

# TRIBUNE

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"Better stay up there awhile, Chief, things are still pretty hot here in D.C."

# Tribunania

\* Nixon \* Arab oil and the U. S. A

\* Henry Kissinger \* Sihanouk

\* Water Cut

ON THE COVER we have a cartoon from the US communist paper *Daily World* which depicts Richard Nixon in space—smugly weathering the storms and stresses which have battered his Administration in recent months. There is no doubt that Nixon has turned the corner and that he will remain in office until the end of the second term. Opinion polls have indicated that even though most people "feel" that he had foreknowledge both about the bugging of the Watergate building as well as the cover-up attempts, the vast majority of Americans do not want him to be either impeached or to resign. Nobody likes to change horses in mid-stream and the American people understandably prefer a known devil to an unknown one. The scandals which have begun to envelop vice-president Agnew have, no doubt, helped Nixon to stay in the saddle. The battle about the tapes have now gone to the Courts and by the time Supreme Court reaches a decision, other pressing matters would have gripped the focus of public attention. The Watergate

Committee will continue its sittings until November 1, but the worst for Nixon is over.

In the meantime, the US is threatened with a major shortage of fuel and energy. Gasoline is short and there is a kind of voluntary rationing scheme. This shortage has, no doubt, been caused by the actions of the Arab oil producing countries in stepping up prices as well as freezing production at particular levels. The Arabs seem to believe that they can win the battle of Israel by pressuring the US through oil. In this connection, extracts from the editorials of leading US papers on this question would help us to understand the nature of a new kind of confrontation which has emerged in the world today.

The *New York Times*, in an editorial on September 5, about *Oil, The Arabs and the US* entitled "Tightening The Valve" stated: "Unofficial reports on the secret talks by Arab oil Ministers in Kuwait yesterday carry the welcome news that no common policy of political black-

mail against the United States and the other major oil-consuming nations was adopted. .. Instead of yielding to self-serving scare talk from the Arabs, the United States should start taking the long-term steps needed to lessen its dependence on oil as an energy source. This dependence cannot be ended overnight, but there has been too much extrapolation from that point to suggest that it cannot be ended at all—or at least, not in this generation. When talk is heard about developing alternate sources of energy, that talk is too often shot down as esoteric or science fiction or just impractical...

"The point is that alternatives do exist to petroleum fuel, if not for this decade, then for the next. That is time enough, since any convincing show of progress in making these alternatives commercially viable—even if realization remains a decade away—would immediately reduce the blackmail possibilities now open to the Arab oil-producing nations. Now it is a sellers' market, and America's dependence on middle eastern oil is growing, but once alternative energy sources begin to be taken seriously, the interest of the oil-rich countries would be to extract and sell their oil while they can."

The *Christian Science Monitor*, also on September 5, in an editorial entitled "Oil Diplomacy" stated: "...The U.S. will be increasingly dependent on Saudi oil in the years ahead, and is hoping that King Faisal will raise

his production from nine million barrels a day to 20 million. But the King and his aides have recently delivered a series of warnings that they will freeze the level of production or cut it back unless the U.S. modifies its policy of total support for Israel. "An indication that Washington is now taking these warnings very seriously came in the news that one of America's top experts on the oil industry, state Department veteran James Akins, had been appointed Ambassador to Saudi Arabia.

"Recognizing the growing significance of oil as a political weapon in the Arab-Israeli conflict, President Sadat of Egypt is now cultivating a new close relationship with king Faisal. So King Faisal is now the man to watch. His long record of friendship with America appears to ensure that he will put the weight of his influence on diplomatic action to obtain a settlement with Israel rather than encourage a new round of fighting. His appearance on center stage, therefore, could help reduce the risk of another mideast war."

The Chicago Tribune, on September 5 in an editorial entitled "Oil As A Political Weapon" stated: "...If the Arabs are going to use oil collectively as a weapon against us, it would make sense for the oil consumers-Europe, Japan and the United States, to act collectively in response."

On the next day, September 6, the New York Times,

writing on Mr. Nixon, Oil and the Mideast, in an editorial entitled "No Oil Diplomacy", stated: "President Nixon (at his sept. 5 News Conference) has made it plain that the United States will not sell Israel's independence for Arab oil, no matter how tight the energy squeeze becomes. But he has also made it plain that he faults both Israel and the Arabs for failure to do as much as they should to advance a negotiated peace in the Middle East. We feel Mr. Nixon is right on both counts."

The Washington Post, in an editorial entitled: "The Price of Oil" (Sep. 6): stated: "...We are apparently coming into a time of unprecedented tension between the United States and some of the Arab Governments. This country has a responsibility to avoid tactics that would threaten great damage to other countries that have the bad luck to be more vulnerable than we to pressure on the oil valve. The other industrial countries, for their part, may eventually be driven to consider whether they are prepared to pay endlessly escalating prices for their fuel. President Nixon, at his press conference, announced a meeting with his advisers next Saturday to take up the question of fuel supplies. There is considerable anxiety within his own Administration, as in most other industrial nations' governments, regarding oil for the coming winter. For this country, the proper response to the immediate threat would be an explicit and en-

forceable program of fuel conservation this winter."

The Los Angeles Times, in an editorial entitled, "Arabs, Israel and oil" stated: "...President Nixon told newsmen Wednesday that a Middle East settlement is at the top of the administration's priority list. A renewed effort is now under way to get negotiations going. Mr. Nixon showed an increased sensitivity to the Arab viewpoint

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when, in his Press Conference he pointedly observed that "both sides are at fault" and that neither should sit smugly back and assume time is on his side. As the President indicated, however, this country is not going to push Israel into the kind of settlement that would jeopardize its existence in response to the political blackmail being attempted by the oil-producing states.. Mr. Nixon spoke in his Press Conference of the need to avoid excessive dependence on Arab oil by developing alternative energy supplies. No time should be lost in matching words with action.. All this will be costly. But, as the Arabs are currently demonstrating, so is Middle Eastern oil."

The *Washington Star-News*, "Mideast Maneuverings" (Sept. 6): stated: "...The President and most hopeful element in the Mideast equation could be the coming tenure of Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State. He can be expected to proceed, with respect to the Middle East, on the Basis of hard-headed assessment of American strategic interests, without letting it be said that his Jewish background makes him a pro-Israeli sentimentalist. With Indochina behind them, detente with Moscow and Peking well under way and the Year of Europe completed with or without dramatic result, Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger might well tag 1974 the Year of The Middle East." THE NOMINATION of Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State has undoubtedly given the

Nixon administration a much needed boost, and by the time this column appears in print, the Foreign Affairs Committee is likely to have endorsed his nomination after satisfying itself that in asking for the bugging of the telephones of some of his subordinates he had acted within his rights and in the interests of the nation.

There is no doubt that the greatest achievement to the credit of Henry Kissinger is the rapprochement he brought about between China and the USA. It was one of the most dramatic developments of the present era. It has often been described as a diplomatic nuclear explosion. And the dust which was raised then has not yet settled down. Ever fresh development in the contacts between Washington and Peking is seen as a new step up the ladder leading to uninhibited co-operation between two formerly irreconcilable enemies.

But the matter cannot be oversimplified. The recent handshakes, smiles and the carefully measured friendly statements of official American and Chinese spokesmen stand out in sharp contrast of the slogans of the Great Cultural Revolution and the days when the US Imperialism was enemy number one (thought only a "paper tiger"). Today, the US is no longer China's enemy number one. The pride of place has been taken by Russia; and China has already started raising a hue and cry that Russia was on the brink of invading China.

Objectively looked at, with the Taiwan issue defused and a long-range settlement agreed upon (after the death of Chiang-Kai-Shek), the US and China have no territorial questions or boundaries under dispute. But China has many territorial disputes with Soviet Russia, as it has with India. However, even though the US and China have no territorial disputes, the relations between the two countries is not a straight forward one in the normal sense, and Henry Kissinger's greatest diplomatic achievement is the manner in which he has worked out a two stream or two-deck line of communications between the two countries.

One stream or one deck is open to public scrutiny and is characterised by an atmosphere of optimism created by the exchange of liaison groups, trade delegations, receptions and reciprocal visits. It is based on common interest; the establishment of spheres of influence in various parts of Asia, on the one hand, and a common suspicion entertained towards the USSR. China would no doubt want the United States to maintain its military presence in Asia as a counterbalance to the Russian challenge and the increasing military strength of India.

