

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

Cts. 75

ON HOLIDAYS

ELSEWHERE in this issue we have explained why this issue of *Tribune* has been unduly delayed. Whenever there is a stretch of holidays in Sri Lanka for a few days, there is a tendency to stretch it even more under various pretexts. The curfew on April 21/22 gave a further impetus to absenteeism everywhere. Additionally, there were undeclared and unpublicised strikes—really go slows, work-to-rule slow-downs, no-work stay-ins during working hours and the like — in a large number of places, some of them of key importance. Many had also genuinely fallen ill, but many more were on bogus medical certificates. All this combined to make the last two to three weeks a most unproductive and frustrating period in Colombo and other urban areas. Everything has not yet returned to normal, but we think that once the Wesak holiday fever is over, people in towns in Sri Lanka, especially in the city of Colombo, will get down to doing a job of work once again. Looking at the calendar, we had the consolation to find out that there are no long spells of official holidays for the rest of the year — except pe naps at Christmas when everybody takes a holiday anyway — as long a holiday as possible — with or without official sanction.

WE DO NOT KNOW how this malady for taking holidays ("by force" as the Ceylonism goes) can be eradicated from body politic of this country. There is no doubt that something must be done about this if the national productive effort is to be stepped up. In Spain, the government has launched a campaign, backed by legislative sanction, to end the system of midday *siesta*, when everything was shut down for three to four hours. In the days of leisured feudalism in Spain, the midday *siesta* was something the nation could afford. But with increasing population and the pressing need to step up production, the *siesta* was a dangerous anachronism. It disrupted work. When the rest of the world was at work, Spain went to sleep. It may take a little time, but there is no doubt that the *siesta* is on the way out in Spain. And it is a good thing. The *siesta* is one of relics of the past which has no meaning today. Even in a highly developed and advanced society, with sophisticated technology which makes it possible to produce a surfeit of goods everybody needed with a short working day, the ensuing leisure will no doubt be more purposely and profitably used than the stolen leisure time of the Spanish *siesta*. Climatic considerations often require working hours staggered to local conditions, but the *siesta* in Spain had become a painful obstacle to work. And unless we do something about it all soon, the holiday malady in Sri Lanka will become the biggest disruptive force in national economic development. Everybody in Sri Lanka, in the Government, in the Opposition — everywhere and in every place — must pay serious attention to this problem. The holiday *malaise*, such as we know it in Sri Lanka, has to be rooted out and eliminated without delay.

Vol. 18 No. 52

May 4, 1974

A TROUBLED
WORLD

RETURN TO
NORMALCY

CHRONICLE

DEMOCRACY
ON TRIAL

BEFORE AND-
AFTER THE CUR-
FEW

INDIA

BURMA

Tribunania

* A Troubled World

* Return to Normalcy

April 27,

THE LAST NOTES for this column in our issue of April 13 were written on April 5. Since that time a great many things have happened in this island and elsewhere in the world too. The intervening period seems almost an age. Whether we like it or not, we are moving into a new era in political history of the world, and it is difficult to say what the future, even the immediate future, will be.

In the case of our island, in spite of the wishful prognostications of fanatic pundits of different ideological persuasions, it is impossible to envisage, leave alone predict, the course of history in the immediately ensuing period. *What is in store for the young Republic of*

Sri Lanka is anybody's guess, because we have reached the point of no return in many matters, and interpretative analysis of political events has become a hazard of the greatest magnitude.

Even the most cursory examination of world events during the last three or four weeks will show that events are tumbling one over the other in a way that it is impossible to say what will happen next anywhere. In spite of Kissinger's magic touch, the Middle East is still as far away from lasting peace as ever. Fighting is continuing on the Golan Heights between Israel and Syria for strategic posts on the Mount Hermon area. Egypt's Sadat has not been able to persuade Syria to toe the Kissingerian line, and Sadat himself has begun to stir up a hornet's nest in his own country by his pro-US policies combined with his de-Nasserisation offensive. In spite of the heavy censorship, the news has leaked out that there was a major and very nearly successful attempt to assassinate Sadat. And Cairo circles seem to think that Colonel Gaddafi was the inspirer of the attack on the Egyptian President. The powerful demi-

gods of the political firmament of yesterday and today are being toppled down at a fast rate, but nobody more vigorously than Nasser. The horrors of his regime are being exposed by those who had been cast into prison by him for political reasons and most of his so-called measures are being undone.

Across the Suez, which is likely to be opened for traffic before the end of the year, the old guard of the founding fathers of Israel are facing a new generation which is not prepared to take things for granted. The Golda Meir—Moshe Dayan combine, the successor to the earlier syndicates of a similar kind, has met its Waterloo, not in the field of battle or in a general elections, but at the hands of the Arganat Committee appointed to investigate the miserable show Israel had put up in the last war. Dayan, who had been groomed to succeed Golda Meir as the strong man saviour, is now in disgrace. Meir herself was not able to hold out any longer. The leadership of the Labour Party has gone to Rabin, the hero of the 1948 and 1956 wars, and who was for long Israel's Ambassador in Washington. What next in Israel is something nobody can predict.

And it is the same story in practically every country not only in the Middle East but everywhere else in the world.

Whilst Harold Wilson was preparing to go to the country on impact of his soak-the-rich budget, a scandal—not of Watergate proportions—has rocked the Wilson boat. It does not touch him personally, but involves a family very close to him in the political arena. It was Wilson's over enthusiastic defence of the Field family which has caused a national *furor* that will compel him to delay the elections. The British Press has begun to display as much vigour as the American press having got hold of a scandal but the British lands sales scandal does not come anywhere near the stupendous Watergate overlaid with the President's tax evasion—Nixon has had to pay up nearly half a million dollars in back taxes on the findings of a Congressional Committee. Elections or no elections, the British are saddled with the Irish problem with its ever increasing violence

AP O L O G I A

IN OUR ISSUE of April 13 we had announced that we would skip Saturday April 20 without an issue owing to the New Year holidays and the inevitable aftermath of uncontrollable french leave-taking; and that we bring out an issue on April 27. But the unexpected events of the weekend of April 20-21, with the 28-hour curfew and a whole series of Emergency Regulations, some of which impinge on newspaper publications in the most drastic manner, disrupted normal life in the city in the first half of the week beginning with April 22. Absenteeism, delays in obtaining essential supplies and other factors beyond our control made it impossible to bring out the issue of April 27 on time. And, if this issue were delayed beyond the weekend, the position of the next issue dated May 4 would be in even greater jeopardy with a mid-week holiday on May 1 with the long Wesak weekend on May 4, 5 and 6 casting the shadow of holiday in dolence both backwards and forwards from the Wesak full moon day. Taking all these matters into consideration, we decided to fuse the issue of April 27 with that of May 4 to appear under the latter dateline as an enlarged issue with a larger number of pages. With the issue of May 11, we hope to get back to our regular schedules—and with that issue we will begin volume 19 of the *Tribune*.

ALL THIS is no doubt an apologia for our failure to maintain schedules, but living as we do in times when schedules are difficult to sustain, apologies, apologia and explanations for failure have become the order of the day. Organisations, with mighty resources, especially in Sri Lanka, find it difficult to maintain ordinary schedules. Leaders throughout the world are regularly making apologies for the growing gap between promise and fulfilment. Much as we regret our failure to maintain our dateline on April 27, we are happy to be able to make it on May 4.

and terrorism. Easter was a nightmare in Ulster and in London too. The killing in the attempt to kidnap Princess Anne in the vicinity of Buckingham Palace itself is a further indication that the traditional British respect for law and order (and the Royal Family) has disappeared together with a great many other things which had made the British Empire the greatest empire that ever was. Even British shipping, the pride of the seven seas, suffered a major setback in prestige when the luxury liner Elizabeth 2 disgraced itself in the Atlantic when its engines folded up making it necessary to rescue the rich and the leisured from a hell-hole without lights, air-conditioning and toilet facilities.

France has been thrown into a melting pot with the death of Pompidou and the Presidential race which is now on is likely to provide many surprises. Gough Whitlam, after the rotten eggs and tomatoes in Perth and the stalemate on the legislative front, has chosen to plunge Australia into general elections. There are many uncertainties in Indonesia, where foreign investors, who have so far had a happy run under Suharto, are facing new challenges from the *bhumi putras*—the sons of the soil—who attribute all evils to the rich foreigner. The new coalition government in Laos is off to a good start, but the US does not seem to be making headway with the opium growers in the Golden Triangle (between Thailand, Laos and Burma), even with the distribution of millions of dollars to make them switch from opium to vegetables. (This policy has failed miserably in Turkey after the US has disbursed "compensation" in millions). Narcotics continue to rule supreme in the shadowy world of the young in the developed lands of affluence in the West. Prince Sihanouk continues to sulk in his tent in Peking whilst the Lol Non regime continues to remain in power—in spite of Sihanouk's claims that his troops (it is doubtful if they all follow him now) control the greater part of Cambodia.

On the subcontinent, the agreement between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, has opened a new era that can bring peace, but every-


thing within each of the three countries continues to be in turmoil. In India especially, there is a growing crisis of confidence in the ruling Congress and it is only the charisma of Indira Gandhi that has so far prevented political disasters of the first magnitude. In the USA, it is Presidential prestige that has suffered a major setback with the talk of the impeachment daily gathering momentum. Kissinger is no longer able to have his own way: his recent trip to Moscow was not the success he had hoped it would be and he is now on a fresh visit to the Middle East to sort things out. US-China relations have run into difficulties. But both Brezhnev and Kissinger assert that US-USSR relations could not be better. A new military junta has taken over power in Portugal, and what they stand for and what they will do is still problematic.

Everything today is a conundrum.

Is Patricia Hearts now a political terrorist? Will commandos, hijackers and guerillas the world over soon have mini-sized nuclear weapons to make things more topsy-turvy than now? Will the recent Special Sessions of UN to discuss raw materials and development bring any relief to the underdeveloped world? Will there be an end to the great African drought which is now chronic? How many millions will perish in the famine which has gripped a vast stretch through the heart of central Africa? Is there any significance in the tornadoes and other natural disasters that have recently swept through various parts of the world? Have airliner disasters (like the recent Pan-Am disaster in Bali and the Illyushin crash near Leningrad) with planeloads being killed without a single survivor, come to stay?

THESE AND MANY other questions baffle the world of today. Many assert that evil has gained the upper hand and that is why the world is in permanent turmoil. It is not necessary to digress into the world of metaphysics to dissect good and evil, but *The Economist*, 13/4/74, records "...One of the most curious opinion polls reported last week that Americans' belief in the Devil has gone up from 37 percent to 48 percent since 1964, with another 20 percent half-

persuaded that he exists. Since the proportion of those claiming to believe in God has gone down from 77 percent to 69 percent over the same ten years, it is not impossible that the Devil might one day draw ahead in the credibility stakes." There is admittedly, as *The Economist* stresses, a growing unease about Evil and how it works especially in a world with an anonymous army of terrorists, kidnappers, bomb-throwers and the



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the like. It is not the mere agnostics who are puzzled by all this but even staid churchmen and religious pundits are stumped by what goes on. "Although they have officially kept Satan on their books, most churches have in fact relegated him to the junk heap of mythical creatures made redundant by Freud, Marx and other pundits."

Jung was the one psychologist who did not underestimate the nature of evil. "He thought the Christian concept of a Trinity deficient, because evil was not represented in it, and wanted to replace it with a 'quarternity' to take the other force into account. Dostoyevsky, it would seem, had something of the same idea. "He predicted with deadly precision that much of the evil committed in the twentieth century would be motivated by ideas of justice and equality. One of the characters in his novel *The Devils* is perplexed by the terrible logic which leads a radical democrat to believe that the mass of people have to be reorganised by an omnipotent elite: 'starting from unlimited freedom, I arrive at unlimited despotism.'

All this is just one more sign of "the end of the old optimism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That was the time when the Marquis de Condorcet could look forward to an age when 'the sun will shine upon a world of free men who recognise no master except their reason, when tyrants and slaves, priests and their stupid and hypocritical tools, will no longer exist except in the history or on the stage....'

"The confidence of the Enlightenment lingered into the last third of the twentieth century, but the past couple of generations have made it harder to sustain. There are too many tyrants and slaves in the world of politics, too little evidence of reasoned order in the world of private lives. The result is a new realism about man and his ultimate chance of perfectability. Whether people believe in a personalised Devil-sabotaging both man's and God's work, or merely suspect that there exist mysterious but hostile forces in an otherwise Godless and Devil-less world, this new realism is a great change. The temptation today is the opposite of that of the Enlightenment. The glib

cheerfulness of that time is being replaced by a glib relish for the apocalyptic. Bertrand Russell gave a warning against that. 'Too many people, he said, seemed to be in love with misery and death. They think that hope is irrational that in sitting down to lazy despair they are merely facing facts.'... "And *The Economist* concluded that "after all, if people say that they believe in evil as a real force in the world, they may have to accept good as something equally objective."

IN SRI LANKA, too, there is a great deal of uncertainty about good and evil. There is even greater confusion about what freedom is and what it means. But what is worse is that too many people tend to associate with Evil everything they do not like, and regard as Good whatever they are in love with for the moment.

That is why many are fanatic about the belief that freedom is only for those who shout the correct slogans. Those in power have one set of slogans and those not in power have another, and the elite of both contending forces peddle the slogans totally un-mindful whether these slogans have any impact on the mass of ordinary people who swing from one political bloc to another for reasons far removed from the slogans.

The elitist leadership of all parties and groups are mesmerised by their own wishful thinking that they have the word of God within themselves and that their rivals are befuddled by the dogma of the Devil. This polemical conflict, often on a multi-dimensional level, is pushing Sri Lanka into a vast wilderness in which everybody, except a select few, feel lost. The few, whether of the government or of the Opposition, regard themselves as leaders with the supreme ideological formula to distinguish between good and evil and to decide what is good for ordinary people. "Those who disagree with them are branded as the offspring of the Devil, as reactionaries or as naxalites, and any action taken against them, however immoral or unjust, is deemed justified in the name of democracy and freedom.

This kind of confrontation, which many mistake for class struggle, is one of the most unfortunate

by-products of the kind of parliamentary democracy that has evolved in this country. But the system of parliamentary democracy, with its assured freedoms of speech, of expression and of meeting, is no doubt the best devised by man for the conduct of human affairs; and, until another is found which is better, it is essential to sustain it. And, therefore, the freedoms which make the parliamentary system operative must be maintained at a functional level because any whittling down will make a mockery of the whole thing.

ONCE AGAIN, we are back in the period of Emergency Regulations to control the freedom of expression. We have a Competent Authority to deal with any section of the Press which is held to be recalcitrant, and in pursuance of this Regulation the second largest daily newspaper group has been silenced, temporarily at least in the name of Democracy. Restrictions have been also placed on the leading Party of the Opposition preventing it from holding meetings and the like. New Regulations the publication of anything which can be held to be a "false rumour" and also of anything likely to "incite" people to break the law, topple the government without waiting for a General Election at the duly appointed time, or resort to subversive acts.

All these make it extremely difficult for any objective writer or an independent newspaper to comment on or interpretatively analyse current developments. It is difficult to envisage the limits of free expression which is now permissible under the operative Emergency laws.

However, the apprehensions of democratically-minded people in this country were greatly allayed by the assurances of the Prime Minister in her message to the nation on April 20 when she said: "...The country can be assured that every measure however stern they may have to be will be taken and no steps spared to meet any such eventually and my Government and the people shall not hesitate to fight to the bitter end even the slightest challenge to the foundations of democracy in

this land to which we are committed undoubtedly and unconditionally..

"In conclusion I remind you that anybody can criticise us and oppose us to the maximum within the law. That is their democratic right which our Constitution gives them, which I shall never fail to protect. But when they break or incite others to break the law of the land, then as Prime Minister it is my duty to intervene and uphold the law no matter whoever the person or whatever the organisation which enters upon that course.."

Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that the reasons the P.M. gave for the Government's decision to impose these harsh measures have left many people puzzled. The Prime Minister was obviously convinced that a coup was in the making, not dissimilar to what had been abortively attempted in 1962 or the parliamentary coup of December 1964 which had succeeded. She was also apprehensive that any disruption of law and order might lead to a revival of the April 1971 insurgent movement. Repeatedly, in the course of her speech, she had stressed that what she feared was that those privileged and affluent elements which had been adversely affected by the racial measures of the United Front would utilise the demagogues in the UNP and in the Opposition to mount a campaign to destroy the UF government by extra-parliamentary means.

"As Prime Minister I have carefully and patiently followed the sinister plot that is being hatched against the Government by various reactionary forces. I have decided that the moment has arrived when I shall be failing in my duty to the people if I allowed these reactionary forces further latitude.."

"Open incitement to flout the law and exhortation to create civil disorder are being made from every platform. Such irresponsibility is reprehensible by itself. But it is now clear such irresponsibility has gone hand in hand with resort to criminality.

"All kinds of elements from the under-world have been recruited and organised in squads for terror, sabotage and violence. What took place on 5th April at Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's residence at Ward Place was a tryout of carefully learned new tactics of

insurgency. We cannot hold our hands any longer. Our forbearance has been misread, misunderstood and misrepresented.."

How far her fears were justified it is difficult for anyone to say. But there is no doubt that UNP leaders had throughout March and early April demagogically talked about breaking civil laws, about defying the ban on the transport of rice and paddy, about ticketless travel and the like.

Tribune has had occasion in the past to point out the negative and often nihilistic postures adopted by the UNP, which without offering any alternative policies, had switched from one gimmick to another to win political support. At the end of the first week of April, when government and United Front propaganda had begun to take an aggressively offensive note, proclaiming that a reactionary plot to topple the government was afoot, J. R. Jayewardene and the UNP performed a clumsy somersault and issued statement after statement that the 130 or 150 meetings which were scheduled for April 21 were only for the purpose of propaganda and the collection of mass signatures, and that they were not for starting a civil disobedience campaign.

