gimmicks and demagogic rhetoric of the TULF as the acceptable politicking of a discriminated minority. Over the years *Tribune* has criticised racialists and extremists of all communities and we do not think it necessary to repeat our views on chauvinism, or on the proliferation of communal discrimination or on the escalation of racial intolerance, every time we choose to comment on current developments. What we had urged in the issue of September 10 (and also in earlier and later issues) is that people inside the Jaffna peninsula should shed their frog-in-the-well inhibitions that can lead in all matters only to egocentric self-justification. It is for this reason that that we had stressed in our issue of September 10: "the TULF must know the extent of its responsibility, however indirect and vicarious it may be, for the recent communal conflagration. Such realisation will mark the beginning of new political wisdom essential for the TULF to play its role in the political life of the country." We once again endorse and commend this thought to all our Tamil readers, especially in Jaffna. Furthermore, the Tamil in Jaffna will soon discover that *Tribune*, in re-iterating this, over and over again, is motivated not by a desire to whitewash everything done by the Sinhalese communalists but by a determination to place matters in the correct perspective as we see it. The Tamil in Jaffna will also soon discover that *Tribune*, in propounding this thought, is not merely echoing the sentiments of a large number of people all over the island, of all communities, with unlimited goodwill to the Tamil minority, but is also reflecting the feelings a very, very, large number of Vanni and Eastern province Tamils and also Tamil-speaking Muslims in the North and the East (especially those so far favourably disposed to the TULF and even carried away by the mirage of Eelam). To admit one's mistakes and responsibility is not weakness but strength—and this is true even of a political party. To realise how far one has contributed to a tragic situation is wisdom. KNOW THYSELF is still a supreme truth. It is not necessary, as we have often stressed, for the TULF to beat its breast and shout *Mea Culpa* from the housetops, but it is enough to act in a way that is realistic and prudent without indulging in unnecessary rhetoric. In the last ten days or thereabouts, the TULF leadership seems to have come round to this view. All talk about a war of liberation for Eelam has been "laid by" (even to foreign correspondents), and TULF leaders have got down to the task of rehabilitation and the restoration of normalcy.

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

### J. R. Jayawardene

Colombo, September 27.

The speech made by the Prime Minister in the NSA on September 23 when he introduced the Bill to amend the Constitution can be regarded as a landmark in the contemporary political history of the country. After explaining the reasons why he and the Party considered the amendments essential he touched on a number of matters of current significance—the problems created by the Police in Nuwara Eliya, the Habarana incident where some miscreants had fired at a tourist car, his intention to release prisoners like Rohana Wijeweera and his reply to the Buddhist Congress stalwarts who opposed the ending of the system of standardisation for university admissions. His statement on these matters showed that he had emerged as a leader and statesman of the first rank. There is no doubt that if he continues to grow in stature in the way he has done so far, after becoming the Prime Minister, he will outdo and outshine nearly all political leaders the country has produced in the modern period.

In his speech on September 23, he outlined the reasons for the amendment to effect a major change in the Constitution and the methodology of Government. J. R. Jayawardene's amendment seeks to graft a form of presidential rule as the chief executive power into the Westminster type system of parliamentary democracy. But the system envisaged by Jayawardene has unique features which, he says, were devised as being suitable for this country at the present stage of its political growth. The sovereignty of the people will vest in the President as the Chief Executive Power and in the National State Assembly which will exercise supreme legislative power. The Judiciary will be independent but will administer laws enacted by the legislature. The President, who will be the chief executive, will be elected directly by the people—except the first President will be the present Prime Minister—once in six years. He will appoint the Prime Minister and appoint Ministers to the Cab-

net from members of the NSA. The President will also appoint Ministers outside the Cabinet, but such Ministers will also be members of the NSA. Unlike the Presidents of the USA and certain other countries, who have the right to appoint Ministers outside the legislature, in Sri Lanka all Ministers will be members of the NSA.

In a presidential system of gov-

ernment there is a great deal to be said in favour of Ministers—technocrats and think-tanks—from outside of the legislature, but in Sri Lanka at the present juncture it may be wise to have Ministers who can be at least challenged in the Assembly. Though the freedom of the press is assured, the Fourth Estate in Sri Lanka is neither developed enough nor powerful enough

## MISTAKES

### COVER

ON THE COVER, this week, we have an aerial view of the Koneswaram Temple on Swamy Rock in Trincomalee. We have focussed attention on Trincomalee to show that mistakes can be made and that it is possible to correct them even if it is late—before further damage is done. Whilst one can understand the cry for Eelam as a cry of frustration against discrimination, it should have been no more than a platform stunt to win votes at the hustings and also to give a warning to the leaders of the majority community that the point of no return on the crossroads of national unity had been reached. But to take this cry of Eelam further, (especially by making propaganda in the foreign press), about Tamil Liberation Armies, about Arms pouring in from many countries, and about Trincomalee being the capital of Eelam (with *Newsweek* throwing in Napoleon for JR to chew on) was a mistake of the first magnitude. And the consequences have been serious. But there are indications that the TULF leadership—a number of TULF MPs are now abroad to attend conferences but we hope not to make stupid propaganda which cannot bring the Tamils any help or solace but only trouble—has (temporarily, at least but permanently we hope) "laid by" Eelam and are concentrating on meeting the Prime Minister to discuss how the problems of the many thousands of refugees still in Jaffna (many of whom understandably do not want to return to places of work from which they were brutally thrown out) can be resolved. It is time that the Tamils in Ceylon realised that the TULF has made many mistakes. To mention just a few: it was a mistake to take Eelam seriously and use it as anything more than an election slogan, it was a mistake for TULF speakers in the Vavuniya area during the election campaign to say that all Sinhalese would be chased out way beyond Medawachchiya right to Anuradhapura (invoking dormant age-old Sinhala fears of Chola invasions and providing communal incendiaries in the NCP with an excuse to organise anti-Tamil pogroms) and it was a mistake to print covers for booklets showing that Eelam covered very nearly half of Sri Lanka. These and many more mistakes were committed. It was fortunate that the powder keg of Sinhalese communalism did not blow up more than it did—this was because men of goodwill from among the Sinhalese and the Government were able to bring the situation under control. The biggest mistake of the TULF is still failure to have a pragmatic and realistic assessment of the situation in the country outside of the Jaffna peninsula. Every mistake can be corrected and the TULF and those Tamils, who still have faith in it, should follow the sane advice given by the *Madras Hindu*—a paper that cannot be branded as anti-Tamil—that the TULF should "once and for all forget the demand for a separate state." Everybody makes mistakes, but must not hesitate to correct them. *Tribune* made a serious mistake in the rough and tumble of the events at the height of EXODUS '77. We had been told by a source, which in the past has been reliable, that 58% of the Ceylon Tamils lived outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces. A correspondent from Jaffna has now sent us a letter (it is published elsewhere in this issue) quoting the 1971 Census to show that 74.2% of the Ceylon Tamils live in the Northern and Eastern Province whilst only 25.8% lived outside. Fr. Tissa Balasuriya cited *Tribune* to state that 58% of the Ceylon Tamils were outside the North and the East. Our mistake did not cause bloodshed, but it was inaccurate and misleading. We regret the error and we are happy to correct it.



to keep in check Ministers not in the NSA.

Criticism against the Amendment has already come from LSSP's Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, reputedly the father of the Republican Constitution of 1972, to say that the Amendment would result in the creation of a Presidential dictator not answerable to the NSA. The President is answerable to the people and his power is curbed and checked in many ways by the NSA which has the power to vote funds. Though the President does not fall each time the Prime Minister and the Cabinet are defeated in the NSA, there are undoubted limits to his power. It will be interesting to see the logic propounded by those who framed the 1972 Constitution which we had branded as a caricature and an abortion of what a Constitution should be.

Tribune had opposed the 1972 Constitution right from the time it was placed before the mock Constituent Assembly which treated all criticisms, however well intentioned and constructive, as hostile anti-social effusions of "reactionaries". The framers of the 1972 Constitution had assumed the mantle of divine infallibility and the Constitution was rushed through with such haste that sane-minded people were taken aback. The 1972 Constitution claimed to enthrone parliamentary democracy and make the sovereignty of the people all supreme by making it vest solely in the NSA. The NSA was the sole repository of all executive, legislative and judicial power. The Prime Minister, a kind of super constitutional dictator, appointed the titular Head of State, the President, a feature unknown in any other Constitution. The President had unlimited powers but he could use them only at the behest of the Prime Minister. The 1972 Constitution was an attempt to have a peculiar kind of "left" dictatorship.

In the five years of the 1972 Constitution, the country has witnessed anarchy and lawlessness under the garb of constitutional propriety bestowed by Emergency Regulations and also special laws the like of which have not been seen in civilised society. The Republican Constitution of 1972 did away with the separation of powers. If one believed in the parlia-

mentary system and a Cabinet form of Government, the separation of powers is an imperative concomitant without which a government would either become farcical or a dictatorship. The regime of Mrs. Bandaranaike, after 1972, was both a farce as well as a dictatorship. And for this, the Constitution of 1972 was solely responsible. And it is also a fact that the Constitution was directly responsible for increasing the frustration among the Tamil minorities and for driving them to seek refuge in the desperation of a separatist Eelam.

With this background, everybody interested in these matters will take Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's comments with a pinch of salt. It is yet to be seen whether he will advance any worthwhile or constructive suggestions to make the Constitution any better. It has been our view that the 1972 Constitution must be replaced completely. Mr. Jayawardene seems to think that he can do this by making amendments which will bring about the wholesale changes without convening a fresh Constituent Assembly. He has announced that a Standing Committee of the NSA would examine the present Constitution with regard to making other changes—practically every aspect of the Constitution will come in for scrutiny. It has been indicated that Sri Lanka will opt for proportional representation—a very wise and welcome change. All members of the NSA will function in Advisory Committees attached to each Ministry and thereby take an active part in the business of government. There will also be changes to resolve the Tamil minority problem. The Criminal Justice Commission Law and the Administration of Justice Law will be repealed and the madcap system of law that had been adopted in the period after 1970, and more especially after 1972,—when many judges became tools of the Executive—will be replaced by a sane and sensible system on the lines that had obtained earlier (with certain modifications and changes).

Those who are aware (especially those who have a little inside knowledge) of the manner in which government had been conducted, and how the law had been administered in the years after 1972, have

begun to heave a sigh of relief after listening to the speech made by the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, on September 23. We ourselves had listened to the speech when it was relayed over the SLBC on the evening of September 23. Those present in the NSA on that memorable occasion have told us that this speech, lasting one hour and twentyfive minutes, was made without a written text and was impromptu so far such a speech could be.

Those of us who have had the opportunity to listen to the many memorable speeches made in the Legislature of this country during the forty six years after the Donoughmore Constitution will rank this speech as one of the greatest—not merely for the oratory but for its content in the context of current problems. There have been speeches of greater oratorical splendour, there have been longer speeches which kept listeners spell bound, there have been speeches that brought changes or disasters—but this speech, coming as it did at a time when the country has reached the crossroads of stable existence and national unity, was historic as well as (we repeat) memorable. It showed that there is a future yet for the country, and we are aware that many people who had despaired of the future (and were contemplating joining a new exodus out of the country) have decided to stay and co-operate with the Jayawardene government in an attempt to bring this country back to the rails of normalcy, stability and meaningful existence to reach out to a better life.

Many, like ourselves, who have entertained mental reservations and sceptical doubts about J. R. Jayawardene as a politician, were carried away by the transparent honesty and sincerity that seemed to run through every line of this speech. The compelling impact of events in recent times and the statements and actions of J. R. Jayawardene—even though we wish that some statements and actions had been different—have left us no alternative but to view him in a new light.



It seems no longer possible to regard J. R. Jayawardene as the politician we had once thought he was.

It will be recalled that in our issue of July 30, 1977, shortly after he became the Prime Minister we had stated: “...As we go to press we heard the Prime Minister’s speech over the radio as he delivered it from that Pathiruppu in the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy. It was an inspiring and soul-stirring speech. No Prime Minister of Ceylon has ever made a speech such as this before. He stressed that he was not a UNP Prime Minister, but the Prime Minister of the whole country. He appealed to the UNPers not to ask for special favours because they were UNP or because they had worked for the UNP in the elections. He spoke of the precepts of the Buddha and pointed out that to a Buddhist all other religions were sacrosanct as his. He wanted the Buddha’s precepts applied to ensure communal peace and amity. This message to the nation is a landmark in the history of party politics and parliamentary government in this country. If what he set out in the message is implemented by this Government there will be a significant and qualitative change in the political life of this country. We live in exciting times and the Prime Minister’s speech has brought a new element of hope for the future.”

Even while this speech was being made, the enemies of peace and stability, the enemies of the UNP, the enemies of communal amity, and all the anti-national and anti-social elements, were engaged in disturbing the peace with lawless acts of violence. In history there are always many ifs of what people think a leader, a Prime Minister, should have or could have done at times of crisis, but on this occasion it is difficult to see how anyone could have done better considering all the circumstances. Mistakes are inevitable but what is important is how quickly they are rectified.

One politician *Tribune* had consistently been critical of since the inception of the paper in 1954 is Mr. J. R. Jayawardene. At the beginning, he was “Yankee Dick”—an opprobrious nickname bestowed on him by an aggressive Left. For sometime, JR was the “reactionary” opponent of “progressive” SWRD. And, from the time of his much publicised March on Kandy in 1957 to denigrate the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Agree-

ment, *Tribune* had viewed JR as one who used communal slogans to further sectarian party interests. At that time, JR was regarded by all non-UNP circles as an “arch-reactionary” opposed to all “progressive” and “radical” measures—economic, political and cultural.

Right through the 1960s, the *Tribune* went on the basis that JR was the spearhead of the extreme rightwing “reactionary” caucus within the UNP whilst Dudley Senanayake was the “liberal” who did not mind “progressivism”. How these two disparate “images” of the two UNP leaders was created and sustained is hard to say, but in the light of what has happened after the death of Dudley Senanayake, it is necessary for researchers to examine afresh the political record of J. R. Jayawardene from 1935 (when he first entered the political arena in distinctive style) to see whether the “image” that he was an ultra-right “reactionary” is true or whether it is another case of being sinned against than sinning.

There is, from our point of view, an imperative need for an independent and objective analytical study-in-depth of J. R. Jayawardene in the period from 1935 to 1973 when he became the Leader of the UNP. After the death of Dudley Senanayake comes a new phase in the political life and history of J. R. Jayawardene. But, the shadow of the “reactionary” political image of the fifties and sixties has kept dogging his footsteps even after 1973 when he endeavoured to establish himself as the leader of the UNP and as a national figure of consequence—and, older people who still remembered his reputation as a “reactionary” found it difficult to accept that the post-1973 JR as a different man.