It is said that one of the strange features of the Straits of Dardanelles in the Bosphorus is that there are two streams crossing each other through the straits at one and the same time, the one cold and the other warm

There is a constant movement of water in opposite directions within the narrow compass of the Straits, the upper one visible and the lower not visible. This is no fantasy but a fact. In many human relationships this two stream is a reality. One visible and the other invisible (except to the knowledgeable).

On this lower deck, or the lower stream, which is out of the view of the general public, Chinese pragmatists and American realists measure words and swords in the struggle for influence and perhaps survival. During the earlier period of the Dullesian cold war the USA sought to "contain" China with a ring of military blocs, and China had retaliated by exporting revolution and supporting guerilla movements in different countries.

Today, this kind of confrontation has disappeared, but it has been replaced by other kinds of confrontation in a period of detente. It is difficult to see what multifarious forms it will take, but it is in the nature of human contradictions that they should exist. China has the advantage of having large overseas Chinese communities in most of the countries in Southeast Asia and East Asia, and these are now drawing closer and closer to Peking, and they constitute a sizable and influential minority in each of these countries.

Whilst the US will be willing to accept Chinese supremacy on the mainland

and partly in Indochina, it will not want China to spread its tentacles of power all over Asia so that she becomes the dominant overlord of Asia and thereafter challenge the USA itself directly.

Henry Kissinger has been called the Metternich of this era. Whether this comparison is apt or not is a matter for the historian, but there cannot be the slightest doubt that he is greatest statesman-diplomat the US has produced in a long while. He is a scholar in his own right, but he is also an able and effective negotiator, on both streams, the visible and the invisible. Before the Foreign Relations Committee Kissinger had indicated that he would devote special time and attention to normalise relations with India and also find a solution to the Middle East crisis. It will be interesting to watch how he will set about this task. Being the Secretary of State he cannot undertake secret trips as he did when he was only the Presidential Adviser. The USA's current *detente* with China and the USSR, and the peace in Vietnam, is a monument to the diplomatic finesse of Henry Kissinger. Will he crown his immediate career with a peace settlement in the Middle East and the normalisation of relations between the US and India?

WITH THE US WITHDRAWAL from Vietnam, the stopping of bombing in Cambodia, and the truce in Laos, Washington has begun to withdraw its forces from Thailand itself. But the war in Cambodia

goes on a lower key. Sihanouk's forces and the communist Khmer guerillas have not yet endeavoured to take Phnom Penh although they had earlier boasted that it was a ripe plum which would fall into their lap the moment the Americans stopped their bombing. But this has not happened. Sihanouk now talks about taking it in December.

One good reason for this postponement, which has been suggested by knowledgeable observers of the Cambodian scene, is that many of the Khmer and pro-Maoist activists inside Phnom Penh and outside, who had been assigned tasks in the capture of the city had been arrested by Lon Nol or information he is supposed to have got by the rather indiscreet interviews which Sihanouk had given journalists in Rumania and in other countries. In his princely exuberance, he is said to have talked too much about the manner in which Phnom Penh would be attacked stating that an uprising within the city would be timed for the general assault. He is believed to have mentioned names of key men in the plan of attack. This information seems to have been furnished to Lon Nol, and a Reuters despatch from Bangkok on August 26 (published by papers in India, Malaysia and elsewhere) had stated that Marshal Lon Nol had succeeded in arresting pro-Khmer and pro-Maoist cells in the city including many inside Government departments including the key

Ministry of Interior. The report stated that these arrests would undermine the Sihanouk onslaught on the capital for a considerable time, and this conjecture has been proved correct. It is difficult to see how much longer it will take for the Khmer guerilla forces to regroup and replace its units within the city.

The *Economist*, 8/9/73, has very succinctly summed up Sihanouk's reputation in this regard: "Cambodia's former ruler, Prince Sihanouk, is not celebrated for discretion or for prophetic gifts. His Chinese hosts do not make him privy to their secrets. So the communique he issued from Peking before going to Algiers this week for the conference of the non-aligned should not be taken as a reliable guide to communist tactics. Yet it had some revealing aspects. He said that the Cambodian rebels would launch an all out offensive against Phnom Penh early in December, backed by the North Vietnamese forces. Meanwhile they will be stockpiling weapons and ammunition; the Prince revealed the terms of a Chinese-North Vietnamese agreement concluded last month that will help them to do this. The Chinese have apparently promised to replace weapons that will be supplied to Cambodian insurgents by the North Vietnamese army from its caches in South Vietnam. Whether or not his timing is right, the prince appears to have blown the fiction that the Vietnamese communists are not involved in the war in

Cambodia." The *Economist* after examining the feasibility of what the rebels and North Vietnamese can possibly do during the current wet season, concluded: "... whether they will launch a major strike against Phnom Penh later in the year will hinge on two calculations; whether they think they can topple the Lon Nol regime without needing to pull too many of their men out of the main struggle in South Vietnam; and whether they think it worth accepting responsibility for running a war-torn country...."

IN SRI LANKA, it is now abundantly clear that the southwest monsoon has failed. Coming on top of the failure of the last Northeast, the water situation is indeed bleak. For the first time in living memory, Colombo has had a water cut of pipe-borne water on a major scale. As from the midnight of September 12, the water supply within the Municipal limits of Colombo was cut from 1 p.m. to midnight. This eleven hour cut will be enforced daily "until further notice". The water cut had been necessitated by the steep drop in the water levels of the Labugama and Kalatuwawa reservoirs due to the prolonged drought. As on September 11, the water level at Kalatuwawa reservoir was 33 feet below spill level while at Labugama it was 26 feet below spill level. There had been no rain in the catchment area of both reservoirs for a long time, and the water now available was not sufficient to meet

the city's requirements—34 million gallons a day—for more than a few weeks. Hence the need for a drastic cut. The water cut will not affect areas outside the city limits as these areas get water from the Kelani Ganga.

It is interesting to recall that the boss of Colombo's meteorological station had proclaimed several times from June of this year that the Southwest monsoon would break in a short time. The last time he had said this was, when he was in the salubrious climate upcountry, to a group of wailing planters that the Monsoon was late and that it would definitely come in August. The month of August has come and gone and there was no monsoon, although there had been some spells of rain. The Government and the government sponsored Lake House papers have now woken up to the fact that the major rice-producing areas of this country are in the grip of drought. The present condition is the culmination of four years of partial monsoons and lengthy periods of drought.

*Tribune* has always urged that Government should launch a crash programme to tap ground water resources. Unless this is done, this country's agriculture will forever be at the mercy of the vagaries of the weather which is now changing in the most unpredictable manner—perhaps, due to the changes in the world's environment.

# CEYLON: MARGINAL NOTES

BY SERENDIB

## ✱ Food ✱ World Bank

### ✱ Self-Rule for Tamils

### ✱ Hardline Communists

After a lull on the political front in Sri Lanka, there was a sudden spurt of activity in September. The UNP continued its campaign to win popular support by holding large meetings and rallies in the bigger towns and it mainly concentrated on the campaign to step up the boycott of the Lake House papers. The nominations to the Colombo North Seat brought five candidates, three of them independents. The main contest will, however, be between UNP's Vincent Perera, presently Mayor of Colombo, and Ananda Premasinghe, a LSSP member of the Municipal Council. The polling will take place on October 9.

Colombo North has generally been held by the UNP except for one parliamentary spell: and on this occasion, the Government will find it extremely difficult to dislodge the UNP especially with the current food shortages and high prices, not to speak about unemployment and other shortcomings in the country. This contest can very well turn out to be a runaway victory for the UNP, except that Ananda Premasinghe is a tough campaigner and is backed by the increasingly powerful political machine of the LSSP.

The Federal Party, at its annual convention this month, has undergone a major and fundamental transformation: it has dropped "federalism" as its objective and has adopted "self-rule"—for the creation and establishment of a separate state and a separate nation. What the other constituent members of the Tamil United Front will think about this is yet to be seen. At the time of writing, the hard-line CP faction seems to have reached the end of the road so far as its membership in the United Front is concerned.

ON THE FOOD FRONT. For over two years, *Tribune* had been pointing out that the inept policies of the Government will land this country into a food crisis. We had made allowances for the drought and the natural disasters which have overtaken the world, and Sri Lanka, but not withstanding all this, we had confidently asserted that

much of the present hardships was avoidable—if the Government had adopted realistic policies of a pragmatic kind without soaring into the dizzy heights of the never never. Now, official propaganda seeks to find excuses and smokescreens in the drought and the world crisis in food, forgetting that Sri Lanka (with all the vagaries of the weather) is one of the few countries which could have been self-sufficient in food at this time.

