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# TRIBUNE





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# Letter From The Editor

AS FROM TODAY, the 9th of July, there are just 12 days before polling day and only 10 days of campaign meetings and propaganda. There will be only one issue of the *Tribune*, on Saturday, July 16, before the election. The issue after that, scheduled for Saturday, July 23, will appear on the newstands about two days late, probably on Monday, to enable us to have in that number a preliminary analysis of the election results. Delays in printing and distribution must be anticipated because polling day and the day after will be virtually non-working days followed by the weekend. All indications, so far, are that the elections will be peaceful and quiet—as all elections have been in Ceylon after adult franchise had been introduced in 1931. The Police have, so far, done remarkably well, and complaints of police or bureaucratic partisanship have been very very few and far between. The authorities have also, according to all reports, taken the necessary precautions to ensure a peaceful poll: and, what is more, taken extra special care to see that no disturbances or violent clashes take place after the election results are known. It is true that after the elections in 1965 and in 1970 there were outbreaks of violent clashes in some parts of the island because certain groups took the opportunity to pay off old scores and settle some grudges. On these occasions, some sections of the Police Force had, it is alleged, turned a blind eye, and stepped in to maintain law and order only after the favoured groups had extracted their pound of flesh. There seems to be a welcome determination, this time, by the Police that they should give no room for such accusations. Except for a lunatic fringe on the periphery of political activism in Sri Lanka, nobody wants anything but a peaceful poll. All the political parties are anxious that the elections should be held in an orderly manner and the future government of the country (for the next six years, or will it be once again five?) determined through the ballot box and not the barrel of a gun. The SLFP, the UNP and the ULF are today, and have always been, zealous parliamentarians who believe in free democratic elections as the mode of electing or changing government at regular intervals. It is true that within the ULF there are now small sections who have a conditional or qualified use for parliamentary government and free democratic elections in the manner they have developed in western Europe and in North America. They still believe that, in the final analysis, only the dictatorship of the proletariat (or a dictatorship of workers and peasants) as exercised by a single party can resolve the problems of poverty, employment and welfare in the modern era, but they seem willing to participate in democratic elections and the parliamentary system in the hope and belief that through this they would be able to attain the goal of a one-party dictatorship. Some of them rationalise by asserting what they wanted was a one-party government based on what is now a popular cliché, "democratic consensus." A very large number of countries in the developed and developing world have established such one-party Governments—where the quantum of democratic consensus is as dubious as it is unreal. It will be academic and premature to speculate on the possibilities of any such outgrowth of one-party logic in Sri Lanka because all parties have for the moment publicly accepted the need to continue with pluralism in a multi-party state. Even the JVP, which had organised the abortive shot-gun insurrection in 1971, has now decided to participate in the general elections. The manifesto of the JVP is still a vague and in some ways an evasive document—but, with many welcome and noteworthy features—and which grudgingly asserts that the parliamentary system was only one way of reaching a socialist classless society in which the exploitation of man by man will be ended for all time. Many people have doubts whether the JVP mean what they say but one must take them on their face value until the contrary is proved. The JVP have the record of 1971 to live down but their manifesto is at least a clear indication that the party now has a desire to enter the mainstream of the body politic of Sri Lanka which has accepted the parliamentary system. The JVP has been honest enough to say the party has reservations about the workability and effectiveness of the parliamentary system, but there are a great many others who have the same reservations but who do not openly reveal them. The JVP, unlike certain established and recognised political parties, has come out strongly in favour of the rule of law and individual freedoms, and this does not seem to be a gimmick to provide a smokescreen for sinister plans. The TULF, the CWC and all other parties are strongly wedded to the parliamentary way of life. In these circumstances, there are good reasons for asserting that the poll on July 21 will be peaceful. But, it is a totally different question whether the results will be decisive enough to have a stable government for the next six (or five?) years.

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## UNP Leading

Colombo, July 6.

The election is only two weeks away; and the situation, though still confused, has become clearer than it was a week or a fortnight ago. Reports have come in from most parts of the island. There is no doubt that the reports are conflicting and often, if not always, tinged with bias, highly subjective, wishful thinking, and even prejudice. But, in the labyrinthian maze of such reports, it is possible to discern some general trends.

The SLFP, which started very badly around the time of Nomination—it had been even worse immediately after Prorogation—picked up its popularity rating in many areas towards the middle of June and the second half of last month. But, the progress was faltering and uneven, and by the beginning of July, the SLFP's popularity growth had begun to stagnate in no uncertain way. The Prime Minister, campaigning tirelessly in every part of the island, has drawn large crowds, but whether all went to her meetings to listen to what she had to say is doubtful. (It will be recalled that in 1970, Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake had also drawn sensationally large crowds but that did not prevent a landslide for the United Front and an ignominious defeat for the UNP. This does not mean that history will repeat itself in 1977 because history does not always repeat itself in that straight forward way—it often follows a very zig zag course that produces the most unexpected and unbelievable results.)

The UNP, which from the time of the untimely and unwise Prorogation was running a big favourite with all the chances of scoring a landslide victory of 110 seats, ran into a backlash by mid-June because it failed to sustain the new "image" its leader had tried to create. This did not push the UNP down to a losing position but brought it down to a place where it would have to fight hard to get a working majority in the new NSA.

In the meantime, the angry and indignant protest vote, which was all expected to go to the UNP

had begun to swing around a little to the ULF which began to make spectacular headway in some areas. The ULF is in no position to win a majority or even become the runner-up, as matters stand today, but the ULF can certainly take a number of seats away from the UNP and the SLFP and also reduce the majorities of UNP winners. And, by splitting the nebulous and often unrecognisable "progressive vote", the ULF will certainly help the UNP to win 15 to 20 seats.

At this point of time, J. R. Jayawardene, brought a new note into the UNP campaign. To give it a firm leftward thrust, JR imported greater socialist content into his speeches. In some meetings he had gone as far as to say that though the LSSP and CP had talked about Marx and Lenin for 40 years, they had failed to bring into being a Marxist-Leninist way of life in Ceylon; but the UNP, if it was returned to power, would ensure the establishment of that kind of socialism envisaged by Marx and Lenin. The Communist paper, *Aththa*, tried to make a joke of this speech. Old diehard and hardline anti-UNPers pretended to be amused by it. But, on the young who have only vague notions of what the UNP was (or is said to have been by elders), these statements by JR began to have an electric effect. They began to argue that it would be a pity to waste a vote on the ULF because it would not be in a position to form a government and that it would be worthwhile to give the UNP a chance to implement a socialist policy.

Reports coming in to *Tribune* indicate that in many areas, especially where the ULF candidate is weak, the youth and even older people have begun to think that the UNP might really be a "new party". SLFP and ULF campaigners have kept on stressing that the UNP is the "same old party", but this has not gone down as well as it had in 1970 or earlier. The anti-Government, anti-SLFP protest-vote sentiment is wide and universal. It will be recalled in the last 21 years—that is after 1956—the SLFP and its allies have been in power for 16 years, and the 5 years of UNP rule between 1965-70 is only a passing dream.

There is no system of public opinion polls in this country, but a little amateurish sampling by *Tribune* reporters and investigators

indicate that in very large number of areas, the mood of the people is to give the UNP a chance. A dhoby from the Mahara area, who has voted SLFP in every election since 1956, told a *Tribune* reporter: "...what have I got from the Government...? nothing to speak about... there is now no food to eat... no clothes to wear... and no soap to wash clothes and earn a living... I will vote UNP this time... nothing can be worse than the present where a pound of fish costs nearly Rs. 10... etc. etc."

A farmer in the NCP, not far away from Anuradhapura, said "I have been given 3 acres of land but what I can do with it... I am not able to plough it... and I have to sell what I produce to the trader at cheap prices because the government buying places are impossible... there is no food except what we get for shramadana work... a kind of charity... why not give the UNP a chance..."

Seven out of ten reports coming in from a wide range of such sampling indicate support for the UNP. These are mostly from middle aged and older voters. Up to very recently, the youth were cautious and would not commit themselves. They were inclined to support pro-JVP Independents or pro-JVP candidates (in spite of internal squabbling). But in the last week or ten days, a new line of logic seems to have emerged: the UNP and its leader are making "wild promises", they say, and why not give the UNP a chance and force them to implement their promises. There is no doubt that J. R. Jayawardene has sensed this mood and in a speech at Hanguranketa, reported in the *Sun* of Tuesday, July 5, under the headline JR MAKES MAJOR DISCLOSURE ON INSURGENCY: WIJEWEEKA'S CASE WILL BE REVIEWED, stated:

UNP Leader, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, said on Sunday that if he became Prime Minister he would review the life imprisonment sentence imposed on JVP Leader, Rohana Wijeweera. "If the UNP forms a Government we will ascertain for ourselves whether Wijeweera should remain in prison till the day he dies, or not." Mr. Jayawardene told a party rally at Hanguranketa in support of the UNP candidate, Mr. George Abeygoonesekera. According to Mr. Jayawardene, the Criminal Justice Commission report stated that Miss Sunethra Bandaranaike, (now Rupasinghe) was a carrier of correspon-



dence pertaining to the insurrection from Colombo to London. Mr. S. D. Bandaranaike, a relative of the Prime Minister, was found guilty by the CJC but was today free to contest as an SLFP candidate. "Why is it that only Wijeweera has to languish in jail", he asked. "Is it simply because he is a small man?"

Mr. Jayewardene told the gathering that he had never referred to either Mrs. Indira Gandhi or to Mrs. Bandaranaike as a cow. All he said was that the symbol of the Congress Party of India was the cow and the calf and that they lost. In Sri Lanka the same would happen to Mrs. Bandaranaike. The UNP, he said, would fight forever against the forces of Radala power. Like a cow that could not give milk was "pensioned off", so should this Government that could not deliver the goods to the people. Just as the Indian Government had impounded the passport of Sanjay Gandhi and was inquiring into the dictatorial workings of the Congress Party while in power, the UNP too would make certain inquiries into the carbon-copy like workings of this Government.

Mr. Jayewardene said he could not promise that all problems would be solved overnight. The oil prices could not be brought down if the Arab Sheikhs kept raising their prices. But he could and he certainly would settle some of the problems—like official corruption and blackmarketing. One such example was that Salu Sala sold 50,000 yards of cloth to an ex-MP of the Government at Rs. 4/50 a yard. That ex-MP had sold it to a blackmarketeer at Rs. 8/50 a yard, making Rs. 200,000 in the process. And the dealer had sold it to the consumer at Rs. 14/50 per yard. Such things would be stopped overnight, Mr. Jayewardene said.

When MPs took bribes or came drunk to Parliament he would take action at once, Mr. Jayewardene promised. Mrs. Bandaranaike did not have the courage to do this. Mr. Jayewardene said he could not prevent people from drinking, and a ban on liquor would not work. But no one would be permitted to disgrace any public office he held by drunken behaviour. Even if this cost him his premiership, it would be worthwhile setting an example for he did not intend to give leadership to a set of drunks and corrupt persons.

Newspapers, he said, would be free to publish the names of persons who were corrupt. Be it the Prime Minister, Ministers, MPs or anyone.

Public opinion must be moulded against these persons. Only then would people in high places be careful, he said.

Speaking at Pilimalawé in the Yatinuwara electorate the same evening, Mr. Jayewardene said "the Bandaranaike-Kobbekaduwa Radala era would end on July 21 and a new society would emerge through the UNP's Ahimsa Revolution." The UNP Government would not be merely a Government, but a Revolutionary Government. He asked how Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa was going to stop the UNP from forming a Government in the event of a UNP victory. Was Mr. Kobbekaduwa going to throttle him or kidnap him? It would be interesting to wait and see what Mr. Kobbekaduwa could do.

Mr. Jayewardene said that World leaders when they got power had often attempted to change society. "Lenin did it under a Communist form of Government. After World War II Tito did it in Yugoslavia again under a Communist government but with a little more freedom—than in Russia. Adenauer did it in West Germany under a democracy and within a capitalist system. So did Japan." Why can't we do it? Mr. Jayewardene asked? "I say we can—under a democratic framework". The

UNP, he said, would give the people the right to vote after six years, if not earlier. No UNPer would be permitted to speak against that birth-right of our people.

"We will assist the Opposition. Why? Because I have seen that you can never suppress an Opposition. The Prime Minister treated me like a dog, but I will give the Leader of the Opposition the second place in the country", said Mr. Jayawardene.

This line of speech-making seems to have had some appeal to the youth. They say, in private conversations, that the UNP should be given an opportunity to implement these promises. The remarks made by JR about the insurgency and Rohana Wijeweera has also had a tremendous impact on youthful voters. This has come at a time when the authorities had made sensational claims that the insurgent prisoners at the Magazine Prison and at Welikade had attempted to stage a jail break and some officials had even hinted that the electricity blackout was only a part of the plot. JVP sources were quick to point out that the whole thing was a flame-up and a fabrication to smear the new political image of the JVP. General public opinion is that the whole story

## COVER

### ON WORKING HARD

THE PICTURE on the cover depicted a familiar scene in the Ceylon of yesterday. Even today water buffaloes, as these animals are called, are used for ploughing in the wet zone and in fields where tank irrigation permits "wet cultivation" as compared to dry sowing in the drier parts of the Wann where rain is the only source of water for paddy cultivation. In these dry regions the bullock had traditionally drawn the plough. Buffaloes have today become a comparative rarity in the island. Bulls and cows are also becoming fewer and fewer. Grandiose plans have been repeatedly announced over the SLBC and through the official media for the increase and improvement of livestock, but day by day the numbers go down because the demand on the butchers for meat. It is certainly easier and better to plough paddy fields with tractors (four wheelers especially) but obstinate, mentally-constricted officials had decreed that the four-wheelers were taboo and that the ploughing should be done by two-wheelers and animal power. The animals, in the meantime, have become fewer and fewer, and the two wheelers cannot effectively do large-scale farming—and large-scale farming is the only economic and profitable way of farming. Buffaloes work hard when harnessed to the plough or to a cart, but human beings in Sri Lanka (whatever be the excuses) do not work as hard as they should. Government holidays are over 150 days a year and the effective working year is no more than 200 days. Manpower resources have also been frittered away by discriminatory policies which keeps the potential working population divided. No Government can overcome the problems confronting the nation today unless it can mobilise the entire manpower resources on a united basis and offer incentives to all sections of the people, irrespective of race, creed and language, to work hard and produce more.



smacked of a crude and provocative frame-up to denigrate the youth and the JVP. The UNP leader quickly seized upon this prison officials' gimmick to swing some more votes for the UNP—with some measure of success.

With J. R. Jayewardene once again asserting himself in the war of words to give the UNP a new image, the election race is entering the last lap. Most neutral observers think that the UNP is good enough for 85 to 90 seats. SLFP stalwarts, who are realists, give the UNP no more than 70 seats. The cautious observer prefers to stick to "around 80 seats". In any case, most people, except some SLFP leaders like Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, who think the SLFP will bag 100 seats, concede that the UNP will be the largest single party, but what they are not willing to bet on is how large the UNP contingent in the new NSA will be.

