

TRIBUNE



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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a picture of what is known as RAVANA'S CLEFT just below the height on Swamy Rock (in Trincomalee) on which the present temple of Konesar has been built. This striking formation on the eastern rockface of the massif that makes Fort Frederick's also known as LOVER'S LEAP. Legend has it that one of Ravana's weapons had cleft the rock from top to the bottom of the sea, but history has recorded that a love-lorn Portuguese (or was it Dutch?) lass had thrown herself from this point into the sea because the young soldier she had fallen in love with was being forcibly sent back on a ship—she was the governor's or commander's daughter and a mere soldier was not considered a match for her. Whether the cleft was one of nature's fanciful freaks or whether it was produced by one of mighty Ravana's weapons, it is undoubtedly a wonderfully scenic spot—for a young lady to stage a melodramatic exit from this world to protest against the diehard stupidity of her high class parents. Such melodramatic demonstrations abound in the world of today, in Sri Lanka and elsewhere, but no one has gone, in recent years, to Lover's Leap, in Trincomalee, to perform an act of self-immolation. The vista from that point is one of the most fascinating and if one is willing to sit patiently on a little rock by the side of the cleft and gaze on the mighty ocean one will be quickly transported into the realms of transcendental meditation without the intervention of the new breed of gurus from Switzerland or the United States. But even more transcendental than such meditation, Ravana's Cleft is an excellent place to invite anyone who plays games on the brink. Ravana's Cleft is not merely the edge of a precipice. It is really and truly the brink of a sharp escarpment with a sheer drop into the deep ocean—with no continental shelf. Everyone who chooses brinkmanship (or is driven to it) should be invited to Ravana's Cleft. They can then really stand on the brink. A fatal slip or a little edging to a side will mean death to the brinkman—and this will be a salutary lesson to all who think that they can achieve miracles of success by indulging in brinkmanship. Ravana's Cleft or Lover's Leap can and should be made a spot of attraction for the political tourist. A propaganda blurb can record that this special brink was made by Ravana during his tussle with Rama. This cleft was perhaps the first political brink that was created in order to inveigle an adversary to his doom, but Rama had refused to be tricked by Ravana in this way. At the moment, Kissinger is dancing on the brink in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa and is endangering the future and health of three black African Presidents (out of five who fringe the white-controlled territories in southern Africa) who seem tempted to get on the same brink themselves. Ian Smith and Vorster no doubt believe that once the blacks are brought to the brink they could be pushed into the limitless bottom. What is being attempted now is brinkmanship in Rhodesia, and Ian Smith seems to be willing to play the brinkman's game by making half promises of acceptance, so that the foolish Blacks (the blacks are always fools while the whites are the epitome of wisdom) forget *apartheid* and Namibia. If Kissinger and the Americans want to make any impact on the Blacks and the Coloured World they must start by ending *apartheid* in South Africa and its mandated territory of Namibia. Without exorcising the evil of *apartheid* in South Africa, a settlement in Rhodesia will not be possible. White rule in Rhodesia is sustained today only by *apartheid* in Afrikaner's South Africa, and unless this evil is removed root and branch, the Ian Smiths would be able to dominate the blacks in their territories for a little while longer. Kissinger's current brinkmanship in Africa may help the Whites to dominate parts of Africa for sometime longer, but it cannot resolve the basic confrontations between the rich whites and the poor blacks. Interim governments for two years are fake. But, the end of white rule in Africa is not far off and the demand by African countries for the liquidation of the nuclear military arsenal being developed in South Africa will be supported by the entire nonaligned and third world. And the socialist camp, no doubt for its own sectarian interests, will support this demand. In the present balance of world armed power this demand to liquidate the white nuclear arsenal in South Africa (and Israel) may sound academic and unreal, but as late as the thirties and the early forties Mahatma Gandhi, who had raised the cry of Indian Independence, was the "naked fakir" to the Whites who never imagined that they would quit India for another hundred years or more. The wheel of time moves faster now than it did just two decades ago.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Elections In 1977

DEVELOPING POLITICAL TRENDS in the country indicate that the desire of some political personalities to have the 1977 elections postponed to 1980, or indefinitely "until the masses want it", (how the wishes of "the masses" are to be determined is not mentioned), has already backfired. There is not the slightest chance that these elements can muster the necessary two-thirds majority in the NSA to adopt a constitutional amendment to have the elections postponed. The SLFP, by itself, does not have a two-thirds majority and what is more important two Ministers, Messrs T. B. Subasinghe and R. S. Perera, have stated that they are against the postponement of the elections and Mr. R. S. Perera has gone so far as to say "count me out of the two thirds majority" (vide *Daily Mirror* 5/10/76). This is no doubt advance warning to the SLFP Party Whip.

Of the Government Parliamentary Party, the indications are that the CP will not support the postponement of the elections. At a seminar, Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama has stated that he was not for the postponement of the elections. And finally, Mr. Keuneman (vide *Daily Mirror* 5/10/76), stated categorically that it was futile to waste time talking about the postponing of the elections, but it would be better to concentrate on winning the next elections. This means that the CP will oppose the postponement of the 1977 elections and this makes the chances of the Government getting the two-thirds majority almost impossible. In the circumstances, the only way that the elections can be postponed is by abrogating the Constitution and establishing a kind of dictatorial regime. This is a course of action which neither the Prime Minister nor the majority in the SLFP are likely to embark upon.

Ever since Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, immediately after the Nonaligned Summit and the MulKirigala by-election, flew his "postpone-the-elections-to-1980-by-a-constitutional-amendment" kite, there was an uneasy feeling that the Government would, by hook

or crook, get the elections postponed. The fact that Mr. Bandaranaike spoke about getting the two-thirds majority was clear indication that the abrogation of the Constitution had been ruled out by those who wanted a postponement. It is known that efforts had been privately made to "sound" some Independents and others in the NSA to see whether they would support a postponement of the elections. It is also known that all such efforts had failed.

But, this was and is known only in limited political circles, and there is widespread public speculation on this matter. The *Lake House* papers were completely silent on this matter so far as any opposition to the postponement is concerned, but *Lake House* regularly publishes (with great emphasis) all speeches and slogans demanding a postponement of the elections. The *Times* group, however, began presenting the "other side of the story" from the middle of last week. The *Daily Mirror*, September, 29, had a frontpage box item with the heading SUBASINGHE AGAINST THE POSTPONEMENT OF '77 ELECTIONS which stated: "At the Seminar on Paths to Socialism held at the Centre for Society and Religion yesterday, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs in reply to a question whether he was in favour of the postponement of the general elections said that he was against such a postponement. He also said that what was needed was not a postponement of the elections but a radical solution to the problems the country faced. Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama, the Communist Party MP, who also addressed the seminar in reply to a similar question, said that he was against the postponement of the elections."

The *Sunday Times*, (once again happily, it is the *Sunday Times* and no longer the ponderous *Times of Ceylon* *Sunday Illustrated* on October 3, 1976, following up what Mr. Subasinghe and Mr. Muttetuwegama had said at the seminar reported:

"Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, the Industries Minister, is the first Cabinet Minister to state publicly that he is opposed to the idea of postponing elections. (This was exclusively reported in the *Daily Mirror* last Wednesday). He was replying to a question at a seminar on Socialism and the Village sponsored by the Centre for Society and Religion. In an exclusive interview with the *Sunday Times* Mr. Subasinghe explained the circumstances in which he made that observation: 'I had analysed at length the post-1956 changes and stated that we had a very impressive record of achievement along a non-capitalist path of development. This also meant of course, that our progressive policies had seriously hurt vested interests, local and foreign.

'But we can't tame the tiger, the tiger will spring back. There is a word for it—'de-stabilisation—one way or another. In any case, radical problems need radical solutions. We need a new, more radical programme.

'I was then asked about elections next year. I said the matter had not been formally discussed in Cabinet and no decision has been taken but various Ministers and MPs were expressing personal opinions. I gave my own personal view.

'My position is that the power of the Government derives from the Constitution and the Constitution is founded on the sovereignty of the people exercising their will at periodic elections. To deny, in any way, that fundamental right would be to rob the people of their sovereignty'.

There is no doubt that Mr. Subasinghe is opposed to the postponement of the elections. Mr. Muttetuwegama fully endorsed this view.

"Answering the same question when it was posed to him. Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama, the MP for Kalawana, became the first CPer to take a public stand on the 'no-elections issue. He agreed with Mr. Subasinghe. Mr. Muttetuwegama is a member of the party's highest policy-making body and the leading figure in its Youth League activities.

On Wednesday, October 5, the *Daily Mirror*, went to town with a front page spread TWO MINISTERS NOT FOR POLLS POSTPONEMENT: RS—DON'T COUNT ME IN THE TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY.

The report relating to the first Minister stated: "The Minister of Information and Broadcasting Mr. R. S. Perera, said yesterday that.

No Postponement

he was totally against a postponement of the General Elections scheduled for next year as such a step would be undemocratic. In an exclusive interview with the *Daily Mirror* the Minister commenting on the widely-discussed topic of the day—"Will the General Elections be held next year?"—said: "One or two persons within our ranks who feel that there should be a postponement asked me whether I would agree to a postponement of the elections by using the two-third majority. I have told them not to count me in the two-third majority if that was to happen."

"Mr. Perera expressing his personal opinion on the matter said that his view on any postponement of elections were the same their revered leader, Mr. R. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike would hold if he were living. If the late Prime Minister was living he would have shuddered at the mere idea of extending the tenure of office of the Government beyond that laid down in the constitution as such a step would be unthinkable according to his policies." The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, had categorically said that elections would be held as scheduled in May 1977. Mr. Perera said that he firmly supported the Prime Minister on this issue. Sri Lanka so far had been praised for upholding the glittering principles of democracy. Why should they allow that reputation to suffer? he asked. Judging by the record of work done by the present Government they should not be scared of facing the hustings boldly in keeping with democratic principles. The Government during these past seven years has done more work than any other previous regime, including the SLFP coalition governments.

"There are of course certain shortcomings such as the high cost of consumer items etc. most of which are beyond the control of the government. It has been argued by these who advocate the postponement, that it would help to complete the balance programme of work. No Government that had faced elections was able to complete its entire programme of work. There would always be a balance even if we extend our tenure or not. The Minister also drew attention to the situation prior to the 1970 General Elections when the United Front leaders while in

Opposition went in deputation to the then Governor General protesting against rumours afloat that the Dudley Senanayake regime was about to postpone election. 'If we branded a postponement of the elections then as undemocratic then I don't see how a postponement could not be undemocratic now said Mr. Perera. As far as he was concerned he had told those who were working for a postponement that the government had already got an extension of two years because of the work involved in the drafting of the new constitution and that he was totally opposed to going beyond that without obtaining a fresh mandate. 'I cannot any longer be the MP for Kelaniya if I don't get a mandate from my voters', he added.

The report about Mr. Keuneman's views was as follows: "Let us concentrate our efforts on winning the next General Elections rather than squander our energies in sterile debate on whether or not this General Election should be held", said Mr. Pieter Keuneman Minister of Housing and Construction and General Secretary of

the Communist Party of Sri Lanka addressing members of Communist Youth Leagues at Maligawatte, Colombo, on Saturday. Mr. Keuneman said that talk about postponement of the elections only played into the hands of the UNP and other reactionary forces. It helped Mr. J. R. Jayewardene to hide the UNP's political bankruptcy and its absence of policy, programme and principle behind a bogey of a so-called 'threat to democracy'.

"The Constitution is very specific about when the term of the present National State Assembly ends. No political party, either in Government or in Opposition, has proposed any change in this position. He warned the youth to be cautious about swallowing UNP 'dead ropes.'

