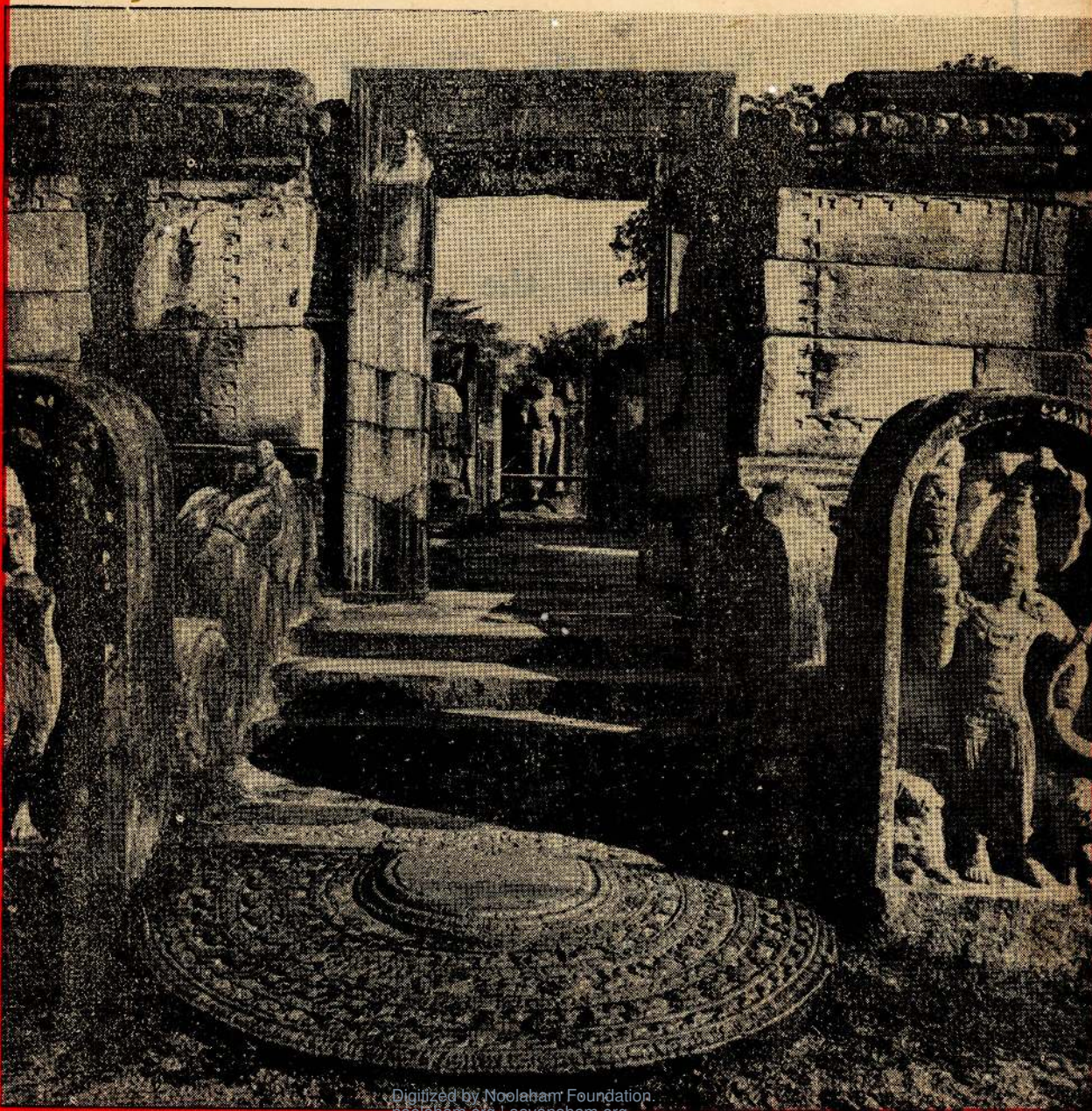


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Letter From The Editor

CRUCIAL EVENTS of great significance were stalemated in a state of animated suspension until last Sunday and Monday, and neither analysis nor comment were feasible until there was a determination, however temporary, in respect of the important question whether the LSSP was to be in or out of the Cabinet. The SLFP-LSSP inner United Front confrontation—on which *Tribune* has devoted a great deal of space in recent weeks—moved to a climax last week. The latest crisis had begun with the speeches made by the LSSP leaders—Dr. N. M. Perera, and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva—on the 1953 Hartal Commemoration Day meeting on August 12 at the new Town Hall in Colombo. These two veterans had fired polemical broadsides against sensitively important sections of the SLFP under the cover of a thesis on the 1953 Hartal. In this attempt to tell the history of the fifties in the way LSSP publicists would like history portrayed, the role of Bandaranaike and his election victory of April 1956 was slanted in a way that hurt the political susceptibilities of many SLFP leaders. The LSSP leaders had also made categorical statements about what the LSSP would do if the nationalisation of foreign-owned estates was not done in the way the LSSP thought it essential. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, did not let this *faux pas* on the part of two of the topmost leaders of the LSSP pass without using it to her advantage in the current SLFP-LSSP tussle within the UF. For some months now, the PM had made it clear that the SLFP was the senior partner in the UF and that she was no longer in a mood (for a variety of reasons) to allow the LSSP tail wag the UF dog (as it had, in fact, been doing for five years after the UF had come to power). She had cancelled the Cabinet meeting on Wednesday August 13 and had sent a stiff letter to Dr. N. M. Perera in regard to some of the matters he had said in his Hartal Day speech. She also released this letter to the press (and the public) on the next day and the LSSP thereby was put into an embarrassing position. The LSSP had tried, at first, to resort, to the customary war of nerves with threats to quit the Government (and a whispering campaign about fanciful fantasies strikes and other forms of industrial strife) which earlier had been enough to bring the PM half way down to a compromise solution. But this time the campaign did not produce a compromise. The PM now seemed determined to bring the LSSP to heel and make it accept SLFP leadership as supreme in the UF. The air was also full of rumours that the LSSP would take a tough line and show the PM and the SLFP where they got off. The LSSP reply was hourly expected everyday from August 15 but none was forthcoming. The Minister of Plantation Industries, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, in his own way had tried to soften the PM by writing to her explaining certain matters which had come up in the speeches on Hartal Day. It was a conciliatory and softly worded letter. The PM had replied in the same conciliatory manner, but made it clear that she expected a full, complete and unconditional retraction by Dr. N. M. Perera on matters she had complained about and that she expected assurances of LSSP good behaviour. With the Colvin-PM correspondence as a backdrop, the long awaited LSSP reply was sent to the PM on Tuesday August 19. It was an apologetic letter with a remorseful "I am sorry". The letter did not refer to all the points raised by the PM and the LSSP had thought that the "I'm sorry" would cover all Dr. Perera's sins. The PM, however, seemed determined to carry out what she is said to have felt like doing for a long time: to reshuffle the Cabinet. It was significant that at this juncture the Constitutional Court had held that the Prime Minister had the power to assign duties to the different Ministers and that a provision in the Constitution which had militated against this Prime Ministerial power was ultra vires of the Constitution. In reply to the LSSP letter (Dr. N. M. Perera's) the Prime Minister had stated that she wanted to re-allocate Ministerial functions and had offered two of the three LSSP Ministers portfolios different from what they had held for the last five years. It is reported that the LSSP had unofficially suggested that three other LSSPers be made Ministers instead of the three who had functioned as Ministers from 1970. The PM, it is reported, had not agreed to this suggestion, and with the LSSP unwillingness to accept the re-allocation of portfolios, a new era in the contemporary political scene is likely to come into being. ON THE COVER, we have a picture of one of the most famous ruins of Polonnaruwa. This is not to suggest that every turning point in the history of Sri Lanka is marked by ruins, but to remind ourselves that we must not dwell too long on the glories of our ruins (and the past) but to concentrate on building a new life for the present and the future.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

LSSP's Case: CIA To Blame?

THESE NOTES are being written when the final decision on the matters under review in the SLFP-LSSP crisis have either not been made, or if already made, have not been made public. The air is thick with rumours in the city of Colombo, about proclamations in a Gazette Extraordinary, about last-minute summits, and about on-the-brink compromises. Communist Party leaders have called for a Summit of the three UF partners to find a compromise solution which will enable the United Front to continue as before. The CP thesis is that the UF parties should not succumb to the "de-stabilisation" devices and intrigues of the reactionaries. Some SLFP Ministers like Mr. T. B. Subasinghe would like to find a solution for the difficult problem of the Ministry of Finance which the LSSP feels is the one portfolio which it must have to remain inside the UF. A few SLFP backbenchers, known as the Janavegaya group, are reported to have sounded the Prime Minister about compromise solutions, but it is said that she had been very firm, and had told them why it was too late to think about "compromises" which meant appeasement. It is not unlikely that the LSSP will make one last attempt to revive a suggestion made unofficially earlier—that three other LSSP members should replace the old Ministers in the new Ministries to be assigned by the PM. Reports in political circles indicate that the Prime Minister is not enamoured about this suggestion—that she was not likely to bring in new MPs to take over Ministerial functions.

In the meantime, the first manifestations of defections as a result of this crisis have appeared in the LSSP. Deputy Minister Neale de Alwis, one of the oldest adherents of the LSSP, has quit the LSSP, and political circles will be not be surprised if he crosses over to the SLFP. There are rumours and stories that other LSSP vips are also likely to follow in the footsteps of Neale de Alwis. The chief organiser of the LSSP in the

Uva, Wijeyadasa Soysa, also quit the Party but the LSSP claim that he had quit because he had been earlier sacked from the Party and the CTB Board. It is always a difficult to know which came first, the chicken or the egg, but it would be profitless at this juncture to probe the current troubles besetting the LSSP and Wijeyadasa Soysa.

The LSSP case in regard to the SLFP-LSSP crisis was set out in two issues of the Nation. In its issue of August 15, the Nation had a front page piece with the heading **VERBAL DUEL IN UF. HARTAL MEETING SPEECH PRODUCES TENSE SITUATION.** This is what the article stated:

Reports prominently featured in the daily press that Dr. N. M. Perera had, in the course of a speech at the Hartal Commemoration meeting on Tuesday at the New Town Hall, made a declaration that the LSSP would withdraw from the United Front Government if the Sterling Company estates were not properly nationalised, gave rise to a major escalation of tension in the United Front, perhaps the most severe in the lifetime of the United Front Government. Wednesday's weekly Cabinet meeting was postponed indefinitely and Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike went into immediate consultation with her principal SLFP Cabinet Ministers. Later in the morning she had a meeting with the President, whom she called at the Janadhipathi Mandiraya. The city was full of rumours of varying content throughout Wednesday and Thursday until a letter from the Prime Minister to her Finance Minister was released to the press by the Department of Information and was carried in full by some evening Newspapers.

According to Wednesday's *Dinamina* which carried a lengthy report of Dr. Perera's speech, the LSSP leader stated that his party had accepted ministerial portfolios to perform a job of work in relation to the people and not to play about. If the people were ready to go ahead along the Socialist road and to sacrifice, what was the difficulty in implementing a progressive programme? Rather than permit reaction to raise its head again, the LSSP was ready to take such decisions as were in the people's interest.

Dr. Perera is also reported as having said that some people carry out nationalisation measures as a

means of perpetuating their names. The LSSP desired that nationalisation should be done correctly and that nationalised property should be regarded as the wealth of the people. "It was we who through the hartal thrashed the capitalist class and demonstrated it. Though the winning of the active support of the masses was no easy task, today the United Front Government has won greater power than it expected for the programme of nationalisation. We are today enjoying the fruits of the struggle that the heroic working class has carried on and we are not ready to betray the tasks of the struggle that still remain." Dr. Perera traced the history of events that preceded the Hartal of 1953 and said that the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike could have been Prime Minister in 1947 if he had been willing to break with the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, who had no clear majority after the 1947 elections. He said that, at that time, Mr. Bandaranaike had no confidence in the Left parties and he thought that, if he joined a coalition with the Left, he would be a prisoner in their hands. It was the Hartal of 1953 that paved the way for the popular triumph of 1956. In the early period after the formation of the Government of 1956 several progressive measures were taken. But the failure to break the capitalist property system had its consequences, including the death of Mr. Bandaranaike.