The SLFP campaign is being borne single-handed by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike. The "acting" Prime Minister and the Leader of the House, Maithripala Senanayake, has not moved out very far from his own electorate. Either he is tied down to his electorate by a very strong UNP challenge this time, or his enthusiasm for the SLFP has waned to the point that he sticks to his own electorate. Hector Kobbekaduwa has moved around in the hill region a little but he too seems to have been pinned down to his electorate. His greatest and most frequent contribution to the SLFP campaign are prophetic pronouncements that "JR would never be the PM". T. B. Illangaratne, another SLFP stalwart, is also very much in his own electorate. It is only the Prime Minister who moves about the whole country. (It can be also said that no UNP leader, except JR, has gone very much out of their electorates).

The Prime Minister has stressed that the UNP's proposal to set up a free trade zone in Trincomalee would be tantamount to a surrender of the sovereignty of the country. She speaks of the achievements of the SLFP and attacks the UNP as a capitalist party anxious to protect local and foreign capitalist vested interests. The Daily News of July 5, under the headline **DECIDE WHO HAS DONE MORE FOR YOU, BEFORE YOU**

**VOTE** reported the PM's speech at a meeting at Welisara:

The UNP distributed 95,000 acres to people like Jafferjees. Our government took over 500,000 acres for the benefit of the people. The people should decide what constituted land reform—the action of the UNP or the action of the SLFP, said the Prime Minister. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike yesterday at a party meeting at Welisara, Mahabage in the Welisara electorate. Mrs. Bandaranaike, said that the UNP leader, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene had been holding important positions in UNP governments since 1947. Now he claimed to be a socialist. If he was a socialist why did he and the UNP oppose the Land Reform Bill in parliament? Mrs. Bandaranaike asked. Mrs. Bandaranaike said that it appeared to her that Mr. Jayewardene was protecting company empires like the Asian Cotton Mills, Cial Fountain Pens and Lambretta Scooter factory. It also appeared that his basic principle was to protect reactionary capitalists. A few years ago, Mr. Jayewardene had made loud proclamations that if he were elected to power he would provide 8 pounds of cereals, solve the unemployment problem and bring down the cost of living. But now he was saying that if he came to power he would consider these problems. She said that Sri Lanka could be described as one of the countries having the lowest cost of living.

She had toured the districts of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa for three days. After six crop failures due to the drought farmers in those areas had been able to cultivate their fields from the diverted waters of the Mahaveli. Under Stage II of the Mahaveli Scheme 9 lakhs of acres would be cultivated. With the successful implementation of stage II of the Mahaveli the country would be able to do away with the import of rice and export rice she said. The only solution to unemployment was through development programmes such as the diversion of rivers such as the Mahaveli and the Kelani. The Mahaveli scheme had already been implemented and the government was going ahead with the diversion of the Kelani river to the North Western Province she said. Due to the programmes of the government, rice production had reached such heights in the Eastern province that the people in the area were not buying the rice given on the ration. They were also self-

sufficient in subsidiary crops. Of the eight seats in the Eastern province the SLFP would win at least 6 she said. The government was aware of the problems of the cost of living and unemployment and was going ahead with appropriate solutions. It was the SLFP that had tackled these problems in a successful manner and not the UNP. The opponents of the government were doing everything to make the government unpopular. There was an artificial shortage of matches, kerosene and other essential consumer items. That was the result of the mudlalali hoarding such items. But those efforts of the enemies of the government would fail she assured. She asked the people not to be fooled by the propaganda of the UNP and its supporters. The UNP had governed the country for 14 years and the SLFP for 15 years. The people should consider which government had worked for the benefit of the people, when they cast their votes, she added. Mrs. Bandaranaike said that the UNP spoke much about drunkards but it was relevant to inquire whether it was sober people who shouted obscene slogans at the UNP's May Day rally, she asked.

The PM's speech is a fair sample of SLFP campaign propaganda. She has also been occasionally been into indignant outbursts—which JR with supreme care and caution has avoided. The Sun/Dawasa group has been (understandably) hostile to the SLFP, but it has reported all speeches very scrupulously. But the Sun/Dawasa has staged gimmicks to help the UNP along—eg. comparing the horoscopes of the PM and the UNP leader to "predict" that whilst the PM would retain her own seat, JR was assured of a bigger islandwide victory in the elections. The PM's reaction to this Sun/Dawasa campaign was reflected in many of her speeches and they were best reported in the Sun/Dawasa. The Sun of July 6 under the headline **"DAVASA" VANS MAY BE CRUSHED: PM SOUNDS A WARNING** reported:

"The Dawasa had no vehicles to distribute its publications and had put an advertisement for the hire of cars. Those who hire vehicles should be careful for if they were damaged or crushed, they would not be responsible for such acts." This warning was given by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike.



naike, when she addressed an election rally on Monday night at Sangaraja Mawatha in support of the SLFP candidate for Colombo Central, Mr. Halim Ishak. Charging that the **Davasa** newspaper had started helping the UNP Mrs. Bandaranaike claimed that she was not fighting elections on the strength of Lake House publicity, she said. **Davasa** had compared her horoscope with that of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's and said that her one was unfavourable for Premiership while JR's was good. However good JR's horoscope may be, she would be on the saddle of power on July 21 once more, Mrs. Bandaranaike added.

Referring to Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's request that election propaganda speeches of the UNP should receive equal space that SLFP speeches receive in Lake House newspapers, Mrs. Bandaranaike said she had asked the Directors of Lake House to close down the institution. Mr. Jayewardene said it would take place there. "Then Mr. Jayewardene would have to provide jobs for 300 of his supporters" she said. Mrs. Bandaranaike said the former Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was an accepted and respected leader. She was the daughter of an equally respected international leader, the late Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. Our country had looked up to her leadership. But Mr. J. R. Jayewardene had chosen to insult such a leader and throw mud at her and her son. He had called her a cow and her son a calf. It was regrettable that a politician of the calibre of Mr. Jayewardene should descend so low to attack. Continuing, she said that it was strange that Mr. Jayewardene had chosen to say it in a Muslim area in the Eastern Province. He had not repeated it in any other area. She asked why Mr. Jayewardene had, of all places, made that remark amidst Muslims. Apparently, Mr. Jayewardene thought by attacking India and Mrs. Indira Gandhi before Muslims he could win the Muslim votes.

The Prime Minister said that since nomination day, she had addressed over 80 meetings in the various electorates. On that day she had been to Anuradhapura, then to Wattala and had come over to Colombo Central to address its voters. Even though she was tired and hoarse after speaking at several meetings, she considered it a good opportunity to educate the voters of Colombo Central about the service rendered

to the country by the SLFP. She said that the Leader of the UNP and other members of the party had claimed from platforms that once Parliament was dissolved, SLFP members would not be able to walk on the roads to canvas votes. She was happy that Parliament was now dissolved and SLFP members were going round addressing people. Even before the Nomination Day, the UNP had selected the Government and even named the Deputy Ministers. Mr. Jayewardene claimed loudly that he would set up a Government after the general elections. But of late he had stopped making such a claim. Perhaps this was because Mr. Jayewardene had come to realise that his expectations may not come to pass. Referring to the United Left Front the Prime Minister said, that it was leaderless. After the UNP assumes power, they want to bring about a revolution and capture power. The **Achtha** was writing against her party in a most insulting manner.

Mr. Haleem Ishak, the SLFP candidate for Colombo Central said that, he had tasted defeat at Colombo Central on three occasions. That, he said, was due to the deception practised by Mr. Pieter Keuneman and his supporters who carried on a propaganda on the day of the poll to break the SLFP votes. The voters then divided the SLFP votes between him and Mr. Keuneman. He said that Mr. Keuneman was no longer receiving the support of the government. He was the only nominee of the SLFP and such an eventuality would not arise. He detailed the manner in which Mr. T. B. Subasinghe a member of the SLFP, acted during the last general elections. He never appeared on his platform to speak in support of the SLFP, but came on Mr. Keuneman's platform at a meeting held at Maradana. He said he was happy that such individuals were no more with them. Referring to the UNP candidate, Mr. Jabir A. Cader, Mr. Ishak said that if he were returned to Parliament, he would have no time to devote to the voters. The voters would be served only by a security officer or a clerk and Mr. Cader would be busy looking after the interests of the number of companies where he had shares or was a director. Mr. Ishak claimed that he had tried on many occasions to set up a District Development Council for Colombo Central to attend to the needs of the voters and solve their problems. But he was thwarted by Mr. Keuneman and his officials.

The SLFP is undoubtedly fighting hard to win enough seats to be able to form a government again. Unless, a sudden and miraculous "wave" starts in the last ten days—this can always happen—the SLFP will tail behind the UNP. What the gap will be is hard to say.

Whilst the two giants, the SLFP and the UNP, are fighting the main battle, with the ULF providing the diversionary flank onslaught, the TULF has run into very serious difficulties in as many as ten seats which it had hoped to annex easily by comfortable majorities. The TULF is being challenged in these seats by Independents, UNP and SLFP men, in a way that has surprised many people. It has been found that many TULF sitting members and some of the new choices are not "personally" popular and acceptable to the Tamil voters, and they are today in danger of losing the battle unless the diminishing euphoria still hanging over the TULF is able to carry them to victory.

Apart from a number of seats in the Eastern Province, the TULF is being seriously challenged in the heartland of the Tamils in the Northern Province. The seats in the NP which are now in doubt are Vaddukoddai, Point Pedro, Udupiddy, Jaffna, Mullaitivu, Vavuniya and Mannar. If the present wave of anti-TULF candidates' personal popularity in these areas keeps growing, the TULF may be left with only 15 to 18 seats, instead of the 20 to 24 which nearly all observers including **Tribune**, had earlier believed they would get. This, in turn, will have serious repercussions on the overall party strengths, because the majority of those who defeat TULF candidates will either back the UNP or the SLFP, or remain Independents until government-making becomes a serious exercise.

In the net result, the UNP will be the main beneficiary of any erosion of TULF strength in the new NSA. However, the TULF chieftains are old campaigners and it is possible that they will resort to some emotional gimmicks as in Trincomalee which has helped them to swing the tide to help these faltering TULF candidates along. In the next ten days a great deal may happen (or may not happen) but these will be exciting days.



SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

## June 14 — June 20

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; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;

**TUESDAY, JUNE 14:** A team of experts from the Asian Development Bank is expected in the country shortly to update proposals already in hand for the diversion of the Kelani Ganga; a government spokesman said yesterday that the government was very hopeful that the ADB would finance the cost of the project as part of its contribution to Sri Lanka for the second Five year Plan of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs. An estimated work force of 800,000 in the state owned plantation sector will benefit from a cabinet decision last week endorsing the recommendation of the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, that they should be assured a minimum of 21 working days. The Chairman of the National Milk Board has stated that the Milk Board is in a position to issue Lakspray to all co-operative stores in the country. Railway unions have gradually begun to abandon the 2 month old work-to-rule; yesterday pointsmen resumed normal work following a similar decision made by railway guards last week; both railway authorities and trade union sources were yesterday confident that the services will return to normal today or tomorrow. All staff employees of the Central Bank called off their strike and resumed work yesterday afternoon. The Minister of Finance, Food and Co-operatives is scheduled to return home on Friday—CDN. There is a severe shortage of drugs in the open market at present; the shortage in 'daily Mirror' understands is the result of a go-slow in certain sections of the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation. Considerable damage was caused to the Aitken Spence building at Slave Island, when a major fire broke out after-midnight yesterday. The JVP, according to reliable sources, is fielding four candidates in the South and supporting some of the MEP candidates as well—CDM. The Department of Inland Revenue has decided to grant a form of amnesty to all candidates for the general elections; in terms of this amnesty, the department will overlook all cases of default of payment of taxes of nearly 750 candidates seeking elections to the NSA. The Food Commissioner has expressed dissatisfaction with the output at the Galle Port and summoned a special meeting of the Port's directors this week to discuss the matter—SU. The penalty for impersonation at the forthcoming general election will be mandatory imprisonment; the old provision in the law which gave a court the discretion to impose either a fine or a term of imprisonment is no longer operative. At least 50,000 registered voters will not vote at the forthcoming general election owing to mere physical inability to cast their votes; most of them are prisoners or patients; there are also a large number of citizens who are abroad and will not be able to exercise the vote—CO. With the

sudden transfer of the OIC in charge of the Amparai police station, nearly 50 police officers attached to the Amparai police station went on 'Sick leave'—VK.

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15:** The police are ready with top secret contingency plans to deal with any situation to ensure the maintenance of law and order on polling day; the main objective of these plans is to ensure that the people are allowed to exercise their vote in an atmosphere of peace; there will be no room for violence of any sort that could frustrate the poll or the counting of votes. Two trainee pilots were killed when a plane of the Airport Training School, in which they were flying crashed after hitting a coconut tree on a hillock at Kiriella near Ratnapura yesterday; the crash occurred around noon in bad weather and when visibility was poor, official sources said—CDN. Between three and four hundred private motor vehicles are likely to be commandeered for police use during election week. The decision to involve the Department of co-operative development in the implementation of the channelled Consultation Practice Scheme is a decision of the government; the intention is to implement the scheme outside government hospitals and private nursing homes, but through a road-based set up, states a communique issued by the Ministry of Health commenting on a statement by the GMOA and the AMS—CDM. More than 100,000 public servants and others entitled to the postal vote will participate in a mini general election beginning on July 1. The government paid out more than 450,000 US dollars as a demurrage on food cargo alone from March to May this year—SU. A complete reorganisation of co-operative societies and their branches throughout the island, is now under way, with several new proposals being implemented to ensure the availability of essential consumer goods at the co-ops, as well as the speedy distribution of such items—CO. At the Tamil Nadu Assembly elections, out of the 120 seats, the majority were won by the All India ADMK—VK. The production of three major crops of this country, Paddy, Coconut and Rubber has decreased at alarming rates from 1970-75; paddy production has fallen by 10 lakhs 22.1 bushels; coconut by 10 lakhs and 63 nuts; and rubber by 10 lakhs and 23 lbs. According to the latest statistics of the Land Commissioner's Department the estimated acreage the youth schemes hoped to bring under cultivation was 30,000 acres of land, but from March 1976 only 5518 acres have been cultivated.