"Mr. Keuneman said that there was no need for any despondency. No government in Sri Lanka's history had done as much as the United Front Government. Even opponents of the Government conceded this. The progressive forces should make full use of these achievements in their efforts to prepare

KISSINGER'S LUCK

THOUGH the US was said to be confident that "Dr. Kissinger's Rhodesia's peace plan was on course despite Black African objections" there is no doubt that the plan seems to have flopped. Easwar Sagar, in a despatch from Washington to the *Hindu* on September 29, stated that "allegations have begun to surface that the US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, may have made contradictory promises to the African and White leaders in Southern Africa, and it is being suggested that that what is responsible for the steady widening of the gap between the African leaders and Mr. Ian Smith over the future of Rhodesia. Though so far neither Mr. Smith nor the Tanzanian President, Mr. Nyerere, acting as the spokesmen of the African Presidents, has accused Dr. Kissinger of duplicity, it has been noted that the two men have gone on record with statements which indicate that Dr. Kissinger may have presented to them versions of a Rhodesia solution which are radically different....." Mr. Kissinger seems determined to proceed on the assumption that nothing has gone wrong at a time when it was clear that his solution for Rhodesia has ended up on the rocks. The Sagar despatch went on to say that "Dr. Kissinger's hope that a breakthrough in Rhodesia would amount to a quick coup for the present US Administration, and enable Mr. Ford to seek the vote of black Americans who now seem fully committed to Mr. Jimmy Carter....." There is no doubt that Mr. Kissinger now seems to have lost the touch he had a few years ago to make a success of shuttle diplomacy. All his recent attempts at diplomacy have misfired. He has retired hurt from the Middle East totally unable to do anything about Lebanon. His efforts to hold an International Conference of the USA, China, North and South Korea on the Korean question also failed to materialise although he obtained the prior approval of China—Chinese officials had told the Senate leader Mr. Scott during his visit to China in June that they had given the okay for such a Conference. Mr. Kissinger's luck seems to have changed.....and he has lost his touch.

politically and organisationally, for victory once again in 1977. Mr. Keuneman said that there was a noticeable change in the political climate after the successful Non-Aligned Conference and the Mul-kirigala by-election. Many wavering elements, who had been taken in by the UNP's claims to in the fight for radical programme and its implementation will help forward the fight for the restoration of progressive unity. Mr. Keuneman added that it was necessary to distinguish clearly between hard core opponents like the UNP and the FP and critics who, while admitting that the Government's achievements of the Government, Mr. Keuneman said that still unsolved problems like unemployment and inflation were only possible of full solution when capitalism was abolished and a socialist system established. "The two main needs of the hour", he declared 'are a radical programme and the

restoration of the unity of the progressive forces. If this is achieved, victory is beyond doubt?"

"Elaborating on the need for a programme, Mr. Keuneman said that what was needed was both a crash programme of immediate measures to satisfy urgent demands of the people, and a long-term programme of advance in the future period, had generally done well, nevertheless had experienced some personal disappointment or were critical of one or other MP or governmental representative. The latter category of critics, he said, usually subordinate their personal grievances to the general interest when they voted at the general elections for a new government."

All this makes it clear that the attempt to postpone the elections by securing a two-thirds majority to "constitutionally" postpone the elections has boomeranged. And, today, the speculations have begun as to when the elections will be held. There are some who think that the

Elections will be held immediately after a "sunshine budget" in November—sometime between January and March before the euphoria they hope to create around the Budget on the top of the successful Nonaligned Summit, faded out. Such a snap election, they opine, will give the Government the greatest possible advantage vis a vis the UNP. Many think that the elections may be held as early as possible after the Budget, but there are others who believe that for astrological reasons the elections will not be held until March was over, and that for this reason it was most likely to be held after April 1977. Other pundits have put forward the view that it would be advantageous to the Government to wait until August 1977 when the horoscopes of leading UNP stalwarts take a downward trend. Whether the elections are fixed for astrological reasons or for socio-political reasons, there is certainty that elections will be held in 1977.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Sept. 20 — Sept. 25

A DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD
COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWS/PAPERS
PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO.

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; TOCSI—Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Athcha; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20: Addressing a mammoth rally at the Senanayake Park, Badulla, yesterday, commemorating the 25th anniversary of the SLFP, the PM, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, said that the Government's enemies were carrying on various propaganda campaigns to mislead the people: that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene had said that in 1977 the Parliament would be dissolved and that he would become Prime Minister and also the Chairman of the Nonaligned Conference: that this would never happen: that the SLFP should organise itself more effectively to prevent this. Replying to interruptions from the stage and the crowd that there should be no elections in 1977, she had said, "I am not speaking about elections. We can see about that later on..." and reminded the audience that the SLFP had won all 10 seats in the Uva in 1970. At the same rally two UNPers, Mr. Amarananda Ratnayake, former MP for Passara and the Ven. Bibilegama Medhan-kara, publicly crossed over to the SLFP—CDN. The PM will pay an official visit to Norway from October 7 to October 9—CDN. The Government had decided to

assist certain categories of the unemployed to find employment abroad: mainly draftsmen, welders, skilled carpenters, masons, motor mechanics, electricians, radio technicians, sheet metal workers and marine boats repair men: that the Labour Department was setting up Vocational Training Centres to train unemployed youth in these skills—CDN. The GMOA, at an emergency general meeting held yesterday, decided to gear themselves for a complete stoppage or work in two weeks if five of the outstanding demands were not settled satisfactorily by the Health Ministry: the demands the doctors are agitating for are the restoration of certain rights government doctors had always enjoyed without payment of compensation, and also for providing certain facilities which other government servants are entitled to: the rights withdrawn includes the Channelled Consultation Practice, the right to resign and the right to earned leave, no pay leave and study leave; the facilities denied were, among others, free accommodation, travelling expenses, etc.—CDM. The Chairman of the Milk Board claimed that there had been a significant increase in both liquid and powdered milk production: that 305,000 pints of milk were processed every day—CDM. Prompt action by the public at 5 p.m. yesterday resulted in the rounding up of four armed gangsters who had allegedly robbed a cooperative store at Serpentine Road, Borella, of cash; this is the second time that cash collections from this co-op were stolen by an armed gang.—CDM. Addressing a woman's rally in Kandy, yesterday, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, the UNP leader, declared: "we will sacrifice our lives and hoist the flag of revolution with the help of the LSSP, FP and SLVB against an illegal government if it made any attempts to be in power after May 22, 1977.... that we will not obey the laws of such an illegal government.... we will break the laws.... our struggle will be a non-violent struggle based on Lord Buddha's tea-

chings..."—CO. According to the *Virakesari* the Tamil United Front has decided to file a Habeas Corpus application in the Supreme Court in support of the Tamil youth detained in prison without any legal action being taken against them. The UNP organisations in the Northern Province celebrated the 70th birthday of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the Opposition, by giving alms to the poor and performing religious ceremonies in temples and church—VK. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP, will leave for Madrid today to participate in the Inter Parliamentary Union meeting: Dr. N. M. Perera, President of the LSSP, too, would participate at this meeting: Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Shipping, Tourism and Aviation, will lead Sri Lanka's delegation for the IPU—VK. Canada has granted a \$ 10 million interest free loan to Sri Lanka to be repaid in 50 years with a ten year grace period: this loan will be utilised for development work under the Mahaveli scheme and for the restoration of irrigation tanks—ATH. According to the *Dinamina* India will help Sri Lanka in oil exploration work: this was revealed in discussions between Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs and Mr. K. D. Malaviya a Union Cabinet Minister of the Indian Government.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21: According to the *Daily News* legislation will be introduced shortly in the National State Assembly to bring under state control all lands owned by religious denominations: under this proposed legislation exemptions granted to lands owned by all religious temporalities under the Land Reform Law will be withdrawn. Mr. Michael Siriwardene, Minister of Labour, who is in Teheran to participate at the sixth Asian Labour Ministers' Conference, will discuss with officials there the request made by Iran to supply skilled labour from Sri Lanka: this request is considered to be a positive response to the proposal made by Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, at last year's conference of International Labour Organisation in Geneva to set up an Asian manpower pool which was accepted by the ILO for implementation—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition and President of the UNP, told a party meeting in Kandy that if the government continued in power after May 22, 1977, the UNP with the help of the LSSP, FP and Vimukthi Balavegaya will revolt against the government—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a condolence meeting at the BMICH yesterday on the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung said the name of Mao Tse-tung cannot be erased from the world's history: she further said Chairman Mao and late Mr. Chou En-lai were always sympathetic to Sri Lanka and China had never been wavering in coming to the assistance of Sri Lanka in times of need—CDM. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, had discussions with Libyan Treasury Minister, Mohamed Al-Zarouk Ragab, in Tripoli, on co-operation in the financial, banking and economic fields as well as possible expansion of trade between the two countries—CDM. Mr. C. P. de Silva, Chairman of the Employers' Federation, addressing the 47th annual general meeting of the federation said employees participation in management and the profit-sharing scheme by employees will aggravate the problems already faced by managements and the Department of Labour—CDM. The Tamil United Front has postponed the school boycott campaign and demonstration planned for October 1 and 2 because of Saraswathi Puja, a Hindu religious ceremony, falling on these two days—VK.

Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will inaugurate today the Gin Ganga Flood Protection scheme at Baddegama: the scheme will be implemented with assistance from China—LD. According to the *Lankadipa* government is considering a proposal to takeover all liquor taverns in the country to run them under State Distilleries Corporation in an attempt to supply the people with pure unadulterated drinks. *Aththa* in an editorial praised the Minister of Lands and Agriculture, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, for taking action to take-over lands belonging to religious organisations.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22: Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, assured a delegation from Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress that he would take action to appoint special officers to each ministry in order to see that the government's language policy as laid down in the Constitution is implemented: these officers will submit periodical reports to the Minister on the implementation of the language policy: the Buddhist delegation complained that since the Department of Official Languages was scrapped there was much laxity in the implementation of the language policy—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a public rally after the inauguration of the Gin Ganga Flood Protection Project said the government continued to import foods owing to the crop failures the country experienced last year because of the drought: she further said the crop failures will not remain for ever and the attainment of self sufficiency in food and other consumer items remains the keynote of government policy in regard to development—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* a new political party, the Lanka-Bharatha Otrrumai Katchi, is in the offing in the Northern province: leaflets issued by the party states that it is opposed to the policy of the Federal Party and said it would join Tamil Nadu on a linguistic basis: the party is opposed to an Independent state in Sri Lanka: the leaflets are signed by Dr. K. Tharmalingam who is also mentioned as the party nominee for the Jaffna electorate in the next general elections. According to the *Observer* the government will undertake the diversion of Kelani Ganga to the North Western province and work is expected to be started soon: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in her speech in Galle yesterday after inaugurating the Gin Ganga Flood Protection scheme also said that development projects in the country have not been cited as special favours for certain areas but the only criterion that guided such action was the broader national interest. Mr. C. Kathiravelupillai, MP for Kopai and General Secretary of the Federal Party, told the *Virakesari* that his party will not join any party to launch a struggle to hold general elections next year: he further said the motive of the Federal Party is to launch struggles for the independence of the Tamil speaking community. Employees of the National Milk Board decided to launch a strike from midnight tomorrow to win several demands that have been made to the management by their trade unions—ATH. Mr. Ananda Sirisena, Deputy Minister of Co-operatives, Food and Small Industries, has protested to the government against the import of over 2 million yards of textiles for the Christmas and New year season: Mr. Sirisena has pointed out that textiles for the festive season could be manufactured locally—DM. Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, decided to exempt the foreign com-