The Prime Minister's letter to the Finance Minister stated that she was shocked to read the morning newspaper reports of the speeches made by him and other speakers at the Hartal Commemoration meeting. As Prime Minister and Leader of the United Front Government, she could not allow "constituent parties of the United Front to attack the Sri Lanka Freedom Party... particularly when these attacks are directed against the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, myself or my Ministers, in such a manner as to mislead the public into a wrong belief that progressive policies in this country only became possible because of the participation of your party in the progressive policies initiated by the late Mr. Bandaranaike." She said that she appreciated the distress of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Dr. Perera over her decision to entrust the nationalisation of the estates to Mr. Kobbekaduwa, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands.

LSSP Explanation

The nationalisation of the estates was an extension of the programme of Land Reform which began in 1971 and the necessary "legislative and implementational steps" would be taken by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands.

The attempt of the LSSP to show that the SLFP was opposed to nationalisation was without foundation. The programme of nationalisation commenced in 1956, at a time when the co-operation of the LSSP was not available on account of ideals which it had held at that time and subsequently abandoned, like parity of language status, citizenship for all persons of Indian origin, armed struggle and revolution. Dr. Perera himself had been opposed to the nationalisation of the banks during the discussions on programme before the 1970 elections. It was regrettable that members of his party should be making public statements that certain SLFP Ministers were impeding the nationalisation of the banks. Even the initiative for land reform came from the SLFP. Mr. Kobbekaduwa had implemented a decision taken by them without any ulterior motives of creating an empire for himself or acquiring personal glory or immortality.

The Prime Minister stated further that Dr. Perera's attack on the SLFP was not limited to the nationalisation of the estates. He had thought fit to denigrate the position of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and successive Governments led by her. "It is quite true that Mr. Bandaranaike did not agree to lead a heterogeneous group devoid of an agreed policy line to form a Government in 1947. You can imagine what the result would have been had he agreed." Mrs. Bandaranaike concluded as follows: "You will appreciate that this kind of vituperative politics must cease immediately if the United Front in the next two years is to function efficiently as a Government. I must have your assurance on this matter immediately if we are to continue to work together as a front. Meanwhile I shall be grateful if you will hold in abeyance your plans to leave for the Commonwealth Finance Ministers Conference and the IMF and World Bank Conferences."

In its issue of August 22, the Nation had another frontpage lead entitled FINANCE HAS BECOME AN ISSUE? LSSP UNLIKELY TO CONCEDE and the comment read as follows:

It now seems certain that the LSSP, whose Central Committee meets on Saturday morning, will reject the Prime Minister's offer of alternative Ministries to those which the Ministers of Finance and Transport hold today. The LSSP feels that even in case of the Ministry of Plantations, it will be a half-empty shell since the moves that have been made in the name of nationalising the plantation companies are intended to remove the bulk of the plantations out of the Ministry into other hands. It is reported that the LSSP feels strongly that the purpose of the so-called "reconstitution of the Government" is, in fact, to deprive the party of the responsibilities and areas of influence entrusted to it at the time of the formation of the United Front Government in May 1970.

It is understood that the Prime Minister has expressed her dissatisfaction with the performance of the LSSP Ministers of Finance and Transport, while she has accepted that the Ministry of Plantations has been efficiently administered. The LSSP comments that it is precisely in the Ministry of Plantations, despite its acknowledged efficiency, that the authority of the Minister has been side-stepped and a basic reform affecting the entire structure of the plantations announced in the form of gazetted regulations without so much as a reference to him. This itself casts doubt on the criteria of efficiency adopted. It is well known, however, that the Finance Ministry has shown a distinctiveness and dynamism during the last five years that have not been previously displayed. The Inland Revenue Department, for instance, has been functioning with a verve and determination and effectiveness that could only spring from the enthusiasm of the employees in the department. The Gem Corporation and the Distilleries Corporation have been outstandingly successful, as have been the Toddy Tappers' Co-operatives in Jaffna. The Banking System has experienced an expansion in both area and functions that have attracted widespread comment. What appears curious is that the business community in general has never been reconciled to the present Finance Ministry and there have been protests that the officials of the Ministry have been severe on violators of the tax laws. Further, the tax measures that were announced in the 1975 Budget which were passed

in Parliament have, strangely, not yet been passed into law.

In the case of the Ministry of Transport, it is well known that the CTB and Railways were handed over by the UNP Government to the United Front Government in 1970 in the most pitiable condition. Road transport services, particularly, depend in overwhelming measure on the management of the labour engaged in them. The packing of the CTB by the last UNP Government with political supporters who not only lacked in aptitude for the jobs given to them, but had reactionary and anti-social attitudes that made them a source of resistance to productive work-attitudes within the CTB administration. What the LSSP Ministry of Transport has, above all, been able to give to the CTB during the last five years, has been a remarkable improvement in the tasks of labour management and a stimulation of labour enthusiasm through participation in the tasks of management. This is not to minimise the progress that has been made in reorganising the CTB and improving its services. The same can be said in the case of the Railways, although it will still need time to recover from the gross neglect and the running-down of its rolling stock that has characterised the past.

But what is even more important according to the LSSP is, that the allocation of portfolios to the LSSP Ministers has been in terms of an understanding between the parties and as the result of negotiation between the Front leaders immediately after the great election victory of May 1970. The LSSP contends that the Prime Minister will be violating both the undertakings and the agreements by unilateral action of the kind that she appears to be taking. The Finance Ministry was offered specifically to Dr. N. M. Perera for the first time in 1964. At that time it included the External Resources Division that now belongs to the Ministry of Planning and the Department of Public Administration that belongs to the Ministry of that name today. The Finance Ministry was once more specifically promised to Dr. Perera in the course of the negotiations for the United Front prior to the 1970 elections. It cannot, therefore, be taken away from him without repudiating a specific agreement. The question that is being asked by the LSSP is what it is that has driven the Prime Minister

to make an issue of the Finance Ministry?

The LSSP, however, is not willing to concede that the problems within the United Front had stemmed from the acts of commission and omission of the LSSP itself *vis a vis* the SLFP. The Prime Minister and many of her senior Ministers have, for a long time now, frequently referred to the grievances they have against the LSSP especially about the manner in which LSSP loyalists have been pushed into the administrative setup and the managerial bureaucracy of governmental undertakings—to the detriment of supporters of the SLFP. This is neither the time nor the place to go into this question or to examine whether the LSSP had played a sectarian party role in the matters complained about.

But is interesting to note that the LSSP seems to allegedly attribute the current firmness shown by the PM in dealing with the crisis to the covert activities of the CIA in its attempts to "destabilise" progressive governments. In its issue of August 22, the *Nation* has a long article in its Notes & Comments column entitled CIA IN SOUTH ASIA. The article repeats what has been said of the CIA in recent times on a global basis and goes on to hint that the CIA had a role in "bringing down the Coalition Government of the SLFP-LSSP" in 1964. The article also suggests that the CIA may well have had a hand in the revolt of the Rightwing SLFP Ministers against S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1958/59. The concluding part of this article reads:

Today the CIA is deeply involved and committed in South Asia to a reversal of social policies and international alignments in the region. One does not require "proof" of this assertion as in a court of law. It is very clear that these are the aims of US foreign policy. Otherwise why spend millions on Diego Garcia naval base? Where US foreign policy points, the CIA goes with its murder gangs and political demolition squads. The CIA acts independently of the diplomatic arm and not even an Embassy would be aware of its personnel and range of activities. In India, the Indo-Soviet Pact would have been the signal for the CIA to go into full-

scale action. The build-up on the political front against Mrs. Gandhi (not very dissimilar to the alliance headed by the UNP in the 1964-65 period) and then the intrusion of the Courts into the very centre of the conspiracy to oust her is the sort of action in which the CIA excels.

It is not suggested for a moment that the CIA is able to engineer social developments against the flow of events. What it does do is to intervene at the correct time and place and to shape the flow socio-political tendencies into events that would redound to the benefit of US foreign policy. It is able to achieve its results with so much skill because it is better informed about a country in which it is interested than perhaps the politicians of that very country. The CIA taps every available source of information, including research papers of US students and university dons. The US Congress was informed how sometimes blackmail was used to get researchers to co-operate with the CIA. We firmly believe that there was CIA involvement in the insurrection of 1971, in which caste was such a significant factor.

Following upon the heels of the events in India has come the tragic denouement in Bangladesh and the political crisis in Sri Lanka. Does anyone imagine that the timing of these events is purely coincidental? Just as we in this country were poised for the most far-reaching action in relation to the commanding heights of the economy has come a crisis which has taken the whole country by surprise and filled supporters of the United Front with dismay and foreboding. The news-papers, especially the Times Group, are busy creating the greatest possible mischief in a situation which might otherwise have been a minor ripple. Let us take heed even at this stage and act with circumspection and foresight.

Whether the SLFP and ordinary man will accept this thesis of the LSSP to explain current events is doubtful, but the fact that the LSSP has to sidetrack the charges made by the PM with the bogey of the CIA is an indication of LSSP's apologetic and defensive posture. The question that has been asked: how did Dr. N. M. Perera come to make the statements he made on August 12? And why?

The CIA has been very much in the news these days. The investigations going on within the USA itself provides ammunition to all

those who see in the CIA the greatest enemy of progressive politics and governments. Local papers in Sri Lanka, both from the Lake House and the Times groups have recently devoted a great deal of space to the activities of the CIA. Articles suggesting that the CIA was responsible for the murder of many world politicians have also been publicised. It was even stated in some foreign papers that the assassination of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was the work of the CIA. Proof in such matters can never be found or the guilt established: and subjective thinking may well play an important role.

American magazines, in the current phase of freedom permitted to the US press, have published the most sensational stories. In a recent issue of *Penthouse* (now a serious challenger of the *Playboy*), it was reported that Ted Szulz had allegedly disclosed that the CIA had planned to kill Chou En-lai during his visit to Rangoon in 1958. According to the story, poison was to be put into the rice to be served to Chou at an official reception, but at the last minute Washington is said to have stopped the operation. Why this revelation was made in the *Penthouse* at this stage is difficult to say except that there are persons who like to stress that there is a secret war going on between the USA and China, now hot, now cold, and now dormant. The number of books on the CIA in recent years has proliferated in a phenomenal manner and it has become hard to separate fact from fiction.

The question today is whether the LSSP can succeed in persuading the Prime Minister and the majority of the SLFP Ministers that the crisis within the UF was engineered by the CIA. The *Nation's* article was at pains to point out that the Americans and the CIA were building Diego Garcia as a major base to make a farce of Mrs. Bandaranaike Indian Ocean Peace Zone Plan.

It will be useful for the LSSP and other UF parties to critically examine their actions since 1970 to find out whether or not the present crisis stemmed from an arrogant LSSP desire to exercise more power than its due—made practically possible by the SLFP capacity to let power slip by default.