**THURSDAY JUNE 16:** As much as 50% of rationed rice is idling at the co-operatives; this is because the public prefer to buy good quality local rice available in plenty in the open market at almost or even less than the price of rationed rice. The transport Ministry yesterday decided to re-open the railway workshop at Ratmalana tomorrow following what the ministry claimed was 'a large spate of requests' from workers who wanted to get back to work. Mr. Sun Sheng-wei has been appointed Ambassador for the People's Republic of China to Sri Lanka. The Norwegian Storting (Parliament) recently approved an allocation to Sri Lanka of Norwegian Kroner 15 millions (Rs. 25 million) for 1977. The Pakistan government and Opposition announced yesterday they have agreed to hold general elections before the end of the year—CDN. A section of Cinnamon Gardens will be declared a Security Zone for three days from July 20 and residents will be allowed admission into the zone strictly on special permits only. Voters will receive



their voting cards by July 14 by post, according to the Commissioner of elections. The Association of Government Medical Practitioners called off its strike on Tuesday. Employees of the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation engaged in a 'go slow' over a working hour's dispute yesterday attended to their normal duties—CDM. A unique communications system linking practically every Police mobile patrol throughout Sri Lanka to the 'Comcentre' in Colombo will be put into operation for the general election on July 21. The Public Service Engineer's Union has appealed to the PM to arrange a settlement of its outstanding demands without forcing it to resort to direct trade union action. The Ceylon Plywoods Corporation is now importing timber to keep its multi-million-rupee plywood complexes at Gintota and Salawa working; the reason for this is the government's decision to stop the felling of trees in the Sinharaja forest following the protests by environmentalists that this could disturb the ecological structure. The distribution of subsidiary food items and textiles to CWE retail shops in the island has been hampered because of the lack of transport at the CWE.—SU The Secretary of the Ministry of Transport has given the assurance that disciplinary action will not be taken against any worker who has participated either in work-to-rule or strikes—VK. Mr. M. G. Ramachandran will become the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, and Mr. Karunanidhi will be the Leader of the Opposition. In the northern states the Janata Party has won the majority of seats—DP. Election Day, July 21, will be a holiday for the mercantile sector, this is the result of a decision of the Employer's Federation of Ceylon in response to the request made by the Commissioner of elections that employees, including domestic servants, should be given about four hours 'leave with pay' to enable them to cast their votes. The registration of the 7 Sri series of cars which commenced on October 14 last year has moved very fast up to June 14 this year, 2765 new cars have been registered; this means that 16 cars are being registered each working day—CD.

**FRIDAY, JUNE 17:** The Ceylon Government Railway incurred a loss of revenue around 20 million rupees—because of the work-to-rule campaign by a section of the railway men, according to a spokesman of the Railway. Sri Lanka which imported blackgram until 1972 has now begun to export this commodity; the recent Maha crop yielded 10,000 tons of blackgram—4,000 tons in excess of the local requirement for a year. Arrangements are under way to ensure that consumers get their milk food from the co-operative societies without much difficulty. A preliminary step by a future UNP government would be to sweep out all political mudalalis who were fostered by the present rulers and nationalise their business empires; shares of companies would be distributed among the citizens without any discrimination, said one of the UNP candidates at an election meeting. Mr. M.P. de Z. Siriwardene, Minister of Labour has been appointed Ambassador to Indonesia—CDN. The AMS is divided on whether or not to accept the Channelled Consultation Scheme in its present form as outlined by the Ministry of Health. The UNP manifesto has threatened to create in Sri Lanka a free economic zone—like Hong Kong, Singapore and Aden which are imperialist centres of smuggling, dumping and degeneration. The British High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, will formally hand over the welder

training school at Peliyagoda, set up with British aid under the Colombo Plan to the State Engineering Corporation today. All government schools are likely to be closed for three or four days during election week. The Society of Registered and Assistant Medical Practitioners whose members met yesterday at the New Town Hall resolved to continue the strike by their members—CDM. All courts of law in Sri Lanka will have a ten day lean period from July 16 in view of the general election. Police Headquarters yesterday ordered more transfers from the Nuwara Eliya division. The brother of the UNP candidate for Batticaloa has died of injuries he suffered when he was attacked by a rival party. The Railway has decided to issue identity cards to the employees in its Ratmalana workshop which is to be re-opened today. A special General meeting of the Ceylon Bank Employees Union will be held at the New Town Hall tomorrow to discuss the strike action of bank employees on June 22. A proposal to close down rural hospitals and Central dispensaries in the interior areas and open ayurvedic hospitals and dispensaries in their places, is being studied by the Minister of Health—SU

**SATURDAY, JUNE 18:** The government has decided to liberalise the import of licenses to import raw material required for the expanded program of industrialisation; the purpose is to assist industrialists to increase production of basic consumer goods and also generate employment. The Minister of Finance, Food and Co-operatives returned to the country yesterday; after his eye operation in England, he led the Sri Lanka delegation to the Commonwealth PM's conference. Speaking to the Sri Lanka Federation of University Women, the Minister of Public Administration, Home Affairs and Trade, said that it was not possible by law to abolish the dowry system, and even if it was done, there was no guarantee that it would be adhered to. The Ratmalana Railway Workshop was re-opened yesterday and all workers save about 100 were re-admitted on certain conditions laid down by the management. Nine unions in the Department of Civil Aviation have threatened strike action in connection with the transfer of a Police Officer in the BIA over an incident where he is alleged to have assaulted a radio officer. The TULF will not support any Sinhala party to form a coalition government; it will, however support any legislation which is consonant with TULF policies, irrespective of the party that introduces it, said Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Joint Secretary of the TULF in a talk on TULF policies to the Sri Lanka Foreign Correspondents Association yesterday—CDN. The CTB plans to increase its fleet of buses by 600 before the next general election; the Treasury has granted the Board a loan of Rs. 50 million for spare parts as well as to build bodies for chassis which have been imported. The ULF election manifesto has pledged to give full amnesty for all prisoners convicted or detained in connection with the 1971 insurgency; decentralisation of administration, appointments on merit and more rights for women are some of the other points of note. The Public Service Engineer's Union has alerted its members to resort to direct trade union action if a reasonable solution was not found to their problems—CDM. The Supreme Court, by a majority verdict, yesterday quashed an order made by the Land Reform Commission and the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa in respect of an estate which had been alienated among the four children of the owner. A



top-level Committee has been appointed by Mr. Maithripala Senanayake to inquire and report on how eight million rupees had to be spent on storage of machinery and equipment brought for installation at the Bowaterne power complex. About 2,500 tons of CARE milk powder have been lying in the port for the past three weeks. Journalists and non-journalist employees of leading newspapers throughout India stopped work yesterday for 24 hours to demand interim wage relief from January 1975. A group of youths calling themselves members of the 'Ealam Liberation Front' demonstrated outside the London Tea Centre last week demanding a separate state for Tamils of Sri Lanka—**JU**. Many foreign countries are showing an interest in the problems of the Tamils in this country, and the Soviet news agency *Tass* has directly contacted the Secretary of the TULF in this connection. There are 41 ships lying in the Port of Colombo; according to Port authorities this is the greatest congestion in a very long time—**LD**.

**SUNDAY, JUNE 19:** The Colombo tea trade breaks new ground today when a consignment of thirty thousand kilos of tea is freighted to Western Australia by chartered DC-8 cargo aircraft; this is the first time that a complete charter plane load of tea—or any Sri Lanka produce—has been airlifted to any destination abroad.

The Attorney General has ruled that the distribution of handbills is not an election offence as it could not be interpreted as displaying them; such distribution would only be prohibited within a quarter mile of the polling stations on the day of the poll. Railway services are gradually improving following the re-opening of the workshops at Ratmalana. Leaders of all three major political parties contesting the general election are now in the midst of their campaigns to support the candidatures of their respective nominees. The Ceylon Bank Employees Union at a meeting held yesterday decided to stage a general strike beginning midnight June 28 until the issues between the union and the various banks are settled—**SO**. Armed policemen have been moved into certain trouble spots to prevent an escalation of pre-election violence. There are positive signs that a new, militant leadership will surface in the left movement in the post-election months, according to certain veteran Left Trade Unionists and active supporters of Left Parties. The JVP has put forward four candidates for the elections. 422 of the 770 estate schools are to be taken over by the government shortly and integrated within the national system of education—**ST**. An Assistant Preventive Officer, five customs guards and a driver attached to the Galle customs have been nabbed by the Bribery Commissioner's Department. Going to the polls, on July 21 on the backs of animals, too is an offence; this ruling has been made by the Attorney-General. Dr. Albrecht Tabor, a 76-year-old West German national, reported missing in Sri Lanka since January this year, has been the victim of a murder gang. The handicapped people of Sri Lanka will demonstrate at Hyde Park next Friday to highlight the urgency of rehabilitating the blind, deaf, dumb and the mentally backward people at a national level—**WK**. 11 lakhs of tons of Lakspray imported from foreign countries is rotting in the Port of Colombo for the past two months; this is also a reason for the acute shortage of powdered milk in the island—**CM**. A lot of local material is remaining unsold at co-operatives, the CWE and the Salu Sala because of the import of materials from abroad—**ATH**. In remote villages, the

method of beating tom-toms is being used to inform villagers about collecting their Folls cards etc; this is done under the direction of G.A.'s on the orders of the Post Master General—**RR**.

**MONDAY, JUNE 20:** Every peasant family selected for settlement under the Mahaweli development scheme will be given an outright grant of Rs. 1,500 to clear the plots for cultivation; the settlers were earlier given only Rs. 250 for the purpose. While addressing a meeting in Colombo North, the PM to illustrate the hypocrisy of those who criticised her leadership now said, that soon after 1970, the leader of the Opposition who was having disputes with Mr. Dudley Senanayake, met her and expressed a desire to follow her leadership. Next week, the Committee set up by the Finance Minister to look into the grievances of the Ceylon Bank Employees Union will give in its report. Imported safety matches and hard-to-get fennel seed will be two of the many essential commodities made available by the CWE to co-operative societies next month to consumers. The GMOA decided at its Annual General Meeting to refrain from opting to practise under the proposed channelled consultation scheme until it is amended to suit the demands of the GMOA and the AMS. The Wild Life Conservation Department is planning to trap what is left of the Deduru Oya herd which has become a nuisance to cultivators in the Chilaw and Puttalam areas, and sell them by public auction—**CDN**. The Ceylon Teacher's Union faces a major split in its ranks over which party it should support in the polls; the CTU with a membership of 50,000 is one of the leading teacher's Unions. The Joint Front of the Sri Lanka Administrative Service is poised for a strike. Fees stipulated for surgical operations under the new channelled consultation scheme range from Rs. 75 to Rs. 300; this is embodied in the latest circular on the scheme sent out by the Director of Health Services. A big racket by Customs officials was bared by officials of the Bribery Commissioner's Department when they nabbed seven officers for allegedly accepting a bribe for Rs. 7,000 at Kalutara during the week-end—**CDM**. A special postal service will get under way throughout Sri Lanka next week to deliver to the country's six and a half million voters the manifestoes of their candidates. The Joint Front of Sri Lanka Administrative Service Trade Unions has rejected a proposal by the Minister of Public Administration, for the appointment of a committee to consider the restructuring of the SLAS—**SU**. A UNP government would take steps to distribute the incomes from the nationalised estates among their workers and the peasants in neighbouring villages, said the Leader of the UNP addressing propaganda rallies during the week-end. The PDP, one of the constituents of the ULF, has withdrawn its candidate for the Attanagalle seat, Mr. T. A. D. K. Thambugalla.—**CO** There is a likelihood of the All India Anna DMK joining up with the Janata Party; talks are in progress in New Delhi—**VK**. Since there has been a delay in issuing birth certificates to babies born in the Tellipallai hospital for the past three months, parents of over 500 babies are unable to obtain rations of milkfeed and sugar—**EN**. A committee has been set up to investigate the possibilities of increasing the pay of police constables—**DP**.



## Tamil State For 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Millions (A Kashmir In Ceylon)

By A. Thiagarajah, M.A., M.Litt, Karainagar

DEDICATED TO DR. N. M. PERERA

From the archives a TRIBUNE reader and researcher has found this pamphlet issued about the year 1954/55 by the M.P. for Vaddukkodai in the last N.S.A. Every person is entitled to change his views as often as he likes, but the public has a right to know and examine such views and the changes thereof. The title of this is the same as the original article. We reprint it without comment except to remind readers that Mr. Thiagarajah is a candidate at the forthcoming elections for the Vaddukkodai seat standing as an Independent for reasons of his own.

The Tamils in Ceylon including the Indians, should now resolve to have a state of their own for 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  million. This state formed mainly on a linguistic basis should accede to India on lines similar to Kashmir with special safeguards and option to secede at our will. The accession to the Indian Union should be made by the 1st of October, 1956, the date when India would have been finally reorganised on more or less a linguistic basis. In the 1957 general elections of India our State Assembly should have been formed and our representatives sent to the Parliament at Delhi. To achieve this objective with the least possible delay the 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  million Tamils in Ceylon should unite decide and act as one man, trusting in God. The Tamil State should comprise not only the N.P. and E.P., but also apportion of Puttalam District and the N.C.P. the whole of Uva province and Nuwara-Eliya district and the southern portion of the Kandy District. With the best of intentions, and as convenience permits, we shall exchange populations by taking over all Tamils on the other side in return for the Sinhalese on this side. It would still mean taking over two Tamils for each Sinhalese. The Tamils shall not be content with any area less than this and with a population less than 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  millions. The Tamils would thus have incidentally solved the Indo-Ceylon Problem once and for all on behalf of the Ceylon and Indian Government.

Now let me develop this theme of a Tamil State more clearly and convince all my Tamil brethren why we should unite, decide and act on the lines I have stated, for

we have no other alternative but to attain this within an year at the most. The Sinhalese version of Hitlers "Mein Kampf" should now be very evident to the least sensitive among the Tamils. Sooner or later the steam-roller tactics of the Sinhalese would force the Tamils to face realities. There is hardly any democracy, in Ceylon, we are now witnessing a perfect example of totalitarianism, from which we thought democracy was saved. In fact the government is powerless and in its place we find mobocracy and monkocracy riding in the crest of the communal wave. There is not the slightest hope that this hysteria of the Sinhalese masses would die down any time in the near future. Any close study of the Sinhalese complexes from what they have been uttering and doing should convince the Tamils beyond any trace of doubt that far from parity being ever given, even in a modified or attenuated form, the Tamils are certain to lose with the passage of time all legitimate political, economic and cultural rights and privileges of a democratic state, besides loss of their own territory. There would continue to be a government of the Sinhalese that would always be blind and deaf to every invidious distinction and discrimination by the administration in every matter, and the Tamils will not be able to prevent them. The simple reason is that the Sinhalese inferiority complex would never permit them to be magnanimous and fair to other communities for want of a democratic spirit, and this would always lead them to fanaticism and retaliation as a means of compensation. A threat of this sort

would not be over even if the Tamils yielded on the language issue. This would continue till the Sinhalese are satisfied that the Tamils are inferior to them in every respect, nay till they are absorbed and assimilated and thus prevented from ever being a source of danger. And this is a situation which the Tamils cannot face with equanimity. The sooner we separate the better for us. For the Tamils should remember that all research, both by the East and West, is proving that the Tamils were the first created mankind and that Tamil was the first created language becoming mother of all languages. Being proud of it we should steadily and firmly take timely measures to prevent disintegration and absorption by others, even if considerations of wealth should lure us away from our righteous path. The politics of an Aristotle or Spencer will not allow absorption of a million Tamils by 5 1/2 million Sinhalese.