It is pointless worrying about spilt milk, but it is worth recording the rake's progress we are making in this country. It was only in late July and early August that the Government thought of taking the people into its confidence about the gravity of the food crisis—before that it was *blah blah* about not importing rice in 1974 because we were on the brink of total and complete self-sufficiency in food. Then, early in September, whispers began to go round that the food crisis was grave and that even the rations were in peril. The *Sun* of September 7 under the heading THE FOOD

#### Records

Horst Gfoller of Judenburg, Austria, has set a new world record for cutting hair. He clipped hair for 96 hours straight, with only a five minutes' break every hour, topping the previous record of 81 hours held by a Swedish hair-dresser.

## FRONT—DRASTIC CHANGES IN RATIONING SCHEMES

stated: "Drastic changes in the food rationing system are now very much on the cards in view of the acute food shortages in the commodity markets. Political circles believe that these changes would centre on three principal items—rice, flour and sugar—the supplies of which have become a serious problem to the Government. These changes are expected to come into operation from the first rationing week of October. According to these political circles the expected change in the rationing scheme in regard to rice would affect both the recipients of the first measure of rice as well as the tax payers who have now to buy their rice under the rationing scheme. Similarly, the flour and sugar distribution schemes also are likely to be changed.

"With all the major rice-producing countries experiencing a steep drop in production, the prospects of obtaining sufficient quantities of rice have become remote. Thailand and Burma have banned rice exports while the recent floods in Pakistan have devastated its rice crop. Our major rice supplier, China has also experienced a five per cent drop in its production this year. To add to the problems local production has been affected by the long drought, making it, impossible for the Paddy Marketing Board to achieve its collection targets. The situation in regard to flour is no better. Sri Lanka is not likely to

get any PL 480 flour for the next year. Massive purchases of wheat flour by Russia and East European countries and China have resulted in the United States not being able to help developing countries with PL 480 supplies. Sugar imports have also become difficult, due to the sharp increase in the price of sugar in the world market."

There was official silence about this news. The Prime Minister was out of the island—she was away in Algiers. The whispers stated that an announcement would be forthcoming only after the Prime Minister returned—until that time people were left to speculate on a wide variety of possibilities in the realities of lengthening bread queues, of lack of flour and the increasing cost of off-ration rice. Country rice shot up by September 10 in the open market to Rs. 3 a measure in Colombo and Rs. 4 in the hill country whilst in rice producing areas it went up from Rs. 1.80 to Rs. 2.40. The prices kept shooting up day after day: a pound of bread cost over Re. 1 for a pound loaf in towns like Hatton—if it was available at all.

The Prime Minister returned on the afternoon of September 10, and on September 11, the *Daily News* had a laboriously written "leak" under the heading **ECONOMISTS STUDY BLEAK SITUATION**. It was a sort of think-aloud think-piece which could have only emanated from a bureaucratic mind trying hard to provide a "leak" for a daily

newspaper. The heading too was as bleak as the picture this piece of stodgy writing sought to portray. For the record it is worth quoting the text in full: "The country's economic planners are currently busy studying a wide range of emergency measures to prevent a critical deterioration of the economy as a result of increasing world prices, the shortage of food commodities in the world market, the country's balance of payments position and the reluctance of the International Monetary Fund to accommodate Sri Lanka with increased standby facilities on our terms. Having assessed the food situation the policy planners feel that incentives should be offered to give a boost to local production. These incentives could take the form of an increase in the guaranteed price of rice and a floor price for other food commodities like yams, chillies, onions and subsidiaries. Food commodities sold to the government should be tax free.

"The rationing scheme should be rescrutinised, according to them. They believe that the scheme should be adjusted to ensure that what is available will go round in a fair proportion. The world shortage of rice and a fall in local production as a result of drought has created a situation where adequate stocks of rice may not be available to maintain the ration of two measures of rice per individual per week. Figures worked out so far indicate that a single pound of rice on the ration could be



guaranteed. If a cut in the rice ration is unavoidable, the consumer could be supplemented with alternatives. Even money can be paid out for the rice that is not available. The drastic measures that would be needed to meet the current crisis can be expected to affect the salaried classes worst. It may become necessary to cushion these groups from the adverse effects of any changes some economists argue. They could be provided further tax relief and increased wages. Today a person earning Rs. 500 a month is liable to taxes. This exemption level could be raised. Also special allowance could be paid to the salaried classes to meet increased living costs.

"While the position in Sri Lanka warrants sacrifices all round, policy planners have discovered that there are many with large investments particularly in savings and fixed deposits which is unreal. They have been made solely to obtain tax benefits. A 'nest-egg' of more than 25,000 is considered unrealistic. Large private 'hoards' could be made use of in the national effort to meet a critical situation.

"Last week the Minister of Plantation Industry, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, stated in the National State Assembly that the government will not be influenced in its decisions by any foreign institutions be it the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank. Other Ministers have made similar statements from public platforms. This indicates that the government is not pre-

pared to agree to the terms of the IMF for a standby arrangement.

"The IMF, among other conditions, has insisted on devaluation, fierce import controls, world price rises being passed to local consumers and improvement in the level and quality of public investment. The magnitude of Sri Lanka's foreign exchange crisis is revealed in the figure just compiled. Sri Lanka's total foreign exchange earnings from main exports amounts to only Rs. 2,200 million. Her import bill stands at Rs. 2,750 million for this year. Servicing of debts amounts to Rs. 2,200 million."

This was obviously the whole works.

It was a kind of blueprint for the final stage of the austerity campaign. It did not say what Government policy was, but it endeavoured to reflect the thinking of a section of the Government—the section which does any thinking at all.

But even this carefully-worded statement had a comeback, and it came back from the Ministry of Finance which was at pains to point out that Government had no intentions of freezing accounts in saving's accounts—because many had rushed to the conclusion that all deposits, above a particular figure in banks were in danger of being frozen. Although the statement did not say this, the manner in which it referred to "savings" over Rs. 25,000 being "unrealistic", nearly caused a stampede—with de-

positors wanting to withdraw their savings.

The Government propaganda machine then went into full gear and repeated announcements were made over the Radio and in all newspapers from September 12. This is what "the Ministry of Finance commenting on a news item entitled *Economists Study Bleak Situation in the Ceylon Daily News* of September 10", stated:

"The news item gives the impression (confirmed by numerous inquiries from the customers particularly of the National Savings Bank) that the Government's advisers are considering the freezing of

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deposits of over Rs. 25,000 in savings institutions. The impression created by this news item is incorrect. There is no such proposal even being examined by the Ministry. On the contrary it is the declared policy of the Government to take all possible steps to increase the amount of private savings which are channelled into state institutions."

**But this statement gave rise to other fears. Specific mention was only made of savings which are in state institutions. What about savings accounts in the commercial banks? What about fixed deposits in banks?**

The bureaucratically amateurish attempt to prepare the ground for a tough programme of austerity had only created unnecessary fears and apprehensions in quarters the Government did not want to disturb at this stage.

**THE WORLD BANK.** In the meantime, the left forces within the UF kept mounting pressure on the Minister of Finance, and presumably on the Prime Minister, to break with the World Bank and pay foreign debts only as and when we could. The most vociferous ultras demanded that the debts should be completely repudiated unilaterally, and that the World Bank, the IMF and the foreign creditors should be asked "to go to hell". But others spoke about a five-year moratorium. The *Nation*, the *Janawegaya* and the *Aththa* had thundered "break with the World Bank" and free Sri Lanka from the

shackles of imperialism. *Lake House* papers gave great prominence to speeches which demanded a break with the World Bank. The *Times* group papers did likewise, whilst peddling its panacea about the de-linked rupee. Only the Gunasena group thought otherwise.

Then, suddenly on September 11, the *Times of Ceylon* seemed to have second thoughts and published the following piece on its front page under the heading IF WE DON'T TOE THE IMF LINE—CLUB AID HOPES DIM.

Reading between the lines it was an answer to those optimists who thought that capitalist countries of the West could continue to aid Sri Lanka through the Aid Club, even if this country broke with the World Bank and the IMF. Such optimists failed to realise that the Aid Club was only an adjunct of the IBRD and the IMF. This is what the report stated.