But the newer and younger generation, who knew nothing of the political and polemical complexities of the fifties and sixties, have willingly accepted the J. R. Jayawardene of the post-1973 era without question. They have been willing to listen to him as the leader of a re-furbished and re-structured UNP with its new programme without being inhibited by visions of his past.

The results of the July 21 elections showed that it was not only the younger generation that had voted him to power in a landslide victory but that a large number of

the older traditionally anti-UNP voters had also supported him and his Party. (This may have been in part a protest vote against the misdeeds of the SLFP and also against the ULF for having lent support to the SLFP, but protest vote, or no protest vote, there was a general willingness to give JR a chance to fulfil his promises and show that he was not the “reactionary” he had been pictured to be in the past).

What he has said and done after he came to power shows that he is no more “reactionary” than Mrs. Bandaranaike, and that in many matters he has outlined policies no different from what Mrs. Bandaranaike and the SLFP always wanted but were not able to formulate in concrete terms. If he tilts to the West, he does so openly, but it is a tilt no more than the tilt Mrs. Bandaranaike had practised with great secretiveness and under a smokescreen of jargon of leftist vintage. The so-called “progressive” and “radical” measures of the SLFP (and the LSSP-CP) all turned out to be self-defeating, as *Tribune* had anticipated.

Many of the “progressive” and “leftwing” think-tanks of the UF-SLFP era now admit, some privately and others openly, that practically all the so-called “radical measures” which the UF and the SLFP had thought would usher in the “socialist” millennium had flopped, and had even boomeranged. Some of them have told *Tribune*, for instance, that all attempts to set up state farms and youth farms on the collective principle had proved miserable failures—*Tribune* had always said they would prove to be failures in our present ethos—and that Sri Lanka had to pass through a phase of small capitalist farms before the higher stage of collectivisation could be achieved. They now say that, in the realities of the conditions in the island today, the only practical and feasible method of developing agriculture, for instance, is through small and medium private farms with a leavening of gentlemen farmers to give zest to the farming community; that a few large scale (well run) state farms could be operated to set the pace but to make the state farms work efficiently and profitably there should be a few large private farms to offer competition.

Whilst it is true that a number of the intellectual ideologues



who had been advisers to the last government may now pretend to have "turned over" a new leaf for opportunistic reasons, there are others of great political integrity who sincerely feel that they had been wrong earlier and are willing to give JR's "mixed economy", with weightage to private enterprise and the small man, a chance to increase production and productivity in the island.

In this situation, the question whether the old "image" of J. R. Jayawardene as a "reactionary" in the fifties and sixties is (or was) correct. And if it was, is the present JR a completely new transformation? Or, as some suggest, has he donned the sheep's clothing of being a "progressive" and a "socialist" to pursue the wolf-like policies of the "reactionary" anxious to sell the country to the capitalists and the multi-nationals? Or was the old pre-1973 image of JR as "a reactionary" wrong, unfair and malicious? Was he no more "reactionary" than many who passed off as "progressive"? These are some of the questions that must be answered.

But to answer them, it is necessary to know the past with some degree of accuracy—so far as social scientists and political analysts can determine these matters. *Tribune*, until very recently, had tacitly accepted the "image" of JR as a "reactionary" (and Dudley as a "liberal"), and it had, therefore, found it difficult to accept the new post-1973 "image" of JR. For a considerable time, after he became the Leader of the UNP, *Tribune* was inclined to believe that his "transformation" was only an opportunistic gimmick to win the July elections and fulfil what was regarded as his long-standing ambition of becoming the Prime Minister of this country.

To get true answers to these questions, it will also become necessary for the researchers, historians and political analysts to define such terms and "reactionary" and "progressive" in the context of our politics. Most people have tended to accept simplistic definitions by which populism and populist measures were regarded as "progressive" whilst all other measures (which did not appease "poor" voters immediately

with electoral bribes and subsidies) as "reactionary". Language chauvinism, racial jingoism and religious intolerance were hailed as "progressive" by some whilst they were condemned as "reactionary" by others. But these two differing groups were willing to get together into no-contest electoral agreements or even into a united front on a common programme, to win elections. In the name of "progressivism", the LSSP and CP were willing to make common cause with the SLFP, whilst for the same reason leftwing parties led by people like Philip Gunawardene were willing to collaborate with the UNP.

And if one examines various measures suggested for the development of agriculture and industry by the UNP, SLFP, LSSP and CP, it would be difficult to draw a line between what is "reactionary" and what is "progressive". This was seen in no uncertain way in the way that the "progressive" LSSP-CP-SLFP United Front knocked at doors of the IMF and the World Bank to obtain loans, crumbs, and accommodation they had condemned as "reactionary", "imperialistic", and "neo-colonialist", earlier.

The Prime Minister in his speech on September 23 said that Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel had gone round the world with a begging bowl in the same way that a Trotskyite Finance Minister (Dr. N. M. Perera) had gone round several times earlier. Is the CRA system of creating new capitalists different or any more "progressive" than creating capitalists in any other way? Was it not considered "progressive" to uphold everything secular? And was it not unbelievable to find "progressives" helping to create a theocratic buddhist state in which religious, racial and linguistic minorities were reduced to a second class status?

The words "progressive" and "reactionary" have lost all meaning in Sri Lanka in the light of the conduct and actions of politicians and political parties—from the Left to the Right in the last forty five years. (By the way, one suggestion we will press at the appropriate time is to get the name of the island back to the good old nomenclature

CEYLON. The name SRI LANKA now has so many horrible memories and has left behind such a bitter taste in the mouths of so many people that a change would be welcome).

To come back to J. R. Jayawardene, LSSP's *Socialist Nation*, 23/9/77 has a review of the new biography of the Prime Minister by T. D. S. A. Dissanayake. The review is by a writer of great competence, fluency, and plausibility, and goes under the pen name of AMALI. The most important point made—relevant to the remarks we have made in this note—is that Dissanayake's attempt to sell J. R. Jayawardene as a "reform-oriented" politician who had been circumscribed by the leaders of the UNP in the fifties could not bear examination. "...More, J. R. is not so much new as he has been thoroughly misunderstood right through his long and chequered, and Bruce-like political career. Well, that is what the author would have us believe. A reform-oriented thinker from 'his salad days' when his judgement was green." JR was compelled to compromise his reformist principles and was circumscribed by the rigid discipline of the UNP in his role as the first Finance Minister of independent Lanka.....

Reviewer Amali suggests that the present JR is neither new nor a transformation and doubts whether he was ever "reform-oriented". But there are, Amali admits, certain developments which need probing. The complaint that biographer Dissanayake has not done a job of it as an academic minded and objective researcher or as a sharp, hard-boiled critical news-minded political commentator, is neither here nor there. This is why we have ourselves suggested that it was very necessary to understand the past (and therefore the present) of J. R. Jayawardene. And for this a critical study of his life has to be undertaken. In the meantime, we have to see what his policies and actions do for the present. LSSP leaders and the paper *Socialist Nation* suggest that all this mumbo jumbo (personality cult) about the new JR and the new UNP is just plain humbug. We ourselves cannot claim or pretend to be prophets able to pierce the barriers of perception and truth. We can only comment on events as they unfold themselves and be witness to the history that is made.



SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Sept. 2 — Sept. 17

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—Dina-  
mina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;  
SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadipa;  
DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chintha-  
mani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2:** Those seeking jobs in countries where there are good prospects of finding employment, such as in the Middle East, will no longer have to enter into bonds before obtaining their passports; this is one of the relaxation of rules in the issue of passports now introduced on the orders of the Foreign Minister. The PM has entrusted Mr. R. Premadasa with the task of rehabilitating the people affected during the recent disturbances, the leader of the Opposition said yesterday. Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, said that the aim of the government was to create a new Asian identity. Two parliamentary delegations from Japan, one led by the Japanese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the other led by the Director, Standing Committee for Posts and Telecommunications, will arrive in Sri Lanka this week. The Canadian High Commission in Sri Lanka has made a donation of Rs. 25,000 to the Rotary clubs of Colombo area to be utilized for relief and rehabilitation of refugees. The railway authorities have made arrangements to have armed escorts on long-distance trains for some time, official sources said yesterday. 1500 pounds of vegetables donated by the residents of Nuwara Eliya were yesterday distributed among the refugees housed at Saraswathy Hall, Bambalapitiya. The Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs has completed a new scheme with regard to pension payments to public servants. The Leader of the Opposition has written to the PM requesting an early conference with him and the Ministers regarding the rehabilitation of persons displaced from their homes following the outbreak of violence in the past two weeks. Mr. Dayawansa Perera, transport agent at Bambalapitiya, was produced before the Colombo South magistrate; he is suspected of having given telephone calls threatening the Tamil people in the area. Col. C. A. Dharmapala one of the island's most senior soldiers has assumed duties as Secretary of the Ministry of Defence. Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe who was handling both Defence and Foreign Affairs will now be in charge of the latter Ministry only. The Frauds Bureau was called in yesterday to investigate an alleged fraud amounting to nearly half a million rupees in the Ceramics Corporation—CDN. The PM, Ministers, Deputy Ministers, the Speaker, Deputy Speaker and Deputy Chairman of Committees and all other members of the NSA have been called upon to declare their assets and liabilities to the Speaker by the 4th November. Thousands of tenants all over the island have appealed to Mr. R. Premadasa to investigate the activities of Rent Boards and particularly their Chairmen. The Minister of Education has ruled that with the abolition of the compulsory study of Principles of Socialism

for HNCE students they should have an extra period on Cultural Heritage. A successful dialogue between the Police and representatives of shanties, tenement houses and gardens was held on Wednesday evening to help Tamils to resettle in their homes and business places. A fraud involving the misappropriation of cash amounting to Rs. 400,000 was detected yesterday at the Ceramics Corporation at Piliyandala—CDM. About 200 political appointments in the State Trading Textiles Corporation, made during the last months of the SLFP government were cancelled yesterday. The Chairman of the Tea Council of Australia said yesterday that if Sri Lanka was unable to supply the quality teas which the Australians were accustomed to, they would be forced to look elsewhere for it. A top level probe is under way on allegations of bribery and corruption in the Colombo Remand Prison. The Deputy Speaker has suggested that all speeches made in the NSA in Tamil be carried in the Hansard with a Sinhala translation and all Sinhala speeches with a Tamil translation—SU. The Talaimannar-Rameswaram boat service will be resumed from September 5—DP. The people who went North following the recent disturbances are slowly returning South. The PM has assured the leader of the Opposition that he would summon a meeting to discuss the recent troubles in the country and he would be in touch with Mr. R. Premadasa to do the needful—VK. Nearly three million yards of synthetic textiles will be sold through the private sector, the CWE, the co-operatives, and manufacturers' retail outlets from next week. Although some pockets of tension are still reported in a few plantation areas, security reports reaching Colombo indicate that the fortnight long spate of violence is now over—CO. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs has instructed heads of departments not to include the Rs. 90 allowance of government servants in their salary; he is also making arrangements to give them other facilities. In some outstation hospitals there is a bad shortage of nurses; this is because when they are transferred to those places, they very soon manage to get transferred elsewhere—DM.

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3:** The government has decided to institute a top level inquiry into the affairs of the much publicised District Development Councils (DDC) project of the last government which has cost the country Rs. 100 million; official sources said the projects were launched by the Planning Ministry in 1972 under a separate vote of Rs. 100 million on which the state had officially not earned one cent in return. The insurgent movement which threatened to re-surface earlier this year, has now gone underground but cells have already been activated in many parts of the island; this is revealed in the latest police intelligence reports submitted to the National Security Council. The State Engineering Corporation will shortly launch a project to build over 16,000 houses in the Colombo Metropolitan area in one year. It is reliably understood that a major increase in the interest rate on fixed deposits is likely to come into effect shortly; the highest rate is expected to be 18%; the measure it is believed, is another step in the government's plan to arrest inflation. A powerful delegation headed by the Finance Minister leaves next week on a visit to several of the Sri Lanka Aid Group countries to enlist maximum aid and investment for the new economic development program envisaged by the government. The new scheme of distribution of rationed items through authorised dealers will come into force within a few weeks—CDN. The activities of

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two Russian trade unionists—Vladimir Ignatov and Konstantin Touzikov—have given reason to believe that the recent communal disturbances all over the island were not entirely a local affair but inspired by foreign interests. Price control and police officials swooped down on the 'World Market' yesterday and seized some goods and arrested some dealers for profiteering. The Minister of Transport yesterday assured both bus and rail commuters of a better service; he also said that bus commuters would soon have more buses with a disciplined crew and a ban on smoking. Mr. Mahmud Waliullah Khan Khaisgi, Pakistan's ambassador to Sri Lanka in succession to Mr. Abdur Rauf Khan, presented his letter of credence to the President yesterday—CDM. The Minister of Education has said that the recent disturbances were whipped up by local forces like immature, politically frustrated revolutionaries, racists and perhaps also certain foreign elements. A high-powered police team which inquired into the circumstances that led to the recent disturbances, submitted its report to the PM on Wednesday. The rail track is to be extended from Matara to Kataragama; the Minister of Transport said that the department is working out the details and work would start as early as possible. The Minister of Transport said that the government had allocated Rs. 44 million to improve the railway. A one man committee has been appointed by the Minister of Fisheries to probe into mismanagement and corruption in the Fisheries Corporation during the past seven years—SU. Even though the curfew was lifted because normalcy was returning to the country, the forces will continue patrolling for at least a month, it is reliably understood—VK. Though the situation had returned to normal and people were returning for work, the problem of those who had left their jobs and possessions and fled has cropped up—EN. The Chairman of the State Engineering Corporation has said that the Corporation was in debt to the tune of 6½ lakhs of rupees—DW.

**SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 4:** Two Russian trade unionists, who are here on the invitation of the CWC have been asked to leave the island immediately; they will probably do so tomorrow. A shake-up in the top of the Army is in the offing. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs has ordered the immediate issue of a circular telling public servants that the government takes a very dim view of manoeuvres for canvassing appointments and has instructed that where a public servant wants a new job, he should channel his request through the Public Administration Ministry. The CTB has increased its fleet by 40 buses during the first half of August. Any study of the voting figures at the general elections will show clearly and unmistakably that Tamil voters in the major parts of the country had nothing to do with the TULF Policy, an appeal issued by the League of Tamil Citizens and Patriots said last week—SO. Mr. R. Premadasa has been entrusted by the PM, the huge task of rehabilitating about 35,000 refugees and all problems connected with their future resettlement; he summoned a conference of senior officials this week; the officials will represent the ministries dealing directly with the complicated operation. The leader of the Opposition in a statement denied rumours that he said were circulating in Colombo and certain other places that the TULF is contemplating some action for the 6th of this month; he said that it was an absolutely unfounded canard. The Minister of Trade has said that the Free Trade Zone will give jobs to a lakh of people. Political appointees

of the previous government who served as Ministry Secretaries are not going to be given the pension that they were expecting. Eleven major trade unions in the Posts and Telecommunications Department have decided to create an atmosphere which will be conducive to restoration of normal conditions and the return of those who have absented themselves after the recent disturbances. The Jaffna Municipal administration will reconstruct the 131 shops in the town area which were burnt down recently; it is expected to take about six months and cost Rs. 750,000. Many Tamil speaking refugees of Indian origin who were housed in a camp at Bambalapitiya had turned down the invitation of three non-government politicians including two MP's, one from the North, one from the East and the third from the hill country, that they come to those areas and settle there—ST. The Head of the Information Department of the Soviet Embassy in Colombo said that the stories appearing in certain local newspapers regarding Russian involvement with TULF activities was 'untrue and without foundation'. The CWC in a statement denies that the two Russian trade unionists 'ever met any officials of the TULF and held talks with them'. The leader of the TULF has said that they are willing to talk with the government in order to find a solution to the problem—WK. The government is planning to improve many sectors like Agriculture, Housing, Fisheries, Plantations etc and provide employment to many youth—SM.

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5:** The special units to handle appeals on political victimisation set up one week ago by the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs has received 5,000 such appeals from employees in the State services including the Police and Armed Services. A high powered team of officials from Colombo visited Trincomalee during the weekend to check on the situation; they expressed their full satisfaction over the steps taken to bring the situation back to normal and to restore communal relations. All State and Corporation employees who had left their places of work during the recent disturbances have been requested to report for duty on or before September 12 since the security situation throughout the country has now returned to normal. The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, the PMG and representatives of 11 major trade unions in the Department have appealed to all Tamil officers who have kept away from work owing to the recent disturbances to return to their posts today. The General Secretary of the CWC referring to the news item in the CDN of Sept. 3 about 2 Russian trade unionist says that it is a canard to allege that the two Russian Trade Unionists had offered assistance to the TULF. The Galle Fisheries Harbour built at an enormous cost has turned out to be a white elephant and the monthly loss caused by it said to be over Rs. 250,000. The GA, Ratnapura has said that every possible assistance will be forthcoming from the Police and the Army in maintaining security in the estate sector so that the labour force will not be displaced and production will not be affected—CDN. The announcement of the oil strike at Pesalai which had no basis whatever, amounted in the view of the trade unions in the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation 'to a colossal hoax perpetrated by the previous Board on the then government and the country.' Three armed mod youths are reported to have gone in a car to the Bank of Ceylon, Manipay, are alleged of having walked into the Bank at revolver point, relieved the cashier of Rs. 26,000 and escaped. The two Russian trade unionists, who are on



orders to leave the country will be deported tonight on the Aeroflot flight. The government is now faced with a permanent refugee problem in respect of about 10,000 persons who are victims of recent violence; these people are of Indian origin and they have no homes or relatives in any part of Sri Lanka according to statistics of the Social Services Department. Serious allegations have been made by refugees of Indian origin; they claim that when food and clothing was distributed by individuals and organisations, they were ignored—CDM. The government is to send a high powered delegation to Jaffna to personally appeal to Tamil officers in the public service to return to the posts which they left following the recent disturbances. Legislation to control taxi fares has been prepared by the Commissioner of Motor Traffic and is now before the legal draughtsman. CTB buses are now washed and swept daily, following a directive to this effect from the Chairman—SU. Sugar is selling at Rs. 12 a pound in Jaffna, while a pound of grapes is Rs. 3—VK. The Finance Minister will shortly present a Resident Guest Law to the NSA giving income tax exemptions to persons coming into the country under the resident guest scheme—CO.

**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6:** The PM yesterday had discussions with the Mahanayake Thero to ascertain the views of the Maha Sangha on the present situation in the country and other important issues. The USSR Embassy in Sri Lanka in a statement—rejected "the published fabrications"—and expressed its regrets for the publication of the distorted information concerning friendly Soviet-Sri Lanka contacts; the embassy also expressed the view that such attacks will not be able to harm the further development of friendly and healthy relations between the two countries. The government has agreed to extend the visa of the two Russian trade unionists till September 8. 2500 people who were housed in various refugee camps under Army protection for the past three weeks returned to their homes in Colombo and the suburbs during the past few days; according to the GA, Colombo only 1200 were left in two refugee camps in Colombo. Mr. Amirthalingam in a press release said yesterday that he was surprised at the newspaper reports that the two Russian trade unionists who had been asked to leave the country had some connection with the TULF. The NCGE Examination introduced by the last government and due to be held this December for the third time, may be abolished; the Minister of Education is awaiting the recommendation of an official report now studying this question—CDN. The Sinhala people have a right to live in the North and the Tamil people have a right to live in the South and he would never permit the division of the country; this view was expressed by the PM when he met the Mahanayake Thero yesterday. The Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs has decided to put off its decision on the public servant's absence until all employees return for work. Almost all the 5,000 refugees still remaining in the refugee camps in the Jaffna district appear to be unwilling to return to their former homes; the GA, Jaffna is understood to be making arrangements to settle them as far as possible on State land in Jaffna. The Instruments of Ratification of the General Trade Agreement between Bangladesh and Sri Lanka were exchanged yesterday at a brief ceremony at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—CDM. The leader of the Opposition yesterday protested against the official call to Tamil Public Servants to return to work by September 12. Sri Lanka's fishermen will soon

be able to buy imported boats at Rs.700,000. Far reaching powers are to be given to the Presidential Commission that will probe all aspects of the circumstances that led to the recent spate of violence—SU. The PM told a meeting of Mahanayake Theros that he would call an All-party conference soon to hammer out a solution for the problems of the minorities—CO.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7:** A severe breakdown in the purchase of local rice by the Food Department from the Paddy Marketing Board during the last months of the SLFP government might compel the present government to import rice to meet the ration requirements and for buffer stocks by the end of this year. The PM speaking on several condolence motions moved in the NSA yesterday said that if the country wished to honour these leaders the people in their little way should follow their footsteps. The Chairman of the People's Bank is devising a speedy banking system to be operative soon. The PM yesterday told a meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group that the cabinet had decided on a number of productive projects which would give employment to about 250,000 persons during this year. Five crack squads of CID detectives have fanned out to the provinces to investigate a number of major incidents during the two week wave of violence which commenced on August 14 in Jaffna and spread rapidly to most other areas including Colombo. The Fertilizer Corporation has made arrangements to import 45,000 tons of fertilizer from Indonesia to meet the present shortage. A crash fishery development program to increase fish production and generate nearly 2,000 jobs in this sector during the next six months is being launched by the Fisheries Ministry—CDN. The PM declared that he had been given the chance to forge national unity and that he planned to go ahead with that aim whatever the consequences. Strict security measures were taken in the NSA yesterday as policemen were placed on guard at various points; the public galleries were kept closed throughout yesterday's proceedings as a security measure. Assembly sources said. The Minister of Transport yesterday appealed to the workers to form a single trade union in the CTB. A security service on the lines of the police reserves will be set up shortly to personnel to be deployed for duties at all public corporations. A strike decision by any trade union should be by secret ballot; this is one of the many drastic changes to be introduced shortly by the Minister of Labour—CDM. The NSA and 'Sravasti', the MP's hostel were yesterday placed under one of the tightest ever security cordons following the reports of an alleged plot to attack Ministers and MP's. Buddhist monks who are appointed as teachers in the future, will cease to hold the appointments if they give up their robes, according to a recent decision of the Ministry of Education. The election of directors to Multi Purpose Co-operative Societies has been put off by one year, the Minister of Food and Co-operatives told the Government Parliamentary Group meeting yesterday. Account holders with the National Savings Bank will receive enhanced rates of interest commencing on October 1. A new Deputy Chairman of Committees will be elected today; this was announced by the Speaker at the NSA yesterday. The PM will stop at Batticaloa tomorrow for a short visit on his way to Trincomalee and Pottuvil—SU. The death toll of the recent disturbances is about 138 apparently, of which 15 were Sinhalese—VK.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9:** Recruitment to the police and the Armed Forces which were largely on a



political basis during the past seven years will cease, Defence Ministry sources said yesterday; they said in future only those found most competent by the various selection boards in the security services would be given appointments. The Janatha Estates Development Board will offer employment to 95,000 persons during the course of next month; of these, 90,000 jobs will be in the labourer grades and 5,000 will be supervisory posts. The PM speaking at Pottuvil yesterday asked voters not to waste votes on a party which was fighting for a separate state because there would never be such a state. The Maximum security alert, which went out from the Ministry of Defence to the Police and the Armed Forces on Tuesday, will continue until further notice, a senior police officer said yesterday. The TULF initiated talks with the government on Wednesday on the major task of settling over 25,000 persons who fled their homes and work places during last month's violence, a substantial number of whom do not wish to return. Mr. Neville Samarakoon, QC one of Sri Lanka's civil lawyers will take his oaths as Chief Justice before the President this morning. The Health Minister is expected to propose to the government shortly to extend the right of private practice to dental surgeons also—CDN. Since conditions had returned to normal, it was time for all Tamil public servants to get back to their working places; they would be afforded all protection and had no need to fear, said the PM when he addressed MP's and public servants at the Batticaloa Kachcheri yesterday. The Chairman of the BMC yesterday blew the lid off a massive cement fraud involving some Rs. 13,40,000. The People's Bank would shortly introduce a scheme to help the common man buy luxury items as radios, cassettes, fridges, bicycles, motor cycles, motor cars etc., according to the Chairman of the People's Bank. The Minister of Education will revise the NCGE and HNCE examinations so that they would be internationally recognised, particularly in Commonwealth countries. The Minister of Local Government will introduce amendments to the Local Government Law for the election of Mayors, Chairmen and Vice Chairmen of local bodies by the direct vote of the people. To meet the immediate needs of farmers, 3386 tractors will be imported at a cost of Rs. 80 million by the government. Twenty five persons who were earlier remanded for security reasons were yesterday released on Rs. 1000 bail each and asked to appear in court on January 9, 1978 by the Kandy Magistrate—CDM. A member of the TULF predicted yesterday that the people of the Eastern Province would reject the TULF's call for a separate state if the Government could satisfy their needs in the sphere of agriculture, education, transport, fisheries and certain other matters. The GCE Examination which is to be re-introduced in Sri Lanka will be raised to a standard that receives international recognition, according to the Secretary to the Ministry of Education—SU. There has been yet another bank robbery in Puttur, in the Jaffna district, where at gun point the branch of the Bank of Ceylon was relieved of Rs. 30,000—EN. The Colombo rubber market has reacted instantly to the depreciation of the Sri Lanka rupee by way of the 'pegged crawl' operation that has been set in motion by the Central Bank which is anxious to undo what it considers the deleterious effects of the 20% revaluation last March. There are only 800 refugees now at the Kathiresan Hall according to the GA, Colombo; they apparently have no place to go—CO. The Land Development Commissioner has said that

they have decided to give land to five lakhs of youth and that after three years of cultivation the land will be given to each youth—DW. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has said that since there was a shortage of fertiliser in the country, they would import 45,000 tons of it—ATH. In another four months, the rice issued on ration will be what is produced in this country—DM.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9:** The local agents for 20 international firms have indicated their willingness to bring in investments under the proposed Export Processing Zone to be set up in Sri Lanka; some of these investors are from South Korea, West Germany, France and Japan, official sources said. The National Savings Bank, the People's Bank and the Bank of Ceylon yesterday announced increased rates of interest on deposits with immediate effect. The government has allocated a further 40 million rupees for the import of milk powder and condensed milk, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands said yesterday. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands yesterday announced that his Ministry would provide jobs for over 20,000 persons immediately for there were 2011 posts which were in the cadre permitted his ministry which had not been filled by the last government. The National Museum of Colombo will reprint some rare books on Sri Lanka and strictly follow a system of selling one book per person. All malpractices and acts of corruption in local bodies will be fully investigated, according to the Minister of Local Government. Russia is now paying in hard foreign currency for her purchases of tea; for the past so many years the Soviet Union bought her tea from Sri Lanka on a barter agreement. The PM will preside over a public meeting in support of the UNP candidate for the Pottuvil electorate. The Vice Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka will meet the Presidents of the six campuses tomorrow morning to discuss the question of re-opening the campuses. The new distribution scheme of price controlled synthetic textiles will apply to all manufacturers of synthetic textiles, a press release from the Trade Ministry announced on Tuesday—CDN. The Police yesterday issued a warning to the public saying that various looted goods were being hawked about in many areas and asked them not to get taken in by bargains like that. Another weekend Mahajana Pola is to be set up within the next two weeks at Galle Face at the site which was reserved for the new Parliament by the previous government. Claims amounting to about Rs. 1.2 million have been made by clients of the Insurance Corporation after the recent outbreak of violence. The Ministry of Trade will import lorry chassis to be given to private sector transporters engaged in hauling food items and other essential consumer items in order to bring down the cost of living and eliminate shortages of consumer items. At the commencement of Public Business yesterday at the NSA, Mr. Edmund Samarawickrema, member for Colombo East was declared elected unanimously to the Post of deputy Chairman of Committees. The public galleries of the NSA were closed yesterday as well—CDM. The PM told a TULF delegation yesterday that the government would consider extending the deadline before which Tamil state employees who have sought refuge in Jaffna should return to their posts. Most of the spare parts imported by the CWE for its fleet of 200 lorries are reported to have been spirited away from the go-downs of the Colombo Port. The Government Stores has been instructed to give top priority to MP's in the allocation of



cars it receives from embassies and other sources. Government MP's, on their own initiative, are making arrangements to celebrate throughout the country the 71st birthday of the PM on September 17—*SU*. A TULF delegation led by the leader of the Opposition met the PM and requested him to help settle those who have gone to the North and East as refugees in Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullativu, Killinochchi, Trincomalee etc—*VK*. The lending rate of commercial banks will rise to between 13 and 18% following the launching of government action to mop up the country's money supply which has increased alarmingly during the past 18 month period. West Germany is ready to help Sri Lanka build modern rice mills; this was conveyed to the Minister of Agriculture and Lands when the West German Ambassador in Sri Lanka called on him. A final decision regarding the admission age for Grade 1 children will be made this week. Some of the measures contemplated by the Central Bank to curb inflation have caused anxiety among members of the export trade, particularly as no mention has been made to exempt the export trade from their implications.