panies and their employees who are engaged in oil exploration works from all taxes—DM.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23: The Supreme Court yesterday ordered Mr. A. Amirthalingam, ex MP for Vadducoddai, to appear before the Court on September 30; the case filed by the Attorney General against the judgement of the Trial-at-Bar which inquired into charges against the ex MP for Vadducoddai, will commence on September 30—VK. Kurunegala has been picked by the Government for a budgeting test under the new decentralised budgeting scheme: this town in the North Central Province will be tested first before the scheme is introduced to the rest of the island—CDN. Government yesterday fixed the export market price of coffee at 1445 pounds per metric ton and this price is more than double the price at which coffee was earlier exported from the country: in mid July the government stopped the export of 75 metric tons of coffee by a private sector firm and later cancelled the licence of this firm to export because the firm has fixed the export price at 640 pounds per ton—CDN. Nearly 2000 employees of the non-academic staff of the Peradeniya Campus began a strike from yesterday demanding the removal of the President of the Campus, Prof. P. W. Vithanage—CDN. All text books for school children for the next year will be ready by November this year according to the Educational Publications Board—CDN. Mr. S. K. K. Suriarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives, Small Industries and Food, yesterday gave orders to all Assistant Commissioners of Co-operatives that MPs should not be appointed to Boards of Co-operatives in keeping with a Cabinet decision—CDM. Mr. Shirley Amarasinghe, Sri Lanka's Permanent Representative in the UN, was yesterday elected President of the General Assembly succeeding Gaston Torn of Luxembourg—CDM. At the student Council elections held at the Vidyalan-kara Campus of the University the National Students Union controlled by the Communist Party (Moscow Wing) won all posts defeating its near rival, the UNP, by over 200 votes majority: the SLFP was third and the LSSP last—CDM. Mr. Leslie Goonewardena, General Secretary of the LSSP and MP for Panadura, in a statement said that the LSSP had never promised support to the UNP to revolt against the government if the latter failed to hold general elections next year: this statement was issued following a speech by the UNP leader in Kandy recently where he said that his party along with the LSSP and other parties would revolt against the government if elections are not held in the year '77—ATH. Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will leave for New York on September 26, to participate in the 21st General Assembly of the United Nations. LD.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24: The Speaker of the National Assembly yesterday ruled that the Motion by the Opposition on Emergency cannot be discussed in the House as it would be subjudice because the matter is already before the Supreme Court: the Opposition sought to suspend the standing orders to discuss the motion which called for the release of all those held in custody under Emergency Regulations in view of the verdict of the Trial-at-Bar which held that there is no valid declaration of the Emergency as "matter of urgent public importance"—CDM. Mr. Maichripala Senanayake, Leader of the House, said that the Government has agreed to the appointment of a Select Committee of Parliamentarians to examine the Emergency laws—CDM. At a press conference yesterday

Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, said the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will refer the decisions made at the Non-Aligned Summit Conference, Colombo, in her address to the UN General Assembly on September 30—CDM. A procession and a rally which will be addressed by the Prime Minister will be held today at Galle Face in commemoration of the 17th death anniversary of late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike: religious ceremonies will be held on Sunday September 26 at Horagolla—CDM. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, announced yesterday that cars used by heads of state during the Non-aligned Conference will be re-exported and cars used by other delegates for the conference will be sold to government institutions: Mr. Jayakody also said that flats built for the delegates will be allocated to government servants on the basis of government quarters—CDN. Mr. Jayakody referring to the situation in the North said the area is under control and no one is so far arrested over the shooting incident in the peninsula in which Mr. C. Arulampalam MP for Nallur was injured—VK. Strike by non-academic staff of the Peradeniya Campus of the University has been settled after talks between the union representatives and Mr. B. Y. Tudawe, Deputy Minister of Education—VK. According to the *Dinamina* the complete expenditure incurred by Sri Lanka in hosting the Non-aligned conference will be announced by the Prime Minister soon. The Department for Registration of Persons has so far issued over six million identity cards—DM. Mr. Mervyn de Silva, former Editor of the *Sunday Observer*, in a letter to the management of Lake House asked over Rs. 5 lakhs as compensation for removing him from his post or to reinstate him in the post he was holding: it is understood that if the management fails to comply with Mr. Silva's request he would file action in the courts—ATH.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25: Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday speaking at the Bandaranaike commemoration rally at Galle Face green said millions pay homage to the memory of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and the number keeps increasing year after year because the people of the country want to revere a leader for the services he rendered to the nation: Mrs. Bandaranaike said the massive crowds that had choked Colombo since the previous night from the most distant parts of the country bore ample testimony to the fact that the people of Sri Lanka had for all time decided to accept the great path shown by the late leader—CDN. Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka was closed yesterday following a strike by non-academic employees numbering over 2000: the employees demanded the removal of the President of the Campus, Prof. P. W. Vithanage—CDN. Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism, yesterday ordered a full investigation about the imports of food and drinks on quotas issued by the Tourist Board by the organisations that catered during the Non-aligned Summit: this investigation has been ordered following allegations that there were malpractices in the issuing of quotas—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* several MPs have proposed to the government that MPs who were found guilty on bribery should not be made entitled for pensions under a Bill that has been presented in the NSA for granting of pensions: meanwhile certain MPs have said the qualifying period for pensions should

be enlarged. Prompt action by Police prevented major fire at M/s Lever Brothers, the employees of which firm returned to work last week after a two months strike: according to the Police highly inflammable materials were found along with certain articles in the stores Police investigations are being carried out—CDM, Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, UNP MP for Kalkudadah, was refused permission by prison authorities when he went to the Welikada prison to visit certain Tamil youths kept under custody without trial—VK. Mr. Rajah Welegama, Deputy Minister of Health, told the *Dinamina* yesterday that the government has decided to exempt from taxes all imports of ayurvedic drugs: the government had taken a decision on this following a request by the Ministry of Health and on the recommendation by the Ministry of Finance—DM. According to the *Lankadipa* the Prime Minister addressing the Bandaraanaike commemoration rally yesterday has said that she is not afraid to hold the general elections because she was sure that the people of the country will vote for the SLFP.

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

Sept. 17 – Sept. 22

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17: Tass, the Soviet News Agency, in a statement on the MIG affair said the pilot of the MIG 25 plane ran out of fuel when he was closer to the Japanese territory and landed at Hakodate airport: the statement further said Japanese authorities influenced the Soviet airman and refused Soviet Embassy officials to see him: Tass also said it is very wrong on the part of Japan to allow America, a third country, to interfere in this affair: Tass also charged that US secret police was behind the move to transport the pilot to America whom they alleged sought asylum in the US. The official People's Daily of China in an editorial said worthy successors to Chairman Mao Tse-tung will be appointed: the editorial hinted new appointments were imminent to fill the numerous gaps in the Peking hierarchy. Replying to the demands made at the Colombo Non-aligned Conference US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, reiterated the American position that the US is totally opposed to any blanket debt moratorium: Dr. Kissinger addressing a press conference in the UN further said that debt relief should be on a selective case-by-case basis. It was revealed in Washington another big American military industrial corporation—Grumman Aircraft—paid over six million dollars to officials in Iran to get an order for the delivery of F-14 fighter planes. Prince Bernhard of Netherlands resigned from his post of President of the World Wildlife Fund. US Senate yesterday passed a Bill to prohibit US companies to bribe or attempt to bribe foreign officials to sell their products: President Ford believes the bill would be difficult to enforce and favours increased disclosure of bribery and improper payments as the most effective deterrent: according to the bill passed by the Senate a penalty of a maximum of two years jail and a fine of 10,000 dollars will be imposed on defaulting companies. Dr. Henry Kissinger was warmly embraced by Zambian Foreign Minister, Siteke Mwale, who told

him that Zambia was continuing to support guerilla war against the white minority government's rule in South Africa. The International Monetary Fund decided to give membership to Vietnam: US opposed the move at the Board members meeting of the MIF. Nearly 140 people died when a six storey building collapsed in Karachi last Monday.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18: The last of an estimated 350,000 Chinese filed past the remains of Chairman Mao Tse-tung kept in the Peking's great Hall of People: nearly a million people are expected to gather today in Peking for a mass rally—the finale to eight days of mourning: before the rally, the entire nation of 800 million will stand in silence for three minutes and all work in the nation will come to a standstill: foreigners will not be invited for the rally. Shooting erupted and several deaths were reported as students in the black township of Soweto in South Africa staged protests against the visit of Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State: Police said black students singing freedom songs carried placards condemning the visit of the US Secretary of State: Dr. Kissinger left Lusaka yesterday and had talks with Zambian President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, who did not raise any major objections to a meeting of Dr. Kissinger and Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia: Dr. Kaunda also warned the State Secretary that if the mission of the latter fails Zambia has no alternative but to fight: On Thursday's national referendum on whether President Anwar Sadat should serve for another six year period as head of State, the President received 99 per cent of the votes cast: Interior Minister, Sayed Fahmi, announced that Mr Sadat got only 5,605 votes against him out of over nine million votes cast: Mr. Sadat will be sworn in as President for another six years in a ceremony next month. Lebanon's president-elect Elias Sarkis and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat met in Shoura in Lebanon to seek ways to end the crisis in Lebanon: the meeting was also attended by Syrian and Arab League representatives. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel in a new year message yesterday offered peace negotiations with all Arab neighbours of Israel. Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan indicated that he would continue to lead the ruling Liberal Democratic Party: Mr. Miki who was under intense pressure from within the LDP to resign carried out a major Cabinet reshuffle on Wednesday in a compromise effort to unify the party. President Ford met Italian and Spanish ethnic groups in Washington and sought the Catholic votes for him in the November election.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19: The American House of Representatives formally re-opened an investigation into the murders of President Kennedy and black civil rights leader Martin Luther King: the new inquiry has been sought because of growing disquiet that all leads to both assassinations were not followed up in earlier investigations. An association to promote tea sales of all tea producing countries will be set up soon: representatives of fifteen countries—a 75 per cent of tea producing countries—met in Geneva and approved a draft agreement to set up the association. Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, had a two and a half hour meeting with Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa: Mr. Vorster gave a report of the talks he had with Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith: US officials said Dr. Kissinger was prepared to see the

Rhodesian leader if he appeared ready to change his policy of refusing to hand over power to black majority. Israeli Foreign Minister, Yigal Allon, said that his country will not return to the pre-1967 boundaries. A report from Buenos Aires said former President Maria Estela Peron transferred over eight million dollars of party funds to her own account and later withdrew some of the money: Mrs. Peron was deposed by the military last March and now she is under arrest pending charges involving Government funds. A West German magazine *Stern* said that the Soviet pilot of the MIG 25 Foxbats plane was influenced by a CIA agent to defect to America: the paper describing the Agent as an Australian engineer said he informed the Japanese authorities eleven days before about the arrival of the pilot and the MIG 25. A spokesman for the Bonn Defence Ministry said crucial documents about the deal between Lockheed aircraft corporation and West German officials are missing. The Sea Law Conference could not reach an agreement on the key issue of exploitation of minerals: Cameroun Ambassador Paul Engo, said the entire conference might fail unless a solution was found.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20: Dr. Kissinger told the Rhodesian PM, Ian Smith, face-to-face that the USA, Britain and Black African leaders want him to hand over power to the breakaway colony's black majority. The Indian Government has relaxed the censorship for foreign journalists working in India: that the detailed guidelines were withdrawn so far as foreign journalists were concerned: that local journalists were still governed by the rules imposed when an Emergency had been declared 15 months ago. The Burmese Government imposed guidelines on the country's mass media requiring them to conform with the socialist policies and programmes of the ruling Socialist Programme Party: the mass media was expected to mould a correct socialist ideological outlook among the people: the Burmese government published 7 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 350,000 copies each day: that guidelines for private publishers had already been gazetted last month warning them against publishing anti-socialist material. The former military dictator of Thailand, Marshal Thanom Kittachorn, defied government's order by flying back from self-exile abroad against its wishes sparking fears of a violent reaction from students: that the Marshal had flown back from Singapore and had gone straight into a Buddhist temple where he had his head shaved and donned the saffron robes of a monk: though Thanom claimed that he had returned to "make merit" for his 91-year old father as a monk, the consensus of opinion was that "politics must have been behind his return. The saffron robe cannot cover his badness..." Renewed fighting was reported on three fronts yesterday while President-elect Elias Sarkis prepared for talks with Palestinian and Syrian leaders on a formula for halting Lebanon's civil war.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21: Japan rejected Soviet accusations that the pilot of the top-secret MIG 25, Viktor Belenko, was forced to seek asylum in the United States: this denial by Japanese authorities was handed over to Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo. Japanese and American officials yesterday removed self-destructive devices from the MIG 25 jet prior to dismantling it to be removed to a Japanese airbase. Dr. Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General, told, a resumption of a constructive dialogue to achieve progress in efforts