"Financial circles fear that if the Government does not abide by the International Monetary Funds recommendations for monetary reform the prospects of Sri Lanka continuing to receive aid from the 'Aid Ceylon Club' would be dim. It would not merely be a question of not obtaining the 25 million U.S. dollars under the Special Drawing Rights, financial circles contend.

"The 'Aid Ceylon Club' which has been assisting Sri Lanka since 1965 meets under the auspices of the World

Bank and pledges aid on the basis of the recommendations of the IMF. Economists and financiers stress that it would not only be a question of finding other avenues of investment funds to sustain a reasonable rate of economic growth but also funds for the servicing and repayment of loans already obtained would have to be found.

"Economists say that in the coming years Sri Lanka will have to obtain much more than the average of 50 million dollars a year if it is not to be in the position of taking from 'Peter to pay Paul'. The countries in the 'Aid Ceylon Club' are the United States, Britain, Canada, West Germany, Japan, Australia and France."

**THE TAMIL PROBLEM.** The Federal Party, at its convention, adopted a resolution wanting a separate Tamil "self-rule" area in Sri Lanka. So far Suntharalingam's *Eelam Party* had been the only one which wanted this. Now, the Federal Party which had fought Suntharalingam for many years on this very issue has gone the whole hog and accepted Suntharalingam's thesis. The *Daily News* of September 10 under the heading FP AIM 'SELF RULE BY NON-VIOLENT MEANS' reported as follows: "Self-rule achieved through non-violence is the only way open to the Tamil nation, Federal Party president, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, said in the course of his presidential address at the 12th annual convention of the party held at Mallakam

over the weekend. Mr. Amirthalingam said:

"Once it has become clear that we cannot establish our rights with the consent of the Sinhalese people the only way open to the Tamil nation is to establish self-rule in their traditional homelands in the exercise of the inalienable right of every nation to self-determination. Without deviation in the slightest degree from the path of non-violence we will break selected laws and court arrest in our thousands. What we need today is the spirit of revolution. The non-violent revolution is the only way in which an unarmed people can resist the armed might of the people", he said.

"He added: The country is at the cross roads. The last political links with the foreign imperialists have been severed. We have completed one year after this country was proclaimed a Republic. The Constitution, which was ostensibly framed to liberate this country from the shackles of imperialism, has in fact further tightened the chains of slavery of the Tamil nation. At the same time certain preliminary steps have been taken to deprive the entire population of their freedom of speech, publication and other fundamental democratic rights. This national convention of the party is meeting at a time when the dark clouds of totalitarianism are enveloping the land in a frightful manner. This national convention has a special feature which was absent in the past. That is the presence on our platform today of the leaders of

other Tamil political parties, whose presence proclaims to the whole world that the Tamil nation which was split into various political camps in the past is today united in one front determined to win the rights of the Tamils. I wish to state categorically that this convention is assembled here with the firm determination not to allow this unity to be broken and I have assumed the office of President of the party with the fervent desire of further strengthening this unity...."

To counter this Tamil demand for self-rule, the *Daily News* thought it best to publish a broadside from Maoist publicist, Mr. N. Shanmugasadan who has always advised the Tamils **DON'T COOPERATE WITH TUF**. The *Daily News* did this undoubtedly to console itself that it was not suppressing the news about the "subversive" demands of the FP, and that it was setting the demand

in the correct perspective of a sermon from a dedicated votary of Mao Tse-tung. What pro-UF Tamils have to

### Death from Pollution

No fewer than 69,000 Italians died in 1968 from environmental pollution, it was recently revealed at a conference on environmental protection held in the Italian city of Urbino. Pollution was also the cause of 665,000 serious diseases, affecting notably the respiratory tract and the heart. The worst polluted cities in Italy are Milan, Venice, Rome, Naples and Trieste. Researchers say the responsibility for their pollution rests chiefly with the authorities who do not control either the growth of the population or the increase in the number of cars in these cities.



A scene from "War and Peace", a Soviet film to be screened at the Rio shortly.

say about the TUF and the FP is well known, but so is what Shanmugadasan has to say, but the *Lake House* at this juncture seems to think that it would be better to counter the FP (and the TUF) with Shan's volley of Mao's Thoughts on the subject. "The Ceylon Communist Party (Peking) has sent out a call to the Tamils not to co-operate with the Tamil United Front in implementing its separatist policies. Instead, the party has invited the Tamils to rally under its own banner and unite with the other communities irrespective of race, religion language or caste. In a statement issued in connection with the convention of the Federal Party, the CP (Peking) has stated: 'As a result of the wrong policies followed so far by the Tamil Congress and the Federal Party which claimed to represent and lead the Tamil-speaking people, the problems facing the latter not only remain unsolved but have been made worse.'

"It adds: 'It is incorrect to say, as leaders of the TUF say, that the Tamils are oppressed by the Sinhalese. The correct position is that both the Sinhalese and the Tamils are groaning under the stranglehold—of foreign imperialism, feudalism and the Sinhala-Tamil big bourgeoisie'.

"The CP (Peking) believes that the problems of the Tamils can be solved by the establishment of provincial autonomy within a secular and unitary state. 'Under such a setup, in the traditional areas where the Tamils live, in the North and East, they would

be able to govern themselves in their own language, obtain education in their mother tongue, safeguard their culture and control the colonisation schemes in their areas', the party's statement adds.

But it is not clear what the other members of the TUF feel about this, especially parties like the Tamil Congress and the Ceylon Workers' Congress. When the question of self-rule was first brought up at an Action Committee meeting of the TUF, and was adopted by a majority decision, it was said that the matter had been referred to the constituent parties for their consideration. The FP is the first to have considered it and it has now voted to drop federalism and adopt the policy of self rule or separation.

The CWC has been silent on this issue. So also the TC, but its spokesmen have stressed more than once that the TC and the TUF would be willing to negotiate with the Government. But without the TC specifically adopting the self-rule proposal as its own objective, its spokesmen have given support to this suggestion.

The *Times of Ceylon* report of the speech made by the TC representative at the FP convention makes interesting reading. This is what it said under the heading **TAMILS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE**: "If the Government genuinely wished to solve the economic problem the country was facing it should first enlist the support of all sections of the people. That could be done only through

the united effort of the Sinhalese and the Tamils. This was said by Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, general secretary of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress at the rally of the Federal Party held at Kankasanturai in connection with the 12th annual convention of the Party. He said the Tamil community was always prepared to extend their co-operation to the Sinhalese to tide over the economic crisis. But if the Government wanted to enlist the support of the Tamils the Sinhalese leaders should first solve the political problems of the Tamils. Once their legitimate demands were granted they would extend their support.

"The Tamils were prepared for negotiations with the leaders of the Government although the Tamil nation had decided that the only way open to it was the establishment of a separate state based on the principle of self-rule. If the Sinhalese leaders really wanted to save the nation they should discard their meaningless anger and come forward to settle the problems on the basis of justice and fairplay. Even when the Tamil Congress and the Federal Party were in the Government of the late Mr. Dudley Senanayake they could not achieve anything because they fought among themselves. But now those Tamil leaders had come under one banner and had presented to the Government their demands with one voice',

The *Daily News* wound up the "self-rule" issue with a scintillating editorial (evi-

dently editor-in-chief Mervyn de Silva was back at his desk) entitled FP's new posture. It sought to play down the matter on to a low key. It did not shout subversion, treason and the like—as it well might have. In semi-jocular style, in the mood and terminology of the left in the UF, the editorial sought to see a parallel in Lenin's dictum that FP's changed policy may be one step forward in the direction, but which took it two steps back in the wrong direction. The one step forward was to drop the futile demand for federalism. But the two steps back was to fall for "self-rule".

The editorial ended on a cautious note: "But where does FP finally end up? Two steps back. It has now decided to agitate 'for self-rule for the Tamil nation'. It will of course use non-violent methods of agitation. But then there are so many non-violent neo-Gandhians in our streets today—and not only in the north—that the Mahatma may have prayed, like Karl Marx before him, God save me from my followers. Hopefully, the FP's new-style agitation may prove peaceful. Mercifully, it may amount to nothing more than the opening of another FP Post Office and an unexpected windfall for dedicated philatelists. But even if "self-rule" ends up with first-day covers, this passing delight should not tempt the rest of us or the government into forgetting the existence of a serious problem. No society can live healthily or happily with an embittered minority. No

nation summoned to battle for its economic survival can possibly march to the front with its own ranks divided.

There is no doubt that the Tamil minority is an embittered one.