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10:** The largest Janawasa—the 2000 acre collective youth farm set up on the left bank of the Walawe river between Embilipitiya and Angunukolapelessa in 1972—was abandoned by mid-1975 by all but 14 of the 700 boys and girls settled on it; Rs. 8 million was spent on this project; there is an estimated capital loss of about 2% million; these are the findings of the Economic Research Department of the Central Bank. The Speaker of the NSA has taken the first steps to providenewsmen covering the NSA proceedings with better facilities. The government has decided to close down the Weaving Supplies Corporation and introduce far-reaching changes in the supplying of yarn which will benefit the country's handloom industry, the Minister of Textile Industries disclosed yesterday. Imports of all cotton and synthetic textiles have been stopped as a result of production being stepped up in state owned textile mills; the stock of textiles now held by the government can last till April 1978, the Minister of Textile Industries said yesterday—*CDN*. The Advisory Board of Governors of the University of Sri Lanka yesterday deferred a decision on the date of re-opening the six campuses as no guarantee could be given regarding the safety of students; the Vice Chancellor and representatives of the Board of Governors will meet the Minister of Education next week to discuss the situation and fix a date for the re-opening. 74 MP's including three ministers and five Deputy Ministers have urged the Minister of Finance to cancel all liquor licences issued in their electorates during the past few years; this is a sequel to the announcement made by the Minister of Finance that he would cancel liquor licences issued by the previous government on the recommendations of MP's. The Pottuvil election to the NSA which will be held on Monday will be on the basis of the 1975 register. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs has once again requested all state and corporation employees who had left their places of work during the recent disturbances to report to work by Monday. The 921 refugees now at a camp in Colombo were among the poorest of the poor and were reluctant to return to their homes which were in congested areas of Colombo and suburbs—*CDM*. Heads of all Police divisions in Sri Lanka have been ordered to set up probe teams in their areas to make a full study of the trends of violence in the country sequel

to the recent incidents. A conference of GA's will be held at the Ministry of Public Administration on September 16. About 22 million rupees will be spent within the next six months to improve and expand the fishing industry in Sri Lanka. The Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction has allocated Rs. 20 million for a crash programme to construct instant bridges before the end of this year—*SU*. The PM has instructed that whoever causes damage to state property like buses, trains or government buildings be dealt with immediately and severely—*DP*. At a meeting of local government workers held at the Jaffna Town Hall, it was decided that until the people who were guilty of having committed offences in the recent disturbances in the country, were brought to book and were given punishments, thoughts of returning to work will not be entertained—*EN*. Since there is a shortage of fishing nets, the Minister of Fisheries has decided to import nets to the value of 2 million rupees—*DW*.

**SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 11:** Colombo's Exchange Banks Association (comprising the seven foreign owned commercial banks operating in Sri Lanka—Hongkong and Shanghai, Chartered, Grindlays, Indian, Indian Overseas, State Bank and Habib) have voluntarily decided to extend maximum co-operation to the government's National Development Plan. A new concept of colonisation has been worked out by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands; it will be primarily directed towards educated youths, rural and urban, and will operate in certain parts of the country, parallel with the traditional colonisation schemes. An appraisal team of the World Bank is due here in mid-October to look at three projects estimated to cost around 40 millions US dollars; they are Agricultural Diversification on uneconomic tea and rubber lands, tea rehabilitation project and integrated rural development of Kurunegala district—*SO*. The TULF has not received a mandate from the Tamil voter for the proposed separte state of 'Eelam'; the Tamils have voted overwhelmingly against this idea; this is the conclusion of two well known research organisations. The government decided last week to appoint a three member Presidential Commission headed by a leading lawyer to probe all aspects of Air Ceylon during the past seven years and formulate a policy for the future operation of the airline. The latest venture of the Colombo Municipal Administration to check the parking of vehicles in the city for long spells is to have traffic wardens to charge motorists for parking. Sixty trade unions drawn from the public and private sectors have jointly decided to offer their services to the government to help achieve national harmony in particular by fostering cordial relations between employees of different communities at their respective workplace—*ST*. The second amendment to the constitution which will make the PM the first President of Sri Lanka to have full executive powers will be introduced in the NSA on September 22. The government is to give the Bandaranaike International Airport a complete face lift in a bid to make it conform strictly to international standards. An all out war on tax evaders is already on, the Commissioner General Of Inland Revenue, has entrusted this job to a hand picked team of 116 who have been recruited to the grade of Tax officers of the Department of Inland Revenue. The Secretary to the Ministry of Planning has said that Japan would offer Sri Lanka a loan of 16 million US dollars immediately to help purchase textile yarn, motor vehicles, fertilizer,



fishing gear, agricultural machinery etc. Sri Lanka Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel left Bonn today after receiving firm commitments on economic co-operation from the government of the Federal Republic of Germany—WK. A total of 6117 officials belonging to the Jaffna district have been affected by the recent disturbances in the country—EN.

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12:** A top-level co-ordinated army and Police intelligence probe in the Northern Province has reported to the government the existence of a 50-strong militant group of youth who have been responsible for political assassinations, bank hold-ups, terrorism and the collection of fire arms. Elections to the two-member Pottuvil constituency will take place today; there are three party candidates and four independents in the fray. The government has decided to crack down hard on the misuse of official vehicles. Restoration work on the giant Maligawila Buddha statue will begin soon. The government has decided to speed up the Gin Ganga development scheme and operate it on a labour-intensive basis to provide more employment opportunities for the youth—CDN. More mobile patrols of the police and the armed services will be out to ensure maximum security to employees of the public services and Corporations who are expected to return to work today. Some shocking revelations were made by the Auditor General in his report on the CTB for the year 1974 which was submitted to the former Chairman. The Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs has ordered a complete clean up of the government owned business undertaking of Colombo Gas and Water Company Ltd. The PM has assured a deputation of All Ceylon Buddhist Congress that the government would set up a Sanghadikarana Mandalaya shortly to protect the prestige of the Maha Sangha and manage their affairs—CDM. The PM is expected to visit Jaffna this week to make an on-the-spot study of the situation there. A new SP has been appointed in Jaffna. A total of 1700 employees will be recruited to the People's Bank before the end of the year according to the Chairman. Managers of Air Ceylon's branches abroad have been summoned to Colombo immediately by the new Chairman. A top CID team is now in Trincomalee to probe the recent outbreak of violence in the district. The Building Materials Corporation is to set up 160 sales outlets throughout the island—SU. The PM and the leader of the Opposition held secret talks for nearly two hours at 'Temple Trees' yesterday afternoon—DP. At a meeting of the Tamil Teacher's Association in Jaffna it was decided that those who had been affected by the recent disturbances in the country who had gone North, will not return till the end of this month and to ask the government to summon an all-party conference to establish equality and friendly relations between the Tamils and the Sinhalese—EN. The FAO's working Group on tea which met in Rome last week has agreed on the need to set up a buffer stock of tea consisting of 90,000 tons or 15% of consumption. A new 'Green Circle' bus service was inaugurated by the Minister of Transport yesterday; this move is aimed at providing better transport facilities to commuters in some of the most congested areas, CTB sources said. The Colombo Municipality in association with the police will introduce a new system of parking vehicles in the Fort from September 19. 20,000 persons will be given jobs by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands under a massive employment program which will cost Rs. 23

million; official sources said that recruitment for those various projects will begin almost immediately—CO. The Chairman of the Bank of Ceylon has said that the bank will give loans to small traders to purchase paddy from farmers. The Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs said that they will open centres to produce beedi in each electorate through co-operative societies—LD.

**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13:** The response to the government's call for all officers who have kept away from their work to return to their posts yesterday was described as 'very fair' by a spokesman of the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs. Sri Lanka is likely to get increased WHO assistance for improvement of her health services next year. The Central Bank yesterday announced new parity rates for major hard currencies bringing the Sri Lanka rupee close to levels which prevailed prior to the 20% revaluation which took place last month. The government is working on a scheme to provide credit guarantees for non-traditional exports; the scheme undertaken by the Trade Ministry will be extended shortly to traditional exports of small businessmen too, authoritative sources said yesterday. Five Middle East countries—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Somalia—are likely to establish full resident diplomatic missions in Colombo shortly according to informed sources. The Japanese government yesterday signed agreements with the Sri Lanka government for a grant of 4 million dollars (US) for the construction of a modern teaching hospital and a 16 million dollar (US) loan for the economic development of Sri Lanka—CDN. The majority of public servants who absented themselves from their workplaces following the recent disturbances failed to respond to the government's call to report for duty by yesterday—the deadline set for their return to work. The price of local rice which was about Rs. 4 about a month ago has dropped rapidly since then and is now about Rs. 2.25 a measure. A proposal to set up a strong police intelligence unit based in Jaffna and replace the present cadre of police personnel in the Jaffna district is being considered by the Ministry of Defence. The green Circle bus service which was inaugurated yesterday morning will operate between 7 a.m and 7 p.m. to assist commuters from Jaala, Rajagiriya and Ratmalana during rush hours—CDN. The government is to pay compensation to persons whose property was damaged sequel to the recent disturbances; the quantum to be paid and the category of persons entitled to it will be worked out soon, government sources said yesterday. A five-member committee will prepare a blueprint on the lines on which the proposed Free Trade Zone should function. A new system to flush out mosquito larvae has been worked out by an epidemiologist of the Department of Health. A coastal transport system in which several points round the coast of Sri Lanka will be utilised as mini harbours, has been mooted by the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs. A key member of the TULF's youth wing was yesterday taken into custody by a CID team now probing incidents in Jaffna—SU. Rs. 36,000 which was robbed from the co-operative society at Atchuvily, in Jaffna was recovered by the police and army within a few hours after a gun battle, and four youths belonging to the gang were also arrested—EN. The UNP and the TULF won the two-member Eastern Province constituency of Pottuvil which went to the polls yesterday; the UNP which polled 30,315 had a majority of 6325 votes over the



TULF candidate. The Colombo rubber market reacted sharply to yesterday's depreciation of the Sri Lanka rupee with the local price of RSS I bouncing from Rs. 4.8% per kilo to Rs. 5.17. There is a possibility of the government's extending the deadline set for Tamil public servants to return to work. A large number of police officers have been detailed to search for 75 persons believed to be ring-leaders of gangs that attacked houses and shops during the recent disturbances. The government has decided that Kachcheris will play a major role in the storage and transportation of paddy produce—CO.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14:** The People's Bank will expand its agricultural credit scheme and lend nearly Rs. 100 million to paddy cultivators for the Maha season, which is expected to bring in a bumper harvest. The political Bureau of the Sri Lanka CP in a statement on the recent outbreak of communal violence says that all responsible political parties including the TULF should consider it their duty to help in bringing normalcy and seeking a solution to the problem of minorities to establish goodwill and trust. The Price Control Department has taken steps to deploy a special squad of price control officers to nab co-operative employees who under-weigh rice and sugar; this step has apparently been initiated after numerous complaints have gone to the Price Control Dept. The Minister of Plantation Industries has said that the World Bank has offered a loan of 40 million US dollar to Sri Lanka to improve her tea industry and the government is utilising this to modernise tea factories in the Dimbulla and Dickoya planting districts—CDN. The Minister of Education has sanctioned the payment of Rs. 4.8 million as loans to needy university undergraduates during this year to meet the cost of hall fees, library fees, medical fees and subsistence; these loans will be recovered in reasonable instalments only after they graduate and get permanent employment. The Tax Court has collected a sum of nearly Rs. 1 million as fines and additional taxes from tax defaulters within a period of one year. The Business Acquisition Act will not be operative inside the Free Trade Zones when they are established; this assurance was given by the Minister of trade when he met foreign correspondents. Sinhalese refugees housed at the Sri Naga Vihare, Jaffna told the deputy Minister of Transport that they had no qualms any longer about their safety in Jaffna; they also requested him to make known through the press to the Sinhala people who had left Jaffna that conditions there were normal and they could return in safety—CDM. A full Defence Ministry probe is now under way into the activities of an alleged subversive group in the north believed to be behind a series of 'fund raising' hold ups that included banks and the collection of arms; six members believed to be members of this group were airlifted from Jaffna on Monday night to Colombo by Sri Lanka Air Force Aircraft. Several socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Hungary will invest in the proposed free trade zone of the government, the Minister of Trade said yesterday. The Secretary of the JVP addressing a gathering to commemorate the first worker's strike in the country said that they had learnt from the mistakes of 1971; today they were a full fledged Marxist-leninist party in the vanguard of the struggle for emancipation of the proletariat and that their's was no longer a secret organisation, but were openly spearheading the struggle of

the working class for the overthrow of capitalism to establish a workers and peasants government in this country. All transfers of teachers have been stopped forthwith by the Minister of Education—SU. A young boy of thirteen bravely cut with a sword one of a gang of masked robbers who had tried to rob at the point of a gun at midnight at a place called Allarai in the Jaffna district—EN. Sri Lanka's export sector which took a heavy beating from the surprise 20% revaluation last March has recouped some of its losses following the readjustment of exchange parities to bring them close to pre-revaluation levels. Sri Lanka diplomats will in future serve only three years in one station. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs has ordered a complete reorganisation of the Colombo Kachcheri. Public servants who were affected by the recent communal disturbances have been given time till September 19 to return to their posts; if they report for duty on later dates they should show a valid reason, according to government sources—CO.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15:** The Kelani-Valley railway line from Colombo Fort to Homagama will be converted into a broad gauge service at a cost of Rs. 44 million; the work on this project will start in January on the directive of the Minister of Transport; the railway engineers are now preparing plans for the execution of this project. The school entry age has been reduced from 6 years to five; this recommendation of the Education Minister was approved by the government yesterday. With the increase in interest rates offered to depositors commercial banks have decided to jack up the interest on loans to customers. All members of the NSA have been asked to apply for vehicles from the Government Supplies Department before Sept. 24; and they have also been asked to indicate their preference—a motorcar or a diesel jeep—CDN. The Constitutional Court to hear representations to the Amendments to the Constitution will comprise Justice C. V. Udalgama, Mr. Justice T. A. de Wijesundere and Mr. Justice A. Vythilingam; the judges were selected by drawing lots yesterday. All public servants, employees of state corporations and statutory bodies who had left their places of work on account of the recent disturbances and who fail to return to their respective places of work by Sept. 19 will be placed on no-pay leave—CDM. A joint Army-Police operation was launched in the Jaffna peninsula yesterday to search those in possession of unlawful weapons and those indulging in alleged subversive activities. Five youths from Jaffna were produced before the Chief Magistrate of Colombo on Tuesday in connection with complaints of violence, robbery and theft of government vehicles. The PM said last night that phenomenal assistance had been provided under the Colombo Plan during the past 26 years; the Colombo plan has come to stay he said and the concept of donors and recipients should be carried forward to fulfil the objectives of the plan. The Police have requested all residents in the Colombo area who have been approached by persons offering them 'protection' for a fee to make a complaint to their nearest police station. Today Muslims all over Sri Lanka celebrate Id-ul-Fitr after having observed fast for thirty days in the holy month of Ramadan. A GA's conference, the first under the new government will be inaugurated by the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs at the Central Bank Auditorium tomorrow—SU.