Our Leaders: O! What poor stuff our Tamil Leaders are made of. Even after the banks have been breached by the floods they would not condescend to meet together to assess the situation and apprise the Tamils of any course of action or preparedness. The Tamil MP's and Senators are yet to meet. Could the position of the Tamils be more lamentable than in this hour of grave crisis and desparation: Cannot they read between the lines of current events? Where is the much needed unity, decision and action which alone can save the Tamils from what might otherwise be a complete disaster. I pray to the Tamil leaders whatever their veracity be, to give a lead irrespective of whether they are of the right, centre or left. There is no doubtahue and cry for parity and fair play by all Tamils. But I must frankly confess that parity is now a matter for postmortem, and a thing of the past. It is no use trying to hope for it anymore. Nor is it useful trying to reply in a genuine democratic way all the nonsensical utterances made by the Sinhalese. No word or act of the Sinhalese deserves any reply from us. Only in sensible democracy could we expect replies to have any effect. The Tamils should reply to the Sinhalese by action and action alone, for we cannot shout to deaf ears and mad persons who are not prepared to listen to the other man's point of view, or show ac-



comodation to other's feelings. The Tamils should not entertain any hope of living together with the Sinhalese. They should resolve to establish a separate state and accede to India like Kashmir, preferably by the first of October, 1956. The Sinhalese seem now to be hostile to the Tamil race. The only hope of peaceful coexistence is by separation, and this Mr. Dahanayake is willing to concede. Let us wake to this reality and establish a Tamil State for 2 1/2 millions. Here is a golden opportunity for the Tamils given by the Nemesis of History, and if we do not avail ourselves of this rare chance to link with India, our spiritual home, we may lose all hopes of regaining our cultural heritage with which to enrich our lives. Let us therefore seize this occasion and work for the early realisation of a Tamil state. Before the Western intrusion the Tamils and the Sinhalese lived separately, and now that foreign domination is gone, let us freely choose to live separately.

**The Example of Kashmir:** The Tamil State shall accede to India on terms similar to Kashmir, which enjoys a certain degree of autonomy and privileges not conceded to the other States in India. India would then be having two States, Kashmir and the Ceylon Tamil State, on a different footing from the other states in India. Kashmir with 4 millions and the Ceylon Tamil state with 2 1/2 million would be the smallest in India, one in the Northern and the other in the Southern extremities. Kashmir would lie in the Himalayas, and the Ceylon Tamils' State in the Indian ocean. Both would be of strategic importance to India though with the least population. Kashmir saivism was the best saivism in Hinduism and the Tamil spoken in 'affna is the best in the world. Thus both states would lend themselves to comparisons in many respects. At any rate our cultural and material progress will be assured by being linked to India just as Kashmir enjoys its position.

**Means of Attaining Statehood** Our important problem will be to devise ways of achieving our goal. Certainly neither Her Majesty, the Queen nor Lord Soulbury are going to come to our rescue. Let us remember that the Britisher, who took a different view in India to suit his purpose, did little for us Tamils in Ceylon, and we badly lost the political battle in the

Donoughmore Reforms and in the Soulbury Reforms. We cannot afford to lose a third time relying on others and by consenting to work any constitution where assurances mean nothing. All imposed constitutions have undermined the democratic rights and privileges of the minorities. And now that the constitution has passed into the hands of the numerically superior, but democratically unenlightened majority community, the Tamils must give up any hope of holding their own. This does not refer to the language issue alone. Hence it is necessary to devise ways of separating ourselves at the earliest moment possible. Could self-determination be achieved through the U.N.O.? Certainly it would be a waste of time and energy, especially if we could only realise the significance of American support, to the Sinhalese move, for let us remember that America wants Ceylon into the SEATO. Our state can be achieved only by our effort and not with any external aid. The present parliament should be boycotted and passive resistance of every kind should be offered with Ahimsa and prayer. A provisional government should be formed for the state, and everything possible should be done to bring to fruition a Tamil State. The task is not too difficult, and if all Tamils join in the struggle victory is certainly ours.

**Economic Stability** There is one problem that looms large in the minds of the Tamils more than anything else. There is the subconscious fear that a separation would mean the undermining of the economic existence of the Tamils. I do not mean to minimise the problem or gloss it over. Frankly there will be a fall in the standard of living. But what of that? Different countries have varying standards of life. Yet the people in all countries and continents exist. Punny cat lives in the world where the huge Elephant lives. There is economic activity and international trade in all parts of the world. If there is a necessity to separate out and there is no gain in continuing to live together, it does not matter if the standard of living would fall, for as Goldsmith said "Every rood of ground maintains its man." What we should aim at is whether we can have a minimum standard of living and not a comparative standard of living. There

is no doubt that our Tamil state will be agriculturally self-sufficient and industrially progressive. And if we could have part of the up-country along with the Ceylon Indians we would have a greater share of the plantations which would provide us manufactures for the development of our state. The government will have its normal revenue and expenditure, ranging between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 million and run an administration far more efficient and economical than the present one. Our economic development could be well planned and foreign funds secured for the purpose. But it is essential that we include the Ceylon Indians and also territories as compensation for our willingness to take them over. There is nothing impracticable in the establishment and administration of a Tamil State for 2 1/2 millions. What we need is that the entire Tamils in

### Separate State will Never be a Reality

Vaddukoddai, June 22.

"Even if the Tamil United Liberation Front wins all the seats in the North and East and in Nuwara Eliya, where the TULF leader, Mr. Thondaman, is seeking election, the Tamils are opposed to the country being divided to set up a separate state for them. *Eelam* at best is only a protest cry of the Tamil speaking people at the failure of successive governments, including the National Government of the UNP in which the Federal Party was even represented in the Cabinet, to enshrine the fundamental rights of the minorities in the Constitution and provide for equality of opportunities for all", stated Mr. A. Thiagarajah, former MP for Vaddukoddai at an election rally held in Karainagar. Speaking further he stated that the people of Vaddukoddai had the opportunity of judging him on his record of service during the last seven years and on all the development that had taken place on that constituency. He focussed particular attention on the cleaning up operations on the Chankanai MPSC and the Co-operative Hospital, Moolai.

—Sun, June 23.



Ceylon should struggle to the last man as a matter of national existence.

**Appease or Separate:** We have only two alternatives before us, either appease the Sinhalese or strive for a Tamil State. The question of restoring parity must be ruled out. If we want to keep the present economic advantages intact for the Tamils and I am sure this cannot last long, then we might, accede to the general wishes of the Sinhalese on the language issue, but of course on condition that the Sinhalese at least accept the Indian model. India's policy has been outlined in the states Reorganisation report and also will be outlined in the official languages Commission report very soon. Indian leaders have assured beyond doubt the position of the fourteen national languages of India and the very restricted place Hindi would have in the centre. Both medium of instruction and medium of expression will be in each of the 14 languages, and for the Union Services all Hindi officials should learn one of the non-Hindi languages as much as all non-Hindi officials would be required to learn Hindi. Similar arrangements in Ceylon would give the Tamils the substance of parity though not its form. Tamil could accept such a position if given freedom of receiving instruction and giving expression in their own languages under a federal constitution. But the underlying motives of the Sinhalese are not the same as that which motivates the Hindi protagonists in India. Nor would matters end there. Hence it would be impracticable and unwise for the Tamils to accept the Sinhalese plea since any assurance would be very deceptive. If the substance of parity were given under a military or a federal government the Tamils would only gladly co-operate in the progress of the country but as things are otherwise, we have no alternative but to fight our way through for the establishment of a Tamil state for 21/2 millions.

**The partition:** The consequences of partition are many and we should face all of them very courageously. The services of impartial commissions for the redemarcation of boundaries, for the division of all assets and liabilities, for the division of administrative services etc. will be required and they should be tackled very carefully.

Most important would be the judicious handling of the exchange of population and their resettlement. These are the birthpangs of a people who wish to save their culture and tradition, as much as they wish to eke out an economic existence.

**General Framework:** The general framework of our State should be on the new well known Indian objective of socialistic pattern of society. The Tamil tradition is for socialism in consonance with religion, and we should work for it.

**Gratitude to Dr. N. M. Perera:** Every Tamil should take off his hat to one of the greatest statesman of our times, Dr. N. M. Perera. He will live in the hearts of the Tamils for all times to come. The Tamils will welcome him to be one of our leaders in the Tamil states and help us in our efforts to attain economic and political stability.

**Our Motto and Promise;** The motto of the Tamils should be "Unite, decide and act." We promise the Sinhalese, that we shall not rest till we separate out from them in the name of peaceful co-existence and that we shall strive to achieve our goal of a separate Tamil state linked to India without trumpeting by writing in blood and making processions to the Hindu God of Kataragama. We feel sorry for the attitude of the Sinhalese, and more so because we won't be able to change their mind or heart but then the Tamils cannot but help struggle for a separate state in the interest of both the races. An ancient Tamil proverb says that hardened enmity is better than bogus friendship. Yet the Tamils will be honest to themselves and others. My appeal to the Tamils would be to arise, awake and not to stop till the goal is reached. We should face this inevitable hour in this crisis and face it like men of courage as Bharathiar said, We must win our goal by prayer as well, without malice to none, but with glory to the Goddess of Tamil.

N.B. This pamphlet will be followed by others in this series and they will elaborate the principles underlying this pamphlet and give details and particulars concerning the formation, establishment and working of the Tamil State, which we all shall strive to bring into being.

## FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

# Anura Threatens "No Election"

By James T. Rutnam

The Sinhalese newspaper *Davasa* of 22 June carried a report of a speech made by Anura Bandaranaike at Hakmana on 21 June. It had not been reported in the English newspapers. I am wondering whether the report is true. If it is true, and I assume it is as there was no denial, it is calculated to create alarm in the country. Anura is a fledgeling in politics. It might of course be said in rebuttal that the younger Pitt was Prime Minister at the age of twenty five. I myself used this argument when I contested the same Nuwara Eliya Seat forty six years ago. But even so I do not think I would have been guilty of an abominable political bloomer such as what Anura has done. It is well to reproduce the relevant remarks of Anura. They were published under the head-line, "No Elections will be held if acts of sabotage continue".

"We are prepared" he said, "for a peaceful election. I am telling the UNP that we would not have the Elections on the 21st or for five years more, if they do not allow us to hold a peaceful election. Or else we would prepare not to hold an Election ever. Our policy is not to do politics in a dirty way or to behave like the animals in the zoo. We must behave according to a democratic government. We do not want to kill democracy in Sri Lanka. I would like to tell the UNP one more thing. The power is still in the hands of the SLFP Leader, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike."

The above is a literal translation of Anura's Sinhalese speech. It is not elegantly translated, but the message is clear. True, we have noted he had warned that this would happen only if acts of sabotage continued. But the doom that he envisages is bound to alert the nation. He says with the authority which he imagines he has, that "we" would not have the election on the 21st or for five more years to come, or ever. Who are "we"? And who made him the spokesman, this brat of a political novice, who is not a member of the Cabinet nor even an ex-member of Parlia-



ment? He has compromised his mother, the Cabinet and the Party. I know for sure the Prime Minister would not endorse these remarks. Last year when I met Premadasa, Deputy Leader of the UNP at Los Angeles, he assured me that he was confident that the Prime Minister would have the Elections on the due date. To my surprise, he said that she would not waver or hesitate, and that she was a true democrat. This was from a leader of the UNP, months ago. The time has come for the Prime Minister to cry "Save me from my friends, save me from my relations, indeed save me from my own son."

Besides Anura, there have been several other members of the SLFP who had cried their utmost to sit tight in their Seats of Power indefinitely. To their shame one must record their names in this Roll of Dishonour. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, who is presently fighting a rear-guard action for his Christian faith, tops the list closely followed by Illangaratna and his camp-follower Nawaratna and by Sooriyarachchi. "We have a long programme to finish. We must carry on. The country wants us to continue." That was the burden of their cry, nay of their miserable plea. Did they fear that their seats were not safe? The elections will show. Who organised the yelling chorus that used to punctuate SLFP meetings with "Apitta Election Eppa"? Anura speaks of democracy. But this "No Election" strikes at the very root of Democracy.

"If acts of Sabotage continue," Anura says. Has he not heard of *agent provocateur*? Is it not possible for SLFP men to commit the sabotage to keep the Party in power not for five years, but for a lifetime until perhaps Anura grows old enough to wear the mantle of Hitler. Was it the UNP that destroyed the Estate labour lines at Delta or Sanquar? Well this is a good excuse for "No Elections." Why wait any longer?

We have to charge the former Government as a whole for playing ducks and drakes with one of the fundamental rights of the people, for giving birth to a dangerous idea that it is possible to extend one's own life as a legislator by passing a motion in Parliament, albeit with a two-third majority. The golden brains of the LSSP, piloted by constitutional experts

like N. M. Perera and Colvin R. de Silva and supported by such worthy tribunes of the people as Dr. Wickremasinghe and Pieter Keuneman gave aid and comfort to the SLFP in a diabolical and conspiratorial attempt to deny the people their most cherished and vital right to return their representatives to Parliament after stated and fixed intervals, if not earlier; in other words to have Elections every five years as already decreed by law. It was certainly left to them to pass a new law, subject to the usual procedure, limiting Parliament to even seven years and face the consequences. But their own lives as legislators could not be extended beyond the five year term they were given. They sowed the wind, and behold now the whirlwind—Anura wants to extend Parliament or his government for ever. The extension of a legislator's life beyond its due term was certainly an immoral act. But was it legal? Now of course this is an academic question.

This brings us to the question of Law and the Judiciary. The subject is topical in India at present. The new Government is undoing most of the damage done under the Emergency. They even think of arresting Indira Gandhi. The powers of the Judiciary to sit in sombre isolation and detachment to dispense Justice without fear or favour, but always according to the then existing laws of the land were deliberately withdrawn in certain instances to serve individual or sectional interests. The present Government there is restoring these laws and the Rule of Law is again coming to its own in India.

At the time the ill-fated new Constitution of the Republic of Sri Lanka was drawn up and promulgated against the united opposition of the Tamil community, except for three SLFP members of Parliament, one of whom has already shed his SLFP label, and the other two are awaiting the sentence of the people at the elections, much was said of the Sovereignty of the people. All are agreed on that. The Sovereignty of a people, who are divided by endogamous groups of races and castes cannot be established by a count of noses. Consensus is the desideratum.