CHRONICLE

August 15 — August 21

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

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

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15: The LSSP politbureau met twice yesterday to consider the Prime Minister's letter sent to the Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, calling for explanation for certain statements Dr. Perera said to have made at the Hartal commemoration meeting on August 12: the Prime Minister in her letter to the Finance Minister has said that vituperative politics must cease immediately if the United Front in the next two years to function efficiently as a Government and wanted Dr. Perera's assurance on this matter immediately: the Premier has also asked the Minister to hold in abeyance his plans to leave for the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference and the IMF and World Bank conferences—CDN. LSSP circles informed the *Virakesari* that the Minister of Finance nor any of his representative will be present for the IMF and World Bank conferences and the Ministers will send his reply to the Prime Minister tomorrow: according to what the LSSP circles have told *Virakesari* the tone of Dr. Perera's letter will be the same as that of the Prime Minister's. Speaking at a meeting at Attanagalla Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, said that if the LSSP leaders did not withdraw within a week the statements made at the Hartal commemorative meeting last Tuesday the Prime Minister was prepared to sack them—CDM. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, at a Press Conference said that the best person to answer the question whether the LSSP threatened to leave the Government as it was dissatisfied with the pace of nationalisation was Dr. N. M. Perera himself—CDN. The CIC (Insurgency) yesterday sentenced two of the five accused in the Rosmead Place attack case to two years and five years rigorous imprisonment respectively—CDN. On Tuesday next week country's sixth airport Wirawila, will begin operations: with the opening of this new airport Kataragama and Yala National Sanctuary are expected to be visited by an increased number of tourists—CDN. A group of 41 members of the Indian Ruling Congress Party in Parliament had asked the Government to close down permanently the BBC office in India. Talks opened in Wahington last Wednesday on Israel's request for 2,800 million dollars in military and economic assistance from the United States. Foreign oil companies will cease operations in Venezuela by December 31 this year.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16: In a press release issued by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka on the current political situation in the country it is said that every effort should be made to resolve the differences within the context of maintaining the unity of the United Front and its Government: the

press release further said that subjective, prestige or other secondary considerations should not be allowed to stand in the way—CDM. Dr. N. M. Perera's reply to the Prime Minister's letter is expected to be sent only on Monday next—DM. Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, speaking at a meeting at the State Distilleries Corporation's office said that he could not say how long he would be the Minister of Finance but he would urge the workers to get themselves well trained in administrative matters so that the workers would be equipped to manage the administration of various undertakings—CDM. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, speaking at the Hamilton Canal inauguration ceremony at Hendala yesterday said that her Government would continue in power for the next two years despite any opposition from any quarters—VK. The LSSP leaders under Dr. N. M. Perera and the SLFP leaders under the Prime Minister met separately yesterday and had long discussions on the current political situation—VK. The CIC (Insurgency) yesterday sentenced two suspects in the Deniyaya inquiry accused of Dr. Rex de Costa's murder to life imprisonment—CDN. The Ministry of Industry will impose price control on various consumer items in every day use if the dialogue which it will open soon with manufacturers for a reduction in price fails—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Local Government, Justice and Home Affairs, will lead the Sri Lanka delegation to the special sessions of the United Nations to be held in the first two weeks of next month—CDN. The *Aththa* editorially said that the present crisis within the UF is on a personal level and not on a difference in the policies the LSSP and SLFP holds and as such this should be solved within the frame of the United Front: the editorial further said that the breaking of the United Front will be a severe blow to the poor masses of this country who put the UF to power with great expectations: the paper also said whoever will be responsible for the breaking of the United Front will never be excused by the masses of this country. Bangladesh President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was killed in a pre dawn military backed coup according to an official announcement over the army-controlled Radio Bangladesh yesterday evening: the Radio had earlier reported that Commerce Minister Khondker Mushtaque Ahmed had been sworn in as new Head of State of the troubled state: in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, unconfirmed diplomatic reports said Bangladesh Prime Minister Mansoor Ali and Abdur Rad Serniabat, the Minister of Flood Control had been killed in the coup: Mr. Serniabat is a brother-in-law of Sheikh Mujibur: according to *Reuters* the new President of Bangladesh is regarded as a right-wing liberal with strong pro-American views.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 17: Several leading left wing politicians in the country have carried peace proposals to the leaders of SLFP and the LSSP to prevent a break in the United Front in view of the current crisis facing the UF: these leaders have stressed the importance of the unity of progressive forces and have requested the leaders of the parties concerned to act with the unity of UF in mind—VK. Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, has drafted a reply to the Prime Minister's letter asking for explanation for certain statements said to have been made by the former at the Hartal Commemoration meeting on August 12: the letter had so far not been released to the press—SLD. The JCTUO has decided to request the Prime Minister

to fix a date before the 28th of this month to have discussions with her on the question of several demands put forward by the working class—JS. The Department of Immigration and Emigration along with the Department of Labour and the Land Commission had drawn up a plan to expedite the repatriation of persons of Indian origin under the Sirima-Shastri Pact—SLD. The Chairman of the State Gem Corporation Mr. T. G. Punchlappahamy, left for Pakistan to advise the Government of that country on gemming—SM. Mr. T.B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, had talks with Soviet trade officials in Moscow to develop trade between the two countries—SM. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a meeting of the past pupils' Association of St. Bridget's Convent yesterday said that the country's cultural and social heritage is the bed-rock on which the development, that we want for our society can be built—CO. At a conference of teachers trade unions to be held at the Ministry of Education on Tuesday the Lanka Jathika Guru Sangamaya will move a resolution to the effect that like other Government servants, teachers too should be allowed to have their salaries credited to bank accounts to facilitate their obtaining loans when necessary—ST. Pakistan announced that it was recognising the new Government of Bangladesh and Pakistan is the first country to recognise Bangladesh's new regime headed by President Khondker Mushtaque Ahmed: the body of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Bangladesh leader killed in a successful coup d'etat, was buried with full honours according to Radio Bangladesh: diplomatic sources in Dacca said that most of his relatives were wiped out in the take-over.

MONDAY, AUGUST 18: Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Plantation Industries, in a letter to the Prime Minister explained the reference made by the Prime Minister regarding the nationalisation of estates in the letter sent by her to Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance: Dr. Silva in his letter said that she had omitted part of a sentence referring to the administration of nationalised estates and this had misled the people who read this in the papers: The Minister further said that he never at any stage said that the administration of nationalised estates should be in the hands of Agency Houses: Dr. Silva in his letter further said that all what he said was that until such time the estates are completely nationalised the Agency Houses will continue to administer the estates: the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in her reply to the Minister of Plantation Industries sent yesterday itself said that the Minister of Finance in his speech at the Hartal Commemoration meeting on August 12 has said that unlike the SLFP the LSSP wanted to leave the administration of estates in the hands of its former owners and posed the question whether it was wrong or misleading for her to say that in the draft memorandum prepared by the Minister of Plantation Industries the same thing has been proposed what the Minister of Finance had sought to criticize: the Premier has also said that it is clear from the draft memorandum that Dr. Silva had contemplated that there would be an interval of time, however short, between the vesting of ownership of estates and the actual taking over of physical possession and management: the Prime Minister referring to the LSSP's attack on the SLFP and the late Mr. Bandaranaike, said that if there is a definite assurance from the LSSP that in future it will not indulge in vituperative politics she will be prepared to forgo

a lot for the sake of the Left unity—CDN. Mr. R. Premadasa, First M.P. for Colombo Central, speaking at a meeting in Colombo yesterday referred to a warning he issued in the NSA to the LSSP in which he said that the LSSP too would be controlled under the same laws with which the Government controlled the UNP—VK. The *Janadina* editorially said that Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth League has still not understood the crisis between the SLFP and the LSSP and further criticised his attitude in this matter. Thirty five Credit Council have been established under the Ministry of Education for the benefit of teachers—DM. According to the *Daily News*, Mr. Neville Kanakeratne, Ambassador of Sri Lanka in the US, is expected to lead Sri Lanka's delegation at this week's Finance Ministers' conference in Guyana. Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, speaking at a LSSP branch meeting said that there have been differences earlier within the coalition UF and they were settled through discussion and this time too he expected that the differences would be settled through discussions—CDN. Pakistanis independent *Nawa-l-Waqt* warned in an editorial that the Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, might attack Bangladesh to avenge the killing of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and divert attention from her own domestic difficulties. United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said in Yugoslavia that a new separation of forces in the Middle East was forthcoming but warned such partial solutions were not enough.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19: The Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, is expected to reply today to the Prime Minister's letter in which she sought an assurance that the LSSP would cease to indulge in vituperative politics: Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, who organised several meetings in the Bentara-Elpitiya, Ambalangoda and Balapitiya electorates said that the Prime Minister was assured of fullest support of the SLFP in the above electorates in any stand she chose to take regarding speeches made by LSSP ministers at the Hartal Commemoration meeting—CDN. Mr. Prins Goonesekera, Independent MP for Habaraduwa, told the *Virokesari* that the SLFP and LSSP have engaged in the present struggle just to distract the masses of this country from the present day problems facing the people. The *Athitha* editorially said that it is high time the SLFP and the LSSP understands the harm that would befall if the UF breaks and said that such an occurrence would be very tragic. According to the *Daily Mirror*, it was the consensus among the Ministers of the SLFP who met yesterday to review the present situation within the UF that the time was now ripe to have a reallocation of portfolios: at yesterday's meeting several ministers have said that five years had elapsed since the UF Government assumed office and a Cabinet reshuffle was really necessary. The *Janadina* editorially said that the activities of the Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, makes one to think whether he is resorting to all this tactics of forecasting a Cabinet reshuffle and so many other changes, in order to become a Minister in the Government: the paper further said that according to the present constitution except for those who are already ministers without being elected members no one can become a minister if he is not an elected member of Parliament and as such the most Mr. Bandaranaike could think of is apost of a Director or Chairman in a State Corporation. Speaking at a

meeting at Matara, Mr. B. Y. Tudawe, Deputy Minister of Education, said that the present crisis between the LSSP and the SLFP should be solved by dialogue—LD. The LSSP in an official statement to the press on the Bangladesh situation said that this should be a lesson to Sri Lanka and said that this shows the foreign interests in the internal affairs of the country: it further said that it will be wrong for Sri Lanka too to think that we are out any foreign intrusion in our local affairs—VK. The Customs yesterday fined a Captain of a ship on the Singapore-Istanbul run \$ 20,000 after it was found contraband worth nearly Rs. 2 million had been unloaded in the Colombo harbour—CDN. The CID detectives investigating the killing of Mr. Alfred Duraiappah, ex Mayor of Jaffna made a big breakthrough during the week-end when they interrogated a youth believed to be in the inner circle of the men who planned and executed the assassination—CDM. Britain and Japan yesterday recognised the new regime of Bangladesh. China and Cambodia signed an agreement on technical and trade co-operation.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20: Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, in reply to the Prime Minister's letter assured that he and the LSSP will co-operate in helping actively to preserve the unity of the parties who have already achieved so much through the United Front: Dr. Perera has said that he was sorry that if the references he made about the late Mr. S.W. R. D. Bandaranaike has hurt the Prime Minister in any way: Dr. Perera denied that he indulged in any vituperative politics and as much as the Prime Minister he too is willing to overlook and forgive a great deal for the sake of left unity—CDM. A Bill entitled "Land Reform (Amendment) Law of 1975" providing for the vesting of estate lands owned or possessed by public companies in the Land Reforms Commission has been gazetted: in the Bill provision is also made for the vesting of the business undertakings of agency houses or organisations who are trustees of estate lands: according to the Bill the Government Chief Valuer will decide on the quantum of compensation—CDN. The Constitutional Court giving its reasons why they considered that certain provisions of the National Prices Commission Bill were inconsistent with the Constitution of the country rules that the Prime Minister should be free to assign any subject or function to any Minister in her discretion and to change the assignment at her will—CDN. Nearly 40,000 people have been called upon to declare their assets and liabilities by November 1 this year—CDN. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade and Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, who are in the Soviet Union have been cabled asking them to return home in the first available flight: Mr. George Rajapakse, Minister of Fisheries, undergoing medical treatment in Moscow is likely to stay back for some time—CDN. The ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka starts today in Matara—ATH. Fourteen people were hurt when a tourists train proceeding from Colombo plunged into a halted train at Keenawela, near Colombo: the engine of the tourist train and the last coach of the "Podimenneke" were badly damaged. According to Bangladesh Radio life is returning to normal there and the curfew is being relaxed. The New York Times reported that its telex and telephone service in the New Delhi office were cut off by the Indian Government officials for allegedly violating the press censor-

ship rules. Libya on Monday proclaimed a new law imposing death sentences on any one who attempts to overthrow the Government or belonging to any proscribed organisation.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21: According to political circles the LSSP is likely to leave the UF and last night hush-hush talks were taking place at the residences of some leading politicians in a frantic bid to ensure that the LSSP would not quit the UF: the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, and the Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, who are both abroad are expected to return to the island today: several leading ministers of the SLFP are not satisfied with the explanation given by the Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, and demanded a Cabinet re-shuffle—CDM. The politbureau of the LSSP meets today to discuss the situation and the SLFP MPs are summoned for a meeting today—VK. Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike has sent another letter to Dr. N. M. Perera in reply to his explanation and it is understood that the Premier had stated in that letter that she is not satisfied with the explanation given by Dr. Perera—VK. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of plantation Industries, speaking at a meeting at the New Town Hall yesterday is reported to have said that socialism in the country is possible only through the LSSP—VK. The Aththa editorially stressed the importance of the unity of the UF and criticised those who attempted to break the UF. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, speaking at the ninth Congress of the Communist Party now being held in Matara said that the country must march towards socialism with preserving the unity of the UF—ATH. The weekly Cabinet meeting scheduled for yesterday was cancelled—ATH. The American CIA has drawn up plans to destroy the progressive forces of this country because it has come to know that all its secrets on the PL 480 transactions has come to light—JD. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Local Government, Justice, and Home Affairs had drawn up a scheme by which public servants who retire from service will be able to draw their pension within a month from the date of retirement—CDN. Two thousand four hundred farm families will be settled by November this year on the banks of the Kala Oya where the new diverted waters of the Mahaweli will flow—CDN. A Soviet built of Czechoslovakian airliner crashed near Damascus killing 126 persons. Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Cambodian Vice-Premier Khum Samphan have reached agreement in principle on the return of the Prince to Cambodia and the Prince is expected return to his country in September. Nepal recognised the new Government of Bangladesh.