Students who have been affected have requested the Co-ordinating officer of the Jaffna district to arrange for them to meet the PM when he visits Jaffna so that they could discuss their problems with him—EN. There is evidence of sabotage at the Mulleriyawa Pumping Station, said the Chairman of the Water Supply and Drainage Board; residents in the five towns south of Colombo have for the past one week been put into great inconvenience as their water supplies have been interrupted. The beef supply in Colombo has increased but prices remain as high as they were during the height of the recent disturbances; the price of a pound of beef shot up to between Rs. 5 and Rs. 5.50; it still remains the same. To ease the shortage of cement in the country the CWE was asked to import cement and the second consignment is due in the island on September 20. Bus commuters have hailed the new 'Green Circle' bus service of the CTB as a most 'speedy and efficient service'. Admissions of children to Grade I in 1978 will be strictly on the basis of distance from the school and the child's residence and no admission test will be held—CO.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16:** The government will initiate action soon to investigate how monthly subscriptions of workers to their trade unions—in some unions running into lakhs of rupees—are being utilised; this decision has been taken following complaints made by workers themselves on the manner in which funds of certain trade unions are being used. The PM will address GA's this morning at the Central Bank Auditorium. The State Trading Corporation has decided to import spares for 5000 lorries immobilised in all parts of the country owing to the lack of spares. The Minister of Transport will conduct an inspection of the train services on the coast line next Thursday. Elaborate arrangements are under way to launch a 'Road Safety Project' from October 10 to 16 in an effort to create a more safety conscious community and to minimise the incidence of road accidents—CDN. The Constitutional Court yesterday forwarded its recommendations to the Speaker of the NSA regarding the proposed amendments to the Constitution. Although five-year-olds will be admitted to Grade I from next January they will occupy separate classrooms from the six-year-olds who will also be admitted to Grade I. Donation of blood, offering of alms, feeding the sick, seth pirith and pahan pujas will mark the 72nd birthday of the PM tomorrow. Two lakhs worth of aluminium sheets belonging to the CTB were recovered from certain hardware dealers in the Pettah on Wednesday; the raid was carried out by CTB security personnel and the Pettah Police. The Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisations has invited all other registered trade unions to launch a campaign against the new trade union laws which the government proposes introducing. Most of the Tamil public servants who have not responded to the government's call to report for duty by Monday have organised themselves into a group to claim compensation for their lost or damaged properties during the recent violence, according to some of the Tamil government officers returning from Jaffna—CDM. A large number of Tamil citizens of Indian origin in Sri Lanka are making a desperate bid to return to their former homeland following the recent outbreak of violence in the country. The PM has instructed the Ministers concerned to take early action to have the abundant paddy supplies in a number of outstation

government granaries milled and rice distributed to the consumers on the weekly ration. Immediate steps are being taken to augment the supply of water to high areas by using two pumps obtained from the Colombo Port and a private firm according to the Chairman of the Water Supplies and Drainage Board—SU. The Ceylon Shipping Corporation will increase the frequency of its sailings to Britain following the decision of the Ben Ocean Group to drastically curtail its service through Sri Lanka. The government has decided to open three new missions abroad; they will be of the levels of the Consulates General and the capitals selected are Tehran, Male and Singapore—CO.

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17:** The PM yesterday promised higher wages to public and private sector employees and the provision of nearly 200,000 jobs through the first Budget of the Government scheduled to be presented in Parliament in November. Fifteen prisoners, now in death Row, will have their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life; all other prisoners a special remission of three weeks for every year already served in prison; this follows a request by the PM to grant a general amnesty to prisoners with effect from today. The government has decided not to give parliamentarians accused of bribery and corruption the protection of the Speaker of the NSA, the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs said yesterday. Sri Lanka received 33.2 million US dollars from the International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank during the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1977. A Japanese Parliamentary Delegation comprising senior members of the Japanese Diet, are scheduled to arrive in Sri Lanka today on an informal visit. A Presidential Commission to inquire and report on alleged maladministration of the 38 Urban Councils has been appointed by the President. All state officers and employees of state corporations and state bodies who left their place of work during the recent disturbances and who do not report for work by Monday, September 19 will not receive their salaries if the ensuing period is not covered by leave, according to a communique issued by the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs—CDN. The draft of two Bills, one the Ceiling on Housing Property (Amendment) Bill which provides for ownership being vested in tenants paying rents below Rs. 25 a month and the Rent Act (Amendment) Bill which gives relief to one house owners were referred to the constitutional Court by the Cabinet. The government will not embark on further nationalisation until those ventures already nationalised are put in order; this was announced by the PM when he addressed the GA's. The PM solved all the problems that were placed before him by the GA's on the spot at the conference held at the Central Bank Auditorium yesterday. The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications is studying the feasibility of employing private contractors to expedite the delivery of telegrams. The Army and Police carried out a joint operation to search for explosives in the Halls of Residence of the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka and the surrounding areas on Thursday. The leader of the Opposition has urged the PM to grant more time to those public servants who did not report for duty after the disturbances to enable them to decide whether they could go back to their former places of work or not—CDM.



# MANDATE FOR EELAM-2

## Fact Or Fiction?

by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya  
Director, Centre For Society  
And Religion

During the last two weeks of August 1977 many in Sri Lanka lived agonizing days and nights amidst looting, arson, and lawlessness. Gangs have beaten others, inflicted horrifying injuries and even resorted to manslaughter. All this was apparently due to racial ani-

mosities. As yet the full story, how it started, how it escalated, is not known.

According to official sources over a 100 have lost their lives. About 45,000 have left their homes, and moved to the North or to the East, or South. Houses, shops and residential lines have first been looted, then set ablaze.

The lines of division have once again gone deep into the hearts of people. Every act of communal violence is a blow to national unity. Man, woman or child chased away from home by physical blows or

fear of injury. Hatred has been generated far and wide during the past few weeks.

Innocent children have lost a mother or a father. This is a price they will pay all their lives due to the communal hatred fanned by so many consciously or unconsciously. Bewildered children will for all time remember the refugee camps—the only place of solace for their mother and father for uncomfortable days and nights, days of great privations.

But there is hope.

## ANALYSIS OF VOTING

Jaffna Peninsula		Total Elec- torate	Absen- tees & spoilt votes.	Total Polled.	% Polled	Majority	UNP	SLFP/ LSSP	Inde- pen- dents.	TULF	% of total elec- torates.	Total polled %		
79	Kayts	36,372	8,831	27,541	75.72	8,967	0.661		9,240	17,640	48.5	64		
82	Manipay	41,373	8,571	32,802	79.28	24,250	3,300		1,952	27,550	66.6	85		
85	Point Pedro	28,447	5,156	23,291	81.89	6,570			10,302	12,989	45.6	56		
86	Chavakachcheri	36,959	5,302	31,657	85.65	9,218			11,629	20,028	54.2	64		
91	Kankesanthurai	43,907	7,430	36,477	83.0	25,833			5,322	31,155	70.9	86		
83	Kopay	41,824	8,354	33,470	80.0	22,353	2,699	3,487	1,444	25,840	61.8	77.2		
88	Jaffna	34,865	6,164	28,701	32.3	9,271		LSSP	12,450	16,251	46.6	56.6		
80	Vaddukoddai	40,684	7,363	33,321	81.9	18,208	0.480		9,457	23,384	57.5	70.1		
87	Nallur	40,205	6,813	33,392	83.0	28,137		1,042	2,492	29,858	74.2	89.4		
84	Udupiddy	36,955	6,372	30,583	82.7	14,747		SLFP	11,815	18,768	50.7	61.3		
Total		381,591	70,356	311,235	81.5		7,140	4,529	76,103	223,463	58.56	71.8		
Mainland(Outside Peninsula)														
89	Kilinochchi	26,670	4,012	22,658	84.9	11,601	1,497	4,006	SLFP 148	15,607	58.5	68.9		
90	Mannar	31,767	2,415	29,352	92.3	2,212	12,929	478	804	15,141	47.6	51.1		
92	Vavuniya	28,450	5,034	23,416	82.3	4,377	9,444		151	13,821	48.6	59.0		
91	Mullaitivu	24,698	5,102	19,597	79.3	2,629			9,335	10,261	41.5	52.3		
Total		111,585	16,563	95,022	85.1	2,379	23,870	4,484	10,438	54,830	49.3	57.7		
Northern Province		493,176	86,919	406,257	82.5					278,293	56.4	68.5		
Eastern Province	Total	Total elec- torate	Absen- tees & spoilt votes.	Total polled.	% Polld	Majority	UNP	SLFP	LSSP	FP	Ind.	TULF	% of total electo- rate.	% o Tota polled
100	Sam- manturai	27,308	2,446	24,862	91	5,027	13,642	2,605				8,615	31.5	35
98	Paddi- ruppu	35,909	3,620	32,289	89	10,244	5,189	5,590	5,633			15,877	44.2	49
96	Kal- kudah	33,995	4,753	29,242	86	545	13,140	3,507				12,595	37.0	43
94	Trinco	35,778	6,518	29,260	81.3	3,321	11,823	1,674			619	15,144	42.3	51.7
101	Kal- munai	28,826	2,922	25,904	89.8	5,543	12,636	5,922			253	7,093	24.6	27.3
93	Seru- wila	31,250	5,313	25,937	83	4,359	14,926	10,567	392		52			
97	Batti- caloa	63,039	9,094	53,944	70		12,672	16,536		11,22	191	13,324	21	30
99	Amparai	49,006	7,471	41,535	84	8,572	24,581	16,009	945					
95	Mutur	30,389	2,539	27,850	92	4,730	12,530	7,800				7,520	24.7	27
102	Potuwil	49,691	5,213	44,478	89.5		15,157	11,189			6,137	11,995	24.1	26.9
Eastern Province														
Total		385,191	49,890	335,301	87.0		136,296	81,399	6,970	11,221	7,252	92,163	23.9	27.4



Men and women from all walks of life have begun to affirm themselves in favour of communal harmony. They call for a peaceful resolution of our racial problems. Leaders of all religions have appealed for peace and justice for all. The common humanity in us all is leading persons and groups of every political or religious persuasion to co-operate in safeguarding life and promoting understanding.

The intensity of this national tragedy has alerted us to the deep-seated nature of the problems of race that confront us as a nation. They have grown gradually over the past 50 years or so. In the days of the Ceylon National Congress the leaders of all races worked for self-government and political independence. But shortly step by step the problems have got aggravated. The pan-Sinhala ministry of the 1930s, the demand for 50:50 by the Tamil Congress, the disenfranchisement of the plantation workers, the demand for federalism by the Federal Party, the Sinhalese Only Act with the provisions for the Reasonable Use of Tamil, the communal violence of 1958, the resistance by Sinhala Opposition Groups to Regional Councils and District Councils have all contributed to the present impasse. The Republican Constitution of 1972, the formation of the Tamil United (Liberation) Front, and the demand for Eelam as separate sovereign State for Tamils are all stages in this history.

In the period 1970-77 the situation was more aggravated. The government did not face the issue squarely. Sinhala-Tamil relations during the past 50 years are a sad history of several lost opportunities. Often a workable solution was within the grasp of leading political groups. On every occasion extreme views prevailed to the detriment of the nation as a whole. With each successive stage the Tamil demands increased.

It is necessary to examine the claim for a separatist Tamil Eelam? Did the July elections give the TULF a mandate to demand or fight for Eelam? Definitely Not.

Last week the voting analysis of July elections in the Northern and Eastern provinces (and Puttalam) were published together with some brief notes. This week a more detailed analysis is being published with more detailed notes. This is for the record and also to

substantiate our argument. Some of the points made last week are being repeated. This is also for the record.

*Northern Province (a) In the Jaffna Peninsula* the TULF got a clear verdict in favour of it. The 10 electorates gave the TULF 223,463 votes out of its total of 311,235 votes. Independents got 76,103 votes, UNP 7,140, LSSP 4529, SLFP 1042 in the Peninsula. Hence 71.8% of the votes were in favour of the TULF. This was 58.5% of the electorate. One could therefore argue that the Jaffna Peninsula responded positively to the TULF demand. Ten of its 18 seats in the National State Assembly are from the Peninsula. The absentees in the Jaffna Peninsula were 70,356 or 18.5% of the electorate. This is high compared to the national average of 87.2. The absentees are more than 1/5 of the number who voted in the elections.

*(b) In the rest of the Northern Province* in the Mainland the position is less clear though the TULF won in Kilinochchi, Mannar, Vavuniya and Mullaitivu. In Kilinochchi it obtained 15,607 votes as against:

4,006 for the SLFP and 1499 for the UNP. In Mannar TULF obtained 15141 votes while the UNP and Independents had 14,211 votes. The TULF got 930 votes more out of an electorate of 31,767 and a total poll of 29,352. This can hardly be a case for a separation of Mannar from the rest of the country. In Vavuniya the TULF polled 13,821 and the UNP 9,444 and an Independent 151. Though the TULF has 4,200 votes more than the other two it has only 48.6% of the total electorate due to the 5,034 absentees out of the total electorate of 28,450. In Mullaitivu, the TULF received 10,261 votes while the three independent candidates together polled 9,335. The difference is 926 out of a total poll of 19,596 and an electorate of 24,698, 5,102 abstained from voting i.e., over a fifth of the electorate. Here too the case for separation is not unanimous. It is actively supported by a little over 41% of the electorate.