THIS SOMERSAULTING by the UNP and the many gimmicks it had attempted to stage earlier had upset the other groups in the Opposition. The TUF had become lukewarm and this had turned to disenchantment when they found that the UNP, after their freaky victory in Mannar, had started organising UNP branches in all Tamil areas. Thondaman's CWC also had second thoughts about plunging into any civil disobedience campaign with the UNP which did not have any cut-and-dried policies or a strategy which was viable. This was a further reason for UNP's backsliding retreat from the civil disobedience posture.

The Government and the United Front, playing the game of parliamentary power politics with astuteness and cunning, utilised the UNP's retreat to the fullest. The UF also mounted a mighty propaganda campaign against the UNP's civil disobedience from about April

15 and charged the UNP with organising a rightwing reactionary plot on the lines it had been done in Chile and other countries. The mass media under government control and the state-owned Radio were used to paint a black picture of the UNP attempt to organise a reactionary coup. The feeble protests by J. R. Jayewardene that the UNP did not intend to start a civil disobedience campaign went unheeded, and the Government pushed the offensive it had started to its logical conclusion by imposing several restrictions on the UNP.

The Prime Minister was at pains to point out the irresponsible statements and actions of the UNP. She said: "...We have waited patiently for more than an entire year in the hope that the UNP and other reactionary leaders would be honest with themselves, use the light of reason to understand our grave problems, and show some regard for the responsibilities of leadership in a democratic polity. We have waited in vain.

"These men seem to be too blinded by impatience, by intolerance and by hatred for their opponents and too haunted by insecurity brought about by the disappearance of familiar economic strongholds and social landmarks to face up to the realities of our problems. Does it not surprise the country that these same men who not long ago positively endorsed the economic policies of the Government both within and outside Parliament now choose to denounce them without offering to the nation any alternative to meet the situation we are faced with today?"

After making out what she felt was a water-tight and fool-proof case against the vagaries of UNP policies and tactics she stated as follows: "As a first step, therefore, I have decided to prohibit all public meetings and demonstrations of the UNP, beginning with the so-called 150 meetings being planned for 21st April in various parts of the country. I am satisfied that the purpose of these meetings is aimed at incitement and organisation of law-breaking, sabotage and commotion on an unprecedented scale.

"I should like to say right now that if and when I am satisfied that the UNP and its leaders have

abandoned their campaign to fomenting civil disorder, breaches of the law and violence. I shall not hesitate to remove the restrictions on their activity which they themselves by their efforts to foment and organise civil disorder have compelled me to impose today. They will then be able to function with no less freedom than any other political party now in Opposition.

What she has hinted is that if the UNP played the game according to the rules and waited patiently for the next elections, the present restrictions would be removed.

IT IS CLEAR that a combination of unfortunate factors have contributed to the present situation which cannot be said to be in the best interests of Sri Lanka. The current restrictions on democratic rights and practices, unless removed as early as possible, will tend to take the country away from the system of parliamentary democracy.

There is also no doubt that UNP impatience, with its demagogic gimmickry to effect short cuts by threatening satyagraha and civil disobedience, and the over-cautious vigilance of the UF government, understandably mindful of what had recently happened in Chile and other countries, has led to the present distressing situation.

As columnist Lankaputra in his piece, published elsewhere in this issue, has stressed it is not necessary to apportion blame as to who was mainly responsible for the current setback to democracy—it will be a futile pastime that will only take everybody in circles. What is essential is that all parties and groups should endeavour to take the necessary steps to ensure the return to normalcy in the maintenance of the democratic system. The people of this country, the overwhelmingly vast majority, prefer the ballot to the gun to effect political changes.

The biggest casualty in the present confrontation is the virtual blackout which has descended on the economic problems facing the country. For some weeks now, the main emphasis in polemical exchanges has shifted from the economic sphere to political casuistry: the UNP had started with a barrage about a naxalite conspi-

racy from within the womb of the government and this naturally led the government and the UF to return the fusillade by shouting about a reactionary rightwing plot to stage a coup to effect political changes through extra parliamentary means.

To the credit of the Government, it must be said, that in recent times it had endeavoured to concentrate on the economic issues and step up production (Tribune had welcomed this but had critically pointed shortcomings in the production effort). However the UNP, not having an alternative economic policy, had raised the red bogey, in the best McCarthyian style, about naxalite conspiracies (not very different from the "commie" under every bush cry of the fifties), and had also taken steps to test the pulse of the people to see if they were ready to follow extra-parliamentary methods, like satyagraha and civil disobedience, to bring the UNP back to power on the crest of the present economic distress in the country much of which has no doubt been caused by global developments over which Sri Lanka had no control.

This UNP bluff had been called, but at what price?

The Government, as well as the Opposition, must bring back the focus of public attention to the economic sphere and the food production war—if this country and its democratic system is to survive. The Opposition must formulate an alternative economic programme, with a concomitant political programme, and play the game according to the rules of the democratic system. Not to do this is to open the floodgates to anti-democratic forces and trends in this country.

It will be a disaster of the greatest magnitude if people lose sight of the economic and food crisis. With the massive food imports, the edge of starvation has been taken off the food problem, but prices are high and quantities are woefully inadequate—and this can only be solved by our own productive efforts. In the current political confrontation, the economic crisis and food shortages, have been pushed into a background of semi-invisibility.

It is there and is also not there. Parts of it appear now, and other

parts at other times. Here a month ago and gone today. It has become something of the Cheshire Cat of Alice in Wonderland fame. ("I wish you wouldn't keep appearing and vanishing so suddenly: you make one quite giddy," said Alice to the Cheshire Cat).

Sri Lanka's food crisis seems to have vanished, temporarily at any rate, out of sight, without any problem being solved. The crisis is still with us and the question is how soon it will occupy the centre of the stage again.

The next elections will be won by the Party or a Coalition able to persuade the people that it has a programme and the ability to solve the food and economic crisis. On this everything will turn. If the UF Government fails to do this, it will fall by the wayside. If the Opposition is not able to formulate an appropriate and acceptable programme it has no future.

What the future has in store for Sri Lanka is difficult to envisage.

ADVERTISING STUNT?

A number of leading French companies including Dointrean, Pernod, Remy Martin, Dubonnet-Cinzano-Byrrh and Benedictine, recently announced that they were joining the campaign against alcoholism. This came as a surprise, considering that making alcoholic liquors was their metier. Could they really wish to combat drunkenness? Reporting this, the Paris "Monde" wondered whether this step meant that the above-mentioned companies were cutting down on the advertising of their produce, or whether it was just an advertising stunt.

CHRONICLE

April 6 - 26

(A Diary of Events in Sri Lanka and the World compiled from English-language dailies published in Colombo.)

SATURDAY, APRIL 6: A crowd of nearly 2,000 people gathered yesterday at the premises of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, following a rumour that Mr. Jayewardene was to be arrested; in the afternoon the Police made an announcement that there was no such intention and the crowd dispersed. Twelve thousand tons of flour will be issued by the Food Commissioner's Department on Monday for distribution to consumers throughout Sri Lanka on ration: every ration book holder will get half pound of flour at 36 cents. The Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, has directed the Registrar of Public Debts to raise a further loan of Rs. 100 million locally to meet the current financial year's budgeted expenditure: the public debt of the country stood at Rs. 10,982 million, prior to the raising of this loan. At a largely attended meeting at Matale yesterday evening Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said that neither Mr. J. R. Jayewardene nor any other person would be allowed to break the law of the land. Mr. Gamini Corea of Sri Lanka yesterday became Secretary General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) for a three year term: he succeeds Dr. Manuel Perez Guerrero of Venezuela who has held the office from March 1969. President Nixon of America, faced with a staggering bill for back taxes and interest has begun a full scale review of his personal holdings to find out how he can pay the Government without financial ruin: Presidential spokesman, Gerald Warren, said that the President's financial position has been almost virtually wiped out by this tax bill. President Georges Pompidou of France was buried on Thursday in a quiet country churchyard in Orvilliers, France. President Nixon will fly to Paris today to attend memorial services for the late President Pompidou. About 90 violent tornadoes left at least 327 people dead in the United States and Canada. The Soviet Union said yesterday there was a plot in the United States to wreck the detente and suggested that liberal newspapers as well as Zionists, extreme Rightists and military and armaments industry chiefs were involved in it.

SUNDAY, APRIL 7: The Government has relaxed the ban on transport of rice for ten days in view of the Sinhala and Hindu New Year festivities: the transport of a quantity of rice not exceeding two measures or four pounds without a permit between any two places within the island between April 8 and 18, both days inclusive will be allowed: the transport of paddy in proportion to two measures of rice, however, will not be permitted. The Paddy Marketing Board had purchased 3.5 million bushels of paddy up to the end of March and the Board expects to collect much more during this month. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, at a meeting at Matale said that certain

members of the UNP were trying to be martyrs in the hope that they would be arrested. Winding up the 30th sessions of the ECAFE, the Chairman, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, echoed the "Voice of Asia and the Pacific" representing half the population of the world when he reiterated the stand taken by 38 nations, supported by 21 observer nations to ECAFE that there is "hope that a special sessions of the United Nations convened for April 9 will face up to those issues mirrored by this conference and charter a new course". The Postal administration has decided to re-introduce the six-day week at all post offices and sub-post offices in the island from Monday April 15. Four ships brought to Colombo over the past few days a total of 31,190 tons of rice and another four ships brought 21,001 tons of wheat flour. The term of office of the Municipal Councils of Colombo, Negombo, Galle and Nuwara-Eliya which was to have expired on March 31, has been extended to December 31, 1974. Israeli aircraft yesterday attacked a group of infiltrating Syrian soldiers in the Golan Height front: it was the first time since the ceasefire that Israeli planes had been used to attack the Syrians. U.S. President Nixon and U.S.S.R. President Podgorny represented the two super powers at a State Memorial Service for the late President Pompidou of France.

MONDAY, APRIL 8: All doctors attached to state medical institutions will boycott patients in paying wards from May 1: a decision to this effect has been taken by the Government Medical Officer's Association (GMOA) and the Sri Lanka Association of Medical Specialists (AMS). 3700 new entrants to the University begin their lectures in early May: but nearly 2000 science students, who also qualified for entry to the University, will definitely not find places. A separate Secretariat to handle preliminary arrangements in connection with the forthcoming non-aligned summit is to be established at the Banuaranaik Memorial International Conference (BMICH) shortly: a number of career diplomats who are now under transfer orders to Colombo, are likely to be attached to this Secretariat. The new Crop Insurance Corporation will begin its work of insuring crops on paddy lands in the country this week: the Corporation expects to insure the crops on about 1.2 million acres of paddy land that will be under cultivation this season. Libya's President's Muammar Gaddafi, has been relieved of his "political, administrative and traditional" duties. It is understood that this was done on the request of the President himself but he will continue to be the Chairman of the ruling Revolutionary Command Council. Syria reported a new peak of fighting in the Israeli occupied Golan Heights as Israeli jets pounded Syrian positions in the first air attacks since the October war. King Hussein of Jordan flew back to Amman after apparently failing to reach agreement with Egypt's President Anwar Sadat on the question of Palestinian representation at the Middle East Peace Talks in Geneva. President Nixon's account of a controversial 100,000-dollar campaign contribution by multi-millionaire Howard Hughes, has been contradicted by a former lawyer of the President.

TUESDAY, APRIL 9: Thirteen million yards of imported fabrics of poplins have been released for distribution on coupon to the Lanka Salu Sala and the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment: this is being done in view of the forthcoming Sinhala and Tamil

New Year: most of this cloth was imported from the People's Republic of China. Three amendments to the Bank of Ceylon Bill, passed in the National State Assembly recently, will have retrospective effect from October 1961. Mr. Hamid Mohiuddin, member of the Pakistan delegation to the ECAFE conference, and Deputy Chief Economist in the Ministry of Economic Affairs in Islamabad, died in Colombo yesterday of a heart attack: his body will be flown to Pakistan today. A four-man team of the World Health Organisation is studying steps taken by the Health authorities to combat the outbreak of cholera: yesterday 12 new cases of cholera were reported from various parts of the island. The Executive Secretary of the ECAFE, Mr. B. J. B. Maramis, yesterday described the conference just concluded in Colombo as one that would go down in the history of this regional body: he said that many historic decisions were taken at this meeting which would give ECAFE a new direction and make it more relevant for the region. The film on the life and times of former Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, has not yet been released for public screening—although the Censor Board has approved it; the first death anniversary ceremonies of the late Premier are now underway. Opposition Leader, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, has said that the Government's decision to allow the transport of two measures of rice from April 8 to 18, did not mean that the Opposition would now drop its campaign for the relaxation of the ban on the transport of rice. Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, goes before the House Commons today in an effort to stem the mounting controversy over alleged speculative land deals involving his aides and close associates: he is expected to make a full statement on this and the soured relations between the new British Government and the country's newspapers.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10: The Civil Procedure Code is to be amended shortly: the new legislation is to be introduced in the National State Assembly when it meets after the break for the Sinhala and Tamil New Year. A further 4,800 acres of land will be taken over by the Land Reform Commission today: these lands are in the Ratnapura, Nuwara Eliya and Kurunegala districts. The Russian language has been included as an optional subject for the GCE ordinary level examination. According to the *Sun*, the moves to take over some of Sri Lanka's leading synthetic textile industries have been set aside—following opposition from an influential section of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party: the takeover of some of the big synthetic textile mills had been strongly urged within Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) circles in the United Front. Arrangements are being made by the Opposition to get two and a half million people to sign a petition demanding the resignation of the United Front Government and calling for elections: the signatures are to be collected at 100 meetings to be held by the Opposition on April 21 at 100 different places in the country. The third foreign exchange fraud case will come up for hearing before the Criminal Justice Commission (CJC) today: in this case three persons are charged on three counts of exporting precious stones from Sri Lanka to Singapore to the value of one million rupees, without a valid permit. According to a Gazette notification, The Agricultural Insurance Law has come into effect from April 3. The United Nations Security Council decided to retain the U.N. Emergency Force in the Middle East

for a further six months. Israeli Ministers began a crucial cabinet meeting in Jerusalem amidst a deepening political crisis over ministerial responsibility for the conduct of the October war. The Foreign Ministers of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan have reached agreement on major problems still remaining from the 1971 war but some point are still to be cleared.

THURSDAY, APRIL 11: The new salaries recommended by the Salaries and Cadres Commission are estimated by the Commission to cost the Government an additional Rs. 30 million. Sweden has gifted 6000 tons of wheat flour to Sri Lanka and the cost, inclusive of transport, is valued nearly Rs. 17 million. The Ministry of Foreign and Internal Trade has decided to increase the number of co-operative stores in the island to 12,000: this will work out at a co-operative store for every 1000 ration book holders in rural areas and one for every 1,500 in the cities: there are about 7000 co-operative stores now in the country operating within a network of 353 Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies. Government has decided to abolish channelled practice in three more districts from June 1: the districts are Galle, Matara and Badulla. Eight thousand minor village tanks are to be restored under an UN/FAO World Food Program agreement to be signed in Colombo today. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, according to the *Sun*, has asked the Legal Draftsman to report to her how certain provisions of the Bank of Ceylon (Amendment) Bill (recently passed by the National State Assembly) came to have retrospective effect from October 12, 1961. The People's Republic of China is to set up a fish breeding experimental centre in Sri Lanka. Purchases by the Soviet Union at 4 sales of the Colombo Tea Auctions this year have totalled over two million pounds. U.S. Treasury Under Secretary of State for Monetary Affairs, Paul Volker, yesterday announced his resignation which was accepted, "with regret" by President Nixon. Bangladesh Prime Minister, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, arrived in New Delhi from Moscow yesterday only twelve hours after the signing of the first accord between his country and Pakistan.

FRIDAY, APRIL 12: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, stressed the need for all Police and state officers to give of their best in a time of crisis, at a briefing of all Superintendents of Police held at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall yesterday. Cardinal Thomas Cooray has asked all heads of Churches that the request of the Pope for special prayers for the establishment of peace in the Holy Land should be included in all Good Friday services which will be held in Churches of all denominations today. The Air Ceylon team which attended the Pacific Travel Association (PATA) conference held in Jakarta between March 27 and April 5 is confident that the national carrier would be able to treble its profits during the next tourist season. "The increases in salaries granted to Public Servants since the last salary revision by the Popular Commission in 1953 are comparatively modest," says the L. B. de Silva Salaries and Cadre Commission's report, published exclusively in the *Daily News*. According to the *Sun*, the Prime Minister has intervened and allowed the General Manager and the Deputy General Manager of the Bank of Ceylon to continue in service despite the 58-year retirement rules. A top level committee has been

appointed by the Prime Minister to take a fresh look at the possibility of establishing a Free Industrial Zone in Trincomalee. In an order made this week by the Minister of Finance the sale of gold from April 1 will be subject to a Business Turnover Tax of 5 per cent. The Mayor of Colombo, Mr. A. H. M. Fowzie, has decided to set up a cinema to enable the Colombo Municipal Council to obtain revenue for its development projects. Three Arab Guerrillas yesterday invaded an Israeli town near the Lebanese border and killed 18 people, mainly women and children, in a four hour burst of machine-gun, grenade and bazooka fire before being overwhelmed. Following an announcement last night by the Israeli Premier, Mrs. Golda Meir, that she was stepping down, the Israeli Cabinet met in Jerusalem to hear the Premier explain why she was resigning.

SATURDAY, APRIL 13: The *Sun* reported that the Committee appointed by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike "to review the United Front's Common Programme and make proposals to revamp it, has recommended the 'takeover' of the *Sun* group of newspapers as a matter of the highest priority and essential for the country's economic development". The Committee, said the *Sun*, had worked under the auspices of the Socialist Study Circle, and said that report was handed over to the PM by Mr. Illangaratne in the presence of "several senior members of the SLFP". The *Sun* further reported that Committee had wanted a Great Leap Forward in Sri Lanka's economy by implementing several drastic measures including: "(a) the takeover of the *Sun* group; (b) reduction of the existing ceiling on the ownership of land from 50 to 25 acres; (c) nationalisation of all banks in the country; (d) take over of sterling company estates; and (e) a drastic whittling down of private sector activity, if not its total abolition..."