to establish a new world economic order was very essential and failure to achieve this would end in a new confrontation between developed and developing nations: he wanted the forthcoming UN General Assembly to dedicate its attention precisely to the problems of development. Prime Minister Olaf Palme's Social Democratic Party lost the elections in Sweden after ruling for 44 years. A former CIA officer, Mr. Philip Agee, said in Kingston that CIA personnel are active in Jamaica. US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, arrived in Lusaka to brief the Zambian President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, on the weekend talks he had with leaders of Rhodesia and South Africa: Dr. Kissinger told reporters on arrival that he hoped his meditation would work well and expected a favourable reply from Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith. Though students of Thailand were expected to demonstrate against the return of Thailand's former military ruler, Marshal Thanom, apparently there were not any trouble in the country: meanwhile Marshal Thanom who returned from Singapore lived in a Buddhist temple dressed in the yellow robes of a monk. The Right Wing Falangists Radio in Lebanon announced that peace talks between President-elect Elias Sarkis, PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Syrian Deputy Minister of Defence, Najj Jamil, have failed: the Radio quoted Najj Jamil as saying the talks did not produce any results.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22: Delegates from about 150 nations started arriving in New York for the opening of the 31st General Assembly of the United Nations which was scheduled for yesterday: the General Assembly will be presided by Sri Lanka's Shirley Amarasinghe and according to observers this year's session is expected to be a bitter confrontation between Third World countries and industrialised nations: the documents from Colombo from the 5th Non-aligned nations Summit has been published in the UN as documents of the UN General Assembly. 189 people died and thousands were rendered homeless by floods in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in India. Violent fights erupted in Lebanon amid speculation that the swearing-in of Elias Sarkis as new President next Thursday will end the civil war in this battered nation. At a large meeting in Sydney in which over 4000 people participated a motion that Australia should be made a Republic was unanimously adopted: the meeting was convened to protest against the removal of Labour Government of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam earlier this year by Governor General Sir John Kerr. UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim appealed to delegates participating for the 31st General Assembly of the United Nations that they should refrain from endless parties and to turn up for meetings in time: he said this would not only make the UN to work better but also would look better in the eyes of the public at large. Dr. Henry Kissinger, US State Secretary, yesterday met the Zambian President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, and later Tanzania's leader Julius Nyerere: though Dr. Kissinger seemed to have persuaded Dr. Kaunda to accept the proposal for a settlement in Rhodesia President Nyerere seemed to be more sceptical and more militant than Dr. Kaunda and is likely to hold the key to black acceptance of the deal: no details of the proposals have been made public but the package is believed to call for a swift transition to black majority rule in Rhodesia with the rights of Rhodesia's 250,000 whites guaranteed.

MARGINALIA

- S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike
- Decentralised Budget
- Public Transport
- MP's Letter

by Bryan de Kretser

S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE

In season and out, the SLFP leaders extol the virtues of the late much revered leader and claim that their Party has seriously endeavoured to put his principle on socio-economic life into practice. I would like to suggest that they hold a conference among themselves to evaluate their existing performances against S. W. R. D.'s teachings. They will discover that an enormous gap exists between his principles and their actions.

Look at the language matter. He tried to make Sinhala the official language in 24 hours. I was passing a group of Policemen on the road the other day when the leader was giving instructions on traffic control—he was speaking in English. Look at the language decorations on the uniforms of our Police and other Armed Forces chaps—they are all written in the true State language of this nation—English.

Folks claim that S.W.R.D. initiated the era of the common man. Party folks extol the triumphs through the various nationalisation measures etc. But what is the actual state of affairs? As never before, because the State today controls most of the citadels of economic and social power, a few men have us all in their complete control. To get a job, a piece of land, to work within any of the regional district committees, the blessing of the MP is necessary. It is reported that often only the men who give money, only those who are prepared to offer their womenfolk, have the slightest chance of getting anywhere or getting anything done. These may, in some cases, be exaggerations. But there is no smoke without fire. And the enormous powers which the MP has been given is responsible for this sad state of

affairs. Power corrupts even the best of men. Therefore there must be structures which control the actions of the topmen, for their own sakes, and more certainly for the sake of the common man.

It is reported that in some electorates, the MP has a list of the electorate folks, against some names, there is a red-mark to indicate that these folks voted against the MP. And of course if any of them repair to him for assistance, the answer is a firm 'No.' How by the way, do the MP chaps know how we voted? How then does any MP claim to know who voted for him and who against? In some cases it is even suggested that the way the parents voted is counted against living folks. Is that what we mean when we claim that the era of the common man has dawned? Ask any Sinhala speaking national dress attired chap what happens when he enters any Police station to seek redress. Both his attitude and his language tell against him heavily. If only he wore Western clothes and spoke in English, he would be treated very differently indeed. Thus has the era of the Common Man dawned in this Fair Land.

I am convinced that until we reduce the powers which the MP has usurped, we cannot make progress towards the goals which S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike outlined for this nation. One simple way to achieve this is to make it unconstitutional for MPs to have the power they now enjoy via the letter of recommendation or support. Within each district, they should enjoy just one vote each in any regional committee concerned with development. Only in this way shall we be able to build an open society where the common man will express his opinion unafraid. Now most of them continue to proclaim that their leaders are wonderfully attired, when many of them, like the Chinese emperor of old, are actually walking about quite naked in the market place.

THE DECENTRALISED BUDGET

Recently it was reported in the Newspapers that a defeated SLFP Man had been given a considerable sum of money by the State to develop the electorate. If this is what the decentralization of funds

means then we must protest. With reports that elections are near at hand, the SLFP chap would be less than human if he did not succumb to the temptation to use this money to further his chance and nurture his voters so that he succeeds the next time. This is a blatant use of Public money for personal advantage. The electorate concerned will suffer the most. Instead of the money being allocated to a group of responsible citizens in the district to spend on the most necessary measures for proper development, it is more than likely that having served his near relatives and friends, the aspiring candidate will go in for stunt projects which may serve to attract public interest to himself and may fool some of the locals. But the entire business stinks to high heaven.

PUBLIC TRANSPORT

Only a few weeks back, it was reported that a decision had been taken by the Government to prevent public transport—the buses—being used to serve Party political ends. Immediately it had to do with the application of UNP folks to hire buses to enable their supporters to attend some party meeting. It appeared to be, in any event, a sound decision. Unfortunately to judge from the number of buses which were available on Bandaranaike Commemoration Day to the general Public, this Government decision was observed in the breach. It is by this open disregard for objectivity that this Government has earned considerable disrepute.

THE MP'S LETTER

In India when Gandhiji wanted to focus attention on the movement for independence, he chose to refuse to pay the tax on salt. He chose, by inspiration one might say, a very simple yet elemental need to involve Indians across the land in a fight for freedom. I believe that for this land today the MP's letter might well prove to be a similar simple way to start to secure real freedom for the peoples of the land. It is surely not required in the constitution of this land that all of us must secure an MP's letter before he applies for a job to prove his reliability. Yet it has become the dominant single issue for the majority of the people. When we declare "The era of the common man has arrived in Sri Lanka",

we proclaim a diabolical untruth. Today the era of the MP has dawned! The ninety successful Party members, SLFP or UNP hold us all in bondage. Instead of getting on with their own appointed tasks, by a slow process, these 90 chaps have gradually seized control of the entire land, or almost. And the MP; letter is the sign of this control and this bondage.

My friends, I tell you, it is not the holding of elections that is the important issue at this hour. It will only mean perhaps that instead of the present 90 some other 90 chaps will take their place. They will grow fat, their relatives will prosper, and we shall all find ourselves back where we started, needing to collect a letter from the triumphant ones, and discriminated against if we backed the loser—indeed, once elections are over, we shall revert to slavery again. Fight, I urge my countrymen, for real freedom for the common man—reject the tradition of the MP's letter. Declare our independence. Put responsibility for development growth where it must rest if we are to move ahead—on the backs of the ordinary, common, people. They will not fail us.



SINHALA — TAMIL

Something Must Be Done Soon

By R. Kahawita

I wish to keep on hammering at this problem till the heads flatten out and something comes out of it. Since writing the last two articles on the subject, some significant moves have taken place. There was the 20 point demand by a cross section of the Tamil speaking community as appeared in the Ceylon Daily News sometime back. There was a discussion between the P.M. and the group which formulated the 20 points. And lastly, there have been many comments and letters on the subject.

Unfortunately all these efforts have been marred by a leaflet put out by the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs entitled **Tamils in Sri Lanka**. It savours

like Vorster publishing a leaflet on **Blacks in South Africa** in defence of Apartheid (which if published, we would have rushed to condemn from every platform for the edification of the Non-Aligned club). The leaflet on **Tamils in Sri Lanka** was released for the benefit of the 85 nations attending the Summit Conference and to tell them that the Tamils in Sri Lanka are almost a privileged community.

The object of the leaflet is obviously a counter attack on (a) Memorandum submitted by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam to the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva in September 1973; (b) "Tamils of Sri Lanka" by Walter Scharz, a Minority Rights Group of Publications of September 1975; (c) Memorandum sent to Members of Parliament in Sri Lanka by the Ealam Tamils Association in London in January 1976.

These documents were released and publicised sometime ago. So the timing of the counter attack is vicious. The Ministry document was issued on 26th July 1976—16 days before the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned nations. **Whatever the value of this propaganda leaflet, it leaves a rancid taste in the mouth of the guests who have been invited to deliberate on high politics when within the host country there is a massive problem to progress and national unity—we say charity begins at home—so let us concentrate our energies to find a permanent solution to our problem before we go in search of others' problems to find a solution.**

Whatever the value of the moves and documents are, they will not draw us nearer to a solution to the canker in the body politic; the Sinhala community is still silent and seem to be reserved, or do not seem to have any ideas about it, except to carry on as things are. This is a Sinhala weakness but are we to be contented with it?

THE TWENTY POINTS listed by the signatories to the demands cover the basic rights of language, culture, religion, freedom to move about in the country and equality of opportunity, all these are enshrined in the present Constitu-

tion in Chapters V and VI. However, as it stands, administratively or by acts of commission and omission some of these basic rights are being eroded without a legal remedy.

The request in the 20 points is to enable the Tamil speaking community to exercise these rights without reservations as a section of Sri Lanka's indigenous population, and I may add, with equal claims and right to be in Sri Lanka and to consider her as their motherland. Their claim is based on historical facts and traditions. I am not thinking of the Stateless Tamils living in the Plantations. Their problem is not political but humanitarian. As a member country of the United Nations Organisation we have to deal with that problem within the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.

The claims of the Ceylon Tamils are quite different, and they should not include the class of stateless persons, even though it may strengthen their cause, or be useful to drive home their claims. This is a separate issue and must be kept out of the issue about the Ceylon Tamils.

To my way of thinking, the biggest stumbling block to a reasonable solution to the problem is the present Constitution and the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act No. 28 of 1958 which is also brought into the present Constitution. I may say, as an act of appeasement to modify the severity of the Official Language Act No. 23 of 1956, which was objected to by the Tamil speaking people and resulted in many an inhuman act to crush all efforts to establish equality of languages. These acts have widened the gulf between the two communities and each has become suspicious of the other. Further the gulf has widened further with the two language streams in education—a very effective method of segregations of the two communities.