Hence in the Northern Province, outside of the Peninsula and Killinochchi less than half the electorate has voted for the TULF and 33,131 voted against it; while 12,548 abs-

#### WE WILL GOVERN OR GO-PM

The Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene yesterday emphasised the need to make the Police a disciplined force. In the course of his lengthy speech introducing the Second Amendment to the Constitution, the Prime Minister said: "The other day we had trouble in Nuwara Eliya. I want to disclose everything I know. A large section of the police have been politically appointed. There is very little discipline among them. They smoke and drink in front of their own officers. We must find ways and means of making the police a disciplined force. There was a row between the Nuwara Eliya Police and the CTB. Two policemen were supposed to have assaulted CTB officers. We sent to Nuwara Eliya, Mr. Shanmugam, who was SP, Kandy. He is a Tamil gentleman. We interdicted these two police officers. The police rank and file—I do not know who they are—wanted to go on strike and take direct action. They were asked to form a riot squad. But they refused. Some of them said, 'We do not want to listen to a Tamil officer'. We sent instructions to interdict the whole lot, and if they were going to go on sick leave, to send them home permanently. We were told that it might spread. I said let it spread. Somehow or other we must stop it. The Government must govern or it must get out. All stopped. Nobody went on strike or nobody went on sick leave. Their illness was cured." Mr. Jayawardene also emphasised the need for discipline in the Armed forces.

Referring to an incident at Habarana where a tourist car was shot at, he said:—"I was told that we should send Army patrols with tourists. I said: 'What rubbish are you talking. If Army patrols are sent with tourists, nobody will come to Sri Lanka. Stop this thing in a few weeks. What do you want? Ammunition? Do you want the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and the helicopters? Do you want vehicles? I have given my Deputy Minister full instructions to stop this thing in two weeks. Otherwise I will think him inefficient.'"

—Sun, 24/9/77



tained from voting out of a total of 83,915. The total poll in these three electorates is about 85% or less than the national average of 87.2%. Can this be a convincing case for separating the country specially with a frontier to be located within this area?

In the Northern Province (a+b) as a whole 68.5% of the voters and 56.4% of the electorate were for the TULF i.e., 278,293 votes out of 406,257 voters and an electorate of 493,176. Abstentions and spoilt votes were 86,919 or 17.5% of the electorate. In the Northern Province 85% of the Population is "Ceylon Tamil" and 95.4% is Tamil speaking. Hence even here that one third of the votes were against the TULF has some significance. It may be of interest that the vote for the UNP, SLFP and LSSP was 40,013 in the Northern Province. This is nearly 10% of the votes.

(c) In the Eastern Province the Election results are clearly against separation. The UNP won eight seats: Sammanthurai, Kalkudah, Kalmunai, Seruwila, Batticaloa, (2nd), Amparai, Mutur and Potuvil (1st). The TULF won Padiruppu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa (1st) and Potuvil (2nd). The TULF would have lost in Padiruppu if not for the division of votes amongst the LSSP, SLFP and UNP which together got 16,412 votes as against 15,877 for the TULF.

In terms of votes the UNP had 136,296, TULF 92,163 SLFP 81,419, LSSP 6970, FP (Batticaloa) 11,221 and Independents 7,252. The Independents have fared very badly indicating high political consciousness among those voting. The UNP, SLFP and LSSP which are definitely against separation obtained 224,665 votes or 67% of the votes and 58.3% of the electorate. The TULF had only 27.5% votes of the votes cast. Absentees were 49,792 or 12.9% votes of the total electorate. The Eastern province has clearly rejected the ideas of a separate state for the Tamil speaking people. Though 76.8% of the population are Tamils and Moors (Ceylon and Indian) only 27.5% voted for the TULF. Ceylon Tamils alone are 40.9% of the Eastern Province and even they have not voted as a whole for Eelam. The Sinhala population is only 22.5% of the population and hence they could not make for the bulk of the 69.9%

that voted for the UNP, SLFP and LSSP which are definitely against the division of the country into two states.

One would have expected the TULF to be quite sobered by this decision of the Tamil speaking people in the Eastern Province. They have definitely no mandate to claim the Eastern Province for any proposal for a "Sovereign Eelam."

*Northern and Eastern Province Together (a+b+c).* When we take the Northern and Eastern Provinces together, we see an important phenomenon. Within the Jaffna Peninsula 71.8% of the votes were for the TULF. In the electorates Killinochchi, Mannar, Vavuniya and Mullaitivu 57.7% of the voters opted for TULF; and in the Eastern Province 28%. Taking both provinces together the TULF had 370,456 votes. This is 49.9% of the votes cast. But as there were 136,711 absentees, the TULF vote is only 42.2% of the total electorate in the North and East.

The voting pattern is 81.5% in the Peninsula, 85.1% in the four Northern electorates outside the Peninsula and 87.0% in the Eastern Province. The National average was 87.2%. If we therefore take the population of these two provinces together we can say that they have not voted as a whole positively for a separate State. Just about half the votes cast are for the TULF. But 57.8% have not voted for the TULF, i.e. including the absentees.

*In the Mainland and Northern Province and Eastern Province (b+c)—*

excluding the Jaffna Peninsula the electorate is 496,776, the voters were 430,323 and the TULF got 146,993 votes. The TULF obtained the support of only 34.1% of these votes and 29.6% of the electorate there. Unlike in the Jaffna Peninsula where only 81.5% voted, in the mainland North and East 86.1% went to the polls. The TULF is in a minority position outside the Jaffna Peninsula even in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. 65.9% of the votes in this area from Killinochchi to Pottuvil were against the TULF.

(d) *Puttalam Electorate* The Puttalam electorate touches Mannar in the North, and has nearly 20% Ceylon Tamils, 38.4% Ceylon Moors and 2.9% Indian Tamils and Moors. Hence 61% of the population are Moors and Tamils. The TULF toyed with the idea of attracting the people of this electorate to its fold. But the TULF obtained only 3,268 votes out of 31,070 voters in an electorate of 37,177. This is 10.5% of the votes and 8.8% of the electorate. Hence even the 20% Ceylon Tamils here have not voted TULF. This is an indication that the Tamil speaking people outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces reject the proposal for Eelam.

If the Puttalam area is also taken into account the vote for the TULF in Puttalam, the Northern and Eastern Provinces is 373,724 This is 48.36% of the voters and 40.8% of the electorate. Hence in the whole area claimed for Eelam less than half the vote has been for the TULF.

#### PM TO ABOLISH CJC: WILL FREE WIJEWERA

The Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene yesterday (Sept. 23, 1977) announced he will repeal the Criminal Justice Commission Act. He disclosed this during the course of his presentation of the Bill to amend the Constitution, at the National State Assembly, yesterday. The Prime Minister also said that he was even prepared to release Rohana Wijeweera and others now serving sentences following the insurgency. "I want a fair and just society and I want these men also to be citizens of this country. But I will not want violence, for violence affects everyone of us", the Premier said. The Prime Minister added that once the Constitution was amended impartiality of justice will be assured and every person treated equal in the eyes of the law.

—Sun, 24/9/77

*Tribune* has always criticised and condemned the Criminal Justice Commission Act. The repeal of the law is a first step to restore the rule of law. The insurgents in prison are political and the sooner they are released and brought into the mainstream of political life the better. The bulk of the insurgents outside are comparatively or completely non-political and in the name of "insurgency" many have turned criminal and anti-social—robbing, looting, murdering—Editor.



**Tamil speaking muslims**—The 77 Election results have shown clearly that the Tamil-speaking Muslims do not favour Eelam. This is seen in the Eastern Province, and in Puttalam. In Mannar the Muslims being nearly 30% may explain the large vote against the TULF in an electorate where only 4.2% of the population is Sinhala.

One can say that the TULF has failed to obtain the support of the Moors for their proposal for a separate state for the Tamil Speaking people of Sri Lanka. Not a single TULF elected MP is a Moor.

## REFLECTIONS

# On The Dilemma Of Developing Countries In Achieving Economic Development

by Dr. Mervyn D. de Silva

The author wishes to emphasise that all views expressed in this article are personal and private.

While a whole phalanx of improved and sophisticated methodologies and techniques for the preparation and appraisal of projects developed in the Western world, are being increasingly made available to developing nations through a multiplicity of Institutes of Development Studies, hunger, poverty, and disease continue to hang like the Sword of Damocles over the lives of more than half of the world's population. The vast majority of human beings in the third world countries of Asia, African and Latin America, still remain condemned to live and die under tragic conditions that deny even the basic need in wages, food, clothing and shelter.

Ironically, at the same time the world is becoming inundated with declarations of good intentions which pledge determined efforts to fight poverty and vanquish want in the developing countries, with "re-newed and unrelenting vigor". Almost religiously, these pledges are echoed from every International forum where it is vowed that "a

basic needs" strategy must be adopted to achieve full employment, raise the standard of living, and give a just share of the fruits of progress to that part of humanity which still remains utterly deprived.

Without question, some of the concern for the third world's problems expressed at these international conferences and seminars is not bereft of a deep sense of sympathy. The disturbing fact however is, that apart from the vast documents, meticulously prepared, in which these good intentions are recorded, nothing worth while has yet been done to put them into practice. The fact is that there is a glaring degree of inaction in translating these pledges into concise and concrete plans of action. It is common knowledge that if these pledges are to be expeditiously converted from being mere expressions to programs of action, then, specific measures must be adopted.

On the contrary, a widening gulf between promise and performance has developed as is demonstrated by the fact that the developed countries are becoming richer and advancing technologically faster while the developing countries are becoming poorer, and could possibly stagnate technologically, if the new prescription of intermediate technology is also adopted. Even a modest beginning towards narrowing the gap in the living standards between the developed and developing countries is far beyond the horizon.

Among the major factors that have adversely affected the economies of developing countries are inadequacies in the terms of trade, transfer of technology, financial and technical assistance and in the structure of world trade. In fact, the present structure of world trade hampers any progress towards a more rational and equitable international division of labour.

An assessment of the performance of developed countries in terms of their contribution to improving and accelerating the progress of developing countries by giving them better terms of trade and prices for their primary products, is therefore not only pertinent, but also crucial. Better terms of trade

is a key factor that could have sparked the economic development process of many third world countries to take off point decades ago. No amount of piece meal aid doled out on feasibility and appraisal studies undertaken by donor-country consultants and economists, no amount of fine focussing of techniques such as social cost/benefit analysis including the income distribution innovation\* (increasing the incomes of those already employed is not as important as generating incomes for the presently unemployed) can make even a dent on the mounting problems that surround the attempts made by developing countries to accelerate economic growth, if this key factor is ignored.

The logical question that can be posed at this point then is, why are these important and urgent issues not getting the attention they deserve, when it has almost become fashionable to show a concern for the third world? These are questions the answers to which can be a subject in itself and beyond the scope of this note, suffice it to say that decisions to take positive action in these areas, are wrapt up in international political considerations. In other words, the developed countries have not yet displayed the political will to accord priority to the implementation of measures that will provide a framework conducive to the accelerated progress of developing countries.

Ironically, the major powers and other industrialised countries spend vast sums of money on the development of an arsenal of arms for the destruction of our species. They are prepared to provide unlimited military hardware as aid. Within their own national boundaries, politicians and political parties in order to remain in power must commit themselves to promises of a better life, to a people who are already consuming too much. A real and permanent solution to the problem created by the income disparity at the international level therefore, is hard to expect and may continue to be a gordian knot, unless of course there is a radical change in the attitudes of the developed countries, or stated simply, a change of heart.

It is essential that the developed countries recognise the fact that the present distribution of eco-



economic power in the world is imbalanced and that both the developed and developing countries share a common interest in the rational and equitable functioning of the world economy. If this realisation does not emerge a final resolution may perhaps have to await a confrontation between the rich and poor nations, as is happening at national level in those countries that have not taken effective steps to bridge the gap between the haves and the have nots. Do we really have to face such a harsh alternative?

Most developing countries it would appear are confronted with problems somewhat akin to those of Sri Lanka. This would mean that their political systems and social institutions are going through the crucible test. Distilled from the vast amount of literature available on the subject, the situation in these parts of the world is best described as being explosive.

In an earlier section it was pointed out that the position of developing countries cannot be expected to improve unless there is a notable change in the attitudes of the developed countries. Assuming, hopefully that such a possibility exists, the logical question that can be asked is, what can the developed countries do to help the developing countries? As a prelude to answering this question, it will be interesting to first of all review the past performance of the developed countries. Judged in terms of concrete action taken by the developed countries since 1970, it has to be admitted that there has been an ebb in the enthusiasm for the development cause. Despite the action taken by some of the developed countries, the net aggregate flow of financial resources to developing countries has been pitifully low in comparison to the targets specified in the International Development Strategy. Besides, the net official development assistance as a share of the gross national product of developed countries, which is of critical importance, has made virtually no progress at all.

If the developed countries are serious about their interest in the welfare of the developing countries as they should, then, the development objective must become the cardinal issue to which they must address their minds. The following areas could be given priority:

(1) The developed countries can become more receptive to the International Commodity Agreements that help to promote development. They can help by speeding up the process of ratification and implementation of agreements already concluded. In cases where no agreements have been reached, pricing policies for commodities remunerative to the producer should be expeditiously worked out.

(2) They could implement generalised schemes of preference for the import of manufactures and semi manufactures from developing countries.

(3) They could ensure that multilateral trade negotiations ensure significant and sustain gains for the export trade of the developing countries, so that they could increase their foreign exchange earnings, diversify their exports, and accelerate the rate of growth of their trade.

(4) They could adopt codes aimed at improving the position of developing countries in the field of shipping by facilitating the establishment of freight rates that are fair, both to the shipper and the carriers.

(5) They could pay greater importance to meeting the targets for the transfer of official development assistance. This is the only concrete indicator of the efforts of developed countries to the development cause.

(6) They could make vigorous efforts to facilitate and encourage the transfer of technology to the developing countries.

(7) They could channel resources that may be released as a result of effective measures of actual disarmament for up lifting the developing countries and helping them in their struggle to achieve economic progress.

Finally, and most importantly, the developed countries should realise that if they fail to reverse the present trends in the developing countries they will be helping to create a set of conditions that will have a lasting effect on the relationships between countries and peoples. The World Bank's President, Robert Mc Namara expressed it rather dramatically when he said "The marginal men, the wretched strugglers for survival on the fringes of farms and city, may already number more than half a billion. By 1980, they will surpass a billion, by 1990, two billion. Can we imagine any human order surviving with so gross a mass of misery piling up at its base?"