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SLFP-LSSP CRISIS**— Four Documents —**

Last week, we published the full text of the letter sent by the Prime Minister to the Finance Minister (and the LSSP) on August 13. This week we publish four documents which are of great relevance in understanding current developments. Though they have been published in full in the daily papers, **Tribune** publishes them for the record to enable readers to refer to them in the coming weeks. The documents are: (1) the statement of the Communist Party made on August 15, 1975; (2) the letter written by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva to the Prime Minister; (3) the Prime Minister's reply to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva; and (4) Dr. N. M. Perera's reply to the Prime Minister's letter of August 13. The first document had appeared in the daily press on August 16, the second and third on August 19, and the fourth on August 21.

I— COMMUNIST PARTY'S STATEMENT:—

Every effort should be made to resolve the differences within the context of maintaining the unity of the United Front and its Government. Subjective prestige or other secondary considerations should not be allowed to stand in the way.

This is stated in a Press release issued by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, yesterday (15.8.75) on the current political situation. The text of the statement is as follows:

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka shares the anxiety and dismay of the rank-and-file forces of the United Front at the differences that have found open expression between its partners in the United Front, the SLFP and the LSSP.

Such public polemics can only please the imperialist and reactionary forces, who are doing all they can to disrupt the United Front and its Government. Recent developments in our neighbouring countries, India and Bangladesh, where imperialist and reactionary forces are doing their utmost to

destabilise and destroy Governments supported by the progressive forces of those countries should make all vigilant about the nature and consequences of such a development in Sri Lanka.

The continuation of acrimonious controversy will be confusing and unacceptable to the wide mass of the progressive forces irrespective of their party allegiances. These forces hailed with great joy the principled acceptance by the United Front Government of the nationalisation of the company-owned estates and the banks and are anxiously awaiting its early implementation of these decisions.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka is of opinion that the issues raised in the present controversy do not involve questions of basic principle and are, therefore soluble by patient discussion.

Every effort should be made to resolve these differences within the context of maintaining the unity of the United Front and its Government. Subjective, prestige or other secondary considerations should not be allowed to stand in the way of this.

The United Front agreement provides for the settlement of any differences that arise among the constituent parties by discussion within the Front. This method which has helped to resolve differences in the past should be resorted to in this instance as well.

The Communist Party has, therefore, written to the SLFP and the LSSP proposing an early meeting of the Joint co-ordinating Committee of the United Front in order to discuss and resolve outstanding differences.

II—DR. COLVIN R de SILVA'S LETTER TO THE P.M.:—

The Minister of Plantation Industry, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, yesterday addressed a reply to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, dealing with certain references made to him in her letter to Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, on his Hartal Day address.

Following is the full text of Dr. de Silva's letter to the Prime Minister.

My dear Prime Minister,

I find myself constrained to take up with you directly, certain references to me in your letter to Dr. N. M. Perera of 14, August 1975. Since you have chosen to release a copy of your letter to the newspapers, I too am compelled to do the same, otherwise, the readers of your letter may be misled into regarding as accurate what, in fact to say the least, is gravely misleading.

In your letter you refer to "the draft Cabinet memorandum which Dr. Colvin R. de Silva submitted to me for my consideration" and proceed to quote from it omitting part of a sentence. Obviously, you refer to the advance copy of the Cabinet memorandum dated 23 July, 1975 and entitled "Nationalisation of Estates of Public Companies" which I sent you with a letter I wrote to you on 25 July, 1975. In that letter I urged, amongst other things "that the matter of the nationalising of estates of public companies, both of the transfer of ownership and their management requires to be implemented without further delay if a viable plantation system is to come into our hands". Incidentally when the memorandum was sent for circulation to other Cabinet Ministers it was, on your instructions, not circulated.

I set out here, how in your letter the manner in which you quote my memorandum:—"your speeches suggest that there are differences between our parties on the matter of the content of the nationalisation law which Mr. Kobbekaduwa will shortly be presenting in Parliament as an amendment to the Land Reform Act. Your suggestion is explicit that what is intended to be done is to leave the management and control of the estates in the hands of the former owners whereas your party believes that there should be an immediate transfer of the ownership and possession of these lands to the state overnight as it were. I would refer you to the draft Cabinet memorandum which Dr. Colvin R. de Silva submitted to me for my consideration when he was under the mistaken assumption that the subject has been assigned to him. In it he says: "...that where any estate is vested in the state under this legislation, the agency house organisation or person which

Colvin's Explanations

or who was on the day immediately prior to the day of such vesting, responsible for, and, in charge of the management or supervision of the management of such an estate, will continue to be responsible for and in charge of the management or supervision of the management of such estate until the Minister otherwise directs and subject to such general or special direction as may from time to time be issued by the minister. The remuneration payable to such agency house, organisation or person shall be as determined by the Minister."

It is clear from the above quoted paragraph that you are seeking to contend that it is not correct to say that the LSSP "believes that there should be an immediate transfer of the ownership and possession of these lands to the state overnight as it were". But what do I in fact say in my Cabinet memorandum?

To begin with I proposed the immediate vesting in the state of all rights, title and interest of all public companies in relation to estates.

I further made proposals regarding the services of employees in vested estates suggesting the managerial employees may be continued in employment on such terms as the minister may determine and that other employees shall be continued in employment in the same capacity and on such terms and conditions as the Minister may determine.

I went on to say:— "Provision should be made in the same legislation for the management and supervision of the management of vested estates. The State Plantations Corporation will be able to undertake management of a certain number of estates. In the case of other estates, it will be necessary to take over certain "Estates and Agency Companies" such as are listed in Annexe 2 (5 Agency Houses are listed in the annexe). This should be provided for in the same legislation that vests the Public Company estates in the state. A competent authority with similar powers as laid down in the Business Undertakings (Acquisition) Act should be appointed for each "Estate and Agency Company" taken over. The Competent Authority will be subject to the direction of the Minister".

I then went on to say "As there may be some short delay in operating the take over it should be provided that where any estate is vested in the State under this legislation the agency house, organisation or person which or who was on the date immediately prior to such vesting responsible for, and in charge of the management or supervision of such Estate shall continue to be responsible for, and in charge of the management or supervision of such Estate until the Minister otherwise directs, and subject to such general or special direction as may from time to time be issued by the minister. Remuneration payable to any such agency house organisation or person shall be determined by the minister. Those estates which are not handed over immediately to the State Plantations Corporation and not managed at the time of vesting by the estates and agency companies which are to be taken over as mentioned above can be transferred to the estate and agency companies taken over as soon as possible."

I have underlined above the part of the sentence which you have cut out of your quotation when quoting my memorandum and I have also placed the entire passage in its context in the memorandum. It is clear that the result of the omission and the taking of the quoted passage out of its context results in giving a totally misleading impression. This misleading impression is that my Memorandum contemplated "leaving the management and control of the estates in the hands of the former owners." This is the suggestion in the passage from your letter which I have quoted above in full. I am constrained to express my regret that you should have published your quotation in so misleading a form.

The matter does not end there. You have gone on to say in the very next paragraph of your letter "Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's draft cabinet memorandum further proposed that as the State Plantations Corporation would be inadequate to handle the estates taken over 5 hand-picked agency houses chosen by him should be entrusted with the task". To adopt your own language, I was shocked by that particular allegation. I made a proposal to take over certain. "Estates and

Agency Companies' such as are listed i.e. to nationalise them. I further proposed that a Competent Authority with similar powers as laid down in the Business Undertakings (Acquisition) Act should take over such "Estates and Agency Houses" from their proprietors and that the Competent Authority "should be subject to the directions of the Minister". How in the face of these facts you can allege that "5 hand-picked Agency Houses chosen by me should be entrusted with this task of handling the estates taken over passes my understanding. I am constrained to say that this is a grave misrepresentation.

I would add that, in my Cabinet memorandum, and also in my letter to you dated 25th July, 1975. I suggested that because time was so important and the deterioration of an estate by one day may take a month of work to set aright, legislation should initially be by 'Emergency Regulation for which you would be responsible. I also suggested that subsequent legislation through the National State Assembly should displace the Regulations. It is true that at that time I assumed (I think logically) that the legislation in the Assembly should be introduced by the Minister of Plantation Industry. However, when I was informed that you had instructed the Minister of Agriculture and Lands to present the legislation, I told him that I had no objection to this that I was concerned only with the substance of the legislation and that I had set out my proposals in the Cabinet memorandum which I had submitted for circulation. Indeed, I readily attended along with Dr. N. M. Perera on the afternoon of Monday, August 4 a meeting of a Committee of Ministers summoned by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands with a view to preparing the necessary legislation. The next meeting of the committee was due for the evening of Monday 11 August but was not held.

Thus you will see that from my point of view "the real area of controversy" was certainly not a personal one as you put it. Indeed in my draft legislation I provided for a cabinet committee chaired by yourself and including the Minister of Agriculture and Lands to oversee the running and

management of estates and also matters concerning the need to alienate estate land for settlement schemes etc. I also proposed that the Minister of Plantation Industry should report progress regularly to this committee. Subsequently when I was informed that the Minister of Agriculture and Lands would be in charge of the Bill I suggested at the August 4th meeting of the Committee of Ministers that, in the circumstances the Minister of Agriculture and Lands should chair the committee.

There are other matters concerning me in your letter which I shall leave aside here. I shall only add that I regret I am compelled to deal with the above matters publicly by the course of publicity you yourself have followed. I of course also consider myself free to publish the Cabinet memorandum itself since you have quoted from it, and in a manner that leaves leading impression of what I proposed. I sincerely regret the necessity to write and publish this letter.

III—PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO DR. COLVIN R. de SILVA:—

The Prime Minister replying to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's letter yesterday, reiterated: I must have a definite assurance that vituperative politics must cease, if we are to continue as a Government."

She said that although three days had elapsed after her letter to the Finance Minister, she had had nothing that could be regarded as a satisfactory assurance from the LSSP.

"I am willing to overlook and forgive a great deal for the sake of left unity as indeed I have done already, where attacks have been made against me personally. The situation is quite different where a deliberate attempt is made to denigrate and destroy the image of the late Prime Minister by political character assassination and innuendoes.

"That is something neither the SLFP nor I as its president will ever accept, and I therefore repeat that I must have a definite assurance that vituperative politics must cease, if we

are to continue as a Government."

Here is the full text of the Prime Minister's reply:

My dear Minister,

I have just received your letter dated 17th August, which I note you intend to publish. It is the only reply I have received to my letter to the Minister of Finance dated 14th August, though three days have elapsed, and I have nothing that I can regard as a satisfactory assurance from your Party.

You have made three points in your letter, and I shall deal with them briefly. Firstly, you say that I have quoted only a portion of your draft memorandum, and that what I have quoted is therefore misleading. It seems to me to be quite clear from your draft memorandum that you contemplated that there would be an interval of time, however short, between the vesting of ownership of estates, and the actual—over of physical possession and management. It is also quite clear that you intended that former owners, Agency Houses or even Superintendents should run the estates during that interval of time. At the hartal commemoration meeting, the Finance Minister had stated among many other things to which I take strong exception, that the SLFP proposes to leave the running of nationalized

estates in the hands of the former owners, unlike the LSSP. Is it then wrong or misleading for me to say that you in your draft memorandum had proposed exactly the same thing that the Finance Minister seeks to criticize? I am content to leave it to the public to judge.