(The SLBC, and later other newspapers, carried a Department of Information communique conveying a statement that the *Sun* report was false regarding the "alleged measures" recommended by the Socialist Study Circle and categorically stated that "no such measures have been recommended to the Prime Minister").

An "Easter Relief Fund" for estate workers has been launched by the Archbishop of Colombo, Thomas Cardinal Cooray: all money collected in Catholic Churches throughout the country tomorrow, Easter Sunday, will go to this Fund for estate workers and their dependents who are said to be facing starvation. China has gifted Sri Lanka with another textile spinning mill: the Ministry of Industries has still not decided on the site for the new mill. The first anniversary of the death of Mr. Dudley Senanayake, former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, will be commemorated across the country today. Government has contracted for the purchase of 10,000 tons of P.L. 480 flour at 221 dollars a ton—that is about £ 100 a ton; this price is nearly £ 47 lower than that contracted for when Sri Lanka agreed to buy flour under a bilateral agreement in last February with a European country and about £ 40 a ton less than what Sri Lanka had contracted with Australia last month for 100,000 tons. Several Indian Ocean states including Sri Lanka have submitted reports to U.N. Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, on big power naval activity in this region: the Secretary General called for these

reports following a U.N. General Assembly resolution last year requesting Mr. Waldheim to prepare a factual statement of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean, with special reference to naval deployments conceived in the context of big power rivalry. Israeli Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, summoned her Ministers for an urgent meeting following Arab Guerrilla attack in which 18 people, lost their lives. According to Tass, the Soviet Union is to help raise sunken ships in the Suez Canal under a new agreement reached with Egypt.

SUNDAY, APRIL 14: The Sinhala and Tamil New Year was celebrated today. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in her New Year Message to the nation urged the people to cultivate every available inch of land. Sri Lanka earned nearly Rs. 2 million in foreign exchange during the 30th session of the ECAFE which ended in Colombo last week. The leader of the Sri Lanka delegation to the United Nations special sessions in New York, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Public Administration, Local Government, Home Affairs and Justice will address the sessions tomorrow. The Department of Registration of Persons expects to complete the tasks of issuing 6.5 million identity cards by the end of May. According to the *Sunday Times*, Major General Richard Udugama, Member of the National State Assembly for Matale, is expected to resign his seat shortly and recontest it as an independent candidate: the UNP has already decided not to nominate a candidate in this event. Sri Lanka Foundation—the local affiliate of the West German Frederick Ebert Stiftung—will start functioning shortly: the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike who is directly in charge of the Foundation is now considering the names of suitable persons for appointment to the Board of Management to control its affairs. According to a U.S. Embassy spokesman in Buenos Aires, the United States will refuse to pay any ransom for U.S. Information Service official kidnapped and wounded by marxist guerrillas in Central Argentina. The Senate Armed Services Committee disclosed in Washington that it had finally obtained a copy of a secret report by a member of the so-called "plumbers unit" on an alleged 1970-71 military spy ring in the White House. U.S. Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, met the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union and Egypt in Washington yesterday.

No newspapers will be published in Colombo tomorrow, April 15.

EXPERIMENT

The special unit set up recently by the New York police to combat corruption in the force recently carried out an experiment. Its members, dressed in plain clothes, handed "lost" wallets containing \$20 or more to patrolmen. Thirty-six of the 51 patrolmen returned these wallets to their owners or turned them in at their station. Fifteen tried to keep the money. Only two of them confessed. The others said they had misplaced the wallets, that they had dropped them in a mailbox or that they could not recall receiving them.

TUESDAY, APRIL 16: All Government MPs have been summoned for a special meeting on Thursday: MPs have been informed that their presence at this special Parliamentary Group meeting was "absolutely necessary" as "certain important matters" would be taken up for discussion: they have however not been told what these "important matters" were. The Inspector-General of Police has alerted all police stations to moves by certain persons to collect hand bombs, arms and ammunition: in a directive, he has stated that there is reason to believe that arrangements are being made to manufacture and transport bombs and collect arms and ammunition. A call to the United Front Government to "Resign and Hold Elections" will be made at 130 meetings to be held by the Joint Opposition in 130 electorates, including certain electorates in the Northern and Eastern Provinces on April 21. The transport of a quantity of rice not exceeding two measures or four pounds (without a permit) will now be allowed until May 8: earlier this facility was allowed only for the period April 8-18. According to the *Sun*, Major General Richard Udugama, MP for Matale, will not resign his seat in the National State Assembly to recontest in the subsequent by-election as an Independent. The Cabinet has decided to increase the quantum of monthly assistance to the needy by another 10 per cent. Non-payment of gratuities to state workers preparing to leave for India has caused a delay in the repatriation of persons covered by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. Five more deaths from cholera have been reported during the last three days. The World Bank sponsored seven nation consortium is due to meet in Paris in mid-May to consider further aid to Sri Lanka. An Army coup toppled the Niger government of President Haman Diori as a protest against what the coup leaders called injustice and corruption. Right wing rebel Enoch Powell is giving up his membership in the Conservative Party, it was disclosed in London yesterday. The fiercest fighting since the October War raged in the Golan Heights in what observers said could be a decisive battle for control of strategic Mount Hermon.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the Opposition, said yesterday that the 150 public meetings to be held on April 21 will be purely propaganda meetings designed to create public opinion in favour of the Opposition viewpoint on various issues confronting the public: Mr. Jayewardene also announced in a statement issued yesterday, that the decision to carry rice and paddy in procession on May Day would stand, although the government had temporarily lifted the ban on the transport of rice and paddy: he also hoped that the meetings on April 21 would not be disrupted by members of the Government "as they attempted to do at Palmadulla" recently. The Minister of Trade will be armed with powers to take over any company which is not incorporated under the Companies Ordinance after September 1—after the proposed Companies (Special Provisions) Bill is passed by the National State Assembly: under the provisions of this Bill, no company shall carry on any undertaking in Sri Lanka, or have interests in any property in Sri Lanka as owner, co-owner, lessee or mortgagee, unless it is incorporated under the law, or is exempted by the Minister: Companies already incorporated outside Sri Lanka will be exempted from the provisions of the Land Reform Law when incorporated in Sri Lanka

under this new law. United Front party leaders have been summoned to a meeting on Friday: the summit which will take place at "Temple Trees" is expected to precede the special Government Parliamentary Group meeting which has been called by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, for 3 p.m. the same day. Communication or spreading of rumours and false statements have been made an offence—under Emergency Regulations framed by the Government. American newspaper heiress, 20-year old Patricia Hearst, was yesterday sought by authorities after pictures taken by a security camera showed her with a gang of armed robbers of a bank in San Francisco: Miss Hearst was named in a federal warrant as a material witness to yesterday's robbery. Egypt yesterday warned Israel that it would strike against it if it continued to escalate retaliation against Syria and Lebanon following attacks by Palestinian Guerrillas into Northern Israel.

THURSDAY, APRIL 18: The Government yesterday placed the Armed Forces on full alert and cancelled the leave of all services personnel: the leave of employees in essential services, like the Ceylon Transport Board and the Railway, also has been cancelled: officials of institutions considered "essential" have been told that leave should be authorised only on urgent medical grounds: these measures come in the wake of plans by the Opposition to hold 150 meetings in 1950 electorates on Sunday to demand the immediate resignation of the Government. All Government Agents have been directed to forward lists of gun licence holders in their respective districts to the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence immediately: the issue of fresh licences has also been stopped from last Monday. There will be 24-hour supply of water on Saturdays and Sundays in the city of Colombo—from this weekend, with this exception the water cut will be in operation from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. each day. "The salary scales proposed for the medical profession in the L. B. de Silva Salaries Commission report are totally unacceptable" the Association of Medical Specialists (AMS) and the Government Medical Officer's Association (GMOA) said in a joint statement yesterday. Another top-level delegation this time headed by a Muslim VIP, is expected to tour Arab oil-producing countries to try again to get Arab oil on favourable terms. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has been invited by General William Draper, Honourary Chairman of the Population Crisis Committee based in the USA and delegate of the United States to the United Nations Population Commission, to present to the United Nations Secretary General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, a "Declaration on Food and Population" prepared by a group of concerned citizens from many parts of the world. President Anwar Sadat said in Cairo that Egypt was prepared for all eventualities in the Middle East and a 'fabulous' number of tanks were ready to cross the Suez Canal immediately if necessary.

FRIDAY, APRIL 19: Several pro Government trade unions have warned their membership to be on guard against reactionary forces trying to sow dissension amongst workers and attempting to disrupt the economic policies of the United Front Government. The Health Ministry has drawn the attention of all medical officers in state medical institutions of the urgent need to economise on the use of drugs, storage and preser-

vation, prevention of wastage and pilferage and maintaining proper records etc. Ten plantation trade unions, including the CVC and the DWC will meet on April 23, to decide on a course of action in support of a monthly wage for estate workers. Fifty members have been appointed to the reconstituted Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO by Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, the Minister of Education. The Land Reforms Commission has taken over six estates in the Ratnapura district. To a question in the Lok Sabha it was told that the Government in Sri Lanka has denied a statement attributed to its Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs by an Indian Agency that an agreement had already been reached on Kachchativu with India. Several Israeli soldiers were killed and many others wounded in new Syrian shelling of Israeli position along the Golan Heights fronts yesterday; President Anwar Sadat has coupled a warning that Egypt has missiles trained on three Israeli cities with apparent confidence that Israel will withdraw from the Sinai peninsula. President Nixon described the stunning Republican defeat in East Michigan following a campaign tour he made there last week not as a commentary on his own popularity but as a temporary or unfortunate setback.

SATURDAY, APRIL 20: The presses and offices of the Independent Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. (Dawasa, Sun Group) were sealed by the Competent Authority and the Government Printer in the early hours of this morning: the final editions of the Sun group of news papers were not published today. The Government Parliamentary Group yesterday unanimously decided to ban the proposed series of meeting and demonstrations planned for tomorrow in connection with the Opposition's civil disobedience campaign: the group also decided that the government should confiscate the property of those who defy the ban and participate in this campaign: those who incite others to deny ban too will have their property confiscated. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition, addressing the organisers of the Opposition meetings at the U.N.P. headquarters yesterday said that the Joint Opposition will maintain peace and order in the country tomorrow and it is the bounden duty of the Government to do the same: Mr. Jayewardene said that the meetings are merely propaganda meetings and no violence should be used on persons or properties even under provocation. Referring to the possibility of the meetings being banned, Mr. Jayewardene said a Government ban on the meetings would amount to "stifling the voice of the Opposition and restricting the monopoly of speech, writing and assembly to the Government party only: the Opposition cannot and will not submit to this method: undemocratic laws we need not obey," Mr. Jayewardene asserted. Practically all employees of the Ceylon Transport Board (CTB), including clerical hands, have been told to report for duty tomorrow, Sunday. The Municipal Council land opposite Tower Hall in Maradana, the venue of the Opposition meeting of the Colombo Central electorate, had suddenly been vested in the Housing Department: following this the first M.P. for Colombo Central, Mr. R. Premadasa, has announced that the meeting will be held at Hyde Park. The Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation at 3 p.m. today announced that a curfew will be enforced from mid-night today till 4 am on Monday: the SLBC also said that the Prime Minister will address the nation at 4.00 p.m. today.

SUNDAY, APRIL 21: There was an all day curfew today. No papers were distributed. The Prime Minister's address to the nation was repeated four times over the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation; in her address the Prime Minister said the following—frustrated politicians and notorious agents of the propertied classes and vested interests have chosen to abuse the freedoms of Parliamentary democracy, which we have cherished and protected at all times, to sabotage the food production effort, incite the people against the Government and, if possible, bring down the Government by violence and civil commotion: despite the most trying times, the Government has treated the liberties of the people with the utmost solicitude: no Government can permit the organisation of sabotage and civil commotion in the name of democratic politics: no frustrated political careerist will be permitted to play about with our constitution and fundamentals of democracy enshrined in it: whatever the consequences and sacrifices to us personally and politically, we have always upheld the democratic rights of the people: we have paid a high price for the protection of democracy from fascist reaction; We have no desire to convert the newspapers into state enterprises at the same time no Government can allow the immense power of the Press to be prostitute for narrow and selfish ends: I am always mindful of the sorry treatment extended to the Opposition by the U.N.P. Government of 1965-70. the "Janadina" and "Aththa" were not newspapers with great resources; these presses were closed down for personal consideration connected with some potentate but we have refused to be motivated in this way: we will only bow to the verdict of the people at a general election held according to the law: we will certainly shall not succumb to mob rule: let us all close ranks and make a united onslaught on our severe and pressing economic and social problems, if we march unitedly, our victory is certain.

MONDAY, APRIL 22. The 28-hour curfew enforced at midnight on Saturday ended at 4 a.m. this morning: Police sources said there were no indications yesterday that the Opposition intended to carry out its campaign of Civil Disobedience in the face of the curfew and the gazetting of regulations banning the meetings and processions: the declaration of the curfew was the last of a series of measures taken by Government to halt what it firmly believed would be a campaign of violence throughout the island: though the curfew ended today, police and service personnel will remain on the alert as long as it is considered necessary for public protection. Major General D. S. Attygalle, Commander of the Sri Lanka Army, has been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General effective from April 4. Dr. N.M. Perera, Minister of Finance, is due to leave today to attend the annual general meeting of the Asian Development Bank in Kuala Lumpur. Pakistan's former soldier-President, Mohamed Ayub Khan, has died of a heart attack in the house where he had lived quietly since stepping down from power five years ago. West German Chancellor Willy Brandt said in Algiers that a conference of European and Arab countries should be held soon to pave the way to close economic co-operation. The official death toll from sectarian violence in Northern Ireland has reached the 1000 mark.

TUESDAY, APRIL 23: Several prelates have congratulated the Government on the bold stand taken by it in regard to Opposition's Civil Disobedience Campaign which had been planned for Sunday. A high-powered team of Japanese investors is due in Sri Lanka towards the end of the month to select possible areas of investment in Sri Lanka: one of the major investments contemplated by the Japanese investors is a 500-acre hotel complex which will include a miniature botanical garden and a bowling alley. The Colombo Municipal Council wants all factories moved out of the city limits in a bid to halt air pollution: this follows a report advocating this change from the municipality's Health and Sanitation Committee and the Mayor Mr. A. H. M. Fowzie is now seeking an interview with the Minister of Local Government to discuss amendments to the Municipal by-laws to enable the removal of factories. Mr. Warren G. Fuller, Deputy Regional Director of the United Nation's Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) for the South Central Asia Region has arrived in Sri Lanka on his first official visit. Major trade unions yesterday thanked the Government for the firm measures taken last Saturday in the larger interests of the nation. United States Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger is expected to visit Cairo next Friday for talks with President Anwar Sadat and Foreign Minister Ismail Fahim. Chancellor Willy Brandt and President Anwar Sadat conferred last night shortly after the West German leader arrived in Cairo from Algeria to begin an official visit. Protestant workers pledged to paralyse Northern industry with a national strike unless the British Government agreed to hold new elections in the province and put an end to violence.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday appealed to all progressive people to be continuously vigilant against disruptive activities and give their fullest co-operation to the Government to preserve the sovereignty of the people and ensure their prosperity: she said this in a message of thanks to the nation: the Premier regretted the difficulties experienced by the people last Sunday due to the curfew. According to the *Daily Mirror*, a Press Release issued by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, and a statement by the Joint Opposition yesterday have been withheld from publication pending approval by the Competent Authority. The *Daily Mirror* reported that the police have been asked to make the necessary security arrangements for the May Day rallies, scheduled to take place in the city and other parts of the country on May 1. The World Health Organisation experts who were invited this year by the Sri Lanka Government have said that practically untreated water is being supplied to Colombo from the Municipality operated Labugama and Kalatuwawa reservoirs and there is a serious danger of raw sewage leaking into water mains through cracks particularly during water cut periods: a Municipal spokesman admitted that a number of water mains had cracks and were in need of replacement and the Municipal authorities had in fact traced the recent outbreak of typhoid to contaminated water in the city. The Director of Publicity of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs speaking on "the Role of Press in National Development" at the BMICH, said that we have had in this country five national economic plans but we are much worse off now than we were

at the beginning of the first plan: he also said that these plans have remained as plans on paper. U.S. Defence Secretary, James Schlesinger, has announced that the U.S. was temporarily pulling back its aircraft carrier task force from the Indian Ocean. The Lebanese newspaper 'AL Anwar' said that gunmen fired a hail of bullets at Egyptian President Sadat's motorcade last Thursday.

THURSDAY, APRIL 25: A statement issued by the Joint Opposition on Tuesday was published today in the *Daily News*: the statement reads as follows: "the Emergency Orders published on Saturday 20th April 1974 prohibiting the holding of public processions and public meetings, and the sealing of Independent Newspapers Ltd. publishing the *Sun*, *Dawasa*, and *Thinapathy* were unconstitutional, illegal and undemocratic. The meeting of the Joint Opposition was attended by the UNP, TUF, CWC, TC, Dr. W. Dahanayake, Mr. Prins Gunasekera and Major General Richard Udugama: Opposition Leader, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, sent an urgent telegram to the Prime Minister on Tuesday requesting her to summon Parliament immediately: a Government communique issued yesterday states "...the Prime Minister sees no reason to summon Parliament to meet earlier than the date for which it has been already adjourned namely 7th May 1974. According to the *Daily Mirror*, there is no censorship of newspapers and that anything within the law could be published. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday thanked the Security Forces for the excellent job done in maintaining law and order during the last few days. A Cabinet sub-Committee comprising seven Ministers has been appointed to study the reasons for the massive brain drain of technically qualified people. Starting from April 29, rice per ration book will be one measure every week, and flour one pound per ration book fortnightly. Canada has given a special contribution of 400,000 dollars for provision of paper for text book production for schools in Sri Lanka. United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted, to require the Nixon Administration to seek specific Congressional approval for building the controversial naval base in the Indian Ocean. According to the State Department of the United States, Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, will leave on Sunday for his fifth Middle East peace negotiating mission since the October war.