Sovereignty of the People has been confused with the Sovereignty of Parliament. This is a fatal error. The Parliament draws up

the Laws, and these have to be applied by Judges of an independent Judiciary for which our own Judiciary has been almost always greatly distinguished. Mind you, the Rule of Law does not mean the Rule of Lawyers, as I had once explained long years ago when our State Council was dominated by lawyers. Nor does it mean the Rule of Parliament or Legislators. Nor even does it mean the Rule of Judges. It simply means what it states and connotes—Justice administered according to the established Laws of the land by independent judges. The well-being of the State entirely depends on this.

## INDIA

### After The Assembly Elections

New Delhi, June 18,

THE blizzard in June has turned out to be more devastating for the Congress than the avalanche in March. The loss of power at the Centre as a result of the defeat sustained in Lok Sabha poll was no doubt traumatic, but the humiliating rout in the last week's mini-general election spells the doom for the Congress as a major political force.

By normal standards of political behaviour, it would have been natural to have expected that after the shattering defeat in March, there would be efforts at recovery on the part of the Congress, that it would try to cash in on any and every shortcoming in the Janata record. It was an open secret that the ugly squabbles over election ticket distribution did not enhance the prestige of the Janata Party, nor could the recent spurt in price rise of essential commodities have fetched votes for the party in power. The alienation of a large section of the Harijan voters in the countryside from the Janata leadership at the State level with its pronounced kulak bias could have been exploited by the Congress to its own advantage.

But the Congress has been in no position to exploit any of these factors. This is because the Congress has been stricken by a paralysis from which there is no sign



of its recovery. More serious has been the fact that the organisation continues to be under the grip of Indira Gandhi, and the discerning electorate which in March dethroned her from power, has made it amply clear this time that the shedding of a few crocodile tears at the AICC session could not hoodwink it. All the strong words against the so-called Caucus on the part of some of the Congress campaigners could not hide from the electorate the fact that the godmother of the Caucus, Indira Gandhi herself continues even today to be the presiding deity of the Congress.

This week's poll verdict is therefore a total and unequivocal repudiation of Indira Gandhi by the very mature electorate of India. If the March vote was a negative vote against the Emergency misdeeds, the June vote is meant to put an end to Indira Gandhi's politics itself. The electorate could see through her *sub rosa* political activities of the last three months. And the poll result should make every Congressman realise that mere verbal criticism of the Caucus misdeeds would not do; he or she has to fight and destroy the evil system that Indira Gandhi built up through dirty money power and equally dirty political manoeuvrings. Unless and until she and her coterie are punished and purged, there is no future for the Congress as a significant political entity in Indian politics. Its fragmentation is inevitable so long as it carries the curse of Indira Gandhi's political sins.

After thirty long years of enjoyment of political power and with it, its marriage with Big Money, it is difficult to envisage how the Congress can survive as a political organisation as it has come to be known in India since Independence. There are thousands of honest Congressmen and women all over the country. But their party bereft of political power can no longer sustain itself because it has long ceased to serve the masses. The last seven years of unprecedented opportunity that was given to it were meant to rebuild it from the grassroots; instead, it was left to Indira Gandhi to play with it as if it were her personal *zamindari*, while the unholy alliance with money bags particularly in the later years has been forged by her so unashamedly that the Congress functioning was reduced to a

monstrosity which the Indian people have had no hesitation in rejecting.

Even today the Congressmen would be making a fatal mistake if they think that with Indira Gandhi in command, they can hold out in the remaining pockets of influence from Assam to Karnataka, Andhra to Kerala. The forest fire is on, and there is no fire-brigade that can contain it. In terms of class politics, for instance, the kulak in the north who is jubilant at the Janata Raj under such stalwarts as Chasan Singh and Parkash Singh Badal, would in the next phase encourage his tribe in the south to turn Janata, apart from the other immediate political allurements that a party so impressively installed in power can offer to extend its domain.

There is no doubt that is phenomenal sweep of the Janata success has taken by total surprise its friends and foes, partisans and onlookers alike. This paper has no hesitation in conceding that the decision of the Janata leadership in forcing this mini-general election—which at that time was regarded as a dangerous gamble—is vindicated by the results. The magnitude of the corrosion of the Congress as the Raj could not be grasped even by the most discerning of observers.

This new and unprecedented electoral triumph imposes equally unprecedented responsibilities on the Janata Party and its leadership. After the poll mandate from so many States, the Party is left with no alibi for not fulfilling the promises it has made to the people in course of the two elections in March and June. A party invested with unchallenged authority cannot afford the luxury of cavalier conduct even if it puts a Raj Narain or a Biju Patnaik in its Cabinet. The business of governance is a serious matter in a country as vast and variegated as ours.

The Janata Party leadership has to realise the limitations inherent in its position. Despite the spectacular poll success, the Janata Party has emerged as having a solid political base only in the heartland of Hindi polity. Leaving aside Kashmir, it has made poor show in Punjab in the north where it has to bask in the reflected glory of the Akali triumph. In the south, it could not face up to the challenge of the ADMK with its admittedly

regional appeal. And in the east, the impressive victory of the CPM in West Bengal can only be in the nature of a vicarious pleasure for it, that the Congress has been trounced and nothing more; for, what the CPM stands for politically and ideologically is a far cry from the Janata position.

The conspicuous alienation of the Harijans in most of the States weakens the social base of the Janata Party. The powerful domination of the rich farmer in the Janata's day-to-day politics has the potentiality of breeding serious social tensions in the countryside about which the Janata leadership may be oblivious today. All the talk of rural orientation of the economy may lead to heavy spending which while benefitting the rural rich may only help to accentuate the antagonism of the rural poor towards the Janata Government. This is not a problem that can be alleviated by re-importing the Peace Corps, as some sections of the Government are reportedly keen on having.

In the March election, the Janata-CFD combine could make a clean sweep of the Muslim vote—and this contributed in no small measure to its decisive victory. Those who have watched the poll campaign this time can hardly vouch for its repetition. Although there has been no marked swing of the Muslim vote towards the Congress, it is equally true that the Janata Party this time had far less pull on the Muslim voter. Apart from the adverse impacts of such a development on its future electoral prospects, the Janata as the ruling party can ill-afford to ignore the compulsive need for commanding the confidence of the minority community.

Immediately, the problem before the Janata leadership would be to ensure the setting up of homogeneous State Cabinets wherever the party has won the majority. This would be no easy job, since the election campaign has shown that the different component units of the Janata moved virtually as separate entities. The spectacular election victory of Nandini Satpathy—braving the combined offensive of Biju Patnaik, the BLD and the dishonest use of JP's private communication by Sarvodaya purists—is a pointer to both the maturity of the voter and the incapacity of a good section of the



Janata leadership to sense the mass mood. Here lies the danger of pettifogging politics undermining the Janata's own political authority. If the Janata has to effectively wield power in the interest of the nation, it is necessary that leaders like Chandrasekhar should come forward and assert their authority. Such leaders alone can build the unity of the forward-looking forces inside the Janata with like-minded elements outside it.

Looming over all this is the spectre of economic crisis that can hardly be warded off by brave words. Claptrap palliatives passed off in the name of Gandhian economics or Finance Minister Patel's pronounced preference for free-market economy cannot meet the menace of inflation. The inner contradiction that faces the Janata Party is basically the same as that faced the Congress, namely, the claims of Big Business for smooth passage along the road to capitalism are often hard to reconcile with the clamours of the rural rich and those of the trading community engaged in profiteering in essential goods.

A development of far-reaching significance has been the emergence of the well-knit Left Alliance in West Bengal, which could overpower the challenge of both the Congress and the Janata in the State. The formidable success of the CPM is the clearest refutation of the canard spread from time to time by its critics that its tactics of lying low during Emergency was but another name for its imminent disintegration. After twenty long years, a State Government will once again be ruled by a homogenous Communist-led Ministry, and this time with a comfortable majority. Compared to the United Fronts of the late sixties, the new West Bengal Ministry would be cohesive in both purpose and composition, for its allies cannot overrule the preponderating standing of the CPM.

This indeed is the challenge before the CPM leadership. Drawing upon their complex experience of the previous spells in office, Jyoti Basu and his team will have to provide to the problem-ridden State of West Bengal a government that has to demonstrate what the Communists can do for all sections of the people within the framework of parliamentary

system. History today has placed upon the CPM a momentous responsibility as the unifier of all democratic forces, as the progressive beacon to which the forward-looking elements inside the Janata Party as also in the Congress will look up to. And playing this role, it has to take the initiative to unite all the Communist forces in this country, the forces whose bitter disunity for a decade-and-a-half has only benefitted the minions of Reaction.

For those committed to the goal of basic social change, the CPM-led victory in West Bengal is the most significant feature—and the most promising too—in the entire spectrum of Indian politics today.

Nikil Chakravarty  
—Mainstream

## EDUCATION

# Hindu Educational Thought

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Education is the extension, by prophets, philosophers, thinkers and the people of general philosophical thought and practice into a larger perspective, becoming crystallised through institutions. Hinduism, through its prophets, philosophers, thinkers, adherents and devotees, and through its varied institutions in many parts of the world has evolved an educational thought and practice. It has thereby enriched the world of education.

Education is the most effective spiritual, intellectual, social and cultural instrument to revitalise and re-construct a society and it plays an impressive role in the world's total renaissance; it also gives an international perspective to all aspects of life.

Whatever the ideals, practices and theories of education may be, all of them have been primarily centred round man. The intellectual flavour of any age defines the concept of a man, and more especially the 'educated man'. In a society where the thinking is towards the building of a totally

educated society, the concept of man and an educated man are synonymous. Such a concept must arise from the inner conviction that all men are educable, that they should be educated, and that the welfare of society rests upon the education of its members. At the same time we must remember that bringing alive the vision of man and society held by prophets and thinkers, can scarcely be done without great attention to education. 'The noblest study of mankind is man himself'.

Many of the gains of human civilization have been achieved by the unceasing efforts of man. Our civilization is 'secure' in the sense that a base has been established from which it is possible to explore more of man's potentialities. Man is making and re-making the face of the world and his possibilities excite our imagination. Increasingly, the artificial or man-made parts of our environment are capturing the focus of our attention.

Yet it is being increasingly felt that man has not been and is not studying himself sufficiently, in spite of the fact that this is for him an old perennial philosophical problem.

The 'existent man' contradicts the 'essence of man'; at least the essence—his absolute intrinsic worth—he himself has not fully known and recognised. Education today does not provide fully for either one; therefore man is not adequately aware of his true being and he is away from it as well. The 'crisis' of human society today is essentially the critical situation the human person has placed himself in. This crisis, although it spells danger, also offers an opportunity; a chance to make the existent man 'achieve' his own essence. The crisis, to be sure, averts complacency, because the danger is recognized; it circumvents despair because opportunity is entertained.

The world is in a state of becoming; it is moving towards actualization. Man must co-operate in furthering that actualization, in which there should be consonance between the 'essence' and the 'existent'.

Mankind is an evolving species, we believe, for whose continuous survival man himself has a profound and anxious concern. Education should design values in a contextual way such that those values



sustain mankind—mankind which is responsible for the formulation of values through education. Education should implement the ideal of optimum development of each individual's natural sovereignty; it should also direct man how to move optimally in concert with an evolving universe.

Education is the life-source of human growth and progress. It should therefore be viewed as a process of personal growth and also as a social institution. The theory of education should encompass all these and thereby ensure man's evolution towards a world in which human understanding and wisdom will grow apace with human knowledge.

During the course of some five thousand years of known world culture, an almost endless variety of views concerning the nature of man has been developed, though there is no general agreement on an adequate classification. Many elaborate theological, social, economic and political ideas have been formulated round the concept of man. Some of these have been based on a spiritual conception, some on organic and physiological phenomena; but generally it has been agreed that rationality and self-consciousness were the distinctive characteristics of man.

When we consider the bearing on educational procedures, of the concept of man, one of the scientific and practical ways of looking at various interpretations is to group them according to whether they view man as in conflict with nature, delimited by it, hence incapable of truly opposing nature, or essentially one who is a significant factor in making nature what it is, and what it will become.

Hindu thought has considered the concept of man and has arrestingly brought forth in its views and practices the coincidence between this and the concept of education. For Hindu thinkers 'The Lord Himself is playing in the form of man.' 'yet man seems to belong to the world. To attain human birth is so difficult; this birth will be in vain if he does not realize God.' 'God is the value-giving figure behind the world; man should get all values from Him.' 'God is knowledge and eternal Bliss! 'God is Shiva and shakti. Both aspects are necessary for creation'. For the Hindus to be 'educated' means to know, and to know

to know God. In God are blended knowledge and bliss. Bliss is perfected and eternal joy arising through knowledge. The God in whom both knowledge and bliss are synthesised is the God who gives values to the world. This is the God, man should seek to realize. Seeking to realize knowledge and values is therefore seeking education, for it is through education that human values are formulated.

The personal God, for the Hindus, is both male and female. The male manifestation is called Shiva, and the female, Shakti. Shiva has been referred as intelligence and shakti as energy. Intelligence in the abstract is not meaningful; it becomes so only when given practical expression, i.e., when it is energized, upon which it becomes creative intelligence. Education, being a creative activity, requires creative intelligence, requires God.

It is further asserted that the true nature of man is unbroken Existence-Knowledge-Bliss, but that he has forgotten his real nature due to egotism and therefore seems limited. Man is innately knowledgeable and blissful, but it is now manifested. True education would bring this out in him, make him shed his false associations and become what he truly is. 'The Divine Being dwells in all men.' 'This human body is the temple of the Lord; it should not be kept in darkness; let the lamp of know-

ledge be lighted in it'. 'Everyone can attain Knowledge'. This is the assurance, of Hinduism.

The lamp of knowledge is the same as God. It is also education. Man is to be illumined through the knowledge of God, through the knowledge called education. This, Hinduism tells us, is not the monopoly of anyone; for it, no one can charge fees or grant degrees. The social argument that if there is equal opportunity for all, all will become educated, lies in his contention that everyone can attain knowledge.

But there are two tendencies in man, one towards the pursuit of liberation, the other towards involvement in worldliness and its bondage. With the former he is pulled towards God, supreme Knowledge and beatitude, devotion and compassion; by the latter he is in reality diminished through the enjoyment of the 'pleasures' of the world. He may add to his works many 'grand achievements', but all these are done for his own glorification. Such is the ancient and oft-proclaimed dichotomy. The Hindu thinkers sought to show how the two forces could be harmoniously combined or integrated. The search for liberation and the finding of self-manifestation in the world need not tear a man apart. Seeking God through knowledge and devotion energies compassion. Even to live in this

### MEN, MICE AND SNAKES

They catch field rats for food but invariably get a windfall in the form of sizable quantity of paddy. The Irula tribe, aboriginals of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, sell live snakes to zoological parks and laboratories for preparation of drugs. And they use field rats to supplement their diet.

More often than not their hunt for rats yields as much as 10 kg of unhusked rice secreted by rats in their burrows. Once a race of bow-and-arrow hunters depending on small game which has become scarce, the Irulas are the subject of a short film by the Films Division.