Secondly, you say that I have referred to the fact that your draft memorandum speaks of employing "five handpicked agency houses", without also explaining that you had made the suggestion that they be administered under the Business Acquisitions Act. As it happens, I do not think that the administration of these five handpicked agency houses by a Competent Authority under that Act would be a sufficient safeguard, because I had already formed my own impressions of some of the persons holding key positions in some of these institutions. I have grave reason to doubt the wisdom of what you are doing, having regard to the past political associations and background of some of these persons. I have had occasion to say something similar to your colleague, the Minister of Finance, more than once in regard to some of the appointments he has made to the Boards of institutions already nationalized which happen to be under his charge, but unfortunately, my advice went

RESEARCH ON BLOOD - CLOTTING

The factors causing blood to clot when it comes into contact with certain surfaces—which in turn may lead to thrombosis, embolisms and fatal complications—will be investigated by the Weizmann Institute's Professors Alexander Silberberg and Israel Millo. Their research is intended to provide fundamental guidelines in the search for synthetic materials for use in arterial prostheses, artificial heart valves and the construction of equipment, such as kidney dialysis set-ups and heart/lung machines, which handle blood outside the body.

The factors which induce blood clotting are not fully understood, explained the scientists. Most foreign surfaces produce the clotting effect as does contact with the collagen matrix of the body. To learn more about what features of these surfaces cause the blood to clot, it is first necessary to analyze interaction both with the interfaces found naturally in the body and with those introduced artificially as, for example, in synthetic blood vessels. It is generally believed that clotting can be caused by the activation of blood platelets and therefore platelet surface interaction will be studied in particular.

Since clotting is very much influenced by the rate of blood flow, the scientists also plan to study these interactions from an initial state to conditions of higher and higher rates of flow and surface stress. The researchers point out that the project, as conceived, should both widen the basis of our fundamental knowledge of blood clotting and also provide new ideas and information to aid in the transition to applied research.

NM's Reply

unheeded as you are no doubt aware. In these circumstances, I regret that I do not consider the administrative controls of a Competent Authority as a sufficient safeguard where five agency houses, are singled out for special treatment, as proposed in your draft memorandum.

Thirdly, you say that I am wrong in saying that there is here an "area of personal controversy", I said this because as long ago as about the 17th of July, the Finance Minister and you attended a meeting at Temple Trees summoned by me to discuss questions pertaining to the payment of compensation arising from the nationalization of estates. At that meeting, both of you raised the question as to whether you would be asked to handle the subject, and the Finance Minister then said that if the subject was not being assigned to you, the LSSP would be reconsidering its position in the United Front. You did not go as far as that, but you did say that you would have to reconsider your own position. Having said that both of you withdrew without further discussion. I then took time to consult my other Cabinet Ministers, my Party and my Parliamentary Group. As late as the 23rd of July, your draft Cabinet Memorandum still proceeded, on the basis that you would be asked to handle this subject, though by then you were, I believe aware of my decision that the subject would be assigned to the Minister of Lands, as I had already indicated to you on the 17th.

All these however are trivial and unimportant questions. The important question is this: Do you or the members of your Party justify the speech made by the Finance Minister at the hartal Commemoration meeting? I am willing to overlook and forgive a great deal for the sake of left unity, as indeed I have done already, where attacks have been made against me personally. The situation is quite different where a deliberate attempt is made to denigrate and destroy the image of the late Prime Minister, by political character assassination and innuendoes. That is something that neither the SLFP nor I as its President will ever accept, and I therefore repeat that I must have a definite assurance that vituperative

politics must cease, if we are to continue as a Government.

IV—DR. PERERA'S REPLY TO THE PRIME MINISTER

The Minister of Finance Dr. N. M. Perera yesterday replied to the Prime Minister's letter regarding a speech he made at the Hartal day commemoration meeting on August 12.

The following is the full text of the Finance Minister's letter which was released to the press.

My dear Prime Minister,

I regret that the reports of a speech made by me on Hartal day have caused you to release to the newspapers your letter to me dated the 14th August 1975, the contents of which I frankly, think: would have been better discussed at a meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the United Front. The situation which has developed might well have been avoided if that course had been followed. All I can do in the circumstances is, while publishing my reply to your letter, to confine myself to the material issues relevant to the present situation.

I may say that, in writing this letter, I am carrying in mind the correspondence between my colleague Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and you. It will help to narrow the issues to be taken up, especially as the question of the course to be followed in respect of the nationalisation of the Company Estates has been dealt with in that correspondence. It is clear that there are differences in our respective approaches to the nationalisation of Company-owned Estates, but these can be the subject of discussion as we go along.

There is however the question of the nationalisation of the foreign banks which requires some elucidation. I must state clearly that I have never had the least doubt about the imperative need to have a completely state-owned banking system. But I have been of the opinion that it was possible to bring this about without the need to pay compensation. The foreign banks are principally engaged in the financing of foreign trade and the plantations in our country. The nationalisation of both these areas of our economy will bring the foreign banks to a position where

the greater part of the business is automatically transferred to our State Banks. The question of compensation does not then arise. Moreover, under the legislation that has recently been introduced, only Companies incorporated in Sri Lanka may be permitted to carry on business or own property in Sri Lanka. You are aware that I have resolutely opposed proposals that were made to exempt the banks from the operation of this law.

Even at the time that our parties were discussing the details of our Common Programme, I had deep suspicions that the Government in power had committed this country to certain undertakings to the foreign Banks. I would remind you that we were all agreed that the commitments of the previous Government had to be honoured despite our disagreement on the course of action that the last Government had taken. My suspicions were borne out when, on taking office, we found that the UNP Government had obtained a substantial sterling loan from these foreign banks on two conditions; first, that the prevailing prohibition on the opening of new accounts in foreign banks by our nationals would be withdrawn; and second, a formal undertaking by the Government that it would not do anything that would change the status of these banks in this country unless and until this loan had been repaid.

So much for the nationalisation of the banks with compensation. Perhaps I should add that we of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party do take pride in the fact that from its very inception in 1935 we have programmatically demanded the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange in Sri Lanka.

I wish to say a few words on the PL 480 question also since you have adverted to it in your letter. May I just say this? Consequent upon our correspondence on the subject I looked into the question of the use of PL 480 funds by the USA Embassy. As you will remember I had already informed you of the outcome by my letter to you of 31st July, 1975. Whatever be our respective views about other matters I think we can agree that the matter of the un-explained sudden disbursement by the USA Embassy of Rs. 15,168,149.96 on

17th February 1969 which had been credited to the Treasury by the Central Bank on the very same day requires close and independent investigation, particularly because it was the year in which all parties began their preparation for the 1970 General Elections. The necessary extensive investigation is certainly not within the powers of the Ministry of Finance, but certainly within your own powers. I shall only say that all my own inquiries show that the transaction which constituted the alleged borrowing of monies from the USA, Embassy has never been disclosed to Parliament. No evidence has been found of this sum having entered into Government expenditure.

I now turn to what appears to me to be the real matter in issue. Time and again each of the Parties that constitute the United Front has stated its own independent position on various issues. Following from this there has been criticism both implied and explicit. These things have not deterred us from continuing to operate as a Party in agreement with the other two Parties. It is our view that despite our differences the common grounds on which we stand in the Front is ample to enable us to continue to function in unity.

Nevertheless, it would appear from your letter that my reference to the late Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike has hurt you. I do not know what has been reported to you but may I say at once that I am sorry that anything I have said should have hurt you.

In any event I am sure I did not indulge in what you term "vituperative politics". I have never done so. You have said in your letter to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva: "I am willing to overlook and forgive a great deal for the sake of left unity as indeed I have done already where attacks have been made against me personally."

I myself have tried to observe the same principle. In that context I should like to emphasise that it has always been the view of both my Party and myself that public attacks should not be made on each other by the constituent parties of the United Front. The failure by any party to keep to the position of refraining from

public attacks on one another has often been discussed in the Co-ordinating Committee of the UF, the highest body of the Front. Such failure which has certainly not been on one side alone; so that the Parties of the UF will require to co-operate with each other to prevent such occurrences and to strengthen unity. I may here recall that when relations between our Parties were seriously strained on the occasion of the curfew which prevented the Ceylon Federation of Labour's procession and meeting, the Parties of the Front found the means to act together to prevent the break which our common enemies were hopefully awaiting.

"I assure you that my Party and I will co-operate in helping the rule of refraining from public attacks to be observed thus helping actively to preserve the unity of the parties who have already achieved so much through the United Front.

* * * *

TOWARDS THE NONALIGNED SUMMIT

A Realistic Economic Strategy —For The Third World— by Lankaputra

THE MAJOR PRODUCERS and consumers of oil had a nine-day Conference in Paris not long ago. It was intended to be a preparatory meeting to lay the foundation for concrete discussions to resolve the problems that had arisen between the producers and consumers of oil (and even other raw materials). This Conference did not make any progress and it ended in a failure. There was agreement only on one matter: that consultations should be continued "through diplomatic procedures", but nobody seems to know when or on what basis these consultations will be resumed.

The failure of the Paris meeting compels a fresh examination of the current situation. Was the failure accidental? Was the much-publicised willingness of developed Western countries to enter in a dialogue with the suppliers of

oil and raw materials only a part of a general Western scheme to further its own selfish interests? It is a moot question: can producers of oil and raw materials generally make developed Western countries start talking seriously about moving to the new economic order where equality of trading relations can subsist?

There is no doubt that oil and raw material exporting countries sincerely wished to achieve agreement with the industrially developed West. At every stage of the preparations for the dialogue—in Algiers as well as in Dakar—developing countries expressly stated that they had no intention to blackmail the West in any way or impede, artificially, deliveries of raw materials and fuel. On the contrary, developing countries stressed that normal and flourishing exchange of commodities was not only feasible but, as a matter of fact, was also essential for their own economic development. The West was only asked to show good will and agree to the establishment of such machinery as would, on the one hand, guarantee uninterrupted flow to developed countries of the requisite amount of oil and raw materials, and, on the other hand, would ensure developing countries really fair prices for their commodities, protect them against violent fluctuations of market prices, against gaps between export and import prices, losses on inflation, etc. In other words the West was asked to give a real recognition to the right of developing countries to obtain fair prices for their mineral wealth together with all the concomitant implications thereof.

IN MAKING THESE DEMANDS, the justice of which has not been questioned publicly even in the West, developing countries believed that the success of the OPEC, (which had convincingly demonstrated the increased ability of developing countries to defend their interests by most drastic means if need be), and the approval by the UN General Assembly of the Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States, should have persuaded developed countries of the West to undertake a serious business-like discussion on a new and equitable basis of the problems of fuel and raw materials.

But the discussions failed for the sole reason that, in approach.

Western Strategy

ing the problems of economic relations with the Third World, the capitalist West continued the same old imperialist attitudes of diktat to maintain existing inequalities through the logic of confrontation. The West also betrayed a desire to perpetuate what is currently termed neocolonialist methodology.

As a prelude to the Conference, almost from the time the idea of the Conference was in the air, that is from about last September, Third World producers had to face an unprecedented barrage of hostile propaganda-campaign "decrying their demands. The US President and the US Secretary of State uttered warnings tantamount to threats—even in the UN—against oil-producing nations. This campaign was not merely a crude attempt to exert moral and political pressure on OPEC countries and other producers of raw materials. Its aims were broader and more far-reaching. The main purpose it would appear, was to use the so-called energy crisis to bring about political consolidation of the capitalist West as opposed to the socialist and Third World countries.

This was clear from the words of banker David Rockefeller in an interview to the magazine *US News and World Report* (August 12, 1974). "One of the difficulties in the world today is that the Atlantic nations", he said, "which were united after World War II by concern over Soviet aggression, now because of detente, see that danger abating. Their unity has been weakened because they lack an external force to draw them together. In my judgement, the energy crisis could be a new binding force to reunite them."

Was it only the US that took up such a position? Several months prior to David Rockefeller's statement in the press the idea of the forthcoming "struggle between the West and the Third World over the prices of other important raw materials, which is to follow the struggle over oil-prices" was extensively discussed by the present West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, in the American magazine *Foreign Affairs* (April 1974, vol. 52, number 3, pp. 442-443). The same attitude was discernible in the words of the French President Giscard d'Estaing that

Western Europe "is suffering from the revenge" for the colonialism of the 19th century. In other words what the Americans alone felt like saying aloud was implicit in the position adopted by practically all West European countries. The spirit of confrontation with the Third World, the reluctance to abandon the exploitation of developing countries—that was and still is the basic Western position with regard to economic demands of the Third World.

THIS ATTITUDE was not confined to words alone. The logic of confrontation motivated the Western countries in all preparations for the discussions with the developing countries on raw materials and fuel. To counterbalance the OPEC twelve, West European nations set up the so-called International Energy Agency which contemplated pooling of all available oil reserves "in crisis situations." The aim of this arrangement is to render ineffective any further partial Arab embargo against one or more of the allies of Israel. Furthermore, the recent agreement on the establishment of a special "security fund" of 25 billion dollars to cover possible balance of payments deficits would also substantially impede use by OPEC countries of their newly acquired financial might.