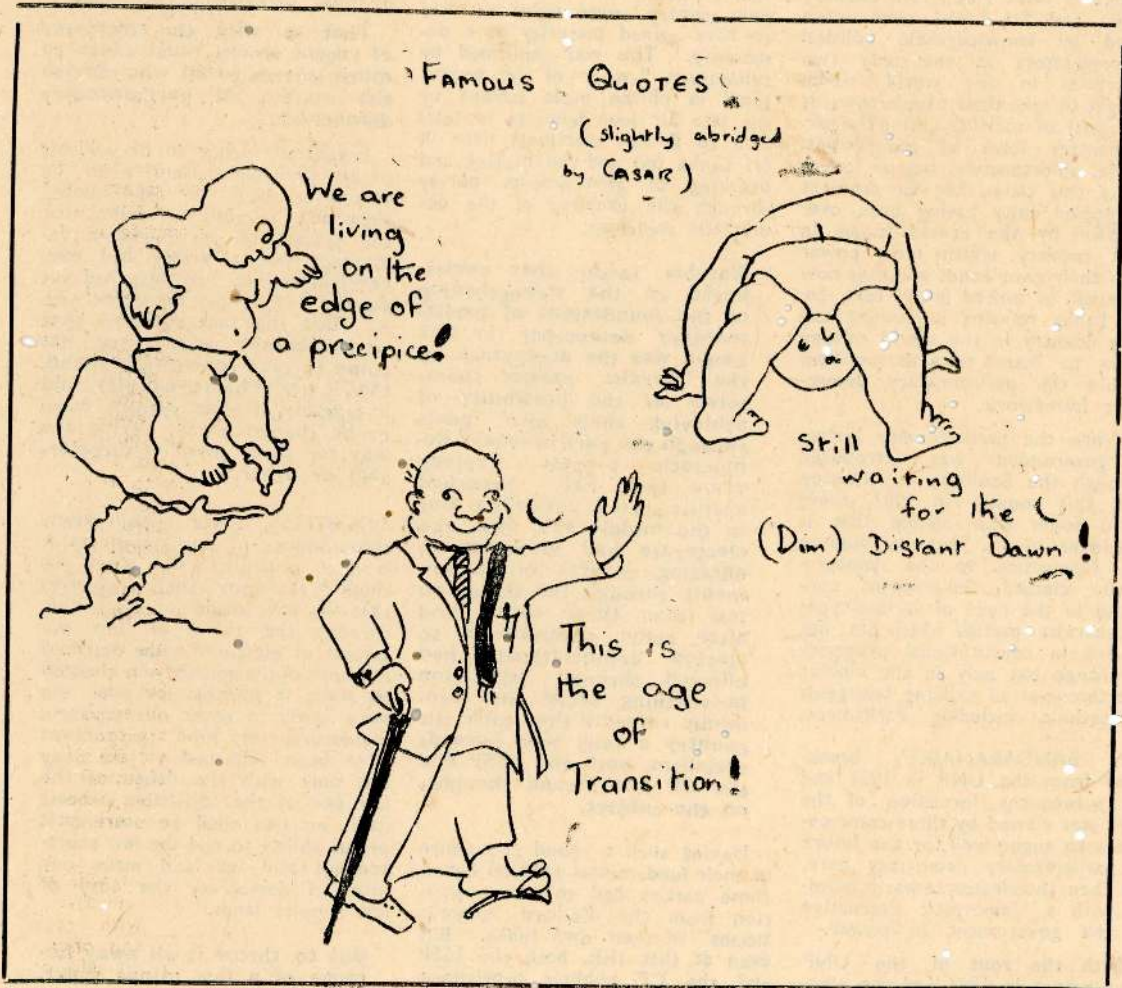
FRIDAY, APRIL 26: According to the *Daily Mirror*, the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs has instructed the Police not to make any arrangements for the rally organised by the United National Party on May

UNDER FALSE PRETENCES

The growing energy crisis in the United States is benefiting not only the oil barons but petty thieves too. In Los Angeles, newspapers report, there is a gang whose members visit homes and introduce themselves as "power-saving consultants." They ask to be shown electrical appliances and, once inside, steal anything they can lay their hands on.

Day: the Police now will go ahead with plans for the United Front rally only, which will be held at the Galle Face Green: earlier the Police had given permission to the UNP, but under the new Emergency Regulations which came into force last Saturday the UNP is prohibited from holding a meeting or procession. The leadership of the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisations (JCTUO) has launched a propaganda drive to warn its membership against being taken in by the campaign carried out by mischievous reactionary elements to create unrest and unleash lawlessness in the country. According to the Daily News, the conditions for the reconciliation for the two factions of the Communist Party are almost finalised and the emergence of a united CP now hinges on who should be the party's General Secretary. The Companies' (Special Provisions) Bill, which has already been gazetted by the Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade is due to come

up for review jointly by the Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, and the Minister of Plantations Industry, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, following appeals for alterations in the legislation by companies and trading associations. Troops yesterday claimed to have taken over Portugal with a dawn coup in Lisbon: according to a military spokesman, the troops led by majors and captains, would set up a "national junta of salvation" to rule the country. Egypt's State Security Prosecutor charged that the organisation which planned last Thursday's attack on the Technical Military Academy in Cairo was plotting to seize power and arrest President Anwar Sadat. President Nixon asked Congress for 5,180 million dollars in foreign economic and military aid, including 250 million dollars to help Egypt repair damage caused in the 1967 and 1973 wars with Israel.



IN SRI LANKA TODAY

Democracy On Trial

by Lankaputra

There can be little doubt that Sri Lanka has reached a critical stage in its history as a parliamentary democracy.

For long years our country has always prided itself on the fact that ours is one of the few democracies in the resurgent countries of Asia and Africa which regained their independence after World War II. As Mr. J. R. Jayewardene as often stated in public, India and Sri Lanka are the only two Asian countries to maintain the parliamentary democratic form of government. We go even better than India, for while she had had the same party in power ever since she regained her independence, our country has changed governments by the free exercise of the vote on no less than five occasions — in 1956, March 1960, July 1960, 1965 and 1970.

THAT IS NOT ALL. Till recently Chile and Sri Lanka were often cited by knowledgeable political commentators as the only two countries in the world which sought to take their people towards the goal of socialism using the parliamentary form of government. Chile, unfortunately, can no longer make this claim, her Government of popular unity having been overthrown by the armed forces in that country which took power into their own hands and have now ushered in naked fascist rule. So, Sri Lanka remains unique as the only country in the world making claim to march towards socialism within the parliamentary democratic framework.

When the parliamentary system of government was introduced through the Soulbury constitution into this country in 1947, there were some who opined that it would not work. That was because the Opposition to the democratically elected Government consisted in the main of various types of marxist parties which did not believe in constitutional processes of change but only in the violent overthrow of all existing bourgeois institutions, including Parliament.

MR. BANDARANAIKE's break-away from the UNP in 1951 and his subsequent formation of the SLFP was viewed by these commentators to augur well for the future of parliamentary democracy here, for then the electorate was provided with a democratic alternative to the government in power.

With the rout of the UNP Government in 1956 and the elec-

tion to power of Mr. Bandaranaike, our country could truly be said to have gained maturity as a democracy. This was confirmed by subsequent "swings of the pendulum" (a phrase made famous by the late Sir Ivor Jennings in relation to British elections) here in Sri Lanka too and the making and breaking of governments purely through the exercise of the democratic franchise.

Another factor that contributed to the strengthening of the foundations of parliamentary democracy in Sri Lanka was the acceptance by the Marxist parties themselves of the possibility of achieving their own goals through the parliamentary democratic process. For long years they had preached against such a possibility. But in the middle 60's, after the electorate had succeeded in effecting changes of governments through the ballot no less than three times, and after some governments so elected democratically had effected through legislation far-reaching social and economic reforms that took the country a long way towards socialism, both the LSSP and the CP had second thoughts on the subject.

Making such a round about-turn in their fundamental political beliefs these parties had to face opposition from the die-hard "theoreticians" in their own ranks. But even at that risk, both the LSSP and the CP publicly proclaimed

their beliefs in the possibility of both peaceful and non-peaceful roads to socialism. Eventually they formed an alliance with the SLFP led by Mrs. Bandaranaike and to all intents and purposes a two-front system (if not a two-party system as in Britain) came into being, with the UNP and its allies on one side and the SLFP-LSSP-CP alliance on the other.

AND SO, it is all to the good and to Sri Lanka's credit that, except for a few minor parties on the lunatic fringe, all the major political parties here—the SLFP, UNP, FP, LSSP, CP etc.—have come to accept the parliamentary democratic system as the framework within which they function, restricting all their inter-party struggles within those parliamentary confines.

That is why the incidents of recent weeks must cause so much sorrow to all who cherish the system of parliamentary democracy.

Jawaharlal Nehru in his address to our Parliamentarians when he visited Sri Lanka in 1964 quoted Winston Churchill as saying that the system of parliamentary democracy was a pretty bad one, nevertheless the best man had yet devised. Many may not agree with it. **But the fact remains that parliamentary democracy has come to take root in our island, that it would be a great pity and a tragedy if that system were to be thrown away, paving the way for some form of dictatorship or other.**

DOUBTLESS, there remain many shortcomings in our system as it is now practised. But when we think of the many beneficial changes that we have made in this system through the years, of how the system of elections once weighted in favour of the wealthy was changed to make it possible for even the most lowly to enter our supreme legislature, of how procedures have been reformed to do away not only with the delays of the law but of the legislative process itself, no one need be pessimistic of our ability to end the few shortcomings still left and make our form of democracy the envy of less happier lands.

But to throw it all away because of a few minor short-

comings would be like throwing away the baby with the bath-water.

This is not the place to apportion praise or blame for the unhappy situation that has arisen in the country today. Doubtless, all parties must take their share of the blame. Similarly, each and everyone of them must take credit for the contribution it has made, each in its own way, to the strengthening and flourishing of the parliamentary democratic system in Sri Lanka.

TO GIVE UP the rules by which they have hitherto played the political game and to resort to dangerous innovations that can only end in the complete abolition of the parliamentary form of government and the various forms of freedom as we have known them would constitute a catastrophe of such a colossal magnitude that we would incur the curses of generations yet unborn should we fail to rise to the occasion when parliamentary democracy in Sri Lanka faces the gravest peril yet in its long and proud history,

All political parties, whether they form part and parcel of or merely support the Government in power or are aligned in various ways with the leading party of the Opposition, should re-examine their conscience at this grave hour for democracy in our land, think of ways to strengthen, not erode, the foundations on which it rests, and leave no stone unturned to save it from the threats from various quarters it faces today. Else we, will all sink together, to whatever party we may belong to or be partial, into a long, dark night where parliamentary democracy is no more.

PEDANTRY

For a whole month Australian customs officials refused to let through a mummy purchased by Melbourne University in Britain because there was no accompanying death certificate. The fact that it was 6,000 years old did not impress them.

FOR THE RECORD

Before and After the Curfew

GETTING SET FOR THE HUSTINGS?

A General Election next year? It is not such an unthinkable thought any longer, going by what reliable political insiders say.

The prospect of an early poll is already the hottest topic discussed in political backrooms these days. The "Weekend" has learnt that the question of a General Election next year cropped up at least on three occasions at the respective inner caucuses of the United Front parties during the past few weeks.

At these confabs the party strategists weighed the Pros and Cons and discussed tentative plans to revamp their electioneering machinery not to be caught flat footed in such a situation.

In fact a decision has already been reached to launch out on a series of propaganda meetings to be held practically in all the major towns in the country. UF leaders from the Prime Minister downwards will address these meetings which are designed to strengthen and consolidate their constituency and explain the measures taken by the Government to expedite the progress towards the establishment of a socialist society.

There would be no talk of polls but reliable UF sources say this would signal the first shots in the looming battle. The first indications of the United Front squaring up the next General Election.

What has fuelled three quiet preparations is, of course, the UNP's announced plans to force the Government to go to the polls at the end of five years in May 1975. UNP leaders are politicking, organising the electorates — the party is to decide on its candidates also soon — with a sure-footedness that elections would indeed be held next year. Although under the new Republican Constitution the Government has secured for itself the power to continue in office till 1977.

This has clearly accelerated the spreading climate of acceptance for a new polls to sound out the people both within the opposition, where it is widely assumed, and in United Front circles, where it has become at least a thinkable thought.

—Sun, 16/4/74

OPPOSITION'S PLANS FOR APRIL 21

130 MEETINGS IN 130 ELECTORATES

A call to the United Front Government to "Resign and Hold Elections" will be made at 130 meetings to be held by the Joint Opposition in 130 electorates, including certain electorates in the Northern and Eastern Provinces on April 21. Opposition Leader, Mr. J. R. Javewardene, will preside at a meeting to be held at Torrington Avenue Municipal Park. Mr. R. Premadasa, MP for Colombo Central and the Opposition's Chief Whip will preside at a meeting opposite the Tower Hall in Maradana.

Mr. Premadasa who is Chief, Organiser for the Opposition Group, told the Sun yesterday that the series of meetings was a peaceful protest by the masses and not a civil disobedience campaign. He said the Opposition Group had not decided on the date of the proposed civil disobedience campaign yet and there would be no acts of civil disobedience on April 21.

Meanwhile signature to a mass petition of the people calling on the Government to resign are now being collected throughout the country. Mr. Premadasa said that in this petition, about 2 1/2 million people would call on the Government to resign in view of its inability to solve the present economic problems of the country..

—Sun, 16/4/74

RICE TRANSPORT BAN OFF TILL MAY 8

PURPOSE: TO HELP PILGRIMS OFFER ALMS TILL END OF VESAK

The relaxation of the ban on the transport of rice for the week April 8 to April 18 has been extended to May 8. Any person can transport two measures of rice (or four pounds) without a permit till May 8. The main purpose of the relaxation is to afford pilgrims the opportunity of offering alms till the conclusion of Vesak.

The Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwe, yesterday issued the following statement: "The Emergency Regulations relating to the transport of rice and paddy now in force, were relaxed for the period 8-18th April 1974. In terms of that decision the transport of any quantity of rice not exceeding two measures or four pounds without a permit between any two places within the island had been allowed. On the occasion I appealed to the general public to refrain from making improper use of this facility. On the basis of reports received so far, I am satisfied that no improper use of this facility has been made and that the public have responded in a responsible manner. In order to facilitate pilgrims as well as those who offer alms from the current Sinhala New Year season till the conclusion of the Vesak season, it has been decided to extend the facility already provided up to 8th May 1974 (inclusive of 8th May). The transport of paddy in proportion to two measures of rice will not be permitted. I wish to request you once again to refrain from making improper use of this facility."

Earlier several Buddhist organisations like the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, the Maha Bodhi Society, the YMBA and the Sri Anuradha.

pura Amadyapana Sanghara Samitiya had appealed to the Paddy Marketing Board to release stock of rice for dhana to the Maha Sangha and to feed the poor during Vesak which begins on May 5.

—Daily News, 16/4/64

UF SUMMIT ON FRIDAY, PLANNING COUNTER OFFENSIVE?

United Front party leaders have been summoned to a meeting next Friday. The summit which will take place at "Temple Trees", is expected to precede the special Government Parliamentary Group meeting which has been called by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimabandaranaike, for 3 p.m. the same day. Friday's UF summit meeting is described in political circles as a crucial one in the context of the present economic and political situation in the country.

Specific matters which would come up for discussion at this meeting are not yet known. But there were strong indications yesterday that the UF leaders meeting, as well as the Government Parliamentary Group meeting, have been called to endorse certain measures to counter the Joint Opposition campaign for the resignation of the United Front. The Joint Opposition plans to hold 150 public meetings next Sunday to press this demand. In this respect, the UF plans for the May Day are also expected to figure prominently at the summit talks. The UF leaders are expected to discuss certain measures to attract its supporters and make the May Day rally and demonstration a success like last year, and through this rally demonstrate the UF's strength in the country. To make this possible, political observers do not rule out the possibility of the UF leaders inviting the sacked Communist Party hardliners faction of Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe to re-join the United Front.

With the CP factions working behind the scenes to reunite under one leadership, the return of the hardliners to the United Front before May Day, has been very much in the air during the past several weeks.

—Sun, 17/4/74

SPREADING RUMOUR AN OFFENCE

The spreading of any rumour or false statement which is likely to cause public alarm or public disorder is now an offence.

The President, Mr. William Gopallawa has by gazette notification amended Regulation 27, of the Emergency Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers Regulations No. 4 of 1974 and substituted the following: "No person shall by word of mouth or by any other means whatsoever communicate or spread an rumour or false statements which is likely to cause public alarm or public disorder."

—Times of Ceylon, 17/4/74

JR TELLS THE GOVT. DON'T DISRUPT MEETINGS ON APRIL 21

Leader of the Opposition Mr. J. R. Jayewardene is hoping that the 150 public meetings to be held throughout the country next Sunday (April 21) would not be disrupted by members of the Government "as they attempted to do at Pelmadulla" recently.

The text of Mr. Jayewardene's statement is as follows:—

"I am glad the Government has accepted the request of the Opposition to lift the ban on the transport of rice and paddy even though temporarily. The Minister of Agriculture has stated that there has been no abuse to the lifting of the ban up to date. I think it will be so in the future too. The Opposition is of opinion that the ban should be lifted permanently for it causes grave hardships to all sections of the people.

"With regard to the decision to carry rice and paddy in procession on May 1, throughout the island, the arrangements will stand. The rice and paddy so transported will be presented to the Maha Sangha, other religious institutions and, social service institutions, who have been some of the sufferers of this unwise ban.

"Since their difficulties will exist as long as this ban is effective the arrangements made with regard to these processions and offerings will be the same as originally con-

FOR NEWS
BEHIND THE NEWS

read

TRIBUNE

regularly.