A whole family of the tribe goes out on the hunt. They know their quarry from the traces it leaves behind, like its spoor on sandy soil, or a freshly-shed skin.

Once the snake is located, the hunt is on till it is caught. Seldom do they fail. Generally the male member of the family, armed with a thin, long stick, patiently probes and digs until he gets his catch, while others keep watch and prevent it from escaping. Catching a poisonous snake with bare hands calls for skill and nerve, and a slip or a loose hold can be fatal.

The age-old method of catching rats, trapping with bare hands after disturbing them from their burrows, is an art in itself. This method, it is said, is better than using pesticides which cause pollution.

—The Times of India



world at all, compassion is essential, as are various other spiritual qualities. To live in the world and to be worldly are different things. The worldliness which becomes a bondage is that which a man in his anxiety to become glorious in a personal sense, becomes self-glorified and self-centred. It leads to disillusionment.

Leading a life in the world, however, after martialling one's inner spiritual resources, means translating knowledge for the good of oneself and for the good of others, and thereby seeking bliss for the society as well as for oneself. Education should bring this harmonization of the tendency to pursue spiritual perfection and the tendency to play a role in the world without bondage to it. Hinduism spoke of three kinds of men in the world: 'those who are bound and never strive to be free; those who are bound but struggle for freedom; those who have already attained it and live only for the welfare of others.' This is no unalterable classification of fate: the man in bondage can strive to be free by educating himself and being educated; the man in the second group is always striving to acquire knowledge and attain bliss and love of God; aware that he is bound, he lends his best efforts to be freed. In modern society this is the accepted norm, and a given society can be assessed by the members of persons it produces of the second and third categories.

Hinduism emphasises that education was the basic thing that could always help a man in every aspect, and that doing work among the people meant mainly doing educational work, which extends itself to social, economic and cultural work. This is the idea of humanitarian man-worship. Man's life should be a manifestation of the will to work for others, through educated, cultivated renunciation. This would be the social function of education. Hinduism emphasises intellectual development alone does not give the desired results. Without a strong and healthy physique, no achievement of any kind is possible. It was only the man of all-round development who could be manly. Man-making education was not to be achieved by intellectual and physical development alone either: education should cultivate the heart too. 'India wants the thorough-going, to struggle

unto life and death to bring about a new state of things. sympathy for the poor and bread to their hungry mouths, and enlightenment.' 'A hundred thousand men and women fortified by eternal faith in the Lord and nerved to lion's courage by their sympathy for the poor, the fallen and the down-trodden, who will go over the length and breadth of the land preaching the gospel of salvation, the gospel of help, the gospel of social raising up and the gospel of equality, are necessary', declared the Hindu monk of India Swami Vivekananda. A new state of things was to be brought about for the people by raising them educationally, economically, and socially. To achieve this the man who would venture to volunteer for the task should be prepared to struggle with life and death. That was possible only for men with cultivated hearts.

'The history of the world', 'is the history of a few men who had faith in themselves'. 'That faith calls out the divinity within. Man can do anything. Man fails only when he does not strive sufficiently to manifest his infinite powers. The faith referred to is man's faith in his own potentiality: though infinite, without being tapped through education it remains and abstraction. People are, as it were, buried in a dream, enslaved by prejudice, allowing themselves to fall under the weight of the slightest effort. Hinduism urges the people to become conscious of the world's God, namely the people themselves, and to awake from their dream. 'Man becomes helpless, resourceless, abandoned and despoiled without realizing that he has within himself the Force, the Freedom, the Joy-the whole of Infinite Existence.' 'Behind every man, woman and child without respect of caste or birth, weakness or strength, there lies the infinite capacity and possibility to become great'. That is the message of living Hinduism.

The key-note of the Hindus, 'Arise, awake,' is a call to man. The call to awake refers to the unfortunate fact of self-oblivion and to the necessity of being fully conscious of the hidden treasure of divinity in man. The call to arise is the call to put out the whole of one's energy to manifest the possibilities latent within. This is an educational ideal. Education could

and should make men awake and arise.

'Man is inherently universal', is one of the basic tests of Hinduism. 'The universalism in man should be educated to manifest itself. The universal in man does not necessitate the denial of individuality. The individuality of each man is of utmost value to society; the universal man is also found in society as the infinite extension of the individual. The universal man is the individual in his universal aspect.' The man who has already attained a degree of universality should be educated to become more universal. This will help mankind to function as an entity. Building up the consciousness of that entity which already exists is the task of education. The individual, developed both intellectually and physically, becomes socially sensitive; social sensitivity makes him universal.

Hinduism which wants to see the intellectual, physical, social and universal manifested in man, makes a considered plea that man should realize his own nature. The life of man finds fulfilment in the knowledge of his own spiritual nature, which is existence itself. It is therefore universal and not limited. All our misery comes through ignorance and this ignorance consists in the negative idea of the manifold, the separation of individual from individual, of group from group, nation from nation. It is this sense of separation which is the explanation of internal tension, selfishness and all the concomitant evils that beset the world. This separation is not real; it is merely on the surface; in the heart of things there is unity. When we go below the surface we find the unity between man and man. Deeper still, we find all as the variations of the One, and as the Isha Upanishad has declared, he who has attained this conception of Oneness has no more delusion, no more misery.

What is needed, therefore, is a re-orientation of man's view of himself. Only religion and philosophy have been, traditionally, in a position to offer this. But now many fields are open, for it-science, social science, psychology and education. 'Knowledge of the unity of existence', 'extinguishes all fear, ends misery and brings infinite bliss. It gives him infinite strength to suffer and to act, and leads him to absolute freedom from all limi-



tations. Wherever there is expansion in love or progress in well-being, individually or collectively, it springs from the perception, the realization and the putting into practice of the eternal truth—the oneness of all beings.

Education has its final aim in helping man to realize his true inwardness. The Hindu conception makes man realize what is originally within, and what he is in purest form. When self-realization in terms of spirituality is recognized as the highest form of living, all forms of life and of culture in the arts and sciences are directed towards it.

TOPICAL

## The Dilemma Of A Tamil Voter In South Sri Lanka

by James T. Rutnam

"The Tamils should think twice before voting at the next General Elections." These were the words of J. R. Jayewardene the UNP leader in a speech at Trincomalee the other day. But he also said in the same speech, "The UNP won't allow Lanka to be divided." This, of course, would make the Tamils really think twice before voting for the UNP.

For the TULF which represents Tamil opinion in this country more than any other group or individual, say what you will, has for the first time at an Election, raised the issue of Separation and has asked the Tamil-speaking voters in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and those in the Nuwara Eliya Maskeliya and Colombo Central Electorates to vote for its Candidates and treat this Election as a plebiscite.

The unfortunate pass to which the Tamils have been reduced today viz. to be reluctantly compelled to entreat the Sinhalese to leave them alone in Eelam, their own recognised and historically proven homelands, the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka, to speak their own tongue and live their own way

in freedom and dignity, is entirely, and I repeat entirely, due to the intransigent attitude of both the UNP and the SLFP, and the lack of moral courage on the part of the more humanistically inclined radical Parties such as the LSSP and the CP.

Each of the two large Sinhalese Parties in the country took turns to accuse the other of favouring the Tamils with political concessions. When we look back, in the context of the changed situation today when the Tamils will not be satisfied with anything less than Separation, these proposed concessions were nothing but crumbs from a rich man's table, and the Tamils were denied even these.

THE TAMILS were in the vanguard in the struggle for freedom against the British. It was Ramanathan who asked for a Wesak holiday in the Legislative Council when the Sinhalese member opposed it. It was Ramanathan who risked being shot by the Military Commander, the mad Malcolm, when he fought for the oppressed Sinhalese while the Sinhalese member was bawling out that nobodies were becoming somebodies.

It was Arunachalam that initiated the final struggle for freedom by launching the Ceylon National Congress and roping into it his suspicious and reluctant countrymen, dangling before them the Reiris/Samarawickrema letter which was repudiated later. Meedeniya Adigar, the British-appointed leader of the Kandyans and Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike whose whippers set the tone of British rule at one time, regarded the Congress contemptuously like their British masters as a "core of rot."

I too had a very minute part to play at about the end of the freedom struggle, but today I am a disillusioned survivor. Then we marched shoulder to shoulder as brothers. Now we have become rulers and ruled. Whoever dreamt of such a fate overtaking the Tamil community?

In the metropolitan city and district of Colombo where Jayewardene says we have almost fifty percent Tamil speakers we should have more than one Tamil-speaking member in Parliament. But it is not so. Look at the injustice that is being perpetrated in the up-country districts, where there is a vast population of Tamils. They

are taken into account when the area is demarcated into electorates. But they are deprived of their votes. Thus we have the anomaly of many large electorates with very few voters, and these mostly Sinhalese, in each. This makes democracy a farce.

A good part of the Nuwara Eliya electorate was virgin jungle until the British came to open it with the aid of the Tamil cooly, many of whom perished like flies while working in the freezing plantations. The Kandyan villagers were never uprooted here. They never lived there. But these poor Tamils who had lived there for generations are thrown out by thugs.

Could any Tamil forget the propaganda waged by the UNP against the Tamils at several elections in the past? Could he ever forget how maps of Sri Lanka were carried shoulder-high by UNP stalwarts, accusing the SLFP of offering to give the Tamils a large chunk of Sri Lanka from Point Pedro to Hambantota, along with Buddhist temples and devales as if these were personal properties of any family, race or caste?

That was the old UNP, they say. The SLFP learnt this trade from the UNP and they out-heroded Herod when they raised the hoo-ha against the District Councils proposed by the UNP. They were joined by the LSSP and CP then. The new Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka was the handiwork of this combine.

The Tamils are second-class citizens in their own country and are confronted with irritants everywhere. Why in the name of goodness must I carry a magnifying glass to read the direction to the Toilet written in microscopic Tamil letters and sandwiched between large Sinhalese and English letters in our own National Museum. All the sign-boards here follow the same pattern. Why in the name of goodness must I go with a Sinhalese interpreter to read the name-boards of officials in the Public Service Offices?

LANGUAGE, STANDARDISATION, COLONISATION, in all these spheres the Tamil has been robbed of his basic human rights, and how can we, therefore, live as one? The TULF says we could live more happily as two. The Tamils



agitated for a University for Jaffna. Must it be packed with a disproportionate number of Sinhalese to make a regional University a mockery? We do not see such things happening in Wales, in Scotland, in Canada, in the USSR, in India, in any of the thousands of Universities throughout the world. The people of the area, the people of the region, get priority not only in colonisation but also in education. Plantations of people by government will only beget trouble. Ireland is still bleeding because of the plantation of Ulster.

I feel sorry that at this most critical moment in the long history of the Tamils of Sri Lanka, that a respected leader such as the former member for Kayts, V. Navaratnam, has chosen to stand in the way of the TULF, for no other reason than that he is for a more militant and aggressive confrontation. I feel also sorry that a long-standing friend of mine such as Cyril Martyn is taking a contrary course to the overwhelming body of Tamil opinion. Martyn who springs from the soil of Eelam would have been our Chief Justice had he only been a Sinhalese. Young Ponnambalam who had hardly written a word in defence of the Tamil cause all this time, wishes to enter Parliament summoning the ghost of his father to his aid. The less said of his father the better.

Yogendra Duraiswamy complains he is being pelted with stones. That should never be. No responsible TULF leader or follower will countenance such an outrage. But why jump into this fray and ruin a promising political career? Sir Waittilliam Duraiswamy whose portrait has now found a place in the thick of the elections on the walls of the Jaffna Campus will not be able to help, come sun, come rain.

*This idea of Separation came to be considered seriously by the Tamils of Sri Lanka only recently. The argument that Sri Lanka is too small to be divided may not hold water now, as we have a large number of small states coming up with their membership accepted at the United Nations. True, A. Thiagarajah who was an SLFP member in the last Government had published a pamphlet over twenty years ago urging Separation for the Tamils, but it was a preposterous proposal for he had*

wanted almost two-thirds of Sri Lanka, as his map would show federated with India on a basis somewhat like that of Jammu and Kashmir.

*There is something wanting in his sense of judgement and leadership. For he ate his own words soon afterwards. He then joined a gang of three in Parliament, with one among them creeping into it through the back door, to form a petti-fogging coterie that fancied itself as representing the Tamils of Sri Lanka, like the three Tailors of Tooley Street in England who addressed a petition to the House of Commons beginning "We the people of England..." These discredited Tamils now await the sentence of the people that will be declared on Election Day.*

The question as to who are the true representatives of the Tamils of Sri Lanka was tested and decided once and for all at the Kankesanthurai by-election where Chelvanayakam, the President of the TULF, defeated by an overwhelming majority Ponnambalam who was aided by the might and strength of the Government, the CP, LSSP, and the gang of three. The issue at this election was, besides the leadership of the Tamils, our repudiation of the Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka, framed I understand with the presumed technical know-how of my University College mate, Colvin R. de Silva, who unfortunately was sadly hoist with his own petard. He remains now, hopefully, to become a great historian, a vocation which he had missed for the glamour of politics. He certainly could write an impressive piece on the "Agony and Ecstasy of the Rule of Law (so-called) in Sri Lanka."

AS I WRITE TODAY, I hear the BBC announcing that Catalonia in the north-east of Spain is going to be offered national autonomy by the new Prime Minister even before he had formed his Cabinet. The Catalans had treated the recent General Elections in Spain as a plebiscite in the same way as the TULF is treating the General Elections here.

I also heard the news over the Radio that Prime Minister Callaghan is making his plans for the devolution of Great Britain into Scotland, Wales and England. After a hundred and thirty-five years of sanguinary struggle the Basques

of Spain are on the eve of obtaining their independence. Quebec too, in the heart of Canada, is set on the road to emancipation.

Cyril Martyn is reported to have said that he will back any Government which grants the Rights of the Tamils. Will that ever happen? I give below a catalogue of broken promises:

(1) The repudiated James Peiris/Samarawickrema letter dated 7 September 1918 signed by the President of the Ceylon National Association and the President of the Ceylon Reform League respectively.

(2) The abandoned James Peiris's Agreed Reforms Scheme of 26 November 1921.

(3) The repudiated Sinhalese/Tamil Pact signed at Jaffna on 26 June 1925.

(4) The abandoned project of a Federal Constitution proposed by S. W. R. Dias Bandaranaike at Jaffna on 14 July 1926.

(5) The scuttled Bandaranaike/Chelvanayakam Pat of 26 July 1957.

(6) The abandoned Dudley Senanayake/Chelvanayakam agreement signed by both leaders on 24 March 1965.