Apart from this, all Western countries have stocked up 90-day reserves of crude oil, and thus are able now to reduce oil imports to support their strategy to bring oil prices down. At the Paris meeting of Finance Ministers of 23 Western countries, held last April, US representative William Simon confidently declared that after considering all the above measures the question today was not whether oil prices would fall, but rather when they will fall.

That was how the capitalist West had effectively prepared for the talks with developing countries about oil and raw materials. As for political strategy, the main idea was to induce strife in the Third World, to set the newly rich OPEC countries against the rest of the developing nations and thus undermine from within the growing unity of the Third World. The so-called world press, and even UN publications, all at once announced with "great sympathy" the emergence of a "fourth

world", comprising the poorest countries which "suffered" greatest as a result of the increase in oil prices. The intention was clear; to make India, Brazil and many African countries combine with the West in the Western campaign to bring down the prices for oil (to be followed by other raw materials). This explains the desire of Western countries to extend the proposed oil Conference to include not only oil consumers and producers but all oil-importing developing countries as well. This strategy determined Western tactics at the preliminary meeting in Paris. They were determined to confine the discussion to oil and related financial problems and to oppose any attempt by developing countries to start talking about the totality of problems of raw materials and stabilization of their prices.

AS REGARDS wider development problems, Western countries had no intention whatsoever to discuss them either at the Paris preliminary meeting or at a general Conference on oil and raw materials to be held next summer. The unhelpful attitude of the West to the very idea of the new economic order was made perfectly clear at the VI Special Session of the UN General Assembly and even more so last March in Lima during the Second UN General Conference on Industrial Development where the US backed by several other Western countries categorically refused to support the Algiers programme for industrialization of the Third World. Furthermore the West German Government even deemed it necessary to make a statement denouncing "raw material cartels" and took the liberty to claim that the present world economic order was the best under the circumstances.

It was obvious that thus Western approach to the needs of the Third World made any favourable outcome of the Paris meeting unlikely. The West in fact had lost interest in the talks as soon as it became clear that it could expect neither concessions on the part of oil and raw materials exporters nor discord among the Third World countries. The failure of the Paris talks has not caused any serious alarm in the West. The *New York Times* even calls to Paris failure a more honest and

reasonable outcome than any vague compromise. Western politicians and experts are of the opinion that they can wait and warn—for a number of reasons. They have no pressing need to “buy peace” from the OPEC or other producers of raw materials. This is supported by the fact that higher prices for raw materials and fuel have proved less burdensome financially than it seemed a year ago. The recycling of petrodollars goes on without any conference decisions. Moreover a trend towards another fall in raw material prices has emerged recently.

Secondly, major oil and energy monopolies have discovered that they in fact benefit by maintaining for some time relatively high oil prices. It increased their profit margins and induced rapid development of new oil fields and financing research into alternative sources of energy. In particular the West was determined to end OPEC monopoly by speeding up exploitation of North Sea oil (by 1980 North Sea oil production is expected to reach 150-200 million tons a year and by 1985-340 million tons), in Alaska (some 100 million tons by 1980 and 150-200 million tons by 1985,) as well as in Mexico and in Indonesia.

Thirdly, Western strategy placed great hopes on China. Though Peking insists time and again that China belongs to the Third World, OPEC experts know much less about the Chinese oil situation than their Western counter-parts. According to the latter's estimates prospected Chinese oil deposits (less continental shelf oil) are equal to what Iran is said to have. Today People's China produces some 55-60 million tons and by 1985 it is likely to go up to the 250 million tons mark and will be able to meet 33 per cent of Japanese oil requirements. The West seems to think that China, anxious to get the maximum from its oil, will not combine with OPEC countries, but follow an independent line in all, and thus weaken OPEC.

THE WEST can afford the luxury “not to hurry”, the more so because developments in the capitalist market have always, in the ultimate analysis tipped the balance in its favour. Thus in 1975 alone oil exporters' losses resulting from the declining dollar exchange rate (and all payments for oil are still made in dollars!) will increase,

according to OPEC economists, by 33 per cent, while the cost of machinery and equipment imported by these countries has already gone up by 25 per cent. The mechanics of the market economy invariably operates in such way that to maintain its coffee earnings at the 1960 level Africa had to export in 1970 twice as much coffee; at the same time African countries have to pay 50 per cent more for the technological equipment for projects under construction in Africa than they would have just two years ago.

Under such circumstances it is developing countries that have to hurry. “The present system of organized exploitation of natural and human resources of the Third World, inherited from the colonial times, is not in their interests at all. It is one of the basic and monstrous injustices of the capitalist market machinery towards developing countries that they are rapidly losing their irreplaceable natural wealth without such compensation as would enable them in the future—when these riches are exhausted—to have at least a minimum to ensure their continued development.

Each year raw material requirements of Western industry go up by 4 to 5 per cent. Foreign investments in the mining industries of developing countries increase accordingly. Of the total foreign capital exported investments in mining industries total in Senegal to 70 per cent, in the People's Republic of Congo to 77 per cent, in Togo to 86 per cent, in Gabon to 95 per cent, in Mauritania to 98 per cent, etc. At the same time France, for instance, reduces its own copper-mining, and the US its oil production, because they wish to preserve their natural resources for the future.

And there is a further reason. Foreign companies pay the African miner only a fraction of what the American or West European miner is paid: less sophisticated and less costly methods can be employed for working rich deposits in the Third World. Because of this, capital invested in mining in developing countries earns bigger dividends for Western share holders than similar investments in their own countries.

In other words under this system developing countries do not get and cannot get any real compensation for their natural resources because the only motive of the foreign companies engaged in mining is profit and profit at any cost. A foreign company is not at all concerned what would happen, say, to Mauritania in some 15 or 20 years time when iron ore deposits are exhausted and thereby the only source of revenue is ended. For even grass will not grow on the rock left after the extraction of iron ore. And in Africa there are so many countries in the same situation as Mauritania.

What is involved is not just compensation for raw materials, however burning this issue may be. Developing countries learn it the hard way all the time that any attempt on their part to carry out a serious programme of industrialization and to promote export of their manufactures is immediately and always hindered by powerful machinery of the capitalist market and often—through crudest protectionist measures of Western powers, which are, of course, accompanied by the loud talks of “aid and assistance”. The story of the US imposing quotas on the import of cheap textiles from Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea is a case in point. Another manifestation of this fundamental policy is the adoption in the USA of the trade law (December 1974) which denied OPEC countries the most favoured nation treatment in their trade with the USA.

In other words the capitalist West has vested interest in keeping the Third-World—as was the case throughout the colonial era—in the position of suppliers of raw materials and buyers of manufactured goods. The whole structure of economic, trade, commercial and financial relations as well as the existing economic order are, in general, orientated in this way and as long as this order is maintained, developing countries will have no real prospect of becoming economically independent and of taking their rightful place in the world. The problems of the Third World cannot be therefore solved by just another increase in the price for exported raw materials and fuel. The very fundamentals of the existing economic order have to be changed.

The failure of the Paris talks has demonstrated that further attempts by developing countries to achieve a direct settlement with the West will not be fruitful unless the negotiating strategy is appropriately adjusted. It is clear from the Paris failure that efforts of the Third World by itself are not enough to solve such a cardinal problem as the review of the fundamentals of the old economic order. The mistake was that the developing countries faced the still very powerful West on their own. A different balance of forces would have been achieved in Paris if Socialist countries had also been brought in to take part in the Paris talks.

For it was the joint efforts of developing and socialist nations that have ensured adoption at the United Nations of the Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations as well as a number of other major decisions and resolutions. It would be against the interests of developing countries and unjust towards socialist countries if this friendly to the Third World group of countries who possess huge and very real weight in world affairs would not be in future directly involved in dealing with practical problems of establishment of a new economic order.

Should the Third World disregard the fact—if only for a time—that socialist countries and above all the Soviet Union are major producers and consumers of fuel and raw materials? The Soviet Union ranks topmost in the world in oil production: in 1974 it produced some 460 million tons and this year the production will reach the 500 million tons mark! Co-operation in oil between Iraq and India and the Soviet Union has proved most fruitful. Geologists from socialist countries have done extremely useful job in many Third World countries. And moreover the USSR exports more oil outside the socialist community than many OPEC countries. This fact alone makes it clear that it is wrong to limit discussions about raw materials and fuel to developing and capitalist countries.

In the context of changing the existing economic order a great deal has still to be done to make economic co-operation within the Third World more effective. Declarations alone will not do. Concrete deeds are needed. Why for instance does the Afro-Arab economic co-operation progress so slowly? Why has nothing been done to implement proposals made over a year ago on establishing large funds to assist industrialization of developing countries? Why do Iran and Saudi Arabia prefer to make massive monetary injections into limping Western monopolies instead of investing in countries of the exploited Third World? Did the Third World support the just demands of oil-producing countries only to enable them to buy shares of the Krupp concern, the Leyland Motors Ltd and other international capitalist monopolies?

It should be realized that the initial success of OPEC countries, which was regarded as a triumph for the Third World as a whole, has lost much of its relevance now. The state of shock it had administered to the West has gradually faded away. The economy of the West has gradually accommodated itself to undesirable effects of the OPEC actions. If the present opportunity to improve economic conditions of the Third World is missed, it will be a case of missing the bus for all time.

since forgotten times recalling infinitely far-off things—we have now turned off (rather a drop, this! from poeticality to pilotage) from the Anuradhapura/Kurunegala road which we were following, onto the Galgamuwa/Nikawewa one: halfway along which Ehetuwewa, whence I write this, lies. Halfway between Galgamuwa and Ehetuwewa, incidentally, lies the dead centre of our rectangle.

I propose in this article a single morning's tour of valid objectives; the first of which, the Mukkuvar enclave at Maha Galgamuwa I described last week.

I am afraid you will have to stop often and ask directions. If you have no Sinhalese, English will often get you by; or at each junction repeat the name of your next destination, on a clearly interrogative inflexion, and just point! The fact is there is no available map that has been able to keep up with the continually extending network of roads—'colony' roads, 'shramadana' roads, 'political' roads—that crisscross even the quite recently remotest areas; and to give precise verbal directions is well-nigh impossible. The Motor Map is quite useless; but you will find the One Mile sheets some help.

MAHA GALGAMUWA. We have been here (see last week's article) but I suggest you make this the first point of the tour we are about to follow.

DEVA-GIRI VIHARA. Leaving Maha Galgamuwa, you will have to ask your way to this quiet little temple (of no great distinction though of considerable age; an inscription *in situ* dates it from the 2nd Century and names it Sitavahanaka Vihara). The courtyard especially used to be very pleasant and cared-for; but political differences between the incumbent and the Grama Sevakaya have resulted in a certain amount of neglect, and even the temple water has to be carried an unconscionable distance since nothing results from the incumbent's repeated petitions for a grant towards building a well! There is the ancient cave image-house—there are two, in fact, of which the smaller has an interesting feature whose age I cannot tell: a line of seven standing Buddha images each with a hand in a different *mudra*, including the uncommon Awkana one with the edge

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—46

The Pleasure Of Ruins—3

By Herbert Keuneman

WORKING SOUTHWARDS, and from west to east (more or less) down our arbitrarily demarcated 15-x25-m. rectangle of chosen 'antiquarian' country—working very selectively down it, let us remember; for we have passed up and infinity of ancient sites: here a disused and fallen-in drip-ledged cave, there a group drunken columns, here and there an inscription cut in the rock to remind us that this or that place has been lived on or worshipped in or fought over or brought to fruitful tilth

(rather than the face) of the palm turned toward the worshipper—and there is a rather charming *lagum-ge*, or clergy-house, of the 19th Century which any up-to-date incumbent would like nothing better than to replace by a styllsh *bangalava*.

From Devagiriya enquire your way via Wegedera back on the Demtewa back on the Galgamuwa/Nikawewa route (you are here at the heart of our 'rectangle') and continue, across the main road, onto the track to Bin-pokunu Vihara.

BIN-POKUNU VIHARE. This small and unpretentious cave-temple is of the same period as that at Devagiriya, as another *in situ* inscription bears witness, and much that is said of the one may be said of the other; save that here the *bangalava* for the monks is a *fait accompli*. The inscription at this site does not give the *vihara's* ancient name—its modern name derives from the larger almost-circular pond in the courtyard—but it does mention the name of the village Nitalaviti (now Nitalawa) through which you must pass to the next point of interest. And a very special point of interest this time.