The Kumarasuriers, the Thuraiappahs and the like have not done much to win the confidence of the Tamil masses. The LSSP and the CP have also not been able to inspire confidence in the UF or its Constitution. It would be foolish for the Government to live in a dream that the pro-UF Tamils can deliver the goods.

If the country wants to go forward to prosperity and self-sufficiency through economic development it must be able to solve the Tamil problem.

#### HARDLINING COMMUNISTS

On September 12, the official Communist Party, now in the control of the hardlining faction of ultras, met the other members of United Front at a summit.

This meeting had been a long time coming.

The *Aththa* and the hardliners had been criticising the Government, whilst the dissenting softliners led by Keuneman had been silent spectators of this spectacle. Several attempts had been made to patch up the differences between the hardliners and the softliners, but the young ultras, who have captured the party machine, would have none of it. The old stagers in the hardlining section of the CP did not seem to have much of say except that they provided the open facade for the party.

The *Daily News* of September 13 had an insider's report of this summit meeting, and one cannot do better than to cite extracts of this report. This is what it said: "The major partners of the United Front—the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party—will now decide on whether the Communist Party may remain within the UF or not. At yesterday's 'summit' the Prime

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Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike adjourned discussions after two hours to enable the SLFP and the LSSP leadership to discuss the issues that had been raised and to communicate their decision later to the Communist Party.

"In the course of the talks, the CP leader, Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe said that his party was keen on remaining within the United Front and supporting the socialist policies adopted by the government. The Prime Minister and other SLFP and LSSP leaders said that the CP could not continue within the UF as long as it directed attacks on individual members, the other parties and the government as a whole. Such attacks were not in keeping with the spirit of the UF.

"The CP delegation claimed that the attacks were the work of irresponsible youngsters and should not be taken seriously. The SLFP and the LSSP could not accept this as, they said, even senior and responsive members of the Communist Party had made irresponsible public statements. Even the party paper 'The Aththa' had been unfairly critical of government leaders and government policy.

"The Communist Party delegation agreed to desist from such criticism in future. The delegation, however complained that it had not been consulted on major government policy decisions though it was a member of the United Front. To this the reply was that they could not be consulted as long as it continued to be critical of govern-

ment leaders and official policy...."

No sooner the meeting was over, it was privately known that the official CP was, out of the UF—out all bar the shouting. It was however, said that the other two parties in the UF would consider the position and convey their decision. What it amounted to was whether the explanations offered by Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe and company would be accepted by the others or whether it will be rejected, and from all early reports it was clear that the SLFP and LSSP leadership were in no mood to accept the explanations.

The *Daily News* obtained an inside view from a soft-lining Communist. This is what it said: "Commenting on the UF summit a CP soft-liner quipped, 'it looks as if the hardliners have pleaded in mitigation and sentence has been suspended...'"

By Friday, September 14, it was known that the explanations tendered by the official hardline CP had been rejected and that the official CP virtually was out of the UF.

*There is no doubt that old stagers like Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe and K. P. Silva had tried very hard to keep the CP within the UF and had even done their best to patch up their differences with the softlining Keuneman faction. But they had failed. The party machine was firmly in the hands of the ultras led by Indikka Gunawardena.*

The *Daily News* of September 14 summed the position admirably: "Will a new Sri

Lanka Communist Party led by Mr. Pieter Keuneman become the only Communist partner of the UF or will a formula to patch up differences between the leaders of the two CP factions lead to a new situation where a group of young radicals will have to quit the party or get tamed?

"The crisis within the CP and the question of the CP within the UF have now reached a point where Mr. Keuneman will form his Sri Lanka CP or Mr. K. P. Silva will succeed in bringing about a settlement between Dr. Wickremasinghe and Mr. Keuneman at the expense of a young hard-liner group led by Mr. Indika Gunawardena, son of the late Mr. Philip Gunawardena. At a conference abroad recently Mr. Gunawardena is reported to have launched a terrific onslaught on the United Front.

"Meanwhile, Mr. K. P. Silva, back from Moscow last month has emerged the key figure in an attempt to (a) restore CP unity at least at the leadership level and (b) to keep the CP within the United Front.

"In SLFP-LSSP circles, it has been felt that while the CP can criticise the government's shortcomings many of its leading personalities have stepped out of line. 'The CP cannot have it both ways' was one of the comments made by a prominent SLFP'er. This feeling has also gained ground in the LSSP as evidenced by the hot exchanges in the daily news papers 'Janadina' (pro-LSSP) and 'Aththa' (pro-CP)." What next?

# Inania Of This, That and The Other

## Prānātipāto . . . . . I Refrain from Killing

by INNA

CLEMENCEAU, who visited the tea estates several years ago, is reported to have exclaimed in an ambivalent manner: "Que de the! Que de the! Que de the!" "Nothing but tea, nothing but tea, nothing but tea".

Looking at the newspapers one is tempted to see the constant reportages on violence and say the same: "What an amount of violence, of violence, of violence." But we seem to see this with only one eye, or get cross-eyed reading the papers wrongly. A coastline Father of the catholic church once showed me this text from Michel Quoist (he said):

*"Is violence always justified when it is used to put down revolutions, and always unjustified when it is used to make revolutions? Such are the agonising questions that are being asked today, the world over, by many men of good will and by many young people".* (p. 14: Christ is Alive)

How we have missed the wood for the trees! We rightly listen to *bana* and perform *pirith* ceremonies, but we forget that when we starve a man without giving him a living wage we are slowly killing him. This is violence with a vengeance. When we are in league with world powers, and especially

with one power which tries to throttle the life out of many small nations by their multi-national Corporations, then we are in league with violence with a big V. As a South American Christian gentleman, one Fragozo said:

*"The genocide of our people, of our rural people in Brazil, is now on".* (p. 50: Evang. Rev. Sociale)

GENOCIDE is forbidden in Buddhism: I refrain from killing (Pranatipto.) Christians also say: "Thou shalt not kill" is one of the Ten Commandments. Do not the 62 multi national Corporations all over the world, with their low wages in some third-world countries, go on a killing spree? What about the 1000 men who hold the three-fourths of the globe in their hands? as the British economist puts it *Exploitation*, by Robin Jenkins.)

Genocide here means the methodical assassination of an entire race. Fragozo showed the genocide of Hitler, the attempted extermination of the Jewish people; that of the coloured races so violently opposed by Martin Luther King of revered memory. He then cries out: "Do you realize that more than half the peasants die assassinated. Assassinated! Yes! in any developed country, the average

life-span is 60 years; do you realise that in the interior of N. W. Brazil, the life-span is 30 years. More than half the peasants cannot live, they are condemned to death. This is organised genocide." (p. 50 book cited above.)

How puerile and red-herring-like the attempts of those who rant and rave that the cinema depicts violence and fighting.

Dumont calls the pawn-broker who throttles the life out of the poor widow and the orphan in Sri Lanka, a veritable assassin. It would do well to have our religious-leaders of all religions reflect on this kind of violence, whether it be at poya service or divine service or assemblies.

They will wake up to the *pranatipto* (good for that Buddhist owner of a hospital who was surprised that "with three children, his attendant drew a salary of Rs. 50/- instead of Rs. 30/-") and to the "Thou shalt not kill" (every time the expensive car pulls out of the porch). The only Jacob's ladder our people see is the food-graph coming down: and prices going up!

### Jesuits Too

Salvadoran Minister of Education Rogelio Sanchez recently created a sensation by denouncing the teachers of the College of San Jose for teaching sociology tinted with Marxism. True, he did not say that it was a Jesuit college and that its teachers were Jesuits too.

POLITICS AGAIN

## WHY ASK FOR THE MOON?

By Canax

You're sure going to say I've been dreaming once you hear me out, and I shan't contradict you for that's what I think I've been doing this past week. Since I last sleep-talked with the UNP's Mr. Premadasa I seem to have got addicted to the habit. Only this time it was Mr. Vincent Perera, our erstwhile Mayor, instead of Mr. Premadasa who came into my subconscious view.

"Greetings, Your Worship," I said as soon as I recognised who he was.

"Don't worship me," he replied, sounding friendly. "I come not as Colombo's First Citizen but as the UNP's nominee for Colombo North. Just call me Vincent, please."

"Anything you say, Your Worship," I said without thinking, but quickly added, "I mean, Vinny."

"That's better," he smiled. "Much better."

"Tell me, Vincent," I said after a short pause while I thought furiously of something to say, "do you forsee a tough fight ahead?"