TRIBUNE, May 4, 1974

templated for May 1 and the campaign to rescind the ban permanently will continue.

"On Sunday April 21, there will be 150 meetings organised by the Opposition in every electorate. These will be purely propaganda meetings to create public opinion in favour of the Opposition view-point on issues that face the public today. I hope that members of the Government opposed to these meetings will not seek to disrupt them as they attempted to do at Pelmadulla."

—Sun, 17/4/74

WORKING CLASS URGES GOVERNMENT TAKE STERN ACTION AGAINST PROVOCATEURS

The organised working class in the country has urged the Government to take stern action against rumour mongers, rabble rousers and Purveyors of false and fabricated stories aimed at inciting the people to violence.

Several trade union organisations including those which do not support the United Front have told the Government that law-abiding citizens and workers should be protected from the machinations of what they term as 'reactionary forces led by the Jayawardene Thondaman clique.'

These trade unions have warned the Government against being caught napping at a time when certain Opposition political parties are organising civil disobedience campaigns and inciting the people to break the laws of the land.

They have stated that the organised working class was in no mood to ensone or just look on while these reactionary forces are engaged in creating chaos and disturbances in the country.

These trade union leaders have already held a series of discussions with the rank and file of their unions and taken decisions on how they should counter any moves intended to disrupt normal conditions in the country.

The Joint Council of Trade Union Organisations comprising virtually all the major trade unions in the public and private sector

have set up an organisation, to mobilise the workers to protect both the Government and the people from any moves by rabble rousers and mischief makers against law and order in the country.

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has alerted the Police and Armed Services personnel to be vigilant of these who try to incite people to commit acts of lawlessness and violence.

Mrs. Bandaranaike is expected to meet Army Services personnel tomorrow to brief them about the present situation and as to what steps any should take to meet any contingency.

Addressing high police officials last week, the Premier said that they should act without fear or favour and bring to book all law breakers, no matter how big or small they were.

All leave of police and service personnel has been cancelled from April 18th and troops of security personnel have fanned out throughout the country to prevent any breach of the peace.

A special meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group has also been summoned for Friday so that its members could be briefed on what measures the Government intends to take to ensure peace and order in the country.

Daily Mirror, 17/4/74

AIM OF APRIL 21 MEETINGS: A PEACEFUL PROTEST

PURELY PROPAGANDA AND NOT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SAYS J. R.

Opposition leaders yesterday dismissed reports that plans were underway to launch a campaign of civil disobedience on April 21.

The leaders reiterated that the 150 public meetings which would be held in all the electorates, were part of a peaceful protest and not moves towards a civil disobedience campaign or infringement of law and order.

Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene said: "We are completely a non-violent party and will not condone any violence on anybody's part."

The Opposition leaders described the current propaganda barrage against the meetings as creations of mass hysteria by certain "interested parties."

Mr. Jayawardene recalled that in his statement he clearly pointed out that these meetings were propaganda meetings intended to create a public opinion in favour of the Opposition viewpoint, on issues that face the public today.

He said, he had also appealed to the members of the Government "not to seek to disrupt" the meetings as was attempted at Pelmadulla.

Reports of factionalism and splits in the Opposition over the decision to hold the meetings were described as baseless. "The entire Opposition", he said, "was united in their opinion", in regard to this matter.

Opposition leaders thought that reports in certain newspapers (not the Sun group) about impending mob violence on April 21 were being spread in order to frighten the people away from Opposition meetings.

— Sun, 18/4/7

COUNTER MEETINGS

Moves are underway to organise counter meetings in a number of electorates where the Joint Opposition would be holding propaganda rallies on April 21, to demand the resignation of the Government.

A number of MPs who are spearheading this move, decided to ask the Prime Minister to direct the Police to permit the holding of these counter meetings.

It is expected that this matter would come up at the Government Parliamentary Group meeting on Friday.

Sun, 18/7/74

PM BRIEFS ARMY ON OPPOSITION TACTICS

The Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike told Army personnel on Thursday at the Panagoda camp that owing to the new social and economic changes taking place in the country, it was necessary to re-organise the army. The government had sought the advice this subject and due to recent

problems their report could not be put into effect but a Committee would soon be appointed to implement the changes. Mrs. Bandaranaike explained to the Army personnel the national, social and economic changes taking place in the country. She explained that she herself had been badly affected by the land reform legislation of the government. She dealt fully with the food crisis which she said was a world problem.

The Opposition she explained was capitalising on the hardships of the people by spreading false propaganda. The tactics were similar to those used in the time of the 1958 communal disturbances. They were trying to destroy a lawfully elected government. They were also trying to demoralise the Armed services by appealing to them not to carry out illegal orders. Both in 1962 and 1971 during the civil commotion, no illegal orders had ever been passed and the Army and Police officers would know whether any illegal orders had been given them.

Army Personnel had their first duty to the country, the people and the government said the Prime Minister and she expressed confidence that the army would not fail in its duty by the nation. Mrs. Bandaranaike in the course of her address thanked the Army for their contribution to the food drive. She said that the full results of the food production campaign had still to be felt, but there was no doubt that the country had been saved from famine. She said that thousands were dying of starvation in Asian and African countries. The food crisis was due to both internal and external factors. Internally, no government had succeeded, in making the country self sufficient in food.

Referring to external factors she spoke of the trebling of prices of flour, sugar, and rice imports and said that the prices of our main exports like tea had not changed over the years. The Prime Minister substantiated her statements with facts and figures of the economic problems. The people were used to living on imported foods and now when commercial credits were no longer available on terms and conditions as before such a policy was no longer possible or was it in the interests of the country. Mrs. Bandaranaike

said the government was functioning within a democratic set-up and it was within this set-up that the others were permitted to carry out opposition to the government.

—Daily News, 20/4/74

OPPOSITION MEETINGS BANNED: VIOLATORS WILL LOSE PROPERTY

The Government Parliamentary Group yesterday decided unanimously to ban the proposed series of meetings and demonstrations planned for tomorrow in connection with the Opposition's civil disobedience campaign. The group also decided that the government should confiscate the property of those who defy the ban and participate in this campaign. Those who incite others to defy the ban too will have their property confiscated.

At a 1½ hour meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group held yesterday afternoon at the National State Assembly premises, several MPs spoke against the proposed Opposition campaign which they felt was aimed at disrupting the work of the Government and creating problems for the people. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who was present addressed the MPs at the tail-end of the meeting. Emergency Regulations on these decisions were expected to be gazetted late last night.

—Daily News, 20/4/74

ON EVE OF THE 'SUNDAY PROTEST', JR GIVES FIRM ASSURANCE

OPPOSITION WILL ENSURE PEACE AND ORDER

GOVT. URGED TO DO THE SAME, BAN OR DISRUPTION OF MEETINGS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED

The Joint Opposition will maintain peace and order in the country tomorrow. It is the bounden duty of the Government to do the same.

The Opposition Leader, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, stated this when he addressed the organisers of Opposition of meetings in the Borella and Colombo South electorates

at 'Sri Kotha', the UNP headquarters, yesterday.

Mr. Jayewardene told the organisers yesterday that the meetings should be conducted peacefully. "They are merely propaganda meetings and no violence should be used on persons or property even under provocation," he said. He warned that attempts might be made to disrupt the Opposition meetings, "as was done at Dedigama, Attanagalla and Pelmadulla." The Prime Minister, he pointed out, had condoned these actions when she propounded the notorious "Attangalla Doctrine" recently.

The Opposition Leader also claimed that "direct action" was permissible in a democracy. As examples he pointed out that the strikes in essential services, a general strike and a violent hartal had been organised by the Opposition when the UNP was in power.

"The Opposition also may have to take similar steps but based on non-violent action only. If we do so we will discuss such action openly in our party and give the Government notice before a non-violent civil disobedience campaign.

"At present our plans only envisaged peaceful propaganda meetings," he said:

Referring to the possibility of the meetings being banned, Mr. Jayewardene said a Government ban on the meetings would amount to sifting the voice of the Opposition and restricting the monopoly of speech, writing and assembly to the Government party only."

"The Opposition cannot and will not submit to this method. Under-democratic laws we need not obey," Mr. Jayewardene asserted.

He pledged that the Opposition would firmly fight against such a discriminatory system "because a democracy lives on communication between political parties and the people."

Mr. Jayewardene complained that the media of mass communication, such as the radio, the Lake House and Times-Lankadipa Group were "propagating false propaganda" about the Opposition. Hence the Opposition has decided to organise meetings in every electorate.

"We will next consider holding not 100 but 500 meetings in one day throughout the island" he announced.

Sun, 20/4/74

PM's BROADCAST

PM's Broadcast DUE PLACE TO THE SMALL MAN PM TELLS THE NATION

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in her address to the nation last Saturday stated that her endeavour and the government's efforts were to raise the small man to the top, and that every measure would be taken to watch those who tried to push the small man to the bottom.

She said this was the first time in the history of this country that big-time smugglers and foreign exchange racketeers had been brought to book irrespective of the social standing they enjoyed in the past.

Here are the main points from her address to the nation.

*As Prime Minister I am certainly aware of the difficulties most of you experience today. You, too, will be aware that many of these difficulties are a direct result of circumstances beyond the government's control and are experienced in many other countries more severely than our own.

*I resent the efforts of the representatives of vested interests to exploit your sufferings for partisan political ends.

*Their effort to ferment civil disobedience have an element of desperation.

*These frustrated elements are aware that the land reform, the housing reform, income reforms, the legal reforms and such other radical measures that this government has introduced and is implementing are now reaching the people and are hitting their own wealthy classes and supporters where it hurts them most.

*Despite most trying times, this government has treated the liberties of the people with utmost solicitude. Even in the case of the nasty insurgency the government dealt humanely with them. That the overwhelming majority

found guilty were released on conditional pardons proves this.

*Careful budgeting and judicious handling of our scarce foreign and internal resources enabled us to keep ourselves from sinking in the mire of indebtedness recklessly incurred by earlier governments. But successive failure of monsoonal rains set back our agriculture.

*The static prices of our exports and the monetary and commodity crisis of the world including the recent oil crisis caught us in its coils and almost squeezed the breath out of us.

*We are literally fighting to survive and need the fullest mobilisation of our resources. It is in such a situation that frustrated politicians and notorious agents of the propertied classes and vested interests have chosen to abuse the freedom of Parliamentary democracy, to sabotage the production effort incite the people against the government and if possible bring it down by violence and civil commotion.

*We are aware that threats have been issued to those who are now employed in the Government and Corporation sector that they will be replaced by the UNP's own appointees. To all sections of the public services, including the Armed Services and the Police I say this. You know that over the last several months, there has been a sustained and vociferous campaign by these persons to put you in fear of your jobs, to intimidate you and create apprehensions in your minds.

*The aim of all this is to disrupt the work of the country and to get you into a state of doubt, uncertainty and inaction. These are the unscrupulous tactics of those who place their ambitions for personnel power above the interests of the nation. You as state officers are bound by solemn oath to respect and uphold the Constitution and by the dictates and the traditions of your service to serve the Government in power with no reservations and with the utmost loyalty.

*The Government has every right to remind you that the performance of your duties must be carried out free of any political partisanship.

"We have waited patiently for more than an entire year in the hope that the UNP and other reactionary leaders would be honest with themselves, use the light of reason to understand our grave problems and show some regard for the responsibilities of leadership in a democratic polity. We have waited in vain.

"Open incitement to flout the law and exhortation to create civil disorder are being made from every platform. Such irresponsibility is reprehensible by itself. But it is now clear such irresponsibility has gone hand in hand with resort to criminality.

"All kinds of elements from the under world have been recruited and organised in squads for terror, sabotage and violence. What took place on 5th April at Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's residence at Ward Place was a tryout of carefully learned new tactics of insurgency. We cannot hold our hands any longer. Our forbearance has been misread, misunderstood and misrepresented.

"No Government can permit the organisation of sabotage and civil commotion in the name of democratic politics. The rights and liberties of our people are enshrined in the Constitution of our free, sovereign and independent republic framed with a specific mandate from the people by Constituent Assembly consisting of all Members of Parliament representing the various political parties including the UNP. No frustrated political careerist will be permitted to play about with our Constitution and the fundamentals of democracy enshrined in it.

"In the meantime all of us who worked to set up this Government have to rally round now to the defence of this Government.

"To the workers of this country, I say this Government despite all difficulties has never forgotten the advancement of your interests. Be it in respect of your wages, the security of your jobs, the narrowing of the gap between the pay of the humble and the skilled and those in the upper reaches of the wage structure, this Government has gone forward at every opportunity.

"It is now your task to organise yourselves in your work places to defend your work places against

saboteurs and anti-social elements. By these steps you will also be defending this Government effectively; and if any amongst you urge the bringing down of this Government—this your own Government—you can ask them whether they want to put the enemies of the workers back in fascist power.

"To the peasants of this country I say, we have advanced your interests as no Government in recent times had done. You in your turn have toiled to make this country self sufficient in food and I take this opportunity again to thank you. You brought this Government into power in struggle against reaction.

"I am confident you will not permit yourself to be deceived by the very forces you defeated to enable them to establish the fascist dictatorship which they are seeking to establish.

"To the youth I wish to address a special word. When this Government was brought into power 14,000 unemployed graduates were eating their hearts out in frustration and despair. I personally saw to it that they were placed in gainful employment. It is also well known that this Government has recruited to the teaching profession nearly 23,000 young men and women.

"We did more

"Through a process of reshaping our economy and rearranging priorities in economic development we have been able to place large sections of our youth in different sectors of the economy and also enabled them to reach positions of responsibility. I cannot believe that our youth can be lured back by the very forces which had more than once misled them in the past.
—Ceylon Observer, 22/4/44

OFFICES OF INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS SEALED

The presses and offices of the Independent Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. were sealed by the Competent Authority and the Government Printer in the early hours of Saturday morning.

The Director of Information Mr. Ridgeway Tillekeratne has been appointed Competent Authority by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo

Bandaranaike, to control publications prejudicial to public security and maintenance of public order.

The regulations gazetted on Saturday read: The Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations, No. 4 of 1974 are hereby amended in regulation 14 thereof, by the substitution for paragraph 3 thereof of the following new paragraph:

"(3) If a competent authority is of opinion that there is or has been or is likely to be in any newspaper publication of matter which is, in his opinion, calculated to be prejudicial to the interests of public security or the preservation of public order or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community, or matter inciting or encouraging persons to take action calculated to coerce the Government either directly or by inflicting hardship upon the public or any section thereof, he may order—

(a) direct that no person shall print, publish or distribute or in any way be concerned in the printing publication or distribution of such newspaper for such period as may be specified in the order, and that the printing press in which such newspaper was printed shall, for such period as is specified in the order, not be used for any purposes whatsoever or for any such as purpose is specified in the order, and authorize any person specified therein to take such steps (including the taking possession of any printing press with respect to which the order is made or of any premises in which it is contained or of any part of such printing press or premises) as appear to the persons so authorized to be necessary for securing compliance with the order; or

(b) apply the provisions of this regulation to that newspaper."

—Daily News, 22/4/74

MEETINGS TABOOED OF UNP AND ALLIES

Regulations relating to the prohibition of meetings by the United National Party and its allies were gazetted on Saturday. They read:

Order made by the Prime Minister under Regulation 12 (1) of the

Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations, No. 4 of 1974 to wit:

(1) The Prime Minister may, by Order, prohibit the holding of public processions or public meetings, or of any class of such processions or meetings, in any area in Sri Lanka specified in that order, for such period as may be so specified, subject to such exemptions as may be made by that order or by any subsequent order made under this regulation

(2) The Prime Minister may give directions prohibiting the holding of any procession or meeting in any area in Sri Lanka the holding of which would be, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, likely to cause a disturbance of public order or to promote disaffection.

(3) Any police officer may take such steps, and use such force, as may be reasonably necessary for securing compliance with any order or direction made or given under this regulation.

1. This Order may be cited as the Emergency (Public Processions and Meetings) Order

2. The holding in any part of Sri Lanka of any public procession or meeting whatsoever organized directly or indirectly by the United National Party or by any of its members or by any other organization or person or body or group of persons at the instance of or in association with the United National Party or any of its members or in which any member of the United National Party participates, is hereby prohibited:

Provided, however, that the preceding provisions of this paragraph shall not prevent the holding of any procession or meeting in the case of which the following conditions are satisfied:

(a) that the Inspector General of Police, being satisfied that the holding of such procession or meeting is not likely to be prejudicial to the public safety or to the maintenance of public order to the maintenance of essential services, has in his absolute discretion granted a permit authorizing the procession or meetings;

(b) that the total number of persons taking part in such procession or meeting does not exceed such number as may

be specified in the permit so granted: and

(c) that such procession or meeting commences and disperses within such period as may be specified in the permit authorising the procession or meeting.

3. Where in the course of any procession or at any meeting held on the authority of a permit granted under the provision to paragraph 2 of this Order, any person incites or attempts to incite the inhabitants of Sri Lanka or any section, class or group of them to the use of any form of physical force or violence, breaches of the peace, disobedience of the law or obstruction of the execution of the law such procession or meeting shall be deemed to be a procession or meeting, as the case may be held in contravention of paragraph 2 of this Order.

4. For the purposes of this Order, a certificate from the Officer-in-Charge of the Police Station of the area in which a procession or

meeting is held to the effect that any person is a member of the United National Party shall be conclusive proof thereof.

—Daily News, 22/4/74

LAWS TO PREVENT INCITEMENT GAZETTED

The Emergency (Prevention of Incitement) regulations gazetted on Saturday provide for the confiscation of the property of those found guilty of breaches of these regulations. Forfeiture of property to the Republic will be an added penalty to any other a court may impose upon conviction.