The present Constitution has re-affirmed this separating gulf when it established two distinct territories, where Tamil is the official language for all practical purposes though it does not say so. The Constitution says "that the National State Assembly may, by or under its law, provide otherwise in the case of institutions exercising original jurisdiction on the Northern and Eastern Province etc., submitted their

The Coommunal Problem

pleadings, applications, motions and petitions in Tamil, and participate in the proceedings in Tamil."

Unfortunately the wording is "may". Even here it does not grant to the Tamil speaking people the use of their language as a right under the Constitution. It is subjected to Assembly sanction and debate which means if sanction is given by the Assembly, apart from the use of Tamil in these two provinces, it also creates two territories with definite territorial, administrative and political boundaries. When we say Northern Province or Eastern Province, the boundaries are defined, political constituencies are fixed etc.

Thus we have created two units that can be physically separated as separate Tamil speaking areas—a most dangerous situation to unity and understanding between the two communities—we have created an Ulster in Sri Lanka as the British did in Ireland causing untold misery even today.

The creation of two nations, language-wise, has given the Tamils strength in their struggle. I, speaking as a Sinhala—can see how this strength can be increased. A Tamil living in the Northern and Eastern Provinces can exercise his full rights as a citizen of Sri Lanka, His language in these two territories is on a par with the official language of Sri Lanka, He shall have the laws in Tamil. He can be heard, give evidence and have his records in Tamil, marriages can be registered in Tamil. His sovereignty cannot be questioned and so on and so forth.

IN SHORT by the language policy written into the Constitution it has created two territories which could break away from the parent country. It also means, Tamil speaking people living in other parts of Sri Lanka can safeguard their rights of citizenship and whatever they value in their cultural heritage by moving into the two Provinces where their language rights are recognised—also it may be that they can draw inspiration from their cultural fountain not far from their shores.

This is what the Tamil United Front is demanding. The present language policy of the Government has given the leverage for that demand. Taking into account what is happening in other countries on similar issues and the rumours floating around Sri Lanka of happenings in the North and Eastern Provinces, the widening gulf between the two communities cannot be stopped unless, we Sinhala, grasp the hand of amity stretched out by the Tamils and recognise Tamil also as an official language.

Today, small national groups are encouraged and given support internationally to form their own national entities for self-determination. Even at the "now smouldering" summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, smaller territories with lesser populations than Northern and Eastern Provinces were present in their own rights and have also been admitted to the Comity of Nations—so why not the two territories as defined in our Constitution. This is the search that is going on in the Tamil United Front supported by their youth members.

If we "Sri Lankians", or "Ceylonese" (of the era of Colonialism) allow this to happen it will be a national calamity which can be classed as a political stupidity of sufficient gravity to condemn our past and present politicians as mud-heads who were and are only capable of thinking and devising means to keep themselves in power and enjoy the fruits—legitimate or otherwise, of their position.

This is nothing short of Colonialism—*divide and rule* which was condemned in no uncertain terms by the 85 nations at the Summit Conference which Sri Lanka hosted proudly. We also endorsed in the condemnation while we are also guilty in no less a degree than the erstwhile colonial rulers. We also have supported such separatist movements and we, in some instances, were the first to recognise the success of such movements. When our international record being what it is, the Tamil speaking people gain strength to continue the struggle in spite of the truths and half-truths covered in the official document put out for the benefit of the visiting V.I.P.P. for the Summit Conference.

THE FACT that the Government thought fit to publish such a document is in itself an open admission that there is dissatisfaction of some magnitude among the Tamil speaking Community as expressed in the documents referred in the Government Publication.

As long as there is a language disability, section 18—(h) of the Constitution cannot be considered to apply to the Tamil speaking community. It says that "no citizen shall be discriminated on the ground of race. When we speak of a race, it covers a whole cultural background including language, the constitutional right to communicate in that language, wherever he resides in Sri Lanka, and other rights etc. under the Constitution. This is not available to the Tamil speaking people, thus there is discrimination. Today we see the South African blood-bath which triggered off on a language issue. While we condemn the white African for this language policy, besides racial segregation, on every International platform, at home we follow a similar policy against our own citizens, and any resistance by them we suppress by force.

What is required today, to solve our language problem is a generous and enlightened group of Sinhala people to agitate for the recognition of Tamil and English as official languages.

Tamil intellectuals fought with us in our struggle during the 1915 riots, though no Tamils were involved in the riots. They joined us, not only joined but played a major part as Ceylonese in our negotiations for Independence. Now the time has come for the Sinhala intellectuals to recompense the Tamils by agitating and working to have Tamil recognised as an Official language and have it written into the Constitution. With this amendment to the Constitutional principles of State Policy and Fundamental Rights and Freedoms enshrined in our Constitution become meaningful and sacred to every citizen of Sri Lanka—Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and others.

THE PROBLEM, as it has taken shape today is not a political one. It is national. Whatever compromise we work out must have the support of all the Citizens of Sri Lanka. The politicians of the ruling

Party alone cannot hand out a solution. For, other Political parties will capitalize on it to drive a wedge between the two communities for Political gains. This is what happened in the 1956 General Elections and since then the gulf has been widening. It is happening even at this moment, in legal actions, satyagraha, civil commotion and propaganda against each other.

To work out an equitable solution so that it can be written into the Constitution, all right thinking citizens and the various political parties of consequence must join to find the solution at a national level. The question of the Tamil language should be vetoed as an item of propaganda at political meetings. The leaders of the political parties should get together and nominate a panel of citizens of their choice and acceptable to all of them to negotiate, discuss and work out a permanent solution to the problem. Once this is achieved it should be the duty of all the political parties and citizens of consequence to explain to the people at large and canvass support from the people. If our present day leaders could achieve this, we would have buried our communal problem for ever.

Without such an understanding and the recognition of the rights of the Tamil speaking people, such principles as: "the organisation of society to enable the full flowering of human capacity both individually and collectively in the pursuit of the good life," "unity and the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka", "every citizen shall have the right to freedom of movement and of choosing his residence in Sri Lanka" as enshrined in our Constitution have no meaning to the Tamil speaking section of our citizens.

As pointed out earlier, our language policy as enunciated in the Constitution will only help the Tamil speaking section of our people to segregate themselves into enclaves and demand separation. The solution to the problem is simple:—"Let Tamil also be an official language wherever Tamil is the predominant language of the people".

Let this be the beginning towards a permanent solution. Let the major community accept this position in the interest of the

nation and our constitution and lead the nation forward to prosperity.

"Divided there is little we can do."



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—93

Everything In The Garden's Lovely

— Part II —

By Herbert Keuneman

I am not clear in my own mind what moral is pointed (if you are the sort who is determined to have a moral pointed in every tale) by the two village 'love' affairs I recounted in last week's article or the others I am about to recount in this. I did not begin on the subject, as I explained, in order to prove or demonstrate anything; nevertheless I grow aware that they do demonstrate something. That the village girl is a type of injured innocence? Hardly. That the village man—and when I say 'village' here I refer to a habit of mind rather than a habitat of location—is a predatory and opportunistic injurer of innocence when he finds it? Certainly! but that is not all. There is a difference in style between the rural and the urban love affair. And whether the course of it is tragic, as it is in the stories I have chosen—but I have chosen these only for their greater dramatic interest—or conventional and humdrum, as I suppose the majority of sexual relationships—anywhere—are, or ideal and idyllic, as one day perhaps I shall show by recounting a village romance which is the most beautiful love story I know, it seems as though the village variety is the more real thing. It, and its attendant circumstances.

Several years ago, between our first stay in Ehetuwewa and my present one, when my 'boy' Nesan was working for us in our island home of Fort Hammenhiel he received a letter from his younger brother (who could not have been more than about 10) saying: 'A cobra has bitten our beloved elder sister and now she has been three days dead.' Nesan (12)

was in tears, naturally; and my wife and I were very near the same, for his elder sister, Mani at that time only shortly past 13, had been one of our Ehetuwewa favourites: a delightful little girl of a most affectionate nature which irresistibly engaged our own affection, and one of the few, moreover, unselfconscious enough to answer a caress with a squeeze of the hand or a warm hug or a kiss (most of the Ehetuwewa children, suddenly discontinued from any fondling as soon as they had left extravagantly petted infancy behind, were as it seemed to us precociously inhibited against any physical demonstration of fondness). Heartrent ourselves, we gave Nesan money for his travelling and Rs. 50 towards the expenses of Mani's funeral and packed him off.

Three days later Nesan was back and beaming, and we learned what had happened. The first thing that had happened was that Nesan had used Rs. 40 of Mani's 'funeral' money to buy himself a flash nylon shirt, apparently to restore his morale. The next thing that had happened was that he had arrived home to find that his brother's letter had only been intended to express imaginatively that three days previously Mani had eloped with her stepbrother-in-law and left only that one young brother and her aggrieved stepsister really lamenting.

I met Mani only a couple of months ago; and she is still with the same man and seems thoroughly happy but a bit bemused concerning the precise relationship between her own children and her husband's earlier ones.

And she still kissed me! Time, put that into your book of sweets!

This is a love story with a happy ending for at least two. But the same little-brother that had taken Mani's departure so hard had recently had a walk-on part in another love story altogether black and horrible. He was at that time living with his aunt, who doted on him and had practically adopted him in this manner, for in nearly ten years of marriage she had no child. And she longed for one. I remember her husband, a strange wild-looking man, for the couple finally came to live in Ehetuwewa; where they hired a house in the

heart of the *gommandiya* and took Sinna to live with them. The husband must have loved his wife dearly; because he seems to have accepted the position that their childlessness was due to his misfortune, in the village an unheard-of abdication. At all events, when they had lived but a short time here he was told of a monk who lived in a temple close by whose philtres were famous; and at a great price he bought a potion and took it home and swallowed it. But some ingredient, eye of newt, or toe of frog, must have been assayed wrong; for the drug worked wrong. In the dead of that night he arose, and seizing a heavy knife and pressing one hand on her nose and mouth he sawed through his wife's throat. Then taking the still sleeping Sinna he cradled him within the dead arms; and walked 7 miles through the dark to the Police Station at Ambanpola and gave himself up.

Obviously, it would be sociologically inaccurate, even if nothing more reprehensible, to create the impression that every village love affair (as opposed to the arranged match) ends in tragedy, near-tragedy, or at best domestic disaster; after all, one chooses the more sensational cases, as making the piquanter reading. Bander's-and-Dinga's is nevertheless one of the few village love stories I know with a happy ending; and that, too, a mild tale, blessed on both sides: by parental approval, and external circumstances: were all they had to contend with; for example, Bander passed up—after he had already been selected—an appointment in the Navy; because it demanded a five years' abstinence from marriage when he and Dinga had already had a five years' understanding. No melodrama; no Grand Guignol. Yet, I should not go so far as to say that in the village *affaire* there is not, usually, the seeds of calamity. Not necessarily; yet typically. In the village—for 'village' always read 'village mentality'—an *affaire* is always a kind of antinomini; and anarchy is too often a miscarrying womb.

Sittamma, of (let us say) Gilketi-yawa, was one of the most nubile and eligible maids of the region: beautiful accomplished, lively and sweet-natured, and the eldest and favourite daughter of the rich and respectable village *vedarala*; so that it was no wonder she was

settled in a highly desirable match with Ukku Banda, a village stuffed shirt. But it was also no wonder that she shortly took a lover, Jaya, something of a debauche but a handsome and dashing gallant. How dashing you may gather when I say that he would meet with Sittamma in her own home, when Ukku Banda was away watching over the crops, and depart only with the dawn.

I am not sure of how Ukku Banda became aware of this; but he did. And being aware he laid plans to trap the couple *flagrante delicto*. This, with the help of friends, it was not difficult to do. Threatened with a gun, Jaya wisely made no fight.