"You make it sound like a rowdy brawl," he said somewhat testily. "I personally am not tough and don't think I look it, either. All I want is a little parliamentary fun."

"Bored with municipal fun already?"

"No, not really," he said, "but once you get to be

Mayor where else can you go but up?"

"And out of the municipal circuit," I agreed.

"My Party thought so too," he concurred.

"Vincent, you still haven't answered my question," I reminded him.

"I'm sorry," he said quickly, looking apologetic, "but what was it now?"

"Do you forsee a tough fight?" I repeated.

"Your question is best answered if I say that my Party does not condone violence."

"You mean officially, of course?"

"Naturally," he replied, making it sound the most natural thing in the world.

"Not even in extenuating circumstances?" I pressed him.

"Such as?"

"Like in self-defence, for instance," I suggested.

"Haven't you ever heard of the 'I-thought-he-was-going-to-hit-me-so-I-hit-him-first' defence?"

"No, I haven't" he said.

"but my Party may have. It sounds interesting, though".

"I thought of it only because of Vivienne's comments on Nomination Day," I said.

"She's a real fun-person and says the most outrageously funny things," he observed with a broad grin.

"You're probably right," I said, "for she said they were quite prepared to meet UNP thuggery with thuggery."

"She says things like that all the time," he laughed. "She wasn't more specific, so I know they won't."

"Won't? Why not?"

"Because it's simply not done," he explained. "You don't meet UNP thuggery with any old thuggery without even a brand name to it. That would be an insult, and hardly fun."

"Are there other well-known brands readily available?"

"Oh, plenty," he said, "but one that has proved itself over the years is called LSSP thuggery, and is quite effective."

"But she also said they would teach the UNP a lesson in some other way. Now that doesn't sound funny to you, does it?"

"The LSSP places great emphasis on fun and games in politics so, who knows, they might have come up with some entirely new form of thuggery that is perfectly above board and yet just as much fun as what they were using before."

"Is thuggery different to violence?" I asked.

"Indeed," he said, "the one has just a hint of the other."

"But I wasn't thinking of either when I asked about a tough fight," I explained.

"What I meant was, will the election result be a close one?"

"Why didn't you say so at the start?" he cried. "As



far as we're concerned, it's not merely going, going, but already gone."

"You sound happily pessimistic," I observed.

"What will be, will be," he mused, though he sounded quite unlike Doris did in her Day. "And who's pessimistic?"

"You'll promise them a lot, I suppose?"

"Must I promise anything?" he asked, frowning with sudden concern.

"It's the done thing," I advised.

"Just one promise or many?"

"The more the merrier."

"And then?"

"And then what?" I asked nonplussed.

"I mean, don't I have to honour them?"

"Vincent, when will you ever learn," I cried helplessly. "Election promises are not like the ones you make your wife."

"Oh, you've been talking to her, too?" he asked apprehensively.

"Stop jumping to conclusions," I snapped. "I was only trying to show the difference—you sometimes try to honour the one, but you don't even do that with the other."

"Now what can I promise?"

"Maybe another free measure," I suggested.

"Hmm...mm...any other ideas?"

"Stop picking my brains, Vincent, and start thinking for yourself," I said curtly.

"It was all your bright idea, remember?" he taunted

me. But then he thought for all of ten seconds and said, "I know. I'll promise them blood, sweat and tears while I'm about it."

"That would be a mistake, Vincent," I said. "It just might remind them of the water cut."

"I am a man of principle," he said decisively, "and will give credit where credit is due. The drought is the Government's great achievement, not mine, and I don't mind admitting it."

My eyes began to tear. "Why, Vincent, you're generous to a fault," I cried, touched, "and a man after my own heart."

He struggled to keep away the tears himself. "Don't mention it," he whispered.

"I won't," I promised.

"Is there anything else I can promise?" he asked regaining his composure.

"Promise them the Moon, Vincent" I urged.

He thought a little bit.

"But I can't," he cried.

"That's what they promised in 1970."

"Doesn't matter," I said, "it's still hanging around, though, so it should be good for one more time."

"I'll think about it," he promised, "but only because you say so."

"What else do you fancy?"

"The moon is more than enough," he said with finality.

"Look, Vincent," I said sternly, "what do you take the people for?"

"Why, fools," he said with disarming innocence.

"At least we're agreed on that," I said, "but if you think you can get away with just the Moon, you're crazy."

He fell silent for awhile, and he looked a troubled man. "Tell me," he said finally, as he got ready to take leave of my subconscious, "why do you suppose the people expect the Moon every time?"

I felt sorry for him. "Because it's there," I said.

Funny, Vincent hadn't even thought of that.

### Rolls-Royce Earnings and profits up

Earnings during 1972 by Rolls-Royce (1971) Ltd topped £ 374 million. The company says this compares with £ 184 million for the previous 32-week period. The 1972 figures show that the rate of earnings is more than 20 per cent up on the latter 32-week period of the previous year. Profits were also up by a large margin, says the company, the former aero engine section of Rolls-Royce which is now owned by the British Government. After interest and tax, profits for 1972 topped £ 10.6 million compared with £ 3.4 million for the previous 32 weeks of 1971. It was also announced that deliveries of the company's RB 211 engine have reached 200 this month.

IN SRI LANKA TODAY

## PLOT THICKENS IN C. P.

by Kubera

After our article last week on the crisis inside the CP and in its relations with the United Front, the grand finale has moved from one dramatic scene to another. Let us briefly give a blow-by-blow commentary on the latest developments.

On Tuesday, September 18th, the *Daily News* reports that Pieter Keuneman and B. Y. Tudawe have been sacked from the CP. This news had been vouchsafed the *Daily News* by a CP spokesman who told the paper that the decision to sack them was taken by the Central Committee the previous Sunday, that is the 16th—the same day that Keuneman held forth at the Moor's Islamic Cultural Home to his comrades of the Colombo District.

The very next day, there is a contradiction of this report by Dr. Wickremasinghe. He asserts that Keuneman and Tudawe have *not* been sacked. Comments the *Daily News*: "The different versions of what is going on in the ranks of the CP reflect the near-total confusion within the party today, with factions and factions within factions following varying tactics... Mr. Keuneman for his part is keeping his cards close to his chest since the CP crisis appears to have taken a turn where he has the trumps."

The next day, Dr. Wickremasinghe with two other CP members of the National State Assembly crosses the floor, goes over to the Opposition and makes a statement where he more or less repeats the sentiments in the press statement issued after their exclusion from the United Front.

After some commotion where the House has to be adjourned, Mr. Keuneman too manages to get in a word edgewise that "the Communist Party has not been excluded from the United Front," that only "a few persons who are opposed to the United Front have excluded themselves."

There is also an angry exchange of letters between the two erstwhile comrades. And so to "the Special Conference of members of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka" conveyed by Keuneman for the 22nd September at the New Town Hall, the same venue of the 8th CP Congress whence all the troubles started.

In his appeal to members summoning them for this meeting, Keuneman points out that the Central Committee elected by the last Congress has ceased to exercise authority and that one of the purposes of the Special Conference is to appoint a provisional Central Committee to hold the fort till

the next Congress is convened six months hence.

To make sure of his position, he also informs the Central Control Commission, the highest disciplinary body in the CP set-up, as "the only body elected by the 8th Congress that continued to enjoy respect and authority" of the step he is taking. The Control Commission summons Keuneman who appears before it and states his case.

The Control Commission also summons Dr. Wickremasinghe as General Secretary and K. P. Silva as Party Organiser to state their case. Both ignore this summons. The Control Commission delegates one of its members, Basil Perera, to attend the Special Conference on the 22nd and report on it thereafter.

Meanwhile, the Control Commission had also given what proves to be another trump card for Keuneman at the Special Conference. This was the ruling given in the appeal submitted by M. G. Mendis and others against their expulsion and by Keuneman himself against the indiscriminate dissolution of party organisations and arbitrary expulsion of party members. The verdict of the Commission: There is a total breakdown of discipline in the party.

And so with all the trump cards in his hands, Keuneman declares the Central Committee elected by the 8th Congress *functus*, gets elected by the Special Conference which he has con-

vened a provisional Central Committee to ensure that the CP discharges its obligations to the United Front and to summon another Party Congress within six months.

The Special Conference also empowers Keuneman and Tudawe to continue in their posts as Minister and Deputy Minister respectively and elects Keuneman as General Secretary of the CP.