**We must realise that Freedom was always won not given. I agree it could be won at a Conference table. But this will depend on the sagacity and statesmanship of the New Government and also, I say deliberately, of the accredited leaders of the TULF. But all should remember the tragedies of "Too Little, Too Late."**

Of one thing all self-respecting Tamils are certain. We cannot turn back to Colonial subjection. Now, it is a Freedom Struggle for Liberty, Equality and (also important) Fraternity. We have to say goodbye to the Hitlerian myth of one Nation, one People, one Language, one Religion. That was a dream of a madman who finally came to grief. The Tamils cannot any longer put their trust on pacts or agreements. The Manifesto of the JVP alone gave the Tamils some hope, but this programme cannot be implemented immediately with the leader Rohana Wijeweera still in jail.

The Tamil voter in the Sinhalese areas in South Sri Lanka is thus in a dilemma. The TULF which, is for a Secular, Socialist, Tamil



Eelam had wisely left it to the judgement of individual Tamils as far as voting for non-TULF Candidates was concerned. Personally I would not take sides in this gruelling battle between the UNP and the SLFP.

If I were a voter in Colombo West I would vote for the reformed and now enlightened leader of the reformed Socialist UNP Jayewardene. If I were a voter in the Attanagalla Electorate I would certainly vote for Sirima Bandaranaike who had never raised the communal cry in her whole career, except perhaps (I am not sure) at the present election at Nuwara Eliya where possibly mother-love might have got the better of her sound judgement. In any case we place the fate of the Tamils in the sense of Justice and Humanity of these two leaders, for better or for worse not only for the Tamils, but, as I see it, for Sri Lanka herself.



A WORKABLE CONSTITUTION

## What the Country Needs Today

by R. Kahawita

Sri Lanka has a multi-racial, multilingual, multi-religious population to be amalgamated to form one society of "Lankans." The dominant race is Sinhala, followed by Tamils, Muslims and other minor groups, each with distinctive characters, cultures, languages and religions. However in the broad divisions, there are sub-divisions claiming distinctive characteristics, superiorities etc. The Sinhala are subdivided into Kandyan, low country and southern, generating certain jealousies and claims one over the other, though the religion is either Buddhism or Christianity, yet there are rivalries in certain areas of activities.

The indigenous Tamils who occupy the North, and Eastern provinces and ghettos in urban areas, claim differences from each other. The only unifying force in this groups is language and reli-

gion. Acts of omissions and commissions by successive Governments since Independence have drawn them together to confront the major group which is elected to power always.

There are the Muslims, with narrow classifications as Malabar Muslims and Arab stock Muslims. They are scattered in well defined pockets in the Sinhala and Tamil areas. Their work a day language is Tamil and their religion is Islam. There are the Indian Tamils who came in recent years as plantation workers and have been given Ceylon citizenship. Their abode is mainly in the planting districts; their language is Tamil and their religion is Hinduism or Christianity. Their number is large. There are also the Pakistanis and Indian Muslims and several other minority groups who have acquired Ceylon citizenship with English as the main stream of communication.

In their own way all these non-indigenous people have contributed to the development of the country in one seater or other to bring Sri Lanka to what it is today. If what is today, is not what the country should be, the Politicians down the years since Independence, must take the rap. If we are not happy with the results it only endorses our Political immaturity, our selfishness and our avariciousness for power.

The spoken, written and instruction languages are Sinhala, Tamil and English with a tremendous yearning to learn English at the average level of our society irrespective of race etc. In this respect the Tamils have done better and thereby has created a "racial enmity." In general these are the racial and cultural groups to go to make the Ceylonese Nation, a national group that can work in harmony, understanding and trust to develop a country that all can have sufficient to nurture and develop their individual aspirations.

The main instrument of Unification has to be the constitution to guarantee the basic human rights. In human rights there cannot be reservations as all humans are equal. Colonialism and Imperialism were hounded out to enable a people to have the freedom to develop their natural propensities in keeping with their way of life and their culture. This has been

accepted as the fundamental precepts for a free society that has been written into the United Nations Charter. Therefore (though an internal matter) there cannot be in a constitution, any room for discrimination, or legislation to place disabilities or curtail the freedom of movements of the citizens within the country directly or indirectly. A constitution must be based on this principle to allow the full flowering of human aspirations according to his national entity.

We have a constitution which has not enshrined those ideals in it. It has created several classes of citizens in an attempt to maintain the superiority or claims of the major community. This has given rise to schisms within national groups, culturally, socially, economically and administratively. The result is destruction of each other and development of a "cut-throatism cult". In such a situation there can never be political stability.

The present constitution, after affirming in Chapter I—section 3—*"In the Republic of Sri Lanka, Sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable."* People here include Sinhala, Tamils, Muslims and other groups referred to above irrespective of numbers. Then it goes on to say in Chapter III—Language—*"The official language shall be Sinhala"* and Tamil the other language is relegated to certain geographical areas, thus destroying the generality of the Sovereignty of the people and dividing the country into two distinct territories language-wise. The Muslims who are in ghettos in Sinhala areas have lost their language rights, likewise the plantation workers whom the country has accepted as her citizens. Apart from the contradictions in the constitution, it has created a "National liberation movement" politically, socially and economically. It is a movement comparable to what is happening in other parts of the world, under similar circumstances.

The other serious short-coming in the present constitution (not universally accepted by the people who are supposed to be sovereign) is, in theory the people of Sri Lanka are supreme, but in practice the people have become State slaves without any legal remedy to secure justice when that supremacy is denied or encroached



upon, politically, administratively and/or by acts of commission and omission, and by various emergency regulations. For the constitution goes on to say in section 17. "The Provisions of section 16 do not confer legal right and are not enforceable in any court of law; nor may any question of inconsistency with such provisions be raised in the constitutional court or any other court." Having made the people supreme in one place and in another section has denied the right to maintain that supremacy. This is what has made the present constitution worthless.

In this situation the United National Party, at its 21st Annual Conference held on the 20th December, 1975 and confirmed in their election Manifesto of 25th May, 1977, has committed the Party to a new constitution "to restore to the people their sovereignty", to develop and consolidate their unity, harmony and prosperity. The party has undertaken to base the constitution on "the fundamental rights, privileges and freedoms, re-establishing the independence of the press and the judiciary and freeing it from political control and interference." The sovereignty of the people is the basic law from which all other principles of a constitution flow. If this is accepted then the unity of the people must be fundamental for the constitution to be universal. Then what should a new constitution be?

Already a unitary republican form has been accepted, but the constitution has failed to unify the people, because of certain "defects" written into the constitution. To achieve unity of a people in a multi-grouping of races etc. like ours, the fundamental rights, and freedoms, as universally accepted in a civilized society without any reservations and conditions which may be taken as discriminatory, must be enshrined in the constitution. The freedom for any community to develop its own society, culture and religion must not be denied constitutionally. That freedom is their birthright. What are the fundamental rights and freedoms? The guide lines are in the United Nations Charter of human rights to which we have also subscribed as a member country. So in our context they are: (1) liberty of the people; (2) human dignity; (3) right to develop one's personality; (4) equality before the

law; (5) freedom of faith and conscience; (6) freedom to express one's opinions; (7) protection of marriage and home; (8) right of assembly and association; (9) right to enjoy free movement throughout the country; notwithstanding language, creed or race; (10) freedom to choose one's occupation; (11) inviolability of right to property; (12) the right to address petitions and appeal and represent grievances, (therefore the legislature shall not enact laws that will deny this freedom of a citizen to appeal to the highest appellate under the constitution, whatever the enactment be. Today this is a serious denial that has made the Ministers and the bureaucracy autocratic). The guarantee of these fundamental rights, privileges and freedoms must be direct and positive. They shall be enforceable in law and whosoever abuses them to attack democracy shall forfeit them (the present constitution has denied the legal enforcement which has rendered it worthless). In view of our heterogeneous society the right to use one's mother tongue, without reservations or qualifications should also be written into the constitution. Thus, in Sri Lanka, the official languages should be *Sinhala, Tamil and English*. The state religion should be the religion of the majority and our cultural development has been around Buddhism, so Buddhism shall be the state religion and restore all the rights and privileges enjoyed by Buddhism, but in keeping with the present day progress of society. The claims of other religions etc. are protected in (5) above.

The State Authority springs from the people, and therefore the people are supreme. The state is for the people and not vice versa. Any change in the fundamental rights and freedoms should not be changed by a majority vote of the elected. Such changes or amendments must be referable to the people in the form of a referendum and their decision shall prevail.

The country is to follow and adhere to a democratic way of life. In a democracy, the state exists for man and not vice versa. The state is the creation of man to regulate the society he lives in and maintain law and order for the development and healthy growth of that society—a society that will guarantee his personal, political and economic freedoms.

Finally in the proposed new constitution the people shall express their will through an elected President and their elected representatives to the National State Assembly. Thereafter what is needed in the constitution are the means and tools for the conduct of Government Business etc. The above should be the fundamental rights and freedoms that should be enshrined in the constitution so that every individual is a citizen of Sri Lanka without any reservations. We hope the new constitution will include all these and will be acceptable to all races that forms the citizens of Sri Lanka.

#### BOOK REVIEWS

### • "Of lands where he will not be asked to stay"

**Images of Sri Lanka through American Eyes: Travellers in Ceylon in the 19th and 20th Centuries** (USIS, 1976), pp. xxx + 412. 22 plates. Rs. 12.50.

Intended as an American Bicentennial tribute to Sri Lanka, this, so to speak, 'timely' book is bound to prove an enduring expedition into the island by a number of American travellers. In compiling the book Ian Goonetilleke, the country's leading scholar-librarian, not only provides one with a characteristically many-faceted document (the impeccably laid out bibliography contains no less than 227 entries) but proves himself a most sumptuous cicerone indeed to some thirty-six assorted missionaries, mystics, writers, poets, diplomats, and a former Ambassador—Van Hollen—provides a cautious Foreword while felicitously chancing his arm without, perhaps, quite knowing how to cope with the ebulliently obliging manners of the compiler: for it seems more likely than not, that behind the mercurially supple Introduction the innocent author has placed a bagful of detonators!

The man, meanwhile, who was to have the greatest 'Protestant' impact on the island was also the first to come here: Samuel Newell, 1813-1815. "Samuel Newell, by his fortuitous arrival in Ceylon in April 1813, and single-handed reconnaissance of the possibilities of



planting the Protestant version of the American cross, sowed the seeds of the Ceylon Mission in 1816. He was, perhaps, an outstanding example of the tall blazing missionary, exhibiting, in more than ordinary measure, those qualities of initiative, resource, intelligence and devotion, which later agents would strive to emulate..'

But all travellers as we know, finally go beyond the reach of events. As bibliographer in extenso, Goonetilleke has changed a vaguely traditional or misconceived consciousness (e.g., Phillip Crowe, usurped, one feels, by the very comfort and luxury of his journey downriver: pp. 356-362) into historical fact. The most interesting case of a traveller stranded in his own interior landscape, incidently, is the dissociated eye-hole of Paul Bowles peering out of his castle at Weligama Bay.....)

Images receive their visual truth in a rare set of photographs by Yvonne Hanemann, and the author's captions to these, taken sometimes from less illuminated parts of the book, yet never fail to have a true sublimity: the appropriate external dressing is provided by Stanley Kirinde with his charming take-off on a 19th Century vista of early Galle.

Images is a book to be savoured at leisure, and one might meanwhile register one's amazement and wonder at the industry and fertility of a rare mind here so manifest—did it not happen alas, that

"the desecrate progeny  
out of the swim, go deflated and  
dry....."

Lakdas Wikramasinha.  
11 June, 1977

## ● Decline And Fall Of Indira Gandhi

The following is a Review by J. B. Appasamy of two books recently published in India entitled "Decline and Fall of Indira Gandhi" by D. R. Mankekar and Kamala Mankekar and "Democracy Redeemed" by V. K. Narasimhan. The Review appeared in the Madras Hindu of 28.6.1977.

In 1969, Indira Gandhi split the Congress Party in the belief that only by getting rid of the Old Guard radical reforms could be implemented. The overwhelming

victory of the party in 1971 seemed to create the atmosphere for drastic change, but in a short time, dissension in the States and obstacles in law courts, belied her hopes of a peaceful revolution.

Demonstrations of Prime Ministerial power did not help. She dropped Mr. Desai from the Cabinet only to find him forcing an election in Gujarat which the Congress lost. In Bihar, Jayaprakash Narayan, who had previously played a Gandhian role in Nagaland, now called for total revolution and urged the students of his native State to bring down the government. Terrorism appeared with the bomb outrage that killed the Cabinet Minister, Mr. Misra.

It was against this background, that a political bomb exploded when a judge in Uttar Pradesh found Mrs. Gandhi guilty of corrupt practice in the previous election. Instead of waiting for the Supreme Court's verdict, she reacted the same month by proclaiming an internal Emergency, arresting eighty opposition leaders, clamping down on the Press, and pushing through legislation in Parliament which deprived the courts of their jurisdiction in cases involving basic rights. She justified her actions to the public by a theory of conspiracy. The Opposition, she said, was trying to bring down the government by unconstitutional means. Jayaprakash Narayan denied this, pointing out that only a limited satyagraha was planned until the Supreme Court's verdict. He said that the popular upsurge in Bihar had declined. Unfortunately this dialogue was not maintained by the Prime Minister. She sought rather to use the Emergency to put through her twenty point programme, stopping all political upheavals, strikes and other demonstrations.

Though the opposition parties were taken by surprise, they quickly organised an underground movement, printing and distributing criticisms of Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarian policies. This in turn brought police repression, the worst feature of which was the brutal treatment of student leaders. The youth movement was countered on the government side by the Youth Congress of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi. At the Cabinet level, a new group of zealots led by M/s Bansilal, V. C. Shukla, Om Mehta, Pranab Mukherjee and

others, took matters into their own hands. The limit was reached when revenue officials sought to implement sterilisation targets in the countryside. Fortunately, the whole system collapsed when a general election brought about the rout of the Congress in the Hindi-speaking States.

The veteran journalists, D. R. Mankekar and his wife in "The Decline and Fall of Indira Gandhi" have provided a forceful outline of the excesses of the Emergency. The Mankekar estimate that altogether some 150,000 persons went to jail. Of these 40,000 were detainees with no specific charges against them. The rest were satyagrahis who had courted arrest. The hard core of the underground movement consisted of RSS workers. More than 25,000 were detained under MISA and the DIR. Another 100,000 offered satyagraha. Seventy died in jail or while working underground. The chief constructive result of the repression has been the rise of a unified Janata Party, the first Opposition party since Independence to displace the Congress at the Centre. The Mankekar believe that the chief factor in discrediting the Indira regime was the intervention of Sanjay Gandhi in national politics. They devote several chapters to the Sanjay phenomenon and express surprise that Mrs. Gandhi allowed the young man to interfere in administration.