The first task was to chastize Sittamma, and this was done: a simple chastizement of a few righteously dealt blows; though it may be that its being carried out in Jaya's presence was a mistake: if Jaya really loved the girl—and love seems to have been mutual—it could only inflame him to a higher pitch of resentment and chagrin, as his own chastizement which now followed most certainly did. Ukku Banda and his friends frog-marched him out, tied him to a tree, whipped him with wands until they broke the skin, and then rubbed into every raw and tender area of his body a paste of raw chili which Sittamma was forced to grind. They left him tied there the rest of the night.

Now, perhaps if they had early let him go things might never have come to the pass they reached. The chili treatment, barbarous as it is, is one might say a fairly standard village procedure; summary (and conformable) punishment of a crime is not yet altogether abandoned in the village for the delays and deviation of legal process: as when a party of *rodi* cattle thieves caught red handed was recently, in the Grama Sevaka's presence and with his tacit—and, I think wise—approval tied to trees as Jaya was and fed raw meat from the calf they had slaughtered, until they vomited, whereupon the dose was repeated as long as there was meat left. This was in broad daylight, and half the fun was that the village could watch.

But those were *rodi*. Jaya was a man of *nambuva*, innate standing. I think, if they had released him before daylight he could have ad-

justed to his discomfiture. His *nambuva*, as he would judge it, was in no way diminished by the fact that an outraged husband, and especially with outside help, had caught him out; while what he had suffered for the escapade might even, in some circles, those in which he was hail-fellow, have added to it. But they kept him tied and pilloried all the next day as well; and there were not a few—some with good reason—that flocked to gloat and jeer. Murder built up in him.

Jaya disappeared from society. Until he should, as he judged, retrieve—such as it was—his standing in it. Many said he had vanished into the forest fastness of Galgiriya-kanda, the mountain which overhangs the village. Many also said that although there were caves in plenty, where he could shelter, food was a different thing and the *vedarala's* daughter must undoubtedly be secretly supplying him. And at least the first rumour was to prove true. One night, while the *vedarala* and the males of his family were at cards in the verandah of his house Jaya crept into the compound, took his stance in the shadow of the *kurakkan atuva* (grainbin) and leveled his gun.

Maybe it was a difficult shot, for pillars—and Sittamma herself—were in the way, but whatever the reason it was the *vedarala* that fell dead at the report. There followed running footsteps; and the killer's gun must have caught on something, for it fell with a clatter from his hand; but nobody dared follow him, for they did not need the gun to identify who the assailant was. The Police were as helpless: you cannot find a single man in such a wildness as Galgiriya-kanda.

And now began a true reign of terror for half the village. Half of the village in one way or another belonged to the *vedarala's* 'party' by blood, by marriage, or—though these rapidly lessened in numbers—merely by friendship; and none were for many moons to know security again. Night after night houses were burgled and cash and valuables taken away; workers would assemble to plough or sow or reap a field, and a figure with a gun—for Jaya too had friends—would appear by the far hedge and shout at them to desist, and they would desist—with alacrity!

Yala and Maha, not one of the *vedarala* faction ate his own crops; none raised one. Life for the marked families grew unbearable; some moved out of the village. Only Sittamma remained cheerful; but perhaps a little preoccupied?

Jaya was not without humour. Scorning the certainty of recognition he often waylaid his 'enemies' and relieved them of what cash they carried, be it .25 cents; but sometimes, for fun and perhaps to build up his 'image' he waylaid others—the baker, for instance, from whose load he selected a bun or two and would then let him go—though never harming, robbing or threatening them. Only once he held up the ice-cream man—who forthwith, after, abandoned that route—and ate so many ice-creams that it took the man a week to recoup his loss! It was agreed, however, that hunger was not apparently Jaya's problem: he looked, all his victims said, in excellent shape.

Suddenly the burglaries and the robberies ceased. Shortly after, it was heard that Jaya had surfaced: had engaged the best lawyer in Kurunegala to represent him; and through his lawyer and surrendered to justice. He did not, he had boasted, have to spend a cent of his own to ensure his defence: that had been all paid for by his takings from the 'guilty' party. But for that necessity, he is said to have claimed, he would have surrendered much earlier.

Jaya was remanded. But nothing came of the case: there could not be found one single witness against him, not even from the *vedarala*'s people.

Sittamma is reconciled to fate and makes Ukku Banda a model wife and an irreproachable mother of his family. Even Jaya is married-and-settled-down: there is no match that cannot be arranged. And I suppose it is more stable, if less adventurous, so?

FORTY YEARS AGO IN A TEA ESTATE—10

The Dorai

Canada, Assam, Jaffna

By Ina Trimmer

Many are the essentials for a would-be planter. A laundry list of these will be difficult, or to enumerate in their order of precedence. A planter must be an able administrator for does he not have to rule over the destinies of several hundred men and women? And now, more so in these days of Congress and Trade Unions, when the slightest slip or mistake can be magnified into national catastrophe. A sound working knowledge of building, of road tracing and making, is a necessity. Who but the old pioneer planters roaded thousands of perfectly graded miles in what was inhospitable and difficult terrain over valleys and hills, even mountains? To be an efficient planter, accountancy is a must. Hundreds of thousands of rupees pass through his hands. Cooly pay is but the least of his charges. He is the custodian for investments that total up to and which bring in millions of rupees. The success of the business, the dividends that are eagerly expected by investors depend to a great extent on him. He can make or mar an estate in many ways. Thus he has to be in addition an agriculturist for unless he knows his soil, and makes the necessary allowances for all conditions of terrain as well as climate and weather which control his own special domain, no amount of expenditure can bring a return. His role is that of a Solomon in wisdom in all his dealings with those who work for him. Justice must be meted out in the many disputes and problems that arise daily.

I can see my husband seated at his desk, the inevitable cup of tea by him, excited coolies pressing round all talking at the same time, shouting and gesticulating. But no cooly must shout at the Dorai. "Well Appa!" This strange mixture of English and Tamil was my husband's gambit—for the story to be continued. How he had the patience to listen hour after hour amazed me! A dip of tea, innumerable

cigarettes half smoked and thrown away, he would sift the evidence carefully before passing his verdict. Often it was the eternal triangle, for "the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin" and the same trials beset them both. Witnesses were always ready in plenty to testify irrespective of false evidence or true.

"I tell you Dorai, I saw him making love to her."

"Oh and when was this? And were you there?"

"Yes, Aiyah! It was after work, in the night", glibly asserts the witness.

"What were you doing there at that time? Holding the lamp?"

And so the noise rises and falls till at length a decision is reached.

Fortuitous circumstances caused my husband to be a planter.

When he left Ceylon as a child of seven for his education in England it was not intended that he would ever return nor did his thoughts ever turn east even though his missionary parents continued in their work here for God. After his schooling he emigrated to Canada and some adventurous years followed, in a lumber camp on the shores of Hudson Bay. He spent many a winter in the icy waters not so far from the Arctic in rough sheds made of the logs that had been cut down. Whole carcasses of cattle were strung up from tree to tree for the consumption of the camp, which the wolves left severely alone fearing some catch or danger in so easy an approach. In the summer time there was no work, for it was then that the great pine logs sawn by the brawny "loggers" were floated down on the rivers swollen with melting snow and ice. Summer was spent in nearby towns. Hudson Bay Lumber Company paid its employees well so money was not short during the months of idling.

My husband chose Winnipeg for his "stamping ground" and there hotel proprietor—a Canadian Jew—took a fancy to him and offered him a job in his exclusive country hotel "Silver Heights". "The Young Englishman" as my husband was known, was so trusted and appreciated by the Jew that he was offered the managership of the luxury hotel. Unhesitatingly he

HELD OVER

- MORE ABOUT CHINA
- SAFARI

accepted. Pay would be beyond his dreams. The rigors and loneliness of the icy wilderness would no longer be his lot. Instead, a successful life opened its doors and showed the path not only to Silver Heights but golden. He asked for three months leave before he began his new charge, to go to England and meet his parents who were on furlough there and whom he had not seen for many years. It was granted immediately. "Come back soon, Englishman" said the Jew, "I want you here. As you know I am unmarried and I am no longer a young man. You shall be my own son."

So my husband promised to return and set out with every intention of making Canada his permanent home. Back into his family fold he was received with joy. Four brothers and one sister, father and mother in England on furlough were reunited after years. "Now what have you been doing in Canada?" questioned his father eager for details, for this son was the worst correspondent in the world.

"As you know I have been clerking for the Hudson Bay Company. Doing their accounts in the logging camps every winter.

"Must have been a hard life, but good for a young man."

"I enjoyed it. Those 'loggers' were great, particularly Charlie the foreman who was a very fine chap indeed.

"Do you go back to them?"

"Well, no I've a better job now, a wonderful job Father, I mean it's waiting for me.

"What is it?"

"I'm to be in charge of a very 'posh' hotel where all the wealthy business men go to during the weekends. There's money in it, pots of money, I know because I've worked there for some time, during the summer when there's no logging."

"What! said the horrified man of God. "Worked in a hotel! YOU, my son, worked in a place where drink is sold and drunk, where"—speechless suddenly he gazed at his son with horror-struck eyes.

Uncomfortable, yet obstinate, my husband tried to argue.

"What's there wrong in it?" he asked. "As long as I don't drink, what harm in selling it to others?"

"No! No! never mention this to me again. You know my views. Had you not come home you would be still there. Thank God you returned! Never speak of this again. Would you break my heart deliberately?" Then his mother took over. Perhaps today there are alive in Jaffna those who will be able to testify to her persuasive powers. Hers was an indomitable will. It was a strong man indeed who could stand up to her. Between them, "The Young Englishman" was prevailed upon to say goodbye to his benefactor in Canada for ever.

By a happy accident he met the manager of a large Assurance Company which had connections in India and Assam. "Young man," said Mr. Leroy. "Would you like to go out to Assam and 'creep' on a tea estate? I can guarantee you a good job once you have learnt your work. I know your family connections so I am not afraid to offer this to you. It's a fine life out there, I am told". My husband accepted. He was young. He had no ties in England; life held new pleasures; other interests; another world beckoned.

The East was a closed book so far and though he had spent seven years of childhood there, the pages to him were as if they had never been opened. Before his parents left England he sailed for Assam, with no regrets. It was not in his nature to sigh for the impossible. There's a Tamil proverb he once told me which says that the hare which escapes is always the biggest and best. Thus he could have been repining for best chances but instead he looked forward to making good in a new and another way. He "crept" for about a year, then step by step rose to be in charge.

Home leave came round again. Where to go? England? But his parents were in Ceylon. He hadn't met them for four years. And his mother sent forth the call. "Come and spend your furlough with us. We are alone. Christmas is round the corner. We want you here."

Again he obeyed like a dutiful son. To the land of his birth he returned, twenty three years after he left it, to Jaffna where he had lived his childhood years. Not as a stranger, for many of those he knew as a child of seven were even now there, waiting to wel-

come him, the Pauls, the Tampoes, and many others.

"Bertie Puller—ba-a-d boy", they all used to say of him; and now, still with mischief a twinkle in his eye, he had come home.

(To be Continued)

THE POLICE

"One Swallow Does Not..."

By Ex-Cop

YES—you know it. It does not require the expertise of ornithology to understand the simple truth that "One swallow does not make a summer". In similar strain, I may add that one black sheep does not and should not tarnish the entire flock.

By sheep, I am alluding to the various ranks of the Police Service. Being an Ex-Cop, I have no intention whatever of offering any form of disrespect, either direct or by the evasive innuendo. Any similarity, either in appearance of tendencies, bovine, supine or of the domesticated, timid, gregarious woolly occas horned ruminant type is, I assure you, accidental. I have lived and worked with many of the flock. They are not as black as they are painted.

I happened to glance through one of the dailies the other day. A letter sent by a cynic making heavy waeather of some instances of Police excesses has stirred and spurred me to a state of justifiable indignation. I am, therefore, making an effort to present some facts in order to give the general public a clearer picture.