The next question equally important that seeks an answer is what should the developing countries on their part do to help themselves? Development is a very complex process which does not lend itself to simplistic and quick solutions. Frequently, there is a lack of understanding in most developing countries that increased investment alone is not enough to ensure growth and that the adoption of appropriate policies, administrative and organisational measures can be more important than the later. No amount of financial transfers can substitute for a genuine commitment and determination by a country's leaders, politicians, administrators and the people themselves, to resolve their own problems. It has been quite clearly demonstrated by various countries at various times, that sufficient capital and supposedly expert plans and projects are only half the battle.

The success of development plans and projects of any country will

#### CORRECTION

#### RACE-MYTH & SCIENCE - 2.

1. A few words were inadvertently left out from the first paragraph of the above article in our issue last week, September 24, 1977. The sentence should read as follows: "A race is a part of a species (or kind) of animal which is distinguishable from the rest of that same kind, by the constant possession of a set of heritable characters."
2. Dr. Arthur Waarakoon, the author, is Professor of Biological Science (not Physical Sciences) at the Vidyodaya Campus.



depend on the attitude of its people, the co-operative effort of the thousands of individuals, the persons working in the offices, schools, factories, worksites and fields. Each of them have to make their own contribution in their own task, day in and day out. It is the sum total of such an effort and commitment coupled with genuine aid from the developed countries that could bring the desired economic growth rates in the developing countries. How to secure the actual participation and involvement of all the people within a democratic framework is the crux of the question? It is a challenge that awaits a real breakthrough by all those concerned and interested in accelerating the pace of economic growth in the developing countries.

The catalogue of causes for the failure of development plans and projects in the developing countries is a long one, among which the problem of communication and co-operation between ministries and even agencies within a ministry, inefficiency, lack of co-ordination, take prominent places. However, since the most far reaching effects on their economies are derived from administrative inefficiency, labour indiscipline and a lack of strong political direction, these earn a special consideration.

(a) **Administrative Inefficiency:** Administrative and procedural delays constitutes one of the commonest causes for the failure of development plans in most developing countries. In the majority of government ministries and departments extraordinary lapses of time occur before the problems or a need for action is recognised and between the time the decision is carried out. Paul Appleby (1953) in his report on an examination of the Indian Administrative system, so applicable to other developing countries, described it as a deeply entrenched system "in which clearance is slow and laborious. Responsibility is diffused and concealed rather than concentrated and clearly defined. Action is retarded before the fact and insufficiently evaluated in the course and after the fact."

Great strides can be made by most developing countries if the root causes for the failure of its administrative machinery are identified and remedied by making fundamental changes in keeping

with the development ideals. Until recently most economists considered the question of administrative capacity outside the exercise of plan formulation. This may be partly the reason why most plans remained paper exercises, abandoned quickly or falling far short of planned targets. The study of development administration therefore, appears to have great relevance and potential and is an area that might be given great emphasis.

(b) **Labour Indiscipline:** Another common ailment of most developing countries that strike hard at the core of their productive capabilities is labour indiscipline and absenteeism. This is derived from the fact that Trade Unionism received much greater attention than was necessary during the early stages of industrialisation. If we take the case of Japan for instance, she borrowed heavily from western technology and successfully grafted it on to its own structural and organisational pattern, but did not like most developing countries, take to western ideologies of the welfare state and Trade Unionism, at the start, concentrating and perfecting the growth of its production apparatus. Similarly, the key to Taiwan's rapid growth lies in the industry of its people and the remarkably harmonious labour-management relationship. Developing countries on the other hand, tended to support labour more than was necessary and has thus produced a great deal of indiscipline. This has placed management and administrators at a serious disadvantage in day to day business vis-a-vis labour.

Making plans and projects employment and welfare oriented, having less regard to strict needs and criteria of production has had serious repercussions on the economy. It is however a matter of political choice as to whether developing countries opt for rapid growth of production as in Japan with social justice following, or for a growth which moves forward very slowly or even remains close to stagnation.

(c) **Lack of political direction:** History demonstrates that where a country's government is stable and its political leaders have given development high priority, the country generally develops even without a formal plan, and conversely in the absence of political stability

and a genuine commitment by the politicians, development plans, no matter how well devised have little chance of being carried out successfully. The cardinal lesson to be learnt is that sustained political dedication, commitment is a *sine qua non* for development and growth.

Today in many developing countries where the public sector has been expanding through the process of nationalisation, decisions concerning these enterprises and even matters of a managerial nature have become the prerogatives of the ministers concerned. This has led to a great deal of political interference. Unfortunately, most politicians are known to be concerned with matters other than the rates of growth etc. In fact, their intransigent attitude of being bent on the retention of their seats in the National State Assemblies, and the retention and exercise of power can make a mockery of National Plans, projects and the management of public enterprises.

The lack of dedication, commitment and concern for the welfare of their countries is best illustrated by the behaviour of the Opposition in some of the developing countries, where democracy still exists. The opposition will oppose almost everything the government puts before the Assembly for the electoral benefit, or in other words repudiates in opposition what it would have supported in office. The Jekyll and Hyde Syndrome of the party system as it has been aptly described, clearly shows that the national interest is not foremost in the minds of most politicians.

What then is the solution? Can economic development in the developing countries catch up within a democratic political system? Hasn't development stagnated in countries that have a totalitarian system? Have other developing countries with the various shades of "democracy" made any better headway?

These are questions best left unanswered in this note, but in summation it might be stressed that the economic and social stresses over the next decade and beyond will be more demanding than ever before. They will present the developing countries, and also the developed countries with challenges that will have profound moral and political implications.

\* \* \*



## LETTERS

## CONTEMPORANIA

## Why Attack The TULF?

Sir,

I am pained to note that in the first four pages of September 10 issue of your journal, you had launched an onslaught on the TULF. In the columns of your journal the well-informed James T. Rutnam had shown how the Tamil minority has been betrayed time and again by the Sinhalese majority. Therefore, quite understandably, the Tamils have lost hope in the good sense of the majority community and now they have ventured to ask for separation. In this sad process of betrayal the UNP and the present Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene too had played their ignoble part. Jawaharlal Nehru once said that he can understand the communalism of a minority but not that of a majority. Besides, some years back our Peking wing Mr. Shanmugathasan said that here the Sinhalese are in a majority but they behave and react like a minority. In consideration of all these, your sweeping and wild criticism of the TULF is quite unjustified. The TULF is speaking for a minority that is frustrated and embittered. Such a shabbily treated minority may shout at the top of their voice simply because they want themselves to be heard. They may easily get irritated. With your awareness of the recent history what we expect from you is sympathy and understanding of the Tamil's cause.

As a longstanding reader of your journal, my contention is that you have never written a strongly worded criticism of the Sinhala leaders and their communal-minded policies. They richly deserve such criticism and condemnation. But, instead of that, you have been very cautious and restrained in your criticism of their policies. Besides being reluctant to criticise them you are in an unholy haste to praise them. For example, in your August 26 issue you call the Vajirarama "Refugee Camp" as a "silver lining" but in the next issue you stage a very honourable retreat and call it a "Mock Refugee Camp". Besides, the new government gave wide publicity through

their Information Department and the SLBC to the statement of Rev. Madihe Pannasiha Nayake Thero advocating the state colonisation of the Sinhalese in the Tamil areas and a permanent stationing of the Army there to protect the colonists. How unbecoming of a Buddhist monk to make such a provocative statement just when the Tamil minority is being put to a barbarous and inhuman treatment? Even elementary human decency requires the show of mercy and compassion at that time. How unbecoming of a government bent on solving the Tamil's problems to give such publicity to that statement? In your Editor's Notebook of September 3, you dismiss the matter with one sentence whereas the fair-minded James T. Rutnam devoted an entire article to it. It has become a habit with you to lose your balance when criticising the FP and the present TULF. As editor of a respected journal we expect from you a proper statement of facts and a balanced and fair criticism thereof without fear or favour. The famous editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. C. P. Scott, said, "Comment is free but facts are sacred....comment is also justly subject to a self-imposed restraint. It is well to be frank. It is even better to be fair."

Whether we like it or not, the Tamils have elected the TULF to represent them. Let us be honest and accept that obvious fact. Certainly, the TULF has made its mistakes. But we must accept the fact that it is the "political stunts and gimmicks" of the FP and the present TULF that have shown our government and the outside world that the just grievances of the Tamil minority remains to be rectified. If not for the FP and the present TULF our so-called national press and national leaders would have asserted that the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka have no problems at all and they live happily and contentedly in this country. That is the plight of the Tamils in this country. Let us be sincere and fight for what is right and just. If we have faith in the all merciful God, we have no reason to get alarmed.

S. Mahalingam

7, Pirapankulam Road,  
Jaffna.  
20.9.77

## Displaced Public Servants

Sir,

Most of the Public Servants who left for their permanent residences in the North and East due to the recent disturbances are hesitating to return to their respective working places, (even though they are advised to do so on or before the 12th of this month), for the following reasons:—

(1) They have not recovered from the shock caused by the recent gruesome events perpetrated under the guise of communal strife;

(2) They do not consider the animosity which caused these events has died down even though according to the Radio and the Newspapers the situation has returned to normal;

(3) Most of them had their homes attacked and set on fire and do not have houses to stay when they get back to their working places;

(4) Some of them have still not recovered from the bowel diseases caused by residing under most unhygienic conditions in the refugee camps.

(5) Most of the public servants have decided not to take their families back and feel that they have no eating places as most of the Tamil hotels had been burnt;

(6) Their School going children are denied of schooling facilities due to their sudden displacements and are on the hunt for proper schools;

(7) Most of them have suffered loss of money and valuables and are without sufficient means to get back to their place of work;

(8) The minor employees who led the inhuman attack on their superiors under the guise of communal strife to pay off their personal grudges are still in their respective working places without any punishment, and there is no guarantee that these undesirable elements will not organise another attack;

(9) During the recent attack the Police Force failed to provide proper safeguards and had acted indifferently causing a certain amount of loss of confidence on this force;



(10) These public servants believe that the moment the patrolling on streets are withdrawn and those held in custody under suspicion are released the attacks may recur;

(11) There is no Insurance Scheme for the Public Servants and their families against physical disability or loss of life or loss of property during civil disturbances and the present gratuity payments are grossly inadequate when the risk is very high; Separate Insurance Cover similar to the fidelity insurance may be obtained entitling the Government Servants, Local Government Servants, Employees of state sponsored Corporations and Private Sector Employees to cover Loss of Life, Loss of properties, and movable goods in times of civil commotions.

Therefore it is suggested that while immediate action be taken on the above lines, the displaced Public Servants may be granted 3 months Full Pay Leave, or be attached to offices closest to their residences where they have sought refuge.

S. Sivapalan

15/4, Murugesar Lane,  
Nallur, Jaffna.  
September 7, 1977

## Towards One Nation

Sir,

Two points the present Govt. should ensure in formulating its policy to maintain one nation.

1. The 1981 Population Census should eliminate statistics which bring out race and religious differences in the Population of Sri Lanka. (In the last Population Census in 1971 races were divided into Low country Sinhala, Upcountry Sinhala, Ceylon Tamils, Indian Tamils, Ceylon Moors, Indian Moors, Europeans, Burghers and Eurasians, Malays, Vedddhas and others). Religions too were subdivided to four. These statistics are the ones used by many to create communal disharmony.

Also all Government documentations such as electoral registers, Food Control cards etc., should forthwith eliminate calling for race, religion etc. of the applicant. Citi-

zenship of Sri Lanka should be the only criteria for issue of above.

2. It is high time Sri Lanka as a nation kept Swabasha aside and be practical in adopting English as its working language. A country depending on Exports for survival and on Technology from outside world should communicate in the language which is undisputedly the No. 1 language in the world with an estimated 1000 million people speaking same.

Gamini Edirisinghe

290, R. A. de Mel Mawatha,  
Kollupitiya,  
Colombo 7.  
13.9.77

## Correct Statistics

Sir,

In pages 2 and 4 of the 27th August issue of the *Tribune* you state that 58% of the Ceylon Tamils live outside the Northern and Eastern provinces. The correct figure is 25.8%. 1971 Census gave the following figures:

Jaffna District	648,462	
Vavuniya "	58,819	
Mannar "	39,751	
Trincomalee	67,516	
Batticaloa	174,736	
Amparai "	60,152	1,049,436
Colombo	167,204	
Kandy "	50,226	
Puttalam "	24,789	
Nuwara Eliya	21,425	
Badulla "	21,401	
Kurunegala	13,620	
Kegalle "	12,461	
Matale "	11,552	
Ratnapura,	11,115	
6 other districts	32,338	366,131
		<u>1,415,567</u>

Kindly correct this mistake in your next issue of *Tribune*.

S. K.

First Cross Street,  
Jaffna.  
31.8.77

## Reply To A Tamil Friend

Sir,

During the height of recent unfortunate incidents a Tamil friend of mine asked me—"Your people are

killing us mercilessly. Why can't they understand that we are also human beings?"

Now having examined various explanations given by different people I still think this question has not been fully answered. For easy reference I list the reasons put forward so far: (1) Chauvinism coupled with economic plans; (2) Rumours spread by irresponsible people; (3) Looters who use any opportunity to make easy money; (4) Organised attempts of defeated politicians to make the government unpopular; (5) Demand for a separate state; (6) TULF MPs speeches in the NSA and on election platforms; (7) Attitude of the Police; (8) Personal revenge-taking.

These reasons no doubt have contributed to escalate the situations at varying rates in different places. But I feel a few more important reasons have been overlooked.

Dear friend, I must confess that my reasons might haunt you very much. I sincerely believe that they (i.e. the reasons) are unreasonable and irrelevant in this 20th century. But there are people who do not think in that manner. So I think it is my duty to reveal the true position. Once the true reasons are known it is not difficult to find the best solution.

(a) **Sinhalese Hate Tamils**—A Sinhalese child is taught in the school (both in the government school and in the Sunday school) that Tamils came from South India destroyed Buddhist temples, palaces and irrigation works, set fire to houses and went back to their homeland taking with them all the wealth of the country. He is further taught that Tamil invasion is one of the reasons as to why Sinhalese left Anuradhapura, glorious capital of ancient Sri Lanka, and selected second rate and humble cities like Polonnaruwa, Dambadeniya, Kurunegala, Gampola and Kandy. Pali and ancient Sinhalese literature vividly describes how the Buddhist monks were killed, religious books were burnt and great pagodas were plundered by Tamil invaders.