1. These regulations may be cited as the Emergency (Prevention of Incitement) Regulations, No. 1 of 1974.

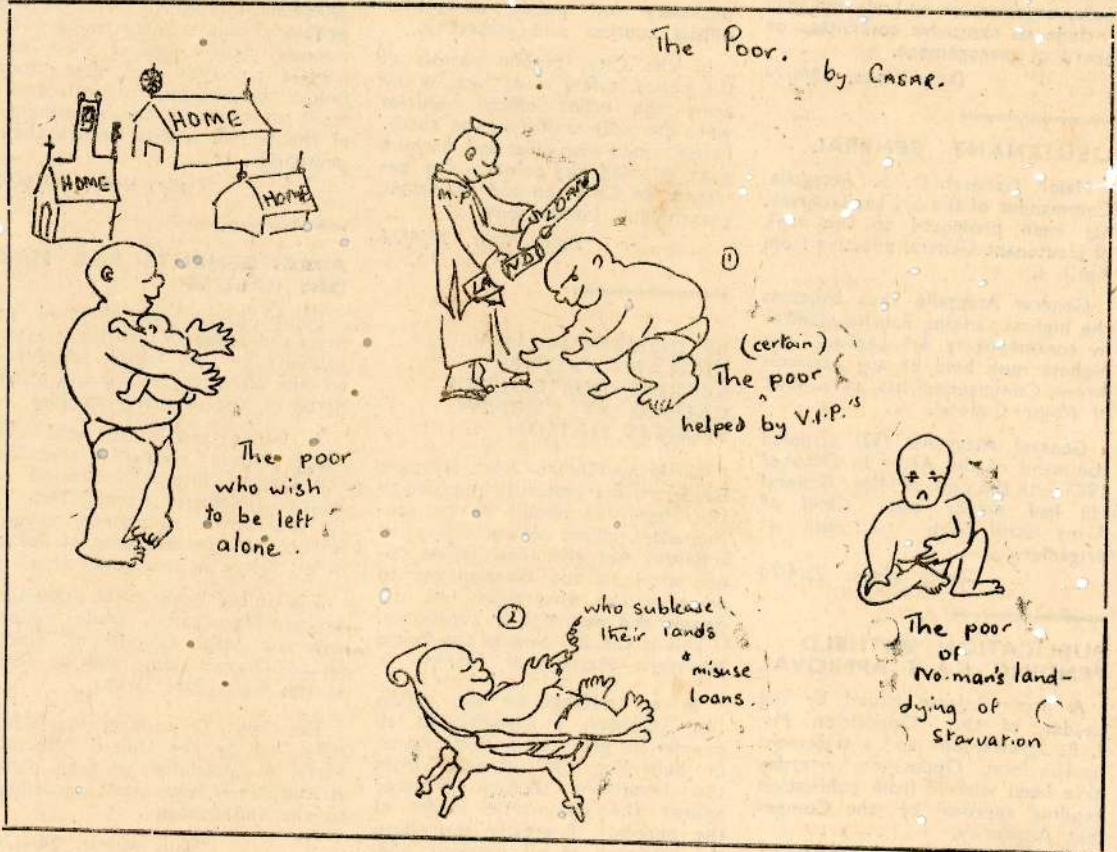
2. Any person who at a public meeting or in the course of a public procession, by words, whether spoken or written, or by signs or visible representations, or by conduct or by any other

act, incites or attempts to incite the inhabitants of Sri Lanka, or any section, class or group of them to the use of any form of physical force or violence, breaches of the peace, disobedience of the law or obstruction of the execution of the law, shall be guilty of an offence.

3. Any person who, in any manner whatsoever, whether by financial contributions or otherwise, aids, abets or assists in the organization of any meeting or procession at which any offence is committed in contravention of regulation 2, shall be guilty of an offence.

4. Any person who participates in or attends a procession or meeting at which any offence is committed in contravention of regulation 2, shall be guilty of an offence.

5. Where an offence under regulation 2 is committed at a meeting or in the course of a procession organized by a political party or other organization or body at the instance of or in association with



uch political party, every member of the governing body of such political party, organization or body, as the case may be, shall be guilty of an offence.

6. Where any person is convicted by any Court of any offence under these regulations, then, in addition to any other penalty that the Court shall impose for such offence—

(a) all property moveable and immovable of that person shall by virtue of such conviction, be deemed to be forfeited to the Republic; and

(b) any alienation or other disposal of such property effected by such person after the date of the coming into force of these regulations shall be deemed to have been, and to be, null and void.

7. In these regulations the term "governing body" shall mean the group of persons charged with the management, control or direction of the affairs of such political party organization or body and shall include an executive committee or board of management.

Daily News, 22/4/74

LIEUTENANT GENERAL

Major General D. S. Attygalle, Commander of the Sri Lanka Army, has been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General effective from April 4.

General Attygalle thus becomes the highest ranking Services Officer in contemporary Sri Lanka. The highest rank held by any previous Army Commander has been that of Major General.

General Attygalle, (52) assumed command of the Army in October 1967 with the rank of Major General. He had earlier been Chief of Army Staff with the rank of Brigadier.

—Daily News, 22/4/74

PUBLICATION WITHHELD PENDING C.A.'S APPROVAL

A press Release issued by the Leader of the Opposition Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and a statement by the Joint Opposition yesterday have been withheld from publication pending approval by the Competent Authority.

Daily Mirror, 24/4/74

A QUIET SUNDAY: CURFEW ENDS SECURITY FORCES TO BE ON ALERT FOR PUBLIC PROTECTION

At the time of going to press yesterday all was reported quiet throughout the island. The twenty eight hour curfew, enforced at midnight on Saturday was observed by all, police headquarters said. Police sources said there were no indications yesterday that the Opposition intended to carry out its campaign of Civil Disobedience in the face of the curfew and the gazettement of regulations banning the meetings and processions. The declaration of the curfew was the last of a series of measures taken by Government to halt what it firmly believed would be a campaign of violence throughout the island.

The curfew was scheduled to end at 4 a.m. today, but police and service personnel will remain on the alert as long as it is considered necessary for public protection official sources said yesterday.

In the City, mobile patrols of the police, a few scout cars, of the army and other official vehicles were the only traffic on the roads. Police armed with rifles and machine guns guarded key points—the entrances to Colombo and important government installations.

Daily News, 22/4/74

BE CONTINUOUSLY VIGILANT PREMIER REGRETS DIFFICULTIES CAUSED BY CURFEW, THANKS NATION

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, yesterday appealed to all progressive people to be continuously vigilant against disruptive activities and give their fullest co-operation to the Government to preserve the sovereignty of the people and ensure their prosperity.

This is the full text of the Prime Minister's Message of Thanks:

'In my address to the nation last Saturday, I appealed to all people to give their co-operation in defending the country from the imminent threats directed against the democratic rights of the people. I greatly appreciate the response of all patriotic and

progressive people and wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to them.

"These political threats are being aimed against the sovereignty of the people and the progress of the country. Therefore, it is not only the paramount duty of the people but also their right to defend the country and the people against these threats.

'I regret the difficulties experienced by the people last Sunday due to the curfew. But the people should bear in mind that the cause of these difficulties lay in the activities of these vested interests which in order to achieve their selfish ends, were planning to create chaos and disharmony in the country by acts of civil disobedience.

"As I have pointed out in my address to the nation, these disruptive activities of the reactionary forces will continue as long as this Government continues to implement a radical program to solve the problems of the people. Therefore I appeal to all progressive people of this country to be continuously vigilant against these disruptive activities and give their fullest co-operation to the Government to preserve the sovereignty of the people and to ensure their prosperity.

Daily News, 24/4/74

ARRANGEMENTS FOR MAY DAY RALLIES

Police have been directed to make the necessary security arrangements for the rallies, scheduled to take place in the City and other parts of the country on May 1.

A Police spokesman told the "Daily Mirror" yesterday that the Deputy Inspector General of Police, (Western Range) Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, summoned a conference of Superintendent of Police in his Range in this connection.

The United Front Rally, organised by pro-Government trade unions and the Joint Council of Trade Union Organisations, will be held at the Galle Face Green.

The Joint Opposition May Day rally, led by the United National Party, is scheduled to take place at the New Town Hall, according to the spokesman.

Daily Mirror, 24/4/74

LETTER FROM INDIA

"Situation Explosive"

—say Right and Left parties—

K. Rangaswamy

April 15,

Identical assessments of the current political situation in the country have been made by leading opposition parties though their inferences and remedies are totally divergent.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE of the Congress (O) in its statement, issued a few days ago, said "economic hardships which are the cumulative result of mismanagement of the economy during the years of the present regime have driven the people to the limit of their tolerance." The National Council of the Communist Party of India (CPI) in its statement said, "discontent, of the masses has reached its limits. The situation is explosive". The Jana Sangh, in a resolution adopted at its annual session, said "events in Gujarat and Bihar have highlighted the fact that people are no longer prepared to suffer in silence" and added "it would not be surprising if the mounting anger of the people against the government in Bihar erupted into a big explosion."

The ruling party has been accused by all these parties of being corrupt and inefficient.

The CPI's statement said "the most significant feature of the present situation which has roused justified wrath of the people is the spread of the cancer of corruption. The monopolists, landlords and imperialists are using their vast financial resources to buy bureaucrats and political leaders, to interfere in the elections and extend their grip over different levers of State power". This is an euphemistic way saying that "bureaucrats and political leaders" are taking bribes from the so called monopolists. Which "political leaders" does the CPI have in mind? Obviously they mean the "political leaders" who have power and patronage at their disposal and they are the leaders of the ruling Congress.

The Working Committee of the Congress (O) said, "the atmosphere of rampant corruption, personified by certain members of the government, arises not merely from the aberration of individuals but from the whole system that has come to be built up beginning with the corruption of the elective process itself by the injection of huge sums of money, misuses of official machinery and the rigging of polls including violence by the ruling party."

The Jana Sangh's resolution charged the ruling party "with having leaped miseries on the common man and having ruined the economy by its adventurous policies, maladministration, corruption and collusion with smugglers, profiteers and hoarders". It further said "money power and abuse of the state machinery had created the feeling that it was all but impossible to change even an altogether discredited government through the ballot box by the normal processes of democracy."

While the assessment of the current situation is identical the lessons drawn by the parties are very different.

THE CPI finds "there is a well laid plan of right reactionary forces including those inside the Congress and US imperialist agencies to divert this mass discontent into chaos and anarchy and push the government to the right as a first step to capture power." The immediate need, according to the CPI, is "the left and democratic forces inside and outside the Congress should unite and beat back the sinister counter-offensive of the dark forces of reaction."

The Working Committee of the Congress (O), on the other hand, points out "the results of recent election to some state legislatures have only served to deepen the disillusionment and unrest of the wide mass of people who have looked upon them as distorting the realities of the situation. What is most frightening is the almost universal feeling that the country now caught up in a process of irreversible decline and it is well beyond the capacity of the present government to stem or master it. The people should be on guard against the attempt of the ruling party to find alibis either in the

opposition or in foreign elements for the present disastrous trends."

The Jana Sangh's resolution declared that "if people's will continues to be distorted and defeated by the present electoral system under which 32% of votes could enable a party to win more than 50% of the seats, the people would be exasperated and goaded into extremist steps." The resolution added, "instead of blaming the RSS, Sarvodaya workers and political parties for the present unrest in the country, the Congress should do well to look within for the genesis of the present malaise and think over the damage it has done to the nation by its opportunist alliance with a communal party like the Muslim League and an anti-national party like the CPI."

The CPI's immediate remedy for the situation is to launch country-wide agitation against rising prices and scarcity of essential commodities in co-operation with other left parties. An all-India protest day is to be observed on May 3. Can an agitation bring about an improvement in the economic situation? Obviously the agitation is not conceived as a remedy for the economic difficulties faced by the people but for political objectives. The statement of the National Council of the CPI said "..... and until our party heads the unprecedented mass discontent and upsurge and channelises them into organised and united mass struggles, neither can Right reaction be fought nor can the unity of the Left and democratic forces including those inside the Congress be built up and the country moved to the Left. If we fail in this the right reactionary forces will succeed in their game of misguiding the people and turn their discontent on to disastrous course. While taking the initiative in heading the mass upsurge our party must be ever vigilant to see that the reactionary parties do not carry away the masses with them into disruptive channels." In other words the CPI alone should exploit the present mass discontent and not other parties.

The Working Committee of the Congress (O), on the other hand, feels that "the challenges of today call for a re-dedication to our great traditions so that the unprecedented mass upsurge finds a peaceful and non-violent expression and

does not become the instrument of the architects of disorder and anarchy who in fact would be serving the ends of the ruling party. The programme of Satyagraha decided upon by the Gaya Congress should be pursued more vigorously." A constructive suggestion made by the Congress (O) is that "in this historic context the forces working for democracy, secularism and social justice would be failing in their duty if they do not forge effective unity that will create a climate of hope and confidence among the people and enable them to perform an adequate role."

SOME PARTIES have responded positively to this proposal. The leader of the Samyukta Socialist Party, Raj Narain, has said that he had already been discussing the formation of a new party by the merger of various like-minded parties with the leaders of other parties. The National Executive of the Swatantra Party has authorised its president, Pilloo Mody, to contact leaders of other democratic parties for bringing about polarisation in a big way to establish a two party system in the country. The term 'social justice' has been used by the Congress (O) in order to satisfy the leader of the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD) who is allergic to the expression 'socialism'. Biju Patnaik of the Pragati party of Orissa has been endeavouring for quite some time to form a new party by merging several opposition parties.

One suggestion is that a federal party can be formed at the Centre with the units in the States retaining their independent identity. Another suggestion is the merger of like minded parties. The result of the recent Assembly elections, which were contested by the opposition parties without any electoral alliance among themselves as was done by the ruling Congress and the CPI must provide adequate background for a review of the situation and working out a sound plan of action for the future.

The Congress (O) Working Committee categorically stated that "we are more convinced than ever that we can have no truck with the ruling party." A part of the sentence which said that "the State units should strictly observe this line of approach" was omitted at the insistence of Kamraj

who felt that the views of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee must be ascertained.

KAMARAJ has taken the line that in the present situation faced by the country it would be wise to strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister and prevent her from falling into the lap of the CPI. He therefore advocates close co-operation between the two Congress parties. But Morarji Desai and others who oppose his move point out that Mrs. Gandhi has not given any indication that she would welcome close cooperation between the two Congress parties. But Morarji Desai and others who oppose his move point out that Mrs. Gandhi has not given any indication that she would welcome close co-operation between the two Congress parties. Kamaraj looks at the problems mainly from the view point of Tamil Nadu where

he has to fight the ruling DMK on the one side and the ADMK-CPI alliance on the other. He fears that unless the two Congress parties combined to face the challenge Tamil Nadu will go the Kerala way leading to instability and confusion. With the collapse of the ADMK-CPI ministry in Pondicherry and with no immediate prospect of an election the question of co-operation between the two Congress parties does not immediately arise.

Meanwhile it would be unreal to assume that the general discontent in the country has not affected the rank and file in the ruling Congress party. A new factor is the emergence of student power without political affiliations. The situation in the coming months must be closely watched before any political party could formulate its future strategy.

—F.N.F.

LETTER FROM BURMA

* Ne Win and the Subcontinent

* Renewed Insurgency

From

A Special Correspondent

April 14,
CHAIRMAN of the Revolutionary Council of Burma, General Ne Win, is scheduled to pay visit to Pakistan India and Bangladesh in the course of the next fortnight. He is no doubt anxious to demonstrate his goodwill to the three countries of the subcontinent whilst at the same time sharing his apprehensions with their leaders about the wider repercussions of the renewed insurgency in his own country.

Of the three countries, Burma has so far had the closest rapport with India. In the 1966, Mrs. Gandhi had concluded a border agreement, and the two leaders had been co-operating with each other in tackling some of their common problems in the north-eastern region of India. It will be recalled that the most difficult period in Indo-Burmese relations was during the early sixties after

the Sino-Indian conflict. Gen. Ne Win had just displaced U Nu, and he had not yet established personal contact with Jawaharlal Nehru who was an old friend of the former Prime Minister U Nu. Peking had naturally sought to woo Ne Win, but the latter was shrewd enough to fly to Delhi and establish personal relations with Nehru just a few weeks before his death. It was Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who had later placed Indo-Burmese relations on a sound footing with a new border agreement. China had not taken kindly to this and tension had followed and had also led to anti-Chinese riots in Rangoon during the Cultural Revolution. Ne Win is no doubt conscious that the future of Burma is very dependent on co-operation with China, India and Bangladesh which cover Burma's flanks on either side. In his own way, Ne Win is said to have unobtrusively endeavoured to bring about an improvement in Sino-Indian relations. But he has so far not been able to succeed in paving the way for normal relations between the two countries.

Though Pakistan now has no common border with Burma, Ne Win will pay a visit to Islamabad because he obviously does not want China to think that he has a pro-India-Bangladesh tilt. But India and Bangladesh are as important to him as China, and though

Burma

Burma has no border problem with any of these countries, she must have the goodwill of these countries to contain the growing insurgency in his country.

BURMA is really a loose confederation of parochial tribes, and this makes the country highly susceptible to subversion and insurgency. The Shans, Kachins, Karens, Chins, Mons and Arakans are all hostile to the Central Government in Rangoon. But more than this, Ne Win has to contend with the Burmese Communist Party which is loyal to the Peking CP and is equipped with Chinese arms. In addition, there are the old Kuomintang remnants who dominate the opium trade at the junction of Burma, Thailand and Laos. All these forces combined, individually and severally, have produced a highly explosive situation in Burma. And, there is not the slightest doubt that Ne Win cannot cope with this dangerous domestic situation, which has recently worsened by increased insurgency, without the full co-operation of the neighbouring countries like China on one side and India and Bangladesh on the other.

Ne Win has had to walk the tight rope for some years now. He has co-operated with India to prevent Burmese territory being used by Naga and Mizo terrorists to have a secret passage to China, and at the same time he has taken all possible steps to assure Peking about Burma's strict neutrality in Sino-Indian conflicts.