I am doing so not with the idea of placating public opinion, but in the sincere hope that the public will view such harsh condemnations in the correct perspective. The writer, like many critics of the Police Service of Sri Lanka, refers to what he alleges was the prognosis of a Medical Expert that Police Officers cannot suffer from heart disease because they are heartless. Very humorous indeed!

The writer has indubitably indulged in the all too common technique of journalistic embellishment, terminological inexactitude

and, possibly, very convenient inaccuracies resorted to by amateurs and 'dilatantes' in their embryonic stage in the field of authorship. It is said, and quite rightly too, that "Sarcasm is the lowest form of wit". The writer has certainly "ascended" to great heights!

Clinically speaking, the pronouncement of the Medical Expert—one of the many who have taken the oath of the great Greek Physician, Hippocrates of the 5th century B.C. should be wrong. I am one of the many who have suffered from heart disease. Doctors S of Anuradhapura and E of the General Hospital, Colombo both M.D., M.R.C.P. (Lond) could not have been wrong in their diagnosis. No citizen worthy of his salt can ignore this.

Several others have suffered from heart disease by working long hours without food and rest. I can give the writer some 'hard' facts and figures but I wonder whether he would have the heart or even the mind to spare a thought to the widows and fatherless children of Police Officers who have died of heart disease. One was an Inspector of Police who died with his boots on after performing duty after the General Elections of 1970.

I am forcibly reminded of a very interesting incident which occurred in our Parliament many years ago. A certain MP was somewhat caustic in his verbal assault on the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister at that time. The MP said that the Prime Minister will not suffer from headache because he had no head. He would not be subject to paralysis because he has no backbone. He will not suffer from heart disease because he has no heart. The particular MP thought he was very successfully impressing the gallery which was packed to maximum capacity.

Statesmen all over the world have to put up with this type of "rough and tumble" of their political lives. They react differently. The great Englishman, the Late Sir Winston Churchill, when he was Prime Minister, received a similar frontal attack from a Member of the Opposition. Sir Anthony Eden, who sat next to Sir Winston, tried to calm the irate Leader and advised him to stand on his dignity and

ignore the attack. The quick reply was "No man offers greater insult to his dignity than by standing on it." Sir Winston rose and let the opponent have it—the full blast of his rhetoric, repartee and most incisive riposte.

In a similar situation in the Australian Parliament, the vituperative onslaught was nearing the end when the MP, who was at the receiving end and who had kept his 'cool', asked the unsuspecting member whether he had finished. When he replied "yes", the calm, dignified retort was "Then—please pull the chain."

To come back to the incident here in our country—with untruffled indifference so characteristic of him, the Late Prime Minister looked at the berating MP—in fact, looked through him—with a "glittering eye" like the Ancient Mariner. The atmosphere was tense. I waited anxiously, eagerly and with excitement for some interesting things to happen.

I expected an abrasively pungent and incisive retort, repartee, the excellence of oratory, flawless English prose, purple passages from Horace, Cicero, Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, and even the brilliant treatises on Parliamentary conventions, etiquette—excerpts from Erskine May, Hood Phillips, Wade, Dr. Jennings, and other pundits on Constitutional Law. There was nothing of the kind. The Prime Minister rose calmly, unhurriedly, removed that characteristic look from the MP, turned to the Speaker and moved that the rest of the items on the Agenda be gone through leaving the agitated MP speechless and incapable of thought.

It was then that I realised the inexorable but unrelenting truth that one can most effectively rebuff an annoyance by the simple eloquence of complete indifference and total disregard.

Today, comparatively young men in politics, professions and even in the 'dove-cotes' of bureaucratic conclaves, sons, sons-in-law, sons above the law, nephews, cousins, cater-cousins and other claimants to fame solely 'per stripes' are all appearing to be in a mighty hurry. When a particular political party met with a crushing defeat in 1960, it took one man with vigour, sagacity, perspicacity and faultless strategy to resuscitate the almost 'deceased' party to bring success in

the year 1965. The young men today lack that stature, experience, knowledge and maturity. Their ambition, however, seems to burn in them more scorchingly than the perennially unquenchable blaze of Phoebus. These aspirants who desire to be the "Suns round which the other planets move", should not only learn by example of leading statesmen but should also present a better image by their conduct both in the arena of Public gaze and the audition of the populace, most of whom cannot be bluffed by the euphoria of transient success of what may seem a conglomeration of some sections of the world attempting social, economic and political rehabilitation with fan-fare of trumpets, orchids, wines and viands.

Quite a number of people in our country often display a typical insular trait—very short memory! I would remind the critics of the Sri Lanka Police that, in the uprising of April 1971, it was the Police who bore the brunt of the insane spree of murder, pillage, treason and acts of sabotage. The acts of the miscreants were most magnanimously referred to as the misdeeds of some 'misguided youths'. Any sane person would fail to see how murder of Policemen in cold blood, mayhem such as arson, looting, wanton damage to transport, communication and valuable machinery of National Industries etc. deserve the elegant euphemism which has been dispensed with most gratuitously. Two sergeants were shot dead at a Police Station. One Sergeant, recovering from gun shot injuries and convalescing in a Hospital was shot dead at point-blank range in spite of the Sergeant's peacing with the homicidal maniac to spare his life as he had a wife and children to support. An Inspector who was removing obstructions to the highway and attempting to repair damaged telephone wires was ambushed and shot dead in the most cowardly manner.

At the unveiling of the Plaque of the Cenotaph in sacred memory of the dead, in a simple but touching ceremony, the Prime Minister paid the most fitting tribute so richly deserved to the valiant men of the Police Service who died in the brave performance of duty. Not even the most perverse critic will deny that these men died bravely—tasting

death ONLY ONCE laying down their lives so that others may live—true to the tradition 'Death before dishonour'. Those who are most vitriolically censorious in their condemnations must pause to consider at least some of the redeeming features of what they speak most disparagingly.

One can give several instances where the Policemen of Sri Lanka have proved their mettle in the field of active prevention and detection of crime investigation of International frauds and won the plaudits of the Public. Recently in the news item of the Ceylon Daily News there was the case of a Constable who died on duty when he was run over by a careless driver. He was in hot pursuit of a burglar who had made good his escape with a big loot. Two Recruit Constables of Kijinochchi Police Station did much more than what the trained divers of a particular Branch of the Armed Services. Without snorkels sophisticated diving equipment, oxygen tanks, etc but only with dogged determination they plunged into the deep, dark, murky waters of the Iranamadu Tank only in their underwear. Two girls of a party of school-children who had gone on a picnic had carelessly slipped into the Tank which has a sharp drop from the bank. The Schoolmistress acting with an admirable sense of presence of mind, threw modesty to the winds, undraped herself hurriedly and flung the saree in the hope that the drowning girls will cling on to one end. She clutched the other end firmly and desperately. The others, who were all non-swimmers, stood on the bank and waited anxiously with a silent prayer.

It was a very windy day. The strong gust unmercifully swept the saree away from the reach of the drowning girls. After the Service personnel had given up, the two Recruit Police Constables succeed in locating the dead bodies of the girls which were wedged in the rock formation at the bottom of the Tank. The Rev. Mother Superior was visibly moved when the Constables brought the remains. Without any reservation of her emotions, she embraced the Police Officers and offered her sincerest thanks. Citations of excellent work done by a good number of the officers will burden the reader with a plethora of facts. "They

have done their duty"—some cynical critic will say.

Quite recently, during the Non-Aligned Nations Summit Conference, the Sri Lanka Police acquitted themselves most creditably under the command of Mr. Rudra Rajasingham, Dy Inspector-General of Police in Charge of Administration. The highest degree of planning, co-ordination, command structure, Security for the visiting Heads of State, Traffic arrangements, intricate details of Radio communication, transport of personnel, billeting of personnel, liaison with the Armed Services called for perpicacity, thoroughness of detail, capacity for long hours of work, dynamic leadership and, above all, the true qualities of a gentleman who could inspire his men to give of their best. The task was performed most efficiently and had won the plaudits not only of the State and the General Public of Sri Lanka but also the Honourable Heads of States and visiting Diplomatic and their entourage.

"When Constabulary duty's to be done

A Policeman's lot is NOT a Happy one."

When W. S. Gilbert wrote these lines for the opera "Trial by Jury" and which was set to music by Sullivan, he was not only thinking of the British Bobby—proverbial for his efficiency and courtesy. He must have have been thinking of Policemen all over the Globe. Fourteen years ago, when I was the editor of the Police "Off-Duty" magazine, under the caption. "As others see us" using the theme of the great Robert Burns

"O wad some Power the Giftie gie us

To see ourselves as others see us". I had also, with apologies to another poet for making some alterations, included the lines:—

"GOD and the Policeman all men adore

In times of trouble and, then, no more;

When crime is prevented and wrongs are righted

GOD is forgotten and the Policeman slighted."

One cannot agree with this pronouncement more especially today when the Police Service which is in direct contact with the Public

has come in for some very scathing criticisms by the Public, some Politicians and the Press. All I can say is that even the most perverse critic, who makes heavy weather some isolated cases of misconduct, will deny the truism that "ONE SWALLOW DOES NOT MAKE A SUMMER."

* * *

REVIEW

The Past Has Not Ended

by Jayantha Somasundaram

NORTH AMERICA has always been held to be a bastion of enlightenment. This year people all over the World greeted the United States on her bicentennial anniversary. This anniversary however was also the occasion for a "White Power" demonstration in Washington.

Dressed in fascist uniforms, with swastikas on their shirt-sleeves, members of the Nazi Party of the United States lined up in military formation against a white backcloth bearing the words "White Power". They were holding their meeting to celebrate the bicentennial of the U.S. Revolution in Washington, D.C.'s Lafayette Park. They demanded continued racial discrimination, justifying and praising Hitler's murderous policy and following a similar policy of persecuting black people and Communists in the United States. They represent the most reactionary of forces in the United States.

Earlier we had a news report from Canada that Jewish synagogues had been plastered with swastikas. This should serve as an eye opener to those who are oblivious to the strong currents of racism that are prevalent in the world today. Above all it should serve to heighten our vigilance against the spread and growth of fascism, which is the political framework which thrives on racism and which uses it to perpetrate crimes against humanity.

Thirty-one years ago in a set of dramatic suicides Adolf Hitler and his faithful aids ended their lives as Nazi Germany crumbled before

the combined forces of the Allies, led by the United States and the Soviet Union. Therefore, many of the remaining leaders of Nazism stood trial before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg which sat for eleven months beginning November 1945.

While many of us would like to forget this unhappy episode in our modern history, present day realities tend to obstruct such amnesia. For example, in a public opinion test conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany last year among under-forties, 31 percent of the respondents expressed the fear that they consider the rise of a new Hitler to be a possibility if Germany were to be engulfed by a severe crisis with more unemployment than at the present stage.

MOREOVER, with the passage of time, and the dulling of memories, many are coming forward to proudly proclaim fascist tendencies. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported last year that "Klaus Altmann, former chief of the Gestapo in Lyons, who was sentenced to death in absentia in France, expressed to his lawyers and the Supreme Court of Bolivia in La Paz, his thanks for their defence and the rejection of the French request for extradition. He said he had 'only done his patriotic duty as a German citizen' during the war. Altmann was accused by France of responsibility for the death of hundreds of children and of the resistance fighter Jean Moulin.

Another German paper *Die Tat* carried this report: "There is a man who in Paris in February 1943 was the author of the order to take 2,000 Jewish hostages as reprisals for an assault on members of Hitler's army. The 2,000 were deported to Auschwitz where the gas chambers awaited them. The man whom we are writing about is Dr. Ernst Achenbach, Parliamentary Deputy in Bonn, leading member of the governing Free Democratic Party.".....

Last year there was a demonstration in the Bensheim District Court on August 28th when a lawyer named Roter whipped up a mob of a hundred people who supported him with the cry "death to the Jews!"