Mr. V. K. Narasimhan, another veteran journalist, was in charge of the Financial Express in that period and therefore writes from the vantage point of an editor and leader writer who commented fearlessly on the authoritarian aspects of the regime especially its treatment of the press. Replacing Mr. Inder Gujral, V. C. Shukla did his utmost to break the independence of the newspapers and the news agencies. That he did not wholly succeed is clear from the editorials of Mr. Narasimhan himself which are reproduced in the book. Similarly, while the Supreme Court was inclined to kowtow to the government, the same was not true of the High Courts which again and again defended the rule of law in cases of civil liberties. Mr. Narasimhan thinks the drift to dictatorship could have been halted if the Congress Parliamentary Party had shown some courage. The criticism



could no doubt be made of the Cabinet itself. Genuine democracy is pluralistic, with power groups balanced one against the other. Unfortunately, in this country, it is the concentration of power that is admired and few favour the slow process of consensus and compromise. The press is the prime example of the babel of opinions that is characteristic of democracy. Rigid political programmes that ride roughshod over the interests of minorities are bound to promote opposition and violence.

## LETTERS

## ● Passport Office

Sir,

Will the Controller Emigration and Immigration please come down from his castle upstairs and see for himself the chaos at the Passport Office and the inconvenience to the Public. No doubt there is an unprecedented rush of job seekers to the Middle East. But never before, not even during the height of repatriation of larger numbers of estate labour was this office in such a mess. There is only one person in absolute authority. That is the peon who controls the crowds trying to get in at the entrance. He doesn't talk. He barks and pushes even young and elderly ladies. There is no separate queue or entrance for them. To get a passport they have to pay the price of being squeezed and sandwiched by deprived men and boys in trousers and sarongs.

There is no Inquiries or Advisory Counter. Information has to be sought from the public standing around, stamp sellers and an assortment of clerical staff moving around according to their devices. Wrong information causes tremendous inconvenience. Applicants have to return several times with corrections. The more enterprising get into the premises in various ways not the least of which is the Sri Lanka tradition of dropping a name or oiling a scratching palm. Once inside it is possible to go behind the application from desk to desk and register to register and pocket any number of passports for the

private trade in forging. There is absolutely no security.

The chaos adds a tremendous burden on the staff who are constantly pressurised and pestered from all sides. The working conditions are terrible.

Immediate relief for the staff and the public can be obtained by adopting a few simple measures. 1. Open an Inquiries and Advisory Counter where the application forms are also issued; 2. Double the Staff of all grades; 3. Place two counters to issue forms and receive applications facing out of the premises so that no one need go in. Or shift these to the Next Building where the Passport Office was before. No one need enter the building for this purpose; 4. Stagger the activities. For example issue of forms & receive applications between 8.30 to 11.30 a.m. From 1 to 3 p.m. sign guarantee forms. From 3-4 p.m. issue of passports and travel certificates.

Citizen Silva

Colombo.

June 23, 1977

## ● Kobbekaduwa

Sir,

Do we have an IDI AMIN KOB-BEKADUWA in Sri Lanka? A visitor last week to "Our Place" in the sun likened the rash utterances and threats made in public by a supposed-to-be responsible Minister of the Government, Mr. Kobbekaduwa, to those made by that megalomaniac Idi Amin of Uganda. At Yatinuwara he proclaimed that the sword of Kobbekaduwa would prevent the UNP ruling this country. On another occasion he threatened to acquire Mr. Thondaman's 50 acres and deport him. No doubt the acquisition mania dies hard after riding rough shod over land reform. Every right thinking person acclaims the social virtues of land reform and the need for it. But surely everybody must denounce the discrimination and injustices perpetuated in its implementation and the wanton waste, corruption and destruction which are well known except to the purblind in the Government. Deporting Thondaman is of course the reaction to the opposition against estate alienation in the N'Eliya-

Maskeliya electorate stemming from the oft proclaimed ambition to kick out the Indian Tamils from the Kandyan kingdom emulating Dutugemunu. But Dutugemunu was from Ruhuna and he was neither a racist nor an anarchist, Kobbekaduwa the Minister brooks no opposition as evident in the handling of land reform and the agriculture portfolio. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Cabinet could hold him in check. So that although the Prime Minister proclaimed that the proposed estates alienation at N'Eliya-Maskeliya was deferred and the surveyors were sent back to Colombo, Mr. Kobbekaduwa re-proclaimed it would be done.

How will the historians describe Kobbekaduwa? But before that the voters will give their verdict for the Minister's expected achievements of self-sufficiency in rice and milk production would after July 21st become lies and damn lies. Either the Minister soothes himself by listening to his voice or he has been taken for a ride by his pretentious officials who have pandered to his ego. Of course, the Minister and his officials in the Ministry, the Milk Board and the Department of Agriculture have never had a shortage of rice nor milk. No wonder their complacency and unconcern for the million and more children suffering from protein-calorie malnutrition, the queues for milk and the years of milk scarcity. Has there been a sinister purpose in the Ministry of Agriculture neglecting agriculture and more specifically dairying outside the Kandy district, or is it simply a case of being overwhelmed by land reform and building institutional empires for power hungry officials and kith and kin in the numerous Boards, Corporations and Departments under the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands.

Many of these officials have recently been approaching VIP's in the UNP to retain their positions of power and perks and foreign trips and some of them even seek better prospects. Up to now they are only interested in safeguarding their nests in the belief the SLFP was invincible.

Disgusted

Colombo.

22.6.77



## • Tribune

Sir,

Many readers buy and read the *Tribune* because of its high standards. The scrupulous collection of facts, an impartial assessment of them, all these were guaranteed, to a large extent, in the *Tribune*. But with the onset of the general election one begins to suspect that the armour is not impregnable, that there is a chink in it. I had this feeling after reading the "Editor's Note Book" in the last issue (June 25), in the references to the UNP. You make extended Comment on the action of the UNP. President in registering a complaint against the Soviet Embassy in Colombo; and its length is unwarranted by the incident. Surely if the American Embassy in Colombo were guilty of such an action, one could imagine the extent of the reaction, more of which would amaze anybody. And isn't non-interference in the external affairs of sovereign state a sacred principle with us? This incident receives about 2 1/2 columns of print. And the language too is highly emotional and sometimes near hysterical—"lapse into infantile anti-leftism". "UNP's diarrhoeic outburst of puerile anti-leftism", with sentences so convoluted as "the UNP is the same old Gold-war anti-left conglomeration of diehard rightwing pro-west elements! It made me go through back numbers of the *Tribune* and it was this that made me discover this blind spot in the *Tribune* namely that it seems to exconiate the UNP. At its best it is condescending towards the UNP, at its worst it has nohint-but contempt. Now, this is perfectly alright by everybody because facts are not neutral colour less things. They pass through our minds and sensibility and acquire their impress. But although facts have the colonation of the emotions, the intellect must be in command. Hence when the facts are presented to the consideration of the public in print the emotions cannot come between them and the personality distorting them. That is the least that UNP supporters can ask of the *Tribune* in the coming weeks with the election hotting up and the UNP staking its claims. Please, Mr. Editor you are entitled to your prejudices but don't let them distort reality. And one of

the good things about capitalist democracy is the discipline it imposes on us to see the other man's point of view without writing him off as a historical freak or bumping him off.

Narada de Silva

15/5, Albert Perera Avenue,  
Nugegoda.  
1.7.1977

### FOREIGN REPORT

## Kenya Tea

Nairobi,

HIGH WORLD prices have given a big stimulus to Kenya's expanding tea industry. The small holders scheme, already one of the biggest in the world, is set for considerable expansion and might well overtake the big estates.

For the big estates like Brooke Bond Liebig, at Kericho, where the landscape is painted a smooth bright green for miles, expansion is limited by law, though a good deal of planting is being done within the estate boundaries.

The small man, growing his tea on anything from less than one acre to 20 acres, is already responsible for about one-third of Kenya's output, which was 56,000 tonnes in 1975, and expected to rise to 60,000 tonnes this year. This will bring in about £ 40m. from exports making tea second only to coffee as an agricultural foreign exchange earner.

Smallholder expansion in the past few years can already be seen in the figures for land occupancy. In 1974 the area under tea was 58,574 hectares, of which 34,628 hectares were taken up by smallholders farms.

In 1964 only 19 per cent of the tea growing area was smallholder land, with 81 per cent, held by the big estates. There are about 90,000 small growers, linked by co-operatives and selling their leaf to their own factories established in strategic areas.

Their activities are controlled by the Kenya Tea Development Authority. In the KTDA's development plan small holder areas are being expanded by 22,000 hectares, bringing the total area to 52,628 hectares in two years. There is no scarcity of small men wishing to come into the scheme.

It is estimated that by then there will be about 135,000 growers.

There are 19 tea factories in the scheme, and two are to be added to cope with extra production.

Tea was first planted in Kenya in 1903. By the end of the Second World War only about 5,000 tonnes a year was being produced. This rose to 6,778 tonnes by 1950. By then some fairly large estates had been planted.

The smallholder scheme was started in 1952 with a pilot programme. Just before Kenya's independence the Special Crops Authority was formed to develop tea growing as a useful cash crop for small farmers. Later this became the Kenya Tea Development Authority, which took over the control and development of the whole programme.

It is underwritten by the Commonwealth Development Corporation to the extent now of more than £9m. Finance has also been contributed by the World Bank the Kenya Government and KTDA's revenues derived from sales of planting materials to the farmers and cesses on leaf deliveries.

The growers elect representatives to the Board, through district committees. Many are shareholders in the tea factory companies. Some of the big estate companies act as managing agents to the factory companies, providing skills and expertise.

Kenya is classed as a major tea producer, but as world exporter still plays a relatively minor role to countries like Sri Lanka and India.

Domestic consumption is rising. By the end of 1976 sales in Kenya are expected to reach 8,000 tons a year. Tea is becoming an increasingly popular beverage in African countries.

All 59 tea factories in Kenya process black tea, except one, which processes green tea for Japan. This has not been a very satisfactory project. Brooke Bond operates an instant tea factory at Kericho, with outlets to the U.K. and Australia.

Most of Kenya's tea is still exported to Britain, the traditional outlet, though there are good markets in the U.S., Canada, Pakistan, the Netherlands and Ireland. Efforts are being made to market tea in the Middle East with quite successful results. — *Financial Times*



# Confidentially

## Fishy Business

IS IT NOT INTERESTING that *Tribune* should have received a large number of communications about the canned fish tender of the CWE about which *Tribune* published queries and comments in its issue of April 23 and June 18? That in the latter issue *Tribune* had published two lengthy communications from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the CWE? That on the basis of these statements *Tribune* had raised some questions and made some comments on the manner in which the tenders had been dealt with? That neither the Chairman nor the Deputy Chairman of the CWE has chosen to answer the queries raised? That it is possible that they will take more time to prepare their answers because there is no doubt that the CWE and its officials move very slowly in all matters except in the matter of making purchases and closing tenders (especially from certain buyers)? That in the meantime, *Tribune* has received communications from many sources, including some of the tenderers whose tenders were rejected out of hand (for good and bad reasons), that seems to indicate that there is (and was) much more than meets the eye in the way the tenders were handled? That *Tribune* is now investigating some of these allegations before publishing them? That whilst these investigations are being pursued there is one question that the CWE officialdom can easily answer? That one allegation is that the price "offer" in the Mitsubishi tender offer that was opened publicly in the presence of all tenderers and/or their representatives on May 9 was much higher than the price at which the earlier tender was closed? That it is stated that the true closing price of one of the tenders was revealed only in the columns of the *Tribune*? That it had come as a shock to some of the unsuccessful tenderers to read in the *Tribune* of June 18 that the contract "for the 15 oz grade had been given to Mitsubishi at US \$ 16.24 per carton when

the price as declared at the tender meeting at 10 am in the morning of the 9th of May", when 18 tenders were ceremonially opened in the presence of the Deputy Chairman of the CWE and 12 representatives of tendering firms, was clearly US \$ 17.29 per carton? That there has been consternation among tenderers as to how the figure "came to be reduced" to US \$ 16.24 after the tenders were closed? That this is just one of the many "mysteries", they allege, which surrounds the canned fish deal? That there are similar "mysteries" about the purchase of many other items like dried garlic, masur dhal (or red split lentils or parippu) and gram dhal? That the purchase of dried fish is said to be a saga in itself? That to come back to the canned fish deal it is necessary for the CWE, now or after the elections, to say whether the allegation that the price in the original Mitsubishi tender for the 15 oz grade was US \$ 17.29 on May 9, is correct? That tenderers who were present at the meeting of May 9 assert that this was the price that was openly read out? That they also assert that some tenders were rejected because the samples were not on hand although they arrived within a day of the tenders closing? That, whilst it is true that US \$ 16.24 may refer to an earlier contract (referred to in the *Tribune* of April 23), the question that is being asked is about the price at which the May 9 tender was finally closed? That many want to know whether there were "negotiations" with the Mitsubishi man? That if this was so, why similar opportunities were not given to other tenderers? That if two or three days were spent in negotiating the deal with the "fish baron from Mitsubishi" why opportunities were not given to other tenderers to negotiate in the same way? That if two or three days could be spent with the Mitsubishi fish baron, why was the CWE not willing to wait for a day or two to await the samples that were delayed in the post? That if the CWE were anxious to save foreign exchange for the country were there not ways and means of contracting for canned fish at much cheaper prices than the prices paid?

IS IT NOT ESSENTIAL that whatever government comes to power after July 21 it is necessary to look

into the Mitsubishi and other deals concluded in great haste and hurry just before and after Parliament was dissolved and at a time when Parliament had been prorogued? That if the NSA had been sitting, at that time, questions could have been immediately raised about some of these deals? That it is not clear as to how many tenders there were? That there was a tender sometime in February or March to get the canned fish for the Sinhala and Tamil New year? That evidently there was yet another tender which closed on May 9? That the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman writing to *Tribune*, long after May 9, about what had appeared in the *Tribune* of April 23, did not disclose the specific tender they were referring to? That many tenderers and others seem to have got mixed up about these tenders? That the CWE has yet to answer *Tribune* in regard to the queries we have raised in our issue of June 18? That in the letters of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman they also talked a great deal of piffle about "consumer preference" to justify their purchases? That when one looked realistically into this "question" of "consumer preference" it will be clear that it is a case of "tenderer preference" rather than "consumer preference"? That *Tribune* did not comment on this or raise queries about it because it was certainly not a consideration on which so much foreign exchange should be expended? That people would prefer canned fish in tomato sauce or any other sauce if it was cheaper than canned fish in oil or brine? That people are in no condition to exercise "preferences"? That they will prefer the cheaper product whether it is oil, tomato sauce or brine? That what is essential is to get canned fish at the cheapest possible price? That all this talk about "consumer preference" is just an eye-wash or a smokescreen to hide some fishy business? That CWE officialdom also felt complacent about the "distribution"? That there seems to have been an arithmetical scheme of distribution? That areas, where people either do not eat canned fish or cannot afford to buy it, have been flooded with large consignments of tins whereas areas, which could afford canned fish (or any fish at all) and eat them, have been starved of them?



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