It will be recalled that Mr. Keuneman was offered this post even after the conclusion of the 8th Congress. But he declined the honour, saying that he did not want the General Secretaryship in a Central Committee in which he had little authority. He had only five or six supporters in that Committee of 50.

Now after one year of skilful in-fighting, Mr. Keuneman has succeeded in becoming General Secretary in a Provisional Central Committee where he will wield real authority. Meanwhile, Dr. Wickremasinghe too will continue to function as General Secretary of the old Central Committee from Cotta Road.

Thus, though Mr. Keuneman has tried to make out that there has neither been a split in the CP nor that he has formed another CP, the situation is nearer the one described by R. Premadasa who said in the National State Assembly that there is now a Government Communist Party and an Opposition Communist Party.

The new arrangement will enable the Communist Party under the leadership of Mr

Keuneman to continue to function as a constituent unit of the United Front. This will undoubtedly be acceptable to his SLFP and LSSP allies. But it will lead to further schisms and splits inside the CP.

Ever since the 'hardliners' captured power at the 8th Congress, Keuneman and his 'soft-liners' have tried to keep the inner-party split confined to the higher echelons of the party structure and not sought to split the party at lower levels. Instead, they operated through the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions and other mass organisations supporting the CP to give battle to the 'hardliners.'

Now with the formation of the Provisional Central Committee, CP units too are bound to be reorganised at every level resulting in inevitable rival units from the District Committee level to that of cells in towns and villages, factories and other workplaces.

This division will reflect the contrasting attitudes of CP members towards the United Front Government. Those supporting the Government will inevitably organise round the units affiliated to the CP led by Mr. Keuneman. Others will continue their allegiance to the Wickremasinghe-led CP.

As we said in the last article, a coming together of the two factions is still not ruled out, especially due to increasing pressure from fraternal CP's abroad. This is admitted even by Mr. Keuneman who has told the *Daily*

*News* (22/9) that "they can join us or we can join them."

But in the absence of such a coming-together, while one set of Communists will find themselves getting even more closely aligned with the Government, the others will proceed from critical support which they now offer to more open criticism of the Government, especially if the latter is forced to resort to unpopular measures to cope with the critical economic and financial situation that it faces.

They might even call for the formation of a "Third Force" opposed to both the united Front Government and the UNP-led Opposition. It is said that this is the theory that they put forward in the minority report which they prepared for the 8th Congress and withdrew only at the eleventh hour.

If the present rift is not healed soon, they might think it time to proclaim this theory openly and set about acting according to its tenets.

### Playing Safe

Eugene Ormandy, conductor of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, has accepted an official invitation from Peking to tour the People's Republic of China. It is understood, however, that Ormandy has taken the precaution of avoiding the inclusion in his programme of works by Russian and Soviet composers.

BATTICOTTA SEMINARY -- 7

## Seminary's Progress: Proud Achievement

by James T. Rutnam

This is the Seventh article in the series on the Batticotta Seminary which was founded one hundred and fifty years ago on July 22, 1823. This institution was the direct fore-runners of the present Jaffna College at Vaddukkoddai.

XVII

"THE first buildings put up", says Chelliah, "were six good sized rooms for students, a dining room and kitchen, a large and airy room for meetings of various kinds, several apartments for devotional purposes, and study rooms for the Principal and the native Tutor. In addition to this a Hall was in process of erection to be used for public examinations, lectures and other exercises, and for the library and apparatus. It was designed to be two stories in height (sixty-four feet in length) the lower story to be used for public exercises, and the upper for holding classes, for the library, etc."

The library began with 600 Volumes and orders for classical books and science equipment to the value of £150/- were forwarded to England. An annual examination was held during 1825 at which Ottley, Major Antil, Commandant Jaffnapatam, and several

others besides Missionaries were present. The judges were much impressed.

"At the beginning of 1826" Chelliah writes, "twenty lads from the Preparatory school were added to the Seminary having passed a good examination in the required studies. By the addition of this class the number in the three classes of the Seminary rose to 53 but was reduced to 48 at the end of the year. At a public examination in the Tamil Language in June of that year essays were produced among others, on the following subjects: Form and dimensions of the earth; Number, distance, and size of the planets; Eclipses; Method of finding latitude at sea; and Fixed stars. Some of these subjects were illustrated by the help of Instruments and coloured maps and drawings, much to the astonishment of the people assembled.

"The annual examination took place in September, and it was again attended by Sir Richard Ottley and other high Government Officials, besides missionaries. The highest class was examined in Algebra and the Elements of Astronomy, while the other two were examined in the subjects mentioned above. Sir Richard was highly gratified with the per-

formance of the students, and afterwards in a letter to the Principal said that his first impression was considerably strengthened as regards the value and progress of the Institution."

XVIII

THE PROGRESS of the Seminary could be measured from the following account given by Chelliah:

"The number on the rolls of the Seminary at the beginning of 1827 was forty-eight, divided into three classes. In September 1827-September was the close of the Seminary year, twenty-four boys were admitted from the Preparatory School at Tellipalai, and in September 1829 another class of 29 was received into the Seminary. At first the average age was fourteen or fifteen but the boys taken last were considerably younger, being on an average not more than 12 years old. This was considered a circumstance very favourable to their acquiring a good pronunciation of English and a thorough education. During these two years twenty-seven students graduated from the Seminary, sixteen in 1828, and the rest in 1829.

"It was intended that these should pursue their studies at least another year, but their anxiety to obtain some employment, and the demands of the mission for efficient assistants made the authorities of the school deviate from their original plan. In 1830 the total number was 63 divided into three nearly equal classes. There were ten others who while doing

teaching work prosecuted their studies higher. In September 1830 thirty boys were admitted, and in 1832, sixty-three. Of the latter fifty were from the boarding school at Tellippalai, and the remaining were from Day English schools. Out of twenty applicants from respectable families who wish to study at their own cost as Day scholars, ten were admitted. This showed that non-Christians of property and influence had begun to appreciate the education given at the Seminary.

"Sixteen graduated in 1832, of whom eight continued to be connected with the Seminary as teachers or as students in Theology. At the beginning of 1833 the number of students was 114 in four classes. In the course of the year a class of 22 was formed for Tamil work, as, owing to the large demand everywhere for men with English education, it was not possible to keep the necessary number of English teachers. At the end of two years, however, this class was abandoned and the members of it commenced English studies. Twenty three graduated in 1834, and found profitable employments".

"When the first class of fifteen graduated", Gratiaen states, "there were two hundred applicants to the new class". Gratiaen, who was a prominent educationist, exclaims that the Batticotta Seminary was for some years the "highest achievement of education in the Island." This was high praise indeed. Gratiaen was not content with giving this encomium only

He further stated in admiration of the system of education followed by the American Mission that "a bright boy in one of these village schools might go to a Boarding school, learn English, enter the Seminary and go back to the school as a teacher or enter the mission service. Till the Americans developed this idea, the English and the vernacular students were distinct, one being for Headman's sons and the other for the villager. Here therefore is not only an admirable school system, but the beginning of the social revolution."

XIX

IN APRIL 1830 Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, visited the Seminary and examined the boys in Mathematics and Religious Knowledge. He was gratified and was planning to bestow some benefaction, to Seminary, but unfortunately he died on the way back at Trichnopoly. In September 1830, C. H. Cameron and Col. Colebrooke, members of the Commission of Enquiry sent by the British Government to Ceylon, visited the Seminary and conducted an examination. They were most satisfied and soon reported that the Barnes prohibition of further missionaries from America should be immediately rescinded.

This paved the way for the arrival of Dr. Nathan Ward and H. R. Hoisington in 1833, and James Read Eckard in 1834.

Colebrooke in his famous Report in 1831 states, "While the English Missionaries had not generally appreciated the

importance of diffusing a knowledge of the English Language through their schools, the American Missionaries were fully impressed with the importance of English." He referred approvingly to the Seminary where "the students made some creditable proficiency in other branches of useful knowledge."

The Seminary found a friend in the new Governor Sir Wilmot Horton who visited it in 1832, and was present at the examination held that year. He was so satisfied with what he observed that he offered a Scholarship, on his own account, for the further education of the best student in the highest class of the Seminary.

At the end of 1835, Poor felt a "Call" specially to do evangelistic work, and being satisfied that he had placed the Seminary on a firm foundation he offered his resignation from the post of Principal. Owing to the restrictions imposed by Government, Chelliah states, Poor was obliged during his term of office to sustain the burden almost alone, the other members of the Mission rendering only limited assistance in the midst of their Missionary duties.