When U Nu was in Thailand and had maintained an exile government there for sometime, relations between Rangoon and Bangkok had been strained, but now Thailand seems anxious to help Ne Win to stabilise the internal situation in Burma. Thailand is believed to have asked Ne Win to respond magnanimously to U Nu's recent assurances that he was no longer interested in engineering an armed insurrection to overthrow the Ne Win regime. U Nu is now living in India as a Buddhist recluse, spending his time in meditation, and it is on the cards that New Delhi may play a significant role in bringing them together.

Burma's current anxieties stem from two sets of rebels who have shown increased activity in recent months: one, the tribals in

the southeast of the country along the Thai border; and the other the communists 500 miles away in the northeast on the Chinese border.

ON MARCH 17, a company of Karen insurgents and Burmese exiles from the Thailand-based Parliamentary Democratic Party, which had been founded by U Nu, had mounted two simultaneous attacks on Myawaddy near the Thai border, and two neighbouring villages. The town garrison had fought these attacks and had counterattacked inflicting heavy casualties on the insurgents who had retreated carrying away their dead and wounded into Thai territory on the other side of the river Thaungyin. The next day, the insurgents had burned down a bridge and a sawmill in Tingan Nyi Naung village and also some buildings on the outskirts of Myawaddy. On March 19, they tried to storm the Myawaddy garrison by advancing from the river under cover of a barrage of gunfire, but they were beaten back by government troops. On the same day, there had been clashes between government troops and rebels 15 miles south west of Myawaddy.

From March 20-23, Burma Air Force fighters strafed insurgent positions in the area and carried out rocket attacks. Official reports stated that large numbers of insurgents were killed and wounded, and that they were carried away by the survivors to their hospital in "the other country" (a euphemism for Thailand). Further clashes, according to official reports, took place on March 22 and 23, but thereafter the insurgent forces seem to have withdrawn across the border. Official casualty figures for the entire operation are given as six killed and 44 wounded on the government side, and 87 killed and 125 wounded from the insurgents.

The insurgents are reported to have been led by Bo Mya, leader of the underground Karen National Unity Party (KNUP). The Karen insurgents have for some years now co-operated with Mon rebels and Burmese exiles in this southeast corner of Burma from bases, it is believed, in Thailand. So far, they have used only guerrilla tactics of the hit-and-run pattern—attacking trains, river boats, army

and police patrols and poorly manned outposts. The recent Myawaddy venture was the first in which they have used massive strength for an attack on garrisoned government troops. It is this escalation in the offensive tactics of the southeastern insurgents that now worries Rangoon. Two reasons are attributed for this: one that the Bo Mya group is under pressure from the Thai authorities to quit their territory, and second (and the more probable reason) is that they may have wanted to keep government troops tied down in the Myawaddy area so that other points along the boundary can be kept open for the lucrative two-way smuggling trade (including narcotics) on which they have been thriving.

IN THE NORTHEAST, the pro-Chinese Burmese communists have been active again since February. According to official reports, on February 22, they had attacked the army outpost at Tonta village on the Kentung-Mongyian road, taking advantage of the absence of troops who were then at Mongyu, further east. The attackers had been beaten off with severe casualties and they had retreated towards Mongpauk near the Chinese border. Since February, government troops have had 15 encounters with communists in this region. Casualties are said to have been twelve killed, 34 wounded and 62 missing. It is also claimed that the insurgents had left thirteen dead in the field, and villagers had reported to the authorities that the insurgents had carried away about 50 dead and about 80 wounded towards the Chinese border.

The precise strength of the communists has not been officially disclosed, but last October (1973) it was known that they had deployed as many as 4,000 men in the northwestern sector of the region. They had first massed near Tako, a town on the eastern bank of the Salween and their objective then had been to capture the hilly 12,000 sq. mile Kentung area, east of the Salween. Routed by government troops at the end of last year, they had escaped towards the Sino-Burmese border. According to Burmese government sources, the objective of these communists is to secure a safe base near the Chinese border. According to

the *Christian Science Monitor*, 17/3/74, these communist insurgents control nearly 9,000 troops.

Elsewhere in Burma, insurgents have not been particularly active in recent months, although trains have been mined and attacks on out-of-the-way posts have taken place. On March 18, about 40 men of men of the "Kachin Independence Army" had attacked a village in the Indawgyi township in Kachin state in north Burma. On March 25, about 300 Karen insurgents have overrun a village in Letpandan township, about 90 miles north of Rangoon and had looted arms and ammunition from the police station.

THE INSURGENCY movement in Burma is a hotpotch: communists, anti-communists, smugglers, drug-running bandits, Karens, Shans, Kachins, and other tribal rebels together with Kuomintang stragglers. According to official sources, Ne Win's government has been trying to tackle the problem with military action, with political negotiations, offers of amnesty and in the case of insurgents with suspected foreign backing through diplomatic means. The Burmese government has achieved notable successes in some regions. The Irrawady Delta and the Pegu Yoma Hill region have been cleared of communists and Karens, but these dislodged insurgents have re-grouped elsewhere: the communists have gone to the northeast and the Karens to the south east.

The end of the insurgency in Burma is still a long way off, though none of the insurgent groups can individually or even jointly pose a serious challenge to the government. But what is worrying the Government is the reason for the sudden renewal of active insurgency in the southeast and north east corners of Burma. Who was behind it? And, why?

Though it is known that Burma has carried on quiet diplomacy with Thailand and even India on the problems of insurgency in its border areas, nothing is ever said about any representations to China. Further, the press in Burma is completely under government control, and no paper ever says anything about this matter. The Ne Win regime maintains an adroit silence on all sensitive questions with its neighbours, especially China.

INANIA

Of This, That and The Other

Chardin vs. Vistarini

By INNA

I HAVE nothing against Italy. It is a superb country it seems, but it "must have been exhausted after producing a Thomas Aquinas," said my friend George. But I'm sure that it is not producing all imbeciles after the 12th century, for all George's cocksureness!

It is a country that goes its way producing great and good men like Pope John, Raffaello, Michelangelo and Pier Georgio Frascati (admired by my friend George and me). For the rest it pursues its own course producing small men (great "in their own little way", like Vistarini, Pappylooksis, etc.) but that is no reason why they should de-mythologize the undemythologizable, men like Chardin.

Chardin, or Teilhard de Chardin may be difficult reading, but that does not mean that a man of a Benedictine order should become unchristian and inhuman and then attack one of a Jesuit order while praising one's own order, for Vistarini is a non-Jesuit, a Benedictine order monk. Some people are dangerously down on the things they are not up on. It shows up a puny and petty mind, a brain made of cod roes!

It's a poor form of journalism unworthy of the name. If this is christianity, condemn it and throw it out. There is a paper which picks up rocks and throws them at people and it terms itself in the abstract of these bits of rock, but much of its argumentation not only rhymes with poppycock, "but is soft as coconut-rock," as George said it in one of his angry moments.

I AM not worried about the range of journalism in the largest christian community in Sri Lanka, but when brazen people brazenly waste paper in times of stress by insulting people, their fellowmen, both the dead like Teilhard de Chardin—thanks to whom more people are turning towards the Truth and to Christ, this country (I accept this statement of George) and the living, like reverends who are not of their rocky opinion (solidly stubborn and not solidly-sound)—then it is time to call a halt. If christian leadership fails in this instance, then it is not apposite to call it leadership.

ARE THEY worried about spirituality? Then let them know that "*Le Milieu Divin*" is a book of spirituality destined to make a christian more

christian in the modern world. When Vistarini and monks of his ilk, for right reasons, went inward and away from the world to Montserrat, Monte Fano, Monte Cassino, Chardin started from terrestrial realities and the cosmos made by God, to go to God himself.

Teilhard believes in the value of human effort and that christians must participate passionately in the progress of this world. Didn't Vistarini believe in the progress of this world as it goes to God? Then take Vistarini and give me Chardin—any decent right-thinking christian would say. Or shall we all leave Chardin dead cold, and start monachising ourselves in petty, picayune journalistic fashion?

BE OPEN, be open, be open... was the cry of the second Council of the Vatican in Rome, if we believed what we heard some years ago. But why are ignorant men becoming arrogant? Ignorance is a mask for arrogance.

You can't serve God and mammon, nor can you serve "Opening-to-the-left" (in the spirit of Pope John) and the Fatima International and its Imperialist stooges.

More about that paper next time.

Comet Kohoutek Ltd.,

Comet Kohoutek Ltd., a British concern, offers people shares at two pounds each. The firm's manager, declared at a ceremony held to mark the issue of one million shares that the holders would receive, together with the "right" to part ownership of this comet or its tail, a tennis shirt.

THE POLONNARUWA COLOSSUS-I

AN ANCIENT STATUE

— a critique —

By James T. Rutnam

This is the first instalment of the paper presented by Mr. James T. Rutnam at the Fourth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies held in Jaffna from January 3 to 9, 1974. This paper entitled THE POLONNARUWA COLOSSUS—A CRITIQUE ON AN ANCIENT STATUE. The statue has been the subject of a great deal of controversy in recent years and Mr. Rutnam's paper throws a great deal of light on it.

The colossal statue carved on the side of a gneiss boulder at Polonnaruwa a short distance away from the bund of the Topaveva, and facing the ruins of a building known presently as Potugal-Vehera, is one of the most outstanding pieces of sculpture in Ceylon. It has been described by J. Ph. Vogel as "perhaps the greatest work of art found in Ceylon."

"Popular tradition", it is said, claims (although erroneously as will be shown below) that this statue is that of King Parakrama Bahu I (known as the Great) of Ceylon (1153-1186). It is very strange that there is no confirmation or even a suggestion that this is so in the early records.

IT MUST be stated here that Dr. Senarat Paranavithana had made a sensational announcement in 1971 in his book "Art of the Ancient Sinhalese" as follows: "In a document we have recently read it is stated that this was a portrait of Vijaya Bahu I (1055-1110)".

This would have settled all controversy but, where is the "document" and what is the "document"? Paranavithana himself explains in the Preface to this book that in the "identification and dating of some of the sculptures the author had made use of the information contained in documents which have been written at various dates on inscriptions of earlier date in minute characters which he has recently deciphered. The text of these documents is awaiting publication".

Most unfortunately Paranavithana is now dead, and we are at a loss to know whether the reported "document" will be forthcoming for critical examination.

Paranavithana's discovery of similar interlined inscriptions elsewhere have been subjected to various tests and critical examination by eminent scholars and the consensus of opinion is that these so-called "documents" are unacceptable. In one particular case Dr. R. A. L. D. Gunawardene after a careful and thorough examination of the source material utilised by

Paranavithana had declared that "the foundation on which Paranavithana has built his theories is most unreliable".

No other scholar has suggested that the statue is a portrait of Vijaya Bahu I. Paranavithana's claim rests on a dubious foundation. With the verdict of Gunawardena before us on a similar matter we are obliged regretfully to ignore Paranavithana in this connection. We should also note that there is no reference to this amazing handiwork of man (nor any clue to its identity) in the national chronicles *Mahavamsa* or *Culavamsa* or among the lithic inscriptions.

POLONNARUWA is the Sinhalese name for *Pulasthi nagara* (Pali) meaning the City of *Pulasthi* (a Hindu Sage). Edmund Gunaratne had given a fanciful derivation of Polonnaruwa as originating from *Polon* (polanga)—*na* (cobra)—and *ruwa* (image), but this is not supported by any literary or archaeological evidence nor even by "tradition".

The earliest lithic record of human habitation at this place is a short cave inscription of the 1st century A.D. Polonnaruwa was known as *Jana-natha-puram* (also *Jana-natha-mangalam*) when it was the provincial capital of the Cola Empire which held sway over Ceylon at the beginning of the

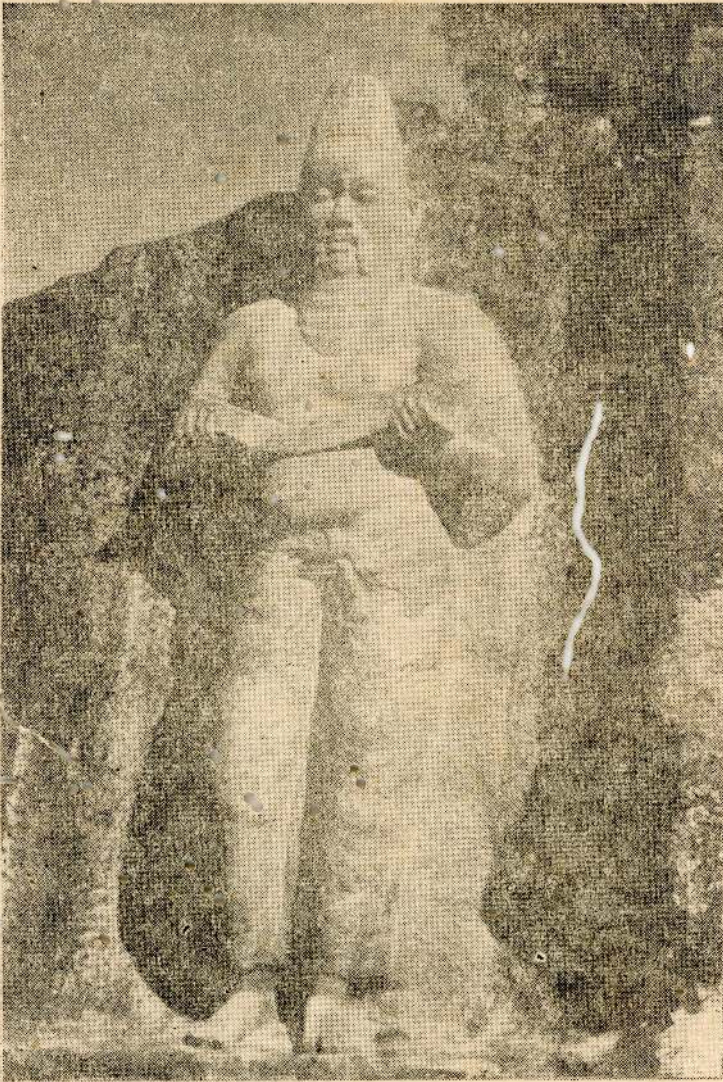
eleventh century. **Vijaya Bahu I** (1056-1111) named it *Vijaya-raja-pura*. But the original name does not seem to have been abandoned, for the Tamil abbreviation *Pulainari* is found in eleventh and twelfth century Tamil inscriptions at Polonnaruwa as the alternate name for *Jana-nathapuram* and *Vijaya-raja-pura*.

In the Siva Devale No. 2 Tamil inscription attributed to the eleventh century *Pulainari* is an alternative name for *Jana-natha-puram*. In the twelfth century Tamil slab inscription of the Vellaikaras *Pulainari* had been used as an alternative to *Vijayaraja-pura* and in the twelfth century Tamil Pillar inscription in the monastery near the North Gate of the city *Pulainari* is given as the name of the city.

In the twelfth century Sinhalese pillar inscription at Kapuru Vedu Oya in the Matale District there is a reference to *Polon-nakuru*. The *Epigraphia Zeylanica* commenting on this states that here "the influence of Tamil is evident." It proceeds to see in the word *Polon-nakuru* a hybrid compound of *Elu* (Polon) and *Sanskrit* (*nagara*). What does *Polon* in *Elu* mean? Is there really a word like that in *Elu*? We are advised that this will be very difficult to substantiate.

There is however a solitary record appearing among the Sigiri graffiti reputed to be of the eighth to the tenth century to suggest that the name Polonnaruwa was known earlier. According to Paranavithana these graffiti read "Svasti Polonnaruyen a Je (t-ma) lami me gi limi" which he translates, "Hail. I am Je (t-ma)la who came from polonnaru. I wrote this verse". From the "somewhat cursive" character of the script Paranavithana assigns it to the second half of the eighth century. He had also observed that "the wearing away of the plaster and lines scratched by visitors of a later date have obscured the writing to some extent, but the whole record can, with some difficulty, be deciphered satisfactorily" (italics added). In these circumstances one would have to be cautious in accepting the name and assigned date of this record.

Apart from this instance, there is no record either lithic or literary that gives Polonnaruwa as the city's name during or before the



Whose statue is it?

twelfth century. The first mention of Polonnaruwa in any Sinhalese work is in the *Pujavaliya* of the 13th century. But in the 14th century, Sinhalese literary works such as the *Daladapujavaliya* and *Nikaya-sanghrava*, and in the 15th century *Sad dharmaratnakaraya* refer to Polonnaruwa as *Pulatthipura* as well.

The most recent rendering "polonnaru" introduced by Paranavitana in his latest works is not

far different from the Tamil *pulaniari*. The suggestion made by Paranavitana that Polonnaruwa was probably *Vijitapura* of the Duttha Gamini campaign has still to find confirmation. In the map of ancient Ceylon published by Wilhelm Geiger in his edition of the *Mahavamsa*, *Vijitapura* is shown quite apart noted from *Pulatthi-nagara* and some miles away. H. W. Codrington had noted that in the twelfth century there was a 'suburb

of Polonnaruwa which went by the name of *Vijitha*."

According to the *Mahavamsa* the Tamils under Elara fought a rear-guard action against Duttha Gamini along the banks of the Mahaweli-ganga until they threw themselves into *Vijithapura*, the siege of which took four months. Evidently the Dravidians had entrenched themselves in this area from (if not before) the time of Elara. Vogel had suggested a Dravidian influx from Trincomalee colonising this place.

The earliest reference to *Pulatthi-nagara* in the *Culavamsa* is in connection with the building of a *vehera* at this place by King Aggabodhi III (624-141) when he "victoriously subdued the foe in battle. The city has a recorded history extending for six or seven centuries. It was probably laid waste by malaria before it was totally submerged by the jungle tide early in the 14th century. It remained virtually hidden for nearly five centuries until it was re-discovered during the British occupation at the beginning of the last century.

It appears to have been unknown to the Portuguese and the Dutch.

There are however further references to *Pulatthi-nagara* in the *Culavamsa*, one of which relates to a visit paid by King Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1747-1781) to this place. The *Culavamsa* states, "in order to honour with sacrifices the beautiful *cetiyas* and *viharas* erected by the Lord of men Parakrama in superb *Pulatthi-nagara*, the highly famed King rich in faith, betook himself thither with a great retinue and sacrificed to them in the right way."