NILLAKGAMA BODHIGHARA. Driving straight on past Bin-pokunu Vihara, enquire at the next junction of roads (Ntalaawa) for Nillakgama. Here (unless you drive a 4-wheel-drive vehicle: useful on this tour in any case, and indispensable in wet weather) you will have to park at the hither root of the bund, walk the bund's length, and at the farther end take the *bodhighara* comes in view: a matter of little more than quarter of a mile.

I have already described (August 2) the nature of a *bodhighara*, a type of shrine in which the object of veneration is a *bo(dhi)* tree. Although the type was known to have been popular, the example at Nillakgama has been up to now the only one known as surviving from olden time: and indeed, even if the shrine at Rajangane proves to be a *bodhighara* in fact it is incomparably outshone by its Nillakgama counterpart.

In design it is a simple work. In execution it is magnificent; not least because the intricate carving of such details as the doorways, the elephant frieze at the base of the outer wall, the band

of *hansayas* round the foot of the 'planter' which contained the tree and the Sinhala lions above them are carried out as though the stubborn gneiss from which they are cut were as amenable as smooth-grained timber. (The lions, it is interesting to note, are alternately 'sejant guardant' the so-called *kibissa*: whence the *kibihi-muna* that crowns the *makara* arch—and 'passant regardant'.) However, the building is not merely a stone-carver's *tour de force*: the fit of the great slabs of ashlar attest the stone-mason's skill, and the perfect proportions of the whole that of its architect. Nevertheless, the only name perpetuated (in an inscription of the 8th/9th Century) is that of a donor of the ten elephants of the frieze which stand above it. So, Alut Heratgama Temple (see last week's article) made no new departure!

WHEN H. C. P. BELL, that devoted archaeological explorer—so indefatigable that to this day, in the Vanni regions, an unknown ruin is designated by the people a *bal-kalla*: a 'Bell fragment'—came upon the *bodhi-ghara* in the mid-1890s it stood in excellent preservation. It is sad to think how much damage it has suffered in the comparatively short time since then. The branch of a tree is said to have fallen on one of the door-ways and broken it; real elephants, wild ones, are said to have used some of the stones as mud-scrapers and dislodged them; but, saddest of all, treasure-seekers—one of them, by his own claim (*claim*, mark you; *not* confession) a Buddhist of Ehetuwewa—have dug for trove, not minding what piously-laid stones—and, that is more, what accurately-laid stones—they displaced.

For the faint or faint-hearted this will have to be the turning-point of the morning's trip; certainly so if you are determined to finish the trip (as planned, and promised) in a morning. Nevertheless, at this point I urge you (if your heart and vehicle are stout, and if you are not stonily set against a 'dog's walk'—retracing your tracks for any distance—as a matter of principle, and if you can arrange to carry a picnic lunch) to abandon your idea, or mine! of a mere morning's circular tour and make the digression via Nitalawa through which you passed on the way to Nillakgama; Makulewa; Vikadenigama; Dalupotagama Junction;

and Kuda Katnoruwa, to the large and interesting site called Sesseruwa, for notes on which see next week's article. (The stretch between Dalupotagama and Kuda Katnoruwa follows the Ehetuwewa—Katnoruwa bus route; so, for your return follow the route in reverse but this time steaming past Dalupotagama for about three miles, until your road joins the Galgamuwa/Nikawewa one (and the original itinerary) at Ehetuwewa; where turn left.)

After all, what is an itinerary but a self-imposed 'discipline' designed to protest the enthusiast against the lust of his enthusiasm, whether for antiquities or mere travelling-passion? and only the weak need protection. The whole art of pleasure is to pursue it! Besides, you will find that making the return half of the round trip we re ostensibly following *under a steadily westering sun* pays unexpected dividends to which I shall draw attention in this place **PERSISTING**, however, for formalism's sake, in the original plan of a morning's tour you will return from Nillakgama via Nitalawa to Gallewa on the Galgamuwa/Nikawewa road and, turning left, proceed to Ehetuwewa; where at the far corner of the bazaar and the beginning of the tank bund you will turn right, onto the Ehetuwewa/Ambanpola road. (But first drive, if you please, slowly to the end of the bund and back; for, at the right season—when the tank is full—the drive will afford you charming scenes of lacustrine quietude and entrancing vignettes of tank-village life). By-passing Ehetuwewa, there is also a shorter cut from Gallewa—see above—to the next actual point of call, the pleasant little temple known as Nakolagane. About a quarter, mile beyond Gallewa, at Angamoleturn right and you will find your self on a minor road—even minor, that is to say, than some of the roads we have been following—which will bring you to the Ehetuwewa/Ambanpola road—turn right—at Manak-kula (ma) ya-gama. (In trying to pronounce this rather clumsy name, note that the practical local habit is to omit the central -ma-, which brings it less stumblingly, if hardly more trippingly! to the tongue but obscures the Tamil component so characteristic of scores of village names in this Vanni area.)

NAKOLAGANE. Three miles from Ehetuwewa (about 3/4 ml. from Manakkulamayagama) to the right of the road, on a high-ish ridge of rock, stands a small white stupa which you cannot miss if you are on the look out for it. The gate to the temple precincts stands a little further along.

The name of the temple is typical of the interchanges and assumptions of ancient place names that have taken place since ancient times. In Anuradhapura alone, for instance, Jetavana and Abhayagiri were long confused; and while the old name of Isurumuniya remained attached to a lesser portion of the olden site, the greater portion has survived under the total misnomer of Vessagiriya (a site which, as I shall next week point out) probably lies here in our very Ehetuwewa region. Similarly, although an inscription *in situ* of the 13th Century names Nakologane. Unequivocally Nagafa, today's Nagala is identified with the picturesque cragside cave-temple (see next week) at Nikawewa; and the name Nakologane is undoubtedly borrowed from a very early nunnery—of the 2nd Century, certainly; and probably of the 2nd BC—which stood at the place now known as Asseduma, less than 1 1/2 ml. to the west, which a rock inscription identifies as Nakaragana. (Of Nakaragana nothing but the inscription (2nd Century) is known to survive. But what would you expect at a site ominously renamed Place Prepared For a paddy Field?)

Little survives at Nakologane either; and what does must mostly be sought in scrubby thorny sun-scorched jungle round the rocky-sides of the hill, the rest has been 'restored' out of existence by the wave of temple renewal and redecoration that followed the rehabilitation of the Vanni about the turn of this Century. There is even (all that remains of) a crude mural in one of the delightful arched caves—like Mahinda's bed at Mihintale—which invites the visitor proudly: 'avit balanu'. Come and see!

NEVERTHELESS, Nakologane is another of those sites that afford sheer pleasure to the connoisseur from nothing more than the site's own virtues. From the head of the steps that lead to the stupa a tilted walk bordered by socket-holes that suggest a colonnaded

roof once covered it to the terrace before the hideously modernized cave Image House; and from the terrace is a glorious dreaming view across the smoky western plains to the sea. The arch-like caves I have already mentioned which line the climb have their pleasantness doubled by sedge—and lily-grown stone pools. From near the stupa a narrow path leads downward to the right, skirting the base of the rock, to a tiny pool of pellucid water in a hollow beneath its wooden-shuttered from being fouled by creatures from the jungle; belief has it that the pool never goes dry, not in longest drought. But one of the best things about the place has nothing to do with religion—or even antiquity—at all: it is the highly educational (as well as beautiful) view yielded from a ledge below the stupa, looking eastward and southward towards Galgiriya-kanda and the North Kandyan hills. From here is where you come to understand fully the ingeniousness and thrift of the Sinhala irrigation system. You see the tanks, large and small, lying like sheets of mica on a sloping desk, one below another, each feeding the fields under it and then tank next below, all the way from the high ground at the feet of the hills to the ground beneath your own feet and far west into the coastal plain. And this view the afternoon sun I have recommended illuminates like a diorama.

You want an afternoon sun—preferably a setting one—for the last leg of your tour, too. No places you must stop at now; only a lovely route home. To be sure, you must have the right time of year, here also, besides the right time of day: a time of water. Not the rains—or the roads may be impassable—but the seasons when the tanks are full being neither starved by the dry months nor despoiled for the paddy-sowings of March and (usually to a lesser extent) November. In a normal year any day from October through March, while not forgetting that November and December are the Northeast Monsoon months. January and February are the best months of all; and, for a bonus, the migrant birds of the monsoon season are all still here.

About a mile beyond Nakologane turn right and you will soon find yourself on the bund of the very

picturesque large tank of Palukadawala; along which you will want to pause often for the view. Turn off the bund left-handed at the sluice, and then the road home is a straight one, with water always at your right hand; here in a narrow artificial cut, there idling through watery meads of spreading into a miniature marsh of lotus and water lilies. Small homesteads dot the route—if this drive does not reconcile you to 'colonization' nothing will—and, if you have timed the thing right (count 45 minutes' to an hour's slow driving, with stops, from Nakologane) you will emerge near Galgamuwa Rest-house via the first half-mile of the road you started off along in the morning, while the earliest lamps are beginning to shine from the houses along your way.

N.B. I have—deliberately—not timed nor distanced this itinerary (the total distance, excluding the digression to Sesseruwa, is about 30 miles; and the digression will add, say, 20 more) but the roads are poor for about half of the way, and the purpose of the tour is in any case not to hurry through as though merely sight-seeing. If you decide to complete the trip by evening light, as I have urged, take your lunch break wherever you like (the route is full of picnic-inviting places) and make it long enough to get you to Nakologane about 4.0 p.m.

If you take in Sesseruwa, leave Galgamuwa about 9.0 in the morning. If you do only the short (half-day's) trip, leave an hour earlier.

K A Z I — 19

Elle To A Snake Stone

By ANATORY BUKOBA

May 10.

IN THE GALENBINDUNUWEWA AREA. A schoolboy, I think he was, in uniform, pushing a girl on a bicycle is an unusual sight, and accompanied, too by two other boys. A girl friend, perhaps, but this girl was too small. She happened to be his sister. A kind brother, one of the other boys remarked. They suggested that I go off my route to drink some water at a boutique. The short-cut from here to the village, where I wanted to go, was through some

paddy fields. I passed the head-water of a tank, clear water unlike the discoloured water I had bathed in, in another tank just a short while before.

The village this time looked quite different, the roads were wide, like some of the wide roads you get in Colombo. They had been widened by the villagers, paid by government in relief work provided to help them through the drought. I could not help feel that they could not have plumbed for a better task. The roads looked so different now. I could not believe I was on the right route. Once I was inside the village, and I had to be reassured.

At one place there was a little paddy being harvested. The paddy field in which it stood had its water drained off the head-water of that tank I mentioned earlier. My feet sank into the dry green grass at the head of this tank, in the basin itself. I was told it would not be like this in the dry season.

That evening *elle* was played in the paddy fields that could not be cultivated this year with water from the Hurulle tank, unless the waters of the Mahaveli get there through to the tank. It was like any other evening, I heard. As lads turned up they joined in. The ball was more difficult to hit than a cricket ball. You only had three shies at hitting it. If you hit it you had to run. You ran more vigorously than you would at cricket. You could be caught, hit out running, or out if the ball, when you hit it, travelled backwards towards where in cricket there would be a wicket behind the batsman. Out, you were out for the innings. You could refuse a ball and return it to the thrower or bowler, and you could ask him to place it where you wanted, but always hitting it full toss. It was the demeanour of the players that I liked most. They seemed to be completely ignoring me, and their faces were all smiles, more so when they were batting, or when anyone was running. An uninterrupted run all round was a point. If you completed an interrupted round, you batted again. Three points constituted a haven in the run round if you wanted to make use of them. Fielders had to leap the small paddy field bunds when going for the ball. When the fields are under cultivation, there is no *elle*.

On this visit, I had a day's rest. I mixed it with a little reading, and I would like somehow to convey some of the fruits of this rest. The book was by a Frenchman, translated by an American, and I am afraid it left me feeling quite demolished. I do not think this was altogether a bad thing. It might have better if it had not put me on the defensive and resentful. This bespeaks lack of humility. So I am hardly in a position to preach. So let me see what I can do, at least to fill up a page. I hope it makes good verse.