(To be Continued)

For News Behind  
the News  
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SHAMBA

# Work Goes On

JUNE 27 - JULY 3

by ANATORY BUKOBA

June 27.

The difference between my way of clearing land and the method employed in clearing land for a chena was borne in on me today. Where the land cleared for chena cultivations is real forest, I suppose the only way to get rid of the big trees would be to burn them if one was not to sell them. There is wood in two corners of this acre, and I do not want to fell the big trees. In a real forest it would be possible to walk round the big trees, because all the jungle is a road, like the sea. Where the light secondary growth has been cleared, thorns grow up in its place, and the wood becomes impenetrable. The same thing happens when the land is cleared completely and is allowed to grow again.

The chena cultivator cuts and burns. He does not even bother to cut close to the ground whatever it is he fells, so that when it has all been burnt, there are still tall stumps of trees standing everywhere. My policy, on the other hand is to cut as close to the ground as it is conveniently possible, so that when I do come to take the roots out, I will not be hindered by the tall stumps from doing so with the mamoty.

The chena cultivator has also not much difficulty bur-

ning what he cuts. When it is dry, he sets fire to it and the fire spreads burning up everything but the stumps and the biggest thorns. I will not do this because it means damaging by fire whatever it is I have not cut or felled. I have to drag into heaps what I have cut, thorns and all, before setting it on fire. Sometimes it is hard to find the spaces for the heaps, and the fact of having to make the heaps at all considerably slows the work of clearing. I think mine is the better way in the long run.

June 28.

It certainly looked so today after I had made yet another heap of vegetation. At a distance the ground looked like grass in a park, and I would have had to go nearer to notice that the ground was by no means cleared yet of its thorns and small stumps, work which would have to be done with a mamoty. When I pointed this out, the nice effect, to those with me, and contrasted it with the ugly scars left where I had done the burning, the answer I got was, Yes, but the burnt vegetation makes a good manure.

When I thought of today the amount of seed we have packeted and sold, I wondered for a moment if we

should not have planted it all here. What with the sun and the lack of rain, I think we were right in selling. We must try to make a success of what we have sowed, and it all has to be watered by hand. We have a really huge bucket, a recent acquisition and it makes the task of watering ten times easier, to judge by the time the watering takes.

We sowed today some seed from the U.S.A, tomato and something called squash, which, as I have said, I have seen growing on a neighbour's farm.

We also planted, or rather sowed, a lot of red papaw seed to see if it will germinate

Only one of our bitter-gourd plants has survived. Some of the water melon has died off and we have only two good creepers left. Not a vine has a leaf, and they all look dead. The damaged spinach seems to have recovered, which seems to me rather like a miracle.

July 1.

Trouble galore, When I looked round the plants this evening I found much a dying. Plants which, when they were young, had done all right. There can only be one answer, and that, that they were watered inadequately. I was not aware of this, but only conscious that the watering had been done in double-quick time, during a short absence of mine each evening. I had just to let that go.

It looks now as if we shall have to have a complete change-over in personnel if

## The One-Acre Farm

this acre is to make any head-way. I am inclined to think that this has just been a camping ground for some people. We have made a little money by selling seeds to home gardens, and it has just covered the gaps in our economy. People have worked hard in a way, but without that complete dedication that is necessary for a venture like this. I suppose it all boils down to inadequate leadership. It is very hard to find a reliable companion, perfect in all that is important for this sort of exercise, that is, making a go of life on a shore-string. The sustained effort required is difficult. Chena cultivation does not require this sustained effort. It is all over in a few months, just a short time in the year.

July 2,

Well, as I hinted might be the case, I was on my own again today. It was necessary and it went through. The moment I was on my own, I started to turn the house inside out. There was not a paper or piece of waste paper that was not put in its proper place. All in the trays were looked at, and every thing investigated.

The clothes were all rearranged and every pot washed. Everything superfluous to the kitchen was removed, and the floor was swept meticulously. The verandah was tidied up. It was not past twelve and I could look forward only to a hungry day. All the food that I had been left with in the house were a few red onions, a little salt, and a

few tea leaves for making tea. While I was removing the heap of dust on the verandah, and depositing it outside with the help of a mammy, two people walked cheerfully down from the road. They were so cheerful that I had an instinctive feeling that they had come to stay. They had, a long time ago they had said they would, but so much had happened in the meantime that I had thought they would not come. What had happened had obviously been buried and here they were. I was not alone! I heaved a sigh of thanks to God, for indeed I felt rather overwhelmed by my good fortune.

It was I who did the watering this evening, and I learnt a lot by doing so. More of this anon.

July 3,

My friends, started to dig a lavatory. Dig is the right word. The crowbar I brought them was very blunt at both ends. Then I managed to find them a broken pick-axe. By this time they thought the sun too hot, and it was well on in the afternoon that the work was started again. The idea of starting the lavatory today was theirs. It was something we should have had long ago, but the jungle was too convenient although I used to moot the idea when ever our numbers grew, but as they promptly went down again this idea always lapsed. My friends are already talking of a well and have picked the site for it. A well will certainly save us carrying our huge bucket of water up the hill, or I

should rather say, bank, from the river. This brings me to what I would have said last night. I thought while watering this evening that we have about reached the limit of what we can water in an evening if we use the river as our source of supply. If we had our well ready, we might be able to water three times as much.

I am not surprised that watering was skimped by people who could not have had their heart here. Well, that did not happen tonight and I do not think much was missed.

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TRIBUNE, September 29, 1973

# IS IT TRUE?

Sherlock Holmes

## PETROL SHORTAGE MONSOON FAILURE

IS IT NOT TRUE that the mighty United States was hit by a petrol (yankee—gasoline) shortage this year? That in June 1972, US stocks of gasoline were enough to last 31 days? That motorists were using 6.8 million barrels daily? That refineries had begun to run near capacity? That shortages were barely averted in the summer of 1972? That stocks in June 1973 were only sufficient for 28 days? That motorists were using 7.2 million barrels a day? That because of this and the increases demanded by the oil producers, (mainly Arab and Persian Gulf countries), the US was short of gasoline for the first time ever since gasoline was used as a source for fuel? That this summer supplies were voluntarily rationed? That gas stations had put up huge billboards which read: "8-gallon limit please, to serve all our customers we must limit individual gasoline purchases your cooperation is appreciated? That even with this President Nixon had warned on June 29: "...or daily supply of gasoline this summer could fall short of demand by 1 or 2 percent and possibly as much as 5 percent..."? That the USA had gone through the

last summer, without a major shut down, by the thin end of a razor's edge? That over 54 percent of the country's service stations had limited their sales or operating hours? That this figure was furnished by the American Automobile Association? That the Cost of Living Council, in its first major operation under the new price freeze programme, had ordered rollbacks for 1106 service stations found to be overcharging an average of 2 cents a gallon for gasoline? That the Council had found that 741 independent and 365 company-owned stations had charged above freeze-price levels? That in this capitalist country the price control levels were enforced? That the US Government has now launched a drive to encourage a 5 per cent cut in the anticipated private use of energy in the next 12 months—with the Federal Government ordered to reduce consumption by 7 percent to lead the way? That it would be good thing, in Sri Lanka too, if the Government enforced a cut on all kinds of consumption by government bodies and corporations? That one of the biggest consumers of petrol in Ceylon is the enormous public sector?

IS IT NOT A FACT that in spite of rain falling unseasonally at times, this year, Sri Lanka has not got its share of the southwest monsoon? That one indication of this is the fact that the two reservoirs serving Colombo have run dry and that a water cut had become inevitable in the city? That this failure of the southwest comes after a bad northeast in 1972-73? That the southwest in 1972 had also been partial whilst the northeast of 1971-72 was poor? That since 1970 the rain gods have not given Sri Lanka her adequate share of rain? That Sherlock Holmes does not state this with a view to denigrating the United Front government which had come to power in 1970? That this fact is mentioned as one additional difficulty faced by the United Front—the absence of rain? That for a long time the Government did not recognise that the country was slowly slipping into the grip of drought? That today the Government is shouting its head off about the drought? That if the realities of the continuing drought were realised the Government would have started a crash programme for tapping ground water a long time ago? That even today the plans for the "stupendous" Maha cultivation is based on the rains? That if the rains failed or are only partial, Government's hopes for bumper harvests will vanish? That it is not too late to launch a crash programme to tap ground water sources as it was done in many parts of India affected by drought conditions for several years running?