King Dutugemunu, who as one MP recently said is living in the hearts of the Sinhalese, is the Sinhalese National Hero. He conquered the Tamil King Elara who ruled Anuradhapura. According to ancient Sinhalese literary work,



and legends he is now in the *Thavathinsha* (තවතින්ෂා) heaven awaiting the next Buddha—Maithreya, to become a disciple and attain Nibbana. It is also believed that though King Dutugemunu killed thousands of Tamils he didn't commit even a single sin as his aim was to save Buddhism from Tamils. So it is only natural when this history is taught to a Sinhalese child he begins to hate Tamils.

**2. Lack Of Communication—**Most of the Sinhalese cannot understand the Tamil language. Because of this they are always suspicious about Tamils. Generally only English-educated Sinhalese move with English-educated Tamils peacefully.

**3. They Do Not Respect Each Other—**It is sad to say there is not a single decent word in the whole Sinhalese language to give the exact meaning of Tamil. Widely used word *Demala* (දෙමල) not only denotes an ethnic group but also expresses a torrent of ill feelings. That word is so disliked by Sinhalese, they treat it a great insult to be called (දෙමල) *Demala* (a Tamil).

We learn to know only one religion but criticise others. We are not taught to respect others or their culture. The situation has so deteriorated we laugh at anything which we cannot understand.

**4. Fear—**There is great fear among Sinhalese that South India with the help of Jaffna may attack Sri Lanka as in the past.

Dear friend, I suggest as Mr. Premadasa said, we forget certain parts of our history. We must teach a new history and a history of united Sri Lanka.

T. Q. F.

Nawala.  
20th September 1977

## "Notorious" Dowbiggin?

Sir,

I feel it is my duty to repudiate the calumny on one of our most distinguished public servants in Mr. C. E. J. Alles' letter published in the *Tribune* of 17.9.77. I served at Police Headquarters under Sir Herbert Dowbiggin for more than seven years from my 19th year, a very impressionable period in one's life or career.

True he was a very severe taskmaster to his subordinates from the DIG downwards but it is a calumny to state "the public should never be made to feel that the Police is their inveterate enemy as the notorious Dowbiggin perhaps meant it to be" as Mr. Alles states—the reverse is the correct assessment. I challenge Mr. Alles to substantiate his statement.

About 2 years ago, a journalist in Lake House, who evidently had not even been born before Sir Herbert's retirement, drawing upon his own morbid imagination published a 2-column article in the *Sunday Observer* entitled "Dowbiggin's ghost haunts the Ceylon Police" as the reason for police assaults on members of the public today. I addressed a letter to the editor protesting against this calumny but it was not published. I then addressed the Press Council but it refrained from ordering the editor to publish it evidently because I had stated in my letter that compared to the 1971 insurgency the stern measures taken to quell the 1915 riots were innocuous. For every person shot down in the 1915 riots more than 2500 youths were shot down in connection with the 1971 insurgency not to speak of other atrocities. Martial law was clamped down during the 1915 riots and the military were called upon to bring the situation under control. It was the first experience within living memory of stern action taken to deal with civil disturbances.

Sir Herbert was not only knighted for his services in making the then very lowly paid Police Service the most disciplined Police in the East but also on the occasion of his retirement the Government published a minute on Sir Herbert in the *Government Gazette* which is most rarely if not ever done.

R. W. W.

Mount Lavinia.  
20.9.77

\* \* \* \*

## HELD OVER

## Pakistan's Elections

—in the next issue, brought up to date.

## INTERNATIONAL

## Vietnam And The U.N.

The admission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) to the United Nations is an event of great historical significance. The Leader of Sri Lanka's UN delegation, Foreign Minister Mr. A. C. S. Hameed on Wednesday September 21, said the Socialist Republic of Vietnam's admission to the United Nations Organisation was an occasion to pay tribute to a people whose valour and perseverance against unprecedented odds must earn them a place in the history of our times. In paying this tribute we cannot but recall the memory of President Ho Chi Minh, the leader and visionary who led his people on that long march. But an unkind fate took him on the eve of the Vietnamese people achieving their goal of independence and unification, he said. Mr. Hameed was speaking on the occasion of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam being given membership in the United Nations and when the Yugoslav representative was elected President of the Assembly:

Here are some extracts from his speech: "It is my very pleasant duty to offer you my congratulations and good wishes on your unanimous election to the high office of President of this General Assembly. Your election is a fitting tribute to your qualities of leadership, your understanding of this great institution and may I add here, the policies which your Government has followed in particular the policy of non-alignment to which both Yugoslavia and Sri Lanka adhere. My delegation is confident that under your able guidance our deliberations will contribute to the success of this session. My delegation would I believe, be voicing sentiments which are perhaps unanimously held in this Assembly when we welcome the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to membership of the United Nations.

"On a more personal note, I am especially happy that my first intervention in this 32nd. Session of the General Assembly is, in our



capacity of Chairman of the Non-Aligned group, to express on behalf of that group of countries our sense of rejoicing over the admission of Vietnam. The Government of Sri Lanka, Mr. President, was among the first countries to recognise what was at that time the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. It was a Provisional Government formed to realise the objectives which had been denied the Vietnamese people for 30 years—the objective of a unified and independent Vietnam. For the realisation of that goal the Vietnamese people endured a savage war, the like of which one had hoped would not be repeated in our generation. It was a war that brought deprivation and untold suffering to a people and reduced the territory of a small nation to a wasteland. My delegation Mr. President welcomes Vietnam as a neighbour in our Asian continent. We welcome them as a country and a people with whom we have had long and enduring ties of history, culture and religion. We are the common inheritors of the teachings of the Great Gautama Buddha—teachings which have contributed so much to their age old civilisation. In concluding our remarks Mr. President, my delegation expresses its confidence that Vietnam can contribute much to the fulfilment of the aims and objectives which have inspired this Organisation."

The admission of Vietnam to the UN is testimony to the spirit of freedom and humanism that has taken mankind forward. Apart from everything else, the Vietnam war has brought many changes in the USA. Andrew Young, leader of the US delegation in the UN, was one of those who had with Civil Right leaders like Martin Luther King campaigned for the ending of the Vietnam war and the admission of a unified Vietnam to the UN.



## REVIEW

# Lay Her Among The Lilies

by Jayantha Somasundaram

Leon Trotsky said that the further east one goes the more reactionary does the bourgeoisie become. While conceding that we do have unscrupulous and philistine bourgeois elements, it would be unfair to generalise in this matter. Undoubtedly among our bourgeoisie and the middle class, one does find a significant group of people who subscribe to a liberal tradition and believe in tolerance and moderation. This liberal strata has been much disturbed by the recent communal upheaval and they have found it necessary to justify things by resorting to a few transparent fairy tales.

Their ideological commitment to the powers that be make it necessary for them to seek to whitewash both the political leadership and the bureaucracy, civil and uniformed. In the process they can make a casualty out of truth—and she is very fragile.

To begin with, they convince themselves that there are 'insurgents' in the North; faceless people to whom can be attributed all the events of the recent past. Unfortunately, no one having the intelligence above that of a moron would swallow such fiction. If there were such organised armed Tamil youth around the place, why did they provide no assistance to Tamils even in areas like Vavuniya where the Tamils predominate? Everyone agrees that a few dozen Tamils with weapons would have given a different complexion to the August massacres.

It is worth emphasising that we accept that spontaneous attacks have been made on policemen in the north, but these have been of a reprisal and not organised nature. We also condemn and deplore the thefts from government institutions like banks and the attacks on innocent Sinhalese; but these obviously are the work of opportu-

nists and hoodlums, not those with any kind of political commitment.

In case the 'insurgent' theory seems weak, it is buttressed by the second part of this *Thosai Kade Revolution* theory that the kept press keeps churning out. This pertains to the Soviet Union. It appears that the Soviet Union has found the TULF to be the most revolutionary and radical group in the world. After Che Guevara the hope of the down trodden lies in Amirthalingam!

We doubt if anybody with an intelligence rating above the imbecile class will find this fantasy credible. It has already been established that while the Soviet trade unionist who was expelled from Colombo is Vladimir Nikitovich Ignatov, the one identified as a KGB agent in John Barron's book is Vladimir Vasilavich Ignatov.

It is so much easier to feel comfortable when you delude yourself into believing that dangerously armed Tamil insurgents backed by the Soviet Union are walking around stealthily cutting peoples' throats. It matters little that such red herrings have been exploded before. In fifty-eight there were secret foreign radios, supposedly Soviet, at work. In sixty-four there were hordes of Chinese. People will believe anything so long as it stills their conscience—regardless of whether they are innuendos, lies or damned lies.

The political equation finally ends up thus: Deadly Tamil insurgents, backed by the KGB and the DMK, attack the police. That is SLFP policemen of course. Then the hoodlums, SLFP hoodlums naturally, attack Tamils. The Tamils being the running dogs of the Soviet Union.

In case all of this is not enough to bolster your faith in and make you rally round the Grand Old Party, we have the *coup de grace* dial-an-assassination. This is the brilliant coup of our sleuths. They have uncovered a dastardly plot to assassinate the Prime Minister. How did they stumble on to it? Elementary my dear Watson. The conspirators were discussing it over the telephone.

It appears that Truth has been laid to rest among the lilies.





# Confidentially

## Is Eelam Viable? — 3

IS IT NOT A FACT that TULF apologists are now bombarding Tribune with communications about the economic viability of Eelam (again without defining territory)? That Tribune this week, will take one of these polemical onslaughts and examine the logic and validity of the arguments seeking to show the economic viability of Eelam? That this is what the diatribe stated: "Mr. Editor, you had accused the TULF leadership for talking 'for years in the vacuum about federation and separation without taking even the first steps to develop economically—in agriculture and industry—through private enterprise the areas in the North and the East... Well! I am afraid that the answer for this accusation had been published in Tribune itself earlier (Ref. TULF's Manifesto—2, appeared in the issue of Aug. 13, 1977). In column 8, under Economic Development of Tamil Eelam, there is a sentence; 'In the private sector, obtaining licenses to start industrial ventures in the Tamil areas is a herculean task. Even in some minor factories started in the Tamil areas, the majority of the employees are Sinhalese.' So, the fault is not on the TULF leadership, but on the successive Sinhala-dominated Governments, we have had so far. For the attitude of the present UNP Govt., we have to wait and see." Is it not strange that the Manifesto should overlook the fact that "licences" were never required to develop agricultural land? That hundreds and thousands of acres allotted to Jaffna Tamils in the Mannar, Vavuniya and Mullativu districts after 1958 were not developed? That, instead, those who should have developed these lands invested their monies in the developed Sinhala areas in the South? That one important TULF leader invested and re-invested over a million rupees in tea lands up-country in the 1960s? That the point Tribune made was that if the FP and TULF was serious about a Tamil homeland, its supporters should have developed these areas agriculturally with private capi-

tal? That the setting up of industries (there are industries which do not require licences) come in subsequent stages of development possible only after the lands (presently jungle and undeveloped) have been opened up? That in private industrial ventures there is no requirement to employ "a majority of Sinhalese"? That it is a lame excuse to blame the Sinhalese government for the failure to develop the Tamil areas through Tamil private enterprise? That a few pioneering Tamils have indeed succeeded in setting up successful small farms in the so-called Tamil areas without any support or encouragement from TULF leaders whose entire horizon has, unfortunately, been circumscribed by an inordinate desire to enter parliament?

That same writer quotes with relish the news items in the Sun of August 26 and the Daily News of August 29, that 10,000 lbs. of onions and 700 lbs. of beetroot had been airlifted from Jaffna and that 2,000 cwts of dried chillies and 35 cwts of pumpkins have been sent by steamer (which took the refugees) to Colombo? That the writer therefore argues that Jaffna's economy was not dependent on inflows from outside? That this kind of rhetorical bravado based on onion-type export from the Peninsula is only an echo of Amirthalingam's statement to Asiaweek and other magazines that Jaffna and Tamil areas produced the "bulk" of the onions, potatoes and chillies in Sri Lanka and also "a goodly" quantity of rice and grapes and that Eelam was therefore economically viable? That the writer, after a side-shot at "Colombo Tamils" who had scoffed at the TULF's Eelam (he seems to think that because SJVC endorsed it, Eelam had near-divine infallibility), goes on to quote excerpts from latest Central Bank Report (vide Daily News, June 28) about paddy purchases by the PMB? That he picked on the "statistics" of "paddy-growing" areas in what he considered was Eelam? That he asserted the figures spoke for themselves: "Trincomalee district 560,800 bushels; Batticaloa district 520,700 bushels; Amparai district 466,700 bushels; Jaffna district 273,400 bushels; Vavuniya district 181,600 bushels; Kurunegala district 177,200 bushels; all except the last mentioned Kurunegala, fall into the Northern and Eastern

Provinces. What else do we want?" That by citing these figures the writer seems to be satisfied that Eelam was viable? That he did not take into consideration that the market for these goods was in the Sinhala South and that a trade boycott would bring disaster to the Tamil farmers? That before examining the other arguments advanced for the economic viability of Eelam (fishing, cement, salterns, tourism etc., etc.) it is necessary to decide whether onions, dried chillies, potatoes, beetroot, pumpkins, plantains, grapes, rice and other agricultural produce from the yet-to-be-defined territory of Eelam can make the territory economically viable, even partially? That, except the most myopic, all will admit that these products cannot be the basis for viability of any state? That these are not sure foreign exchange earners? That without hard currency it would not be possible to obtain supplies of fuel, agricultural inputs (fertilisers, insecticides etc.) for Eelam? That the economic viability of a new state can be gauged only from the quantum of possible exports that will fetch high prices (in hard currency) and ready buyers in the world market? That Jaffna and the rest of the Tamil areas do not qualify to be a separate state (as the TULF demands) if the main economic wealth of the area is based only on its present production of onions, potatoes, chillies, grapes, rice and the like? That Bangladesh, though in a position to export vast quantities of jute, tea, fish, paper, cement and other products in demand in the world market yet finds it difficult to sustain economic viability?

IS IT NOT THE FACT that most Eelam-minded Tamils have never given serious thought to the question of the economic viability of a separate Tamil state? That in mushy sentimentality they had imagined that the disadvantages and disabilities they suffered under a Sinhalese government (they never thought of the disadvantages and disabilities suffered by many Sinhalese themselves) would disappear in a separate Eelam? That these Tamils had unfortunately accepted the assertions of some TULF leaders that Eelam was economically viable as gospel? That they have never examined such questions available natural resources, as much-needed imports, revenue, foreign exchange, investment capital and a host of connected matters?

(To be Concluded)



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