*Through all ages people wrote
Their syntheses of thought,
The world has gone on as of yore
As if naught of aught been wrote,*

*Yet write they must, or live, or die,
Express themselves they will,
But don't you think, at all, that they
Alone have the key to life.*

*An unlettered man may know as much,
Which he don't presume to say
Except by his acts in daily life,
Or song, or verse, made nay.*

*Now the message as live learnt it hard,
Is that life must be a cross,
The body wronged, the mind alert,
The soul, the heart, qui vive.*

*That God be man, that man be god,
Is a lesson hard to take,
That Three alone have lived as One,
Exemplar, Fount, and Stake.*

May 20,

IN THE DEEP SOUTH. Perhaps I may be allowed to cover by the expression, *The deep South*, two districts whose capitals are miles apart. Anyway it is the littoral that I mean. In the earlier article on this region, I said that the people seemed to be fairly prosperous. A stranger might not have thought so this time by the number of children who were calling for *bakshish*, either a rupee or ten rupees at a time. I say this without much shame, as I suppose it is a Ceylonese trait to tease foreigners by making them think that we are singularly stupid or poor. I have heard of one Secretary, permanent secretary we used to call them, who, in his youth, went all round London doing just this playing up the crass ignorance side. Here, of course, there is the attraction of a free buck, the price of tuck being what it is, today, in Ceylon.

Earlier, I had the opportunity of talking to the maker of our Ceylon snake stone about the stone, on matters that I brought up in the

Kazi on Mihintale. I told him about my reluctance to use a razor blade on a man bitten by a polonga, and he rightly said, *Well, it was a man's life*. When I eventually produced the blade, long after two earlier attempts to make the stone stick to the wound, the family resolutely set their faces against any more recourse to the stone. The time for proving the stone had passed; it was now to be the traditional *vederala* treatment. That we had been unable to draw blood might have been due to the blood congealing in that region, my mentor said. The water that emanated from the wound two hours after the bite, and after an incision had been made, ought to have been sufficient to attach the stone to the wound he said. If the stone did not stick of its own accord, then it ought to have been bandaged on. The maker of the stone was much more concerned about the second case I told him about, two days after this first bite, another young man had been bitten by a cobra in the evening and had died before dawn the next morning. Here, he said, I should have gone to the dead body and used the stone because he said, it is very difficult to ascertain death after a snake bite. He told me of various tests, and he told me always to presume life until corruption had set in. He told me of a Buddhist monk who had snatched many a man from a premature grave or funeral pyre, and who had kept their coffins as a memento.

As regards the south, I have used this Kazi on this region as a peg to hang a few thoughts on, a clothes-line on which to air them, and I am going to do this now again. My points are Buddhism and Roman Catholicism. An intellectual approach, on its own, will not do. There is no short cut to an answer. Christ said without me you can do nothing. The Buddhists ignore this because they do not believe in Christ as we do. Buddhists are very attached to their religion, which on the intellectual plane is regarded not so much a religion as a philosophy. The great drawback to Catholicism, for those who take it on, is that it implies making a radical change in one's life. It is like jumping off a very high bridge, with a sense of no return. For a Catholic, Buddhism must have a purpose probably precisely because it is a philosophy

and not a religion like Hinduism. We will not go into the question of Hinduism here. I think the answer to the matter I have just touched on is that the solution of the enigma in Buddhism for Catholics is to be found in the people and not quite to the same extent in their books or teaching. For Buddhism, like one's emotions, cannot be ignored; here anyway.

FARMING

Nitrogen Fixing in Rice Crop

NITROGEN is the important nutrient element in rice culture and recently problems in the production of fertilizers have forced scientists to look for means of economising the use of this costly nutrient. One of these ideas is to intensify the tempo of fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. Work is being carried out on this aspect at the International Rice Research Institute, Manila (IRRI). The scientists there have found that atmospheric nitrogen can be fixed in paddy soils in a form that rice can use. In some experiments the equivalent of 60 kg. per hectare of N had been fixed. This, according to them explained, how rice has been continually grown in some paddy fields without fertilization for hundreds of years. These studies have shown that bacteria surrounding the roots of rice derive part of their energy from organic exudates from the roots and use this energy to convert the gaseous nitrogen into forms available to the plant. The rates of fixation have, however, been only low and screening of varieties to determine their relative nitrogen-fixing capacities has been taken up, as a means of increasing the efficiency of N-fixation.

It has, however, been indicated in the laboratory experiments that rice plants fix higher levels of nitrogen when phosphorous and potassium are added. In one of the experiments significant yield increases were obtained with application of P and K without nitrogen. As such a keen response to P and K was rare at the IRRI, it was considered it might have

been due to the indirect impact of P and K. Another interesting observation the scientists made was about the beneficial result of leaving straw in the field. A substantial amount of nutrients accumulated in the soil by this treatment produced yields as high as five tonnes per hectare from lowland soils without N-fertilizers.

Another important observation which is highly relevant to our country where drought frequently interferes with crop prospects, is about the traditional practice in the Philippines of intercropping maize and upland rice. This increased the productivity of the land and helped to utilise inputs efficiently. Application of N to this intercrop system gave a much higher return on investment than adding N to either maize or rice separately. Intercropping also provided a biological system of weed management. Certain traditional farming practices, including mixed cropping enabled the small farmers to control pests, thought they never knew how it happened. An instance cited was that of the groundnut-maize combination, was low, apparently because the groundnut crop was a habitat for a spider, which fed itself on the corn borers.

—Hindu



New International Code for Countries' Names

Geneva.

India will be "In" or "Ind" and Brazil "Br" or "Bra" under international codes for country names worked out by the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO). It says the new system, devised in three years of discussions of experts from the ISO and international bodies, is designed to replace a perplexing variety of codes presently used to symbolise countries. They are applied as markings for automobiles, aircraft, recognition signals for ships, radio stations, telephone and telex communications and for identification of competitors in sports events.

ISO says co-ordination of use codes became urgent with the increasing use of computers by international agencies, publishers, information systems and documentalists.

The new codes—called ISO standard 3166 for two and three letter sequence—are defined in co-operation with the International Air Transport Association (IATA), the International Chambers of Commerce and Shipping, the Universal Postal Union and the United Nations and its major agencies. ISO says the basic principle in defining codes for a total of 223 countries and similar "entitles" is to achieve "maximum visual association value" with respect to their names in world language, mostly English or French.

Thus, ISO explains the first letters of a name have been often adopted, like "Bu" and "Bur" for Burma or "Gh" and "Gha" for Ghana. In other cases distinctive consonants were applied like "Hk" and "HKG" for Hong Kong or "PZ" and "PCZ" for the Panama Canal Zone.

Country names with identical opening letters, like Australia and Austria posed "obvious difficulties", ISO says. In the new system Australia will be "Au". There are no less than five countries starting with "MAL"—Malawi (MW-MWI), Malaysia (MY-MYS), Maldives (MV-MDV), Mali (ML-MLI) and Malta (MT-MLT).

A similar choice had to be made with five more countries starting with "MA"—Macao (MO-MRT) and Mauritius (MU-MUS).

Other examples of country name codes of ISO include: Canada (CA-CAN), China (CN-CHN), Egypt (EG-EGY), France (FR-FRA), East Germany (DD-DDR), West Germany (DE-DEU), Japan (JP-JPN), New Zealand (NX-NZL), Portugal (PT-PRT), Sweden (SE-SWE), Switzerland (CH-CHE), Britain (GB-GBR) and the Soviet Union (SU-SUN).

The United States code is US-USA, Zambia becomes ZM-ZMB, Jamaica JA-JAM, and Turkey TR-TUR-AP.



Confidentially

SLBC, Lake House and "News"

IS IT NOT UNDERSTANDABLY STRANGE that the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC) should have blacked out all news about the current SLFP-LSSP crisis within the United Front? That while it is understandable that the SLBC should not take sides in political affairs it is a different matter to maintain a total blackout and silence about the most important news of the day? That one does not expect the SLBC to slant the news one way or another, but the least one expected was that it would report the news straight? That it was not necessary to be pro-SLFP or pro-LSSP to do this? That all that the SLBC news coverage had to do was to set out the events in a straightforward manner? That the SLBC did not do even the straight reporting which the *Observer* had done? That the reporting of the *Times* (under the new management) was weighted in favour of the PM and the SLFP? That the *Times* was perfectly entitled to do this in its commentaries? That to the credit of the *Times*, it must be said, that it set out all the available facts and news, before making any comments? That there were contradictory trends in *Lake House* publications? That whilst the *Daily News* and *Dinamina* had endeavoured to present the news in such a way as to enable the different parties of the UF to maintain the so-called "unity of the progressives", the *Observer* had maintained a far-too-discreet aloofness which had made it difficult to read even between the lines? That the *Dinamina* and the *Daily News* had given unexpectedly significant coverage to a speech made by Mrs. Sunethra Rupasinghe that "unity" should be maintained between the three UF partners through further discussions? That, on the other hand, speeches made in the last fortnight that the parting of the ways had come by persons deeply involved in the politics of the country have been blacked out? That many observers had formed the impression that the *Daily News*

and *Dinamina* was anxious to extend indirect support to one trend in the UF controversy? That a statement made, by former LSSP, J. C. T. Kotelawela, was kept out of *Lake House* publications whilst the *Times* of Ceylon had published it promptly? That it is possible that *Lake House* will use it subsequently if saner counsel begin to prevail in the higher echelons of *Lake House* with the realisation that that temporary blackouts—in a section of the press, however big or important—will not alter the course of history? (That at writing there was no indication that Jack Kotelewela's statement will be used by *Lake House* papers?)

That to come back to the SLBC, its news reports did not breathe one word about the correspondence that had been exchanged between the Prime Minister and the LSSP leaders? That these letters were among the most important and significant developments in the contemporary period? That people in the city of Colombo and the bigger towns of the island, where the daily papers are fairly regularly and fairly well distributed everyday, will not have even noticed that the SLBC had misbehaved in this way? That there is a vast population in the rural areas and the more distant areas which has learnt to depend on the SLBC for news about current developments? That the daily newspapers are not even distributed in these parts? That a few people in these areas get their daily newspapers through the post? That with the delays in the postal service (accentuated by the UPTO work-to-rule — now fortunately over) newspapers reached the consignees only several days after they should reach their destination? That hundreds of thousands of people had tuned in to the SLBC in the hope that it would report whether Dr. N. M. Perera had sent a reply to the Prime Minister? That they were anxious to know the contents of such a letter without any comment? That millions of SLBC readers were not informed that in between letters had exchanged between the PM and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva? That the PM had later sent a reply to the LSSP suggesting a Cabinet reshuffle? That these items of news had appeared in all the papers and it was stupid for the SLBC to pretend that such news were not

fit and proper news to go over the air? That there have been occasions in the recent and remote past when the SLBC, (formerly the CBC, and before that more appropriately *Radio Ceylon*), had published weighted and slanted news about current events? That one has only to hark to the on-the-spot live commentary about the last May Day Rally when it was made to appear that only the colour that mattered was Red and that anybody who counted was a "sahotharaya" (comrade)? That SLBC's admitted partisanship on many matters in recent times has been a matter of comment in knowledgeable circles? That in this context the SLBC blackout of the news about the SLFP-LSSP exchange of letters and the discussions about a Cabinet reshuffle has been interpreted as another act of partisanship under cover on non-involvement? That the SLBC has a duty to the public to keep it informed about current events local as well as international? That at present it wastes everybody's time by repeating stale uninteresting news items about minor developmental matters (indirectly boosting the image of selected bureaucrats and politicians)—not once but two and three times over different news broadcasts? That it is time that something was done about this situation in the SLBC which has blatantly ceased to discharge its function of keeping the public informed about current matters? That with this latest act of partisanship (by blacking out) in respect of the SLFP-LSSP exchange of letters and the subsequent developments centred round a Cabinet reshuffle, the credibility gap which has already enveloped the SLBC for sometime now has increased to a degree that even the ordinary man in the outstations has stopped tuning in to the SLBC news broadcasts? That knowledgeable people just listen to the headlines at the beginning of a news broadcast and shut the radio down when they discover that stale items would be repeated for the second or third time? That these persons thereafter tune in to the AIR, or BBC, or the VOA, in the hope that one or more of them will refer to the developments in Sri Lanka? That when a Cabinet reshuffle does finally take place it may receive a half-minute reference over these stations?





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