The country where fascism originated, Italy, has in its Parliament a Fascist political party, with its

56 Deputies claiming the support of 10 percent of the electorate. It is linked with the organisation called the Black Terror which has been responsible for the assassination of political opponents, the blowing up of trade union offices and various other outrages which are reminiscent of the twenties and thirties.

The vitality of fascist movement throughout the world is borne out not only by the remnants that one observes in countries like Germany and Italy, but also in the situation that exists in countries as far apart as Spain and Chile. This is neo-fascism.

K. I. Zaradov editor of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* has defined neo-fascism at length.

"Neo-fascism is fascism seeking to adapt itself to the conditions of the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism and the new alignment of forces inside the capitalist world and in the international arena. It is used by the most reactionary elements of monopoly capital to hold up, at all costs, the irreversible process of disintegration of the old system. And not just by trampling on democratic rights and freedoms, fierce police repressions and persecutions and anti-labour legislation. But by establishing an openly terrorist, counter-revolutionary dictatorship."

One of the distinctive characteristics of fascism is its exploitation of racial questions. In Germany this was evident in the appalling treatment meted out to both Jews and Slavs. The inhuman extermination of six million Jews in concentration camps was matched only by Martin Bormann's directive regarding the Slavs.

"The Slavs should work for us. Those whose services we do not require can die. Compulsory inoculations and the German health service are therefore superfluous for them. Slav fertility is undesirable. They should use condoms or have abortions. The more the better. Education is dangerous. It is sufficient when they can count up to hundred. The only permissible education is one that produces useful underlings for us. They can keep their religion as a means of distraction. With regard to food supplies they only get what is necessary for survival. We are the overlords, we come first."

TODAY in the Netherlands and in Germany we find contemporary racialist movements like the "Viking-Jeugd" whose German leader Wolfgang Nuerath says "the coloured races will never understand anything about Nordic culture. Viking members are not permitted to marry coloured people even to associate with them."

The association publishes the pseudo-scientific journal called *Neue Anthropologie* which claims that "the salient features common to Negroes and criminals, is their subnormal intelligence". The journal also highlights so called evidence regarding the number of Jewish citizens involved in cases of fraud and forgery, claiming that it is well above average.

In Britain there is a "National Front" claiming a membership of twenty thousand and demanding priority for Britons with regard to homes, jobs, education and welfare facilities. Their target—the coloured immigrants from commonwealth countries like the West Indies, Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka. Recently the National Front staged violent protests, both in Bradford in Northeast England and in Trafalgar Square.

South Africa is an actual situation where behind the guise of racism a powerful fascist minority in power maintains its domination over the mass of the people. Bertholt Brecht has said that fascism "transforms the class struggle into a racial struggle".

Despite world public opinion there is always the tendency on the part of many western countries to compromise with fascist government in order to meet the challenge of the Soviet Union, her allies and liberation movements throughout the world. Last October *Die Welt* said; "Despite military dictatorship Chile is a country that belongs to the Western World, a bulwark against communism, and we should accord it our full support whereby this support is naturally accompanied by pressure for the establishment of democratic structures.

CENTURIES OF DISCRIMINATION and oppression, persistent harassment through programs and confinement to European ghettos and inhuman genocide during the last World war led to a reaction among some Jews who began propagating their own racism. Zionism merely

strengthens anti-semitism throughout the World and delays the solution to the real problems confronting West Asia.

It is encouraging therefore to note that given the great strength of the Third World countries in the United Nations, it has been possible to utilise the U.N. to contain the tide of fascism. Today the U.N. General Assembly has become very sensitive to questions of racism. And in New York on November 10th last, the Social Humanitarian and Cultural Committee adopted a resolution by 72 votes to 35 characterising Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination."

Nevertheless, throughout the world those who value the rights of men should be alive to the insidious nature of fascism. They should guard against the tendency in many Third World countries to muzzle the press, ban the opposition and jail its leaders. It is important to remember that fascism's past has not yet ended.



Inania of this, that and the other

For The True Story Mag?

By INNA

Over the hill a few minutes from here is the village of Kay, or let's call it so. There I met a young lad of 19 who had been lured into the nearby town just after the Sinhalese new year '76 on the plea that he'd get "an enormous sum" if he served at a respectable looking eating-house. Everything looked respectable, he said, those who lured him, those who requested him politely to work, those who suggested that there was hard work but tips from people would help you tide over etc. One of his tasks—let's call him "Runbits" (R for short)—was to carry a sack of 30-40 strong-stuff empties per day to a bus. It averaged 300 empties per week, and imagine that,

about 1200 per month in this "Surameraya precept" town, though not all belong to that noble creed. Good strong stuff became stronger once inside some of the bibbers, and the bibbers themselves felt so.

Good for them. Not good for young R. R used to get rice twice a week for his meals and bread, noon and night for the rest of the week: 2/14 meals were of rice and the rest were bread and tears. Morning cup of tea at a boutique was on his meagre purse. Contents? He joined in April, with eyes wide because of the prospects narrated with seeni-sambol mouth. In one and a half months, he had received a paltry 20.00 and one month later, 10.00. On his feet the whole day, the man behind the strong stuff, a chap older than R, was sent on his legitimate holiday and in his absence, some one else was taken (lured, taken-in, rather). Now, how do the children of this world, wiser than the children of light, get rid of the new man in three months. Start a brawl, build up a story and say that a customer said that he saw water being poured into the strong stuff to make it weak. Then threaten him, carry out the threat by beating him up and getting a few customer cops (given a stiff one free) to threaten lock-up and then he will "confess" that he put water, barrels of water from a bowser into a thimble-like glass.

That's the confession needed. How did R, 19 years old and growing up with love for the government, the people and the nation, get his morning-slice and tea from the boutique? He collected 30-45 Rs. on quiet tips given by the customers who tried to show appreciation of his service at table. The book and the promise said: work from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. He was on his feet and working from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. and that's the lot of most workers who occasionally hear blaring across the gully: "Workers of the world, unite!"

I did something else: followed the proud proprietor to his place of worship and found him flipping out with a flourish a green-back note for the offering just a few days after he kicked out R's companion, literally "kicked" out saying: "You asked so and so to help you. Now get out. GET OUT", he roared. Bad form, you'd say, in front of three customers, but there you are. "Doom for the man who withholds wages" says holy writ. Right means of Livelihood—call out, the sages. And God's glory, says Irenaeus is that man should live and let live. The days are running out for those who gather into barns: fool, this night your self required of you.

The judgement is every day.



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

NEWS

There was a time when records of events coming from the four corners were treated as news but today the whole concept of what news is, has changed considerably.

Today we speak much about mass communication and communication media, but in spite of all these modern techniques and mass communication media people know less of what they should know, and know much of what they are least interested.

Mass communication has interested us so much that news faculties are opened and courses in mass communication conducted in the universities.

Much valuable space is been taken by the advertisements which has less impact on the general reader and the news published in most of them either slanted or distorted.

News, says William Randolph Hearst, is something which somebody wants suppressed all the rest is advertising.

29-9-76.

Nimal Sarathchandra

Confidentially

Tamana Cement

IS IT NOT TRUE that the cement supply position in the domestic market is most unsatisfactory? That there is a perpetual shortage of cement all over the island at the Government's fixed price? That cement is today available only at prices much higher than the controlled price? That even when permits are issued to actual users by the authorities only a small fraction of the quantity stipulated is available at the co-op distributors at any one time? That cement users have to console themselves with the thought that our cement was earning foreign exchange with exports to Saudi Arabia? (That whilst we sell the Saudis our cement at prices not much higher than 1971 prices we buy oil from them at four to five times the 1971 prices?) That behind the smokescreen of earning foreign exchange, consumers in Sri Lanka are denied their rightful supplies? That they are compelled to buy cement on the blackmarket at prices ranging from Rs. 27 to Rs. 30 per bag (whereas the controlled price is around Rs. 21.25 per bag in Colombo)? That the current short supply of Kan-Kankesan cement is also explained by the fact that 43,000 (or is it 45,000?) bags had disappeared while being transported from KKS to BMC Stores in Colombo and elsewhere? That actual consumers can further console themselves with the thought (once again) that a high-powered committee has been appointed to investigate this feat of disappearance (of 45,000 bags in a three-month stretch) which has the touch of genius that had characterised the world class crimes of Emil Savundranayagam? That it would seem that Sri Lanka has a new Emil among her sons now and that he has learnt to operate on her soil (whereas all the exploits of Emil—I were on foreign territory) with a finesse that recently made a pickle of Engelbart Humpendinck? IS IT ALSO NOT A FACT that the shortage of cement is also because the cement factory at Puttalam is not working satis-

factorily? That its production of Tamana cement is less than half its potential (machine) capacity? That of the two installed plants only one is said to be working? That a Tribune Investigator has been able to uncover some of the facts relating to Puttalam Cement Factory? That the real trouble is that the limestone quarried 16 miles away (the closest source of limestone) has turned out to be of such poor and uneven quality that the factory now works only at half capacity or less? That the quality is so uncertain that a uniform quality cannot be maintained in the finished product? That facts indicate that very soon the fiasco about the Puttalam Factory would become a public scandal? That on some kind of survey (obviously superficial) the Department of Geology had declared that the limestone resources sixteen miles from the proposed site was of good quality and that the quantities available would be enough to keep two plants going for at least a hundred years (that being the normal life of a cement plant)? That quarried material is said to be of satisfactory quality if its limestone content averages over 90%? That if the limestone content is over 95% in respect of the bulk of the raw material, some of others could have a content of 80% or more? That at KKS the limestone content is uniformly over 90% but much of it is over 95% (with some reaching 98%)? That 80% is found only very occasionally in small quantities? That in Puttalam, though there were patches of over 90% in some parts of the area being quarried the present generally average is around 50% to 60%? That though there could be a quarrel about actual percentages and figures, it cannot be disputed that the raw material at Puttalam is such that the production cannot be increased (or improved) and that it would require superhuman ingenuity even to maintain the present low quality? That many users have found Tamana cement to be of very inferior quality? That a high official of a Government Corporation has confided in the Tribune Investigator that the Puttalam cement was below par and that it had held up vital and essential construction work? That he had been told that this cement was bad because someone had done some wrong "mixing"? That

this Corporation chieftain had been led to believe that a particular lot of cement was below standard because a technocrat had made a mistake? That Tribune investigations have revealed that the trouble at Puttalam goes far deeper than that? That the quality of the raw material was so bad that the Puttalam Factory was already a White Elephant and that it was being carried as a passenger by the Cement Corporation (which has another White Elephant at Galle in the form of the Grinding Mill?) That the limestone content being around 50%, the Puttalam Factory has stopped mixing the clay brought from 18 miles away, on a route deviating from the limestone quarry area? That the clay is usually mixed in the proportion of one to six (or thereabout) to give the clinker the necessary silica, alumina and iron oxide? At Puttalam, with the limestone content at 50%, it needed too much clay to get a 1:6 limestone ratio? That the material quarried as limestone has silica and some of the other ingredients? That the Puttalam Factory, (whenever production is possible) depends solely on this raw material without the clay additive? That this is one reason for the poor quality? That the raw material from which the limestone is extracted is also very hard and the temperature for firing has to be very much higher (than originally planned)? That this is a strain on the machinery and experts think that the life of the plant at Puttalam will be only a part of its normal life span? That there is much more to be written about the Puttalam Factory which is being virtually subsidised by the KKS factory? That the siting of the factory at Puttalam was a political gimmick and that it has already boomeranged on those who wanted to site the factory at this place? That really good limestone of a quality equivalent to the KKS raw material is found in the Mannar area? That the limestone near Puttalam is only the outer fringe of the limestone belt on the North and Northwestern sector of Sri Lanka? That siting and the working of the Grinding Factory at Galle is an even greater fiasco? That Tribune will refer to some more facts about cement production in the island in the coming issues?



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