In 1820, on 28th of June that year, Lieut. Fagan of "His Majesty's Second Ceylon Regiment" stumbled into some of the ruins of Polonnaruwa, probably having lost his way in the jungle during his march with a detachment from Batticaloa. An interesting account (from a journal kept by Fagan) of this historic event when for the first time Polonnaruwa woke up from a slumber of centuries is given by Fagan.

At this time Polonnaruwa seems to have been not remembered by that name. According to Fagan it was known as *Topary* a name

evidently associated with Topaveva. The population about this time, of this lonely outpost of humanity situated as it was on the fringe of a jungle that had submerged the ancient capital, counted only of thirty families aggregating 64 males and fifty females. In the course of years that followed, Topaveva has given place to Polonnaruwa again, the jungle has retreated, malaria has been overpowered and man has come into his own to take a legitimate pride in the achievement of his forerunners.

It must however be realised that for as long as half a millenium this ancient city had remained entombed and forgotten, the only recorded instance of it being noticed during this period being (as we have earlier stated) in the report of the visit of Kirti Sri Rajasinghe. The continuity of the historical process known as tradition would appear to have been broken. Tradition otherwise so helpful as a guide to the researcher could become under these circumstances unreliable and misleading. In several cases in Ceylon this has been proved true.

For example, the Northern Temple (*Tivanka Pillimage*) at Polonnaruwa was for long known as the *Demala Maha Seya*. But the *Demala Maha Seya* described in the *Culavamsa* as the *Mahathupa* (being the largest on record) has now being positively identified as the "enormous tope immediately north of the Gal Vihara."

The standing rock-statue at Gal-Vehera was a subject of similar controversy with regard to identity. A. M. Hocart apparently settled this issue with the following words, "The theory that the standing figure at Gal-Vehera, Polonnaruwa is Ananda weeping over the dying Buddha has so caught the popular imagination that it has become almost an article of faith. The archaeologist however owes allegiance to facts and not to sentiment..." And the "fact" is as Hocart continues, "the figure is simply a standing Buddha, one of the three positions in which he is represented."

Another example, is that of the Siva Devale No. 1. For long, "Tradition" had insisted upon it being called the Dalada Maligawa of Polonnaruwa. But now all doubts have been finally cleared and this

beautiful work of Pandyan art is acknowledged to be the Siva Devale No. 1 built during the twelfth century.

There is a "tradition" that Nissanka-Malla (1187-1196) had built it. Codrington has written: "Sinhalese kings like Mahinda II (787-807) and Sena II (866-901) have put up temples for Hindu Gods". Parakrama Bahu had himself built the Hemamandira "for the carrying out of the ceremonies of expiation by the Brahmanas," and the "charming" Dharanigara for "the recitation of magic incantations". Those ceremonies and incantations were Brahmanical and therefore Hindu practices.

Could Parakrama Bahu have also built the Siva Devale No. 1? Tamil and Hindu influences had permeated extensively in Ceylon during this time. Even the guardians of the Tooth Relic were Tamils, the Velaikkaras, who almost claimed proprietary rights over this palladium of national sovereignty.

It should be realised that Parakrama Bahu, who had generally supported Panva against the Cola in South India, was patrilineally a Pandyan Tamil, his father being the son of full-blooded Tamil, a Pandyan Prince.

Hence the following extract referring to Parakrama Bahu and Siva Devale No. 1 from a book entitled *Old Ceylon* by Reginold Farrer quoted with evident approval by H. C. P. Bell in his Report is of interest. Farrer wrote:

Tradition calls this lovely jewel of stonework the Dalada Maligawa of Polonnaruwa asserting that this was the Shrine of the Tooth-Relic. Tradition here, as so often in hardly re-discovered Polonnaruwa lies; for the temple is not Sinhalese but Tamil of the finest; it is not Buddhist but Hindu; it is not a shrine of the Tooth-Relic, but a small temple of Siva, the Destroyer. The Tooth-Relic we know was treasured in the Wata-da-ge, and in all probability the Sivite shrine, so beautiful and ornate is some family chapel of Parakrama Bahu the Great, who for all his cult of Buddhism and its ancient monuments never severed, so far as we are told, (and of course we should be told with a flourish of trumpets if he had) from the faith of his Indian forefathers. It is

indeed characteristic of oriental tolerance that such a monarch as Parakrama should thus revere and foster the faith of the land while adhering to his own; and, no less than so omnipotent a church as that of Lanka, should have not only accepted the benefactions of an infidel, but also have allowed his own shrines stand close to the churches of the True Faith" (Italics added).

John Still, a former Assistant Archaeological Commissioner under Bell and a meticulous student of the *Mahavamsa* had written, "The monk historian tells us as soon as Parakrama was firmly established on the throne he began to reform the Buddhist church and to build monasteries. Frequent mention is made of his patronage of the Brahmanas. It is easy to reconcile these statements when it is remembered that Parakrama was himself of the Hindu religion and was not a Sinhalese. Doubtless he has to conciliate both sections of his supporters."

We further wrote that of Parakrama Bahu's ancestors in the sixth-generation forty-two were foreigners and twenty-two Sinhalese.

(To be Continued)

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SHAMBA

On Hunger

Anatory, Bukoba

March 24,

Arrived I at the Shamba to find, as I had been warned, that the new house was empty. The next day I saw that about a third of the surface had been treated with water in such a way as to make it quite different from the rest of the floor; in fact, it now looked more like the floor of a house, as a floor should be, and a perfect place in which to lay a mat. The occupant had gone but he had first built up the walls with a few more cadjans.

A thief had been in again; he had removed a pillow and a china cup from the old house. The house wife, desperate for food, had gone out that day, with her two children, to try to find work. She said she had been three days without food when I had arrived. I can only take her word for it; she and the children do not by any means look as if they have been starving; perhaps their cheerful looks are just that they are glad to see me back.

I found later that it was hunger that had driven my new companion away. He has started his job in a new place after an absence of two months, and it will be a month before he gets his first pay. He had joined forces with the housewife, and the food just would not go round. They both complained of this, but the whole idea of joining forces had been to make the food last. I rather feel that our housewife eats when she can, with no idea of sparing out what she has, with two children around, she has no choice. I should say: the money or the food goes in one lot. Hers may be a better theology, but to me it is like tempting, or putting to the test, providence too far. On her philosophy, she has not done too badly.

With the money I have, I think I shall have to give our housewife what I can and leave early. This way, the money will last out longer I hope. It depends on whether she will spend it all at once. I have, anyway, a certain amount of work to do in another place, and in the circumstances it would be better done this week than next, I suppose.

A job I have had to do was to fetch a bull from a government farm. The choice made, and the money paid, a health certificate for the bull had to be made out, and then I had to get a District Revenue Officer's permit to move the animal. I was given three days to do this, but the waggon on the railway had already been booked. I travelled down with the bull, and did the journey in his waggon.

Once the doors were shut and sealed, I could only get in and out through the top, on one side or the other, which ever side the platform was on. This meant at times climbing out and in where the bull's head was. Fortunately this bull was not of an age where he wanted to butt. I would not have had any peace if I had not been with the bull all the time; I would certainly have lost him with all the shutting that had to be done at various stations. In this case the cattle truck had to be uncoupled a station before the one to which it was looked. I may not have known this if I had travelled separately, with the whole length of the train between my compartment and his truck. The biggest trouble we had with the bull was when we tried get him out of the lorry at the end of the final stage of our journey. Luckily he got through that without an accident.

Tonight I heard a rather good orchestra with singing. The whole orchestra was a tea chest, and it sounded as good as drums as I have heard in my life. Through the middle at one end passed a string, that has attached to a wooden rod that was held upright on a corner of the box, and from this string the most melodious sounds came when it was played with the finger. Even I could produce these sounds. Deep they were like a double bass as I think they are called. The drummers were expert, and they and the tea chest would not have disgraced The Jetliners. This kind of ingenuity or improvisation if it was done in all fields would turn Ceylon into a leading country overnight.

March 25,

When a person just eats enough food to keep herself going, it must be difficult to do field work. Hunger is a serious problem; it affects not only the body, but also the mind, and a hungry man must

want to do only what cannot be avoided. So it must be with our housewife and the work on the Shamba.

The weather during the day is really blazing hot, much hotter than it seemed this time last year. It must be difficult to work in such weather. One corner of the roof of the new house has not been done yet. The old house is said to leak. It nearly rained today; the way the clouds built themselves up, it would have been a cloud-burst if it had.

So weary was I, I had to get two spells of sleep before I could get what I have just written for the day down. I have no idea how long I slept each time.

Our river makes fine bathing, particularly where I do it just as with the woods or the jungle, examining river bottoms, just by bringing stones to the surface to have a look at them, can be very instructive. There seems to be a whole new life on a river bottom.

More kaddays or shops seem to be opening up around here, but I know that one or two of the older ones seem to find it difficult to restock themselves. One man asked me for Rs. 200/- worth of stock, but I have just not got the money. Our farm does not have much food to spare. There seems less than there was this time last year. About the only item of food that seems to have come down in price are plantains; I even bought some fair-sized *Ambuls* today for ten cents, but most cost fifteen; and there seem to be still one or two places that keep their prices high about twenty cents.

The spirit of the people seems good. The harsh measures of the government seem to have gone down a well. Most people seem to think that the cost of living and the shortages must get worse before then can get better, and that if they do not, things will never really get better at all. They seem to think that the island must go through a hard time first, and they expect the situation to be very much improved in a year's time. Even the total ban on the transport of rice and paddy has been beneficial in some places although in other places matters have got worse; but even where the situation is better, all sections of the community have not benefited in the same way. Over

Muthurajawela

is very difficult for people to do without infringing the rules.

As for me, I am hungry while I write this, and I know that whatever I buy, if I can buy anything at all, is not going to fill my tummy. In towns, certain types of buns that used to cost twenty cents, now cost fifty cents. Eat ten of these and you will have spent as much as you will earn in a day. Two rice and curries costs as much as most people would earn in a day, if you buy them in a *kadday*, generally people look thin, but they still have remarkable resilience. There is something almost supernatural about the whole business.

Today someone gave me some soya bean coffee. It tasted just like ordinary coffee, or even better. I had it without milk, and I hear it can be drunk with milk. The beans have to be roasted to a turn, I was told, not more, not less, and then the process is the same, I gathered, as ordinary coffee. Coffee, like tea, is a drug; not so soya bean, which is a food.

This reminds me of the sorghum cakes I have eaten in another place; a distinct flavour it had, but the consistency of the cake was good. As for the taste, it should be no more difficult to acquire a taste for sorghum than it does for beer or stout, Worthington or Bass. When I set out to do this day's stint of writing, I just wondered what I could write about. It may be the time, I have no idea what of the night it is, or even if my bus has gone, but I seem somehow to have managed.

LETTER

MUTHURAJAWELA

Economic Development Plan

Sir,

I read with interest the article entitled "Muthurajawela: what is its potential" in the "Tribune" of 13th April 1974.

Quite recently I met Mr. K. Albert Perera, a one time Roman Catholic priest, now turned farmer and living in the Muthurajawela area, who has a very novel, cheap and practical scheme for its development. I herewith enclose his report which I have already brought to the notice of the Ministry.

As the old Dutch Canal which is still navigable flows through this area, it is the ideal region for market gardening and all the produce could be brought by boat to the proposed new vegetable market at Thotagawa, eliminating the need for expensive lorry transport. This area could produce all the vegetable needs of the city. What is needed is the organising of the poor people of the area into units of co-operative mixed vegetable fruit and inland fish farmers.

Mr. Perera is an experienced apiarist whose services are available to any one interested in Bee-Keeping.

Mrs. Helen Suriapperuma

32, Frances Road,
Colombo 6.
20.4.64

Copy of Letter to Ministry

It has been realised that the growing of paddy in the Muthurajawela has been, on the whole, a failure due to saline deposits and other reasons (ref; Kumarasuriya Report, and Report by a French Engineer in 1966.

The Kumarasuriya Report and that of the French Engineer, and practical experience too, recommend the Muthurajawela for residential vegetable farmers. Thus the following procedure for the economic development of this marshyland appears to be most realistic and practical one, which I myself have personally tried on a small scale and have found most successful, as anyone can see if he visits my homestead vegetable farm in the marshes of the Muthurajawela. I reside on the said land.

1. Ditches 15 ft. broad and 4ft deep should be dug heaping up bunds alongside 15ft. broad and 4ft. high. (500 yds. of bunds to an acre)
2. Plantains—7ft. apart in 2 rows 8ft. part, should be planted. (420 to an acre)
3. Sugar Cane—Should be planted along the sea-ward edge at 3ft. distance. (500 per acre) This serves two purposes. (a) protection for the plantain trees against strong winds. (b) pro-

duce for sale as cane, treatle or Jaggery.

4. Since there is always water in the trenches prawns and fish could be reared.
5. Common ducks—could be reared with profit.
6. Vegetables—such as ladies fingers long beans, tomatoes, bittergourd, labu and even sweet potatoes and manioc could be grown.

The cost of preparing an acre of land is in the region of Rs. 5000/-

Annual Profits

Plantains—

420 bunches at 10/-
each Rs. 4,200.00

Sugar Cane—

20,000 canes at 05 cts.
each Rs. 10,000.00
Rs. 14,200.00

Plus income from Vegetables prawns and ducks etc;

K. Albert Perera

Avarakotuwa,
Muthurajawela,
Hendala.
25.2.74

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IS IT TRUE?

Sherlock Holmes

* TOURISM IN SPAIN

* TAXIS, BUSES & JITNEYS

IS IT NOT TRUE that Spain which was regarded as "the bargain-basement" for cheap tourism in Europe has shown distinct signs of disliking some of the foreign tour-operators particularly those from Britain? That Spanish tourist authorities had become indignant at the remarks made by Lord Thompson that any Mediterranean country would be glad to take over the role of making low-income tourists happy? That Spain has now come to a stage that it can be choosy? That in the past ten years it earned some \$ 13 billion from tourism? That Spanish economists had stated that saturation point had been reached last year when 34.5 millions visitors spent \$ 3.2 billion? That even before the fuel crisis, Spanish tourism authorities had been urging the government to stop or reduce the influx of low-income package tourists especially from Britain? That it was said that they usually paid for their fortnight's holiday in London whereas the French and others who usually spent a month paid their bills in Spain?

IS IT NOT ALSO A FACT that many Spanish environmentalists have expressed fears that the tourist juggernaut may turn out to be a frankenstein? That tourism has already devastated miles of coastline and "distorted public - works expenditure to the detriment of untouristic regions?" That the average man in Spain, according to a report in *The Economist*, 13/4/74, blames tourism for the soaring cost of food, land and housing and even the unprecedented crime-wave? That parents and teachers complain that adolescents are tempted to abandon their studies and seek easy money in bars and hotels?

That "foreign tour operators re convenient scapegoats for all

that Spaniards consider cheap and nasty in the tourist industry"? That British and German tour operators bring their clients to Spain in charter flights and take over entire hotels? That they guarantee hotel owners a longer season than they could achieve otherwise? That some operators make loans to hoteliers to encourage them to expand and even build new hotels? That in return they get cut-price rates and in some cases a percentage of the bar-takings and a rake-off from excursions and purchases? That a report prepared last year for a regional tourist authority in Spain gave a gruesome account of the tour-operator's impact on an important centre? That "the food these tourists eat is carefully selected—bruised vegetables, poorest quality sausages, fourth category meat... At night, in the town centre residents are appalled to see drunken tourists vomiting and even fighting in the street"? That one hotelier had said that he was told by a British tour-operator: "Our clients are not interested in food and they are not used to restaurant meals. Dont give them table napkins—they'll think they are souvenir handkerchiefs"? That Spanish critics say that many hoteliers, seduced by tour-operators, have expanded too fast and are now balancing dangerously on perilous financial tight ropes? That Spain by catering to bottom-of-the-barrel tourists has reduced its tourism and undermined moral as well material standards?

That, as against this, British commentators say that the cause for all this was in Madrid and not in London? That for over 15 years Spain had not been interested in quality but had wanted to break quantitative records? That the present malady of the Spanish tourist

industry stemmed directly from the deliberate and conscious policy Madrid had followed in catering to low income tourists? That it was too late in the day to complain about this? That owing to the inflationary spiral in the world there was a sharp drop in low-income package tours? That this was one reason why Spain was now thinking of richer tourists who paid more for quality? That all this has a great many lessons for Sri Lanka? That the euphoria presently enveloping tourism in this country might vanish sooner than many people imagine?

IS IT NOT TRUE that taxi fares in London rose by 26 percent in the first week of April? That a journey of one mile in London taxi now costs 35 pence? That this is just a wee bit over a third of a pound sterling? That in terms of Sri Lanka rupees 35 pence meant about Rs. 8 on the FECCs rate and about Rs. 11 on the current black-market rate? That this London taxi fare was in any case cheaper than taxi fares in New Ycrk, Paris Brussels or Hamburg? That, in London, cab-owners expect to earn their keep in future mainly from tourists? That in these circumstances most people have no choice but to ride a bus at 3 pence a mile? That whereas in London there is no quantitative check on the number of taxis, in most other big cities the number of taxis are controlled? That this tends to inflate fares? That in Toronto, for instance, taxi licences change hands £ 6000 apiece and in New York they can cost as much as a seat on the stock exchange? That in Copenhagen the Taxa Company has a monopoly? That in Los Angeles, where a driver is not allowed to pick up a fare outside his district, a customer has to pay about \$ 20 for a 20-minute ride?

That in many cities throughout the world the minicab has come to stay? That in other countries a small public transport vehicle called a jitney has been put on the road? That though the jitney is about the size of a large taxi it carries five to eight passengers? That the jitney has many advantages over the minibus or microbus? That in Teheran the jitney has increased traffic by 250 percent whilst halving the over-strained and over-crowded bus services? That in Istanbul jitney and minibus services carry more passengers than buses?