

Vol. 22 No. 5 — July 23, 1977 — **RUPEE ONE**

TRIBUNE



SUBSCRIPTION RATES

FOREIGN

AIR MAIL

Bangladesh, India, Maldives Island and Pakistan

1 Year	Rs.	140 00
6 Months	„	72-50
3 Months	„	37-50

Singapore, Democratic Republic of Vietnam and South Vietnam

1 Year	Rs.	160 00
6 Months	„	82-50
3 Months	„	42-50

Australia, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, G.D.R., West Germany, U.K. Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philipines, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Switzerland, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Zambia and All African Countries

1 Year	Rs.	190.00
6 Months	„	97-50
3 Months	„	50.00

Canada, Cuba, West Indies and U.S.A.

1 Year	Rs.	225 00
6 Months	„	115 00
3 Months	„	57-50

SEA MAIL

To All Countries

1 Year	Rs.	100.00
6 Months	„	52-50
3 Months	„	27-50

LOCAL

3 Years	Rs.	120 00
1 Year	Rs.	50 00
6 Months	„	27-50
3 Months	„	15-00

TRIBUNE,

43, Dawson Street,

Colombo-2.

Telephone: 33172

Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE on the cover this week is one we had kept for an occasion such as the present. For sometime past *Tribune* had openly stated that unless the SLFP-UF Government was able to change its operational style, the UNP would win the General Elections of 1977; and a picture with elephants walking majestically along a jungle path is an apt picture for this cover. In the more recent issues of *Tribune*, we had stated in no uncertain terms that the UNP was likely to score more than a mere working majority in the elections which were held on July 21. But, we did not, even in our wildest speculations (or dreams), expect the kind of landslide that overtook the UNP last Thursday. We had bargained for a three percent swing which we thought would give the UNP about 95 seats at the most. However, after the first ten results were announced it was clear that the swing was well over five percent running close to six; and with this swing, it seemed that the UNP would score the unbelievable total of 135-140 seats. And this has been more than fulfilled. So far the score is 139 but with the postponed Pottuvil election at the end of August, or early in September, the UNP may have 140 seats in the new NSA. The SLFP now has only 8, and the ULF has none. The TULF has 17 seats in the new NSA. The SLFP has been reduced from 90 odd seats in the old NSA (of 150 odd seats) to 8 in the new, and the ULF (LSSP, CP and the PDP) has been wiped out as a parliamentary force. It would be pointless to draw parallels with the 1956, or the 1960 or the 1970 elections because the circumstances in regard to each are different, but it would be necessary to refer these past elections (in this note and other articles in the coming weeks about the elections) in order to drive some relevant points home to the reader. The 1977 elections just concluded has been described as a massive landslide. It is, but it is something more. It is almost a mighty tidal wave that has swept everything before it and has laid low men and women who had developed an egocentric monomaniacal arrogance of political immortality. It is not often that one is able to witness retribution and poetic justice meted out in one's lifetime, (through the ballot box albeit) to petty men and women who had grown too big for their shoes (or sandals). Whilst one's sense of justice, even if it is tinged with an unparadise pinch of sadistic delight at moments such as this, is satisfied to the fullest with the downfall of those who have tormented the community (politicians, bureaucrats, catchers, hangers-on, corporation bosses and the like), the real outcome of the 1977 general elections has frightening implications for those who believe in the parliamentary system of government. We now have a National State Assembly without the necessary safeguard of an appropriate and strong Opposition. The UNP's 139 odd seats gives it much more than two-thirds majority, and the eight SLFPers (one does not know how many of them will defect to the UNP visibly or invisibly) are not really a parliamentary team of any merit or consequence. The main Opposition Party is the TULF intent on achieving a separate state in order to ensure a good future for the Tamils (who have no doubt been reduced in the last thirty years after Independence to the status of second class citizens who have suffered and suffer invisible but real discrimination). In the new NSA we see a parliamentary confrontation on racial lines: as between a UNP which has secured a sixty percent popular vote from the Sinhala masses, and the TULF which has obtained seventy percent approval by the Tamil masses in the Northern Province and a part of the Eastern Province. We thus have a polarisation, not on class lines (which leaders of now deflated parties of the old and established Left had predicted was the true basis of the 1977 general elections), but on racial (and linguistic) lines. Looked at from another angle, the voters in the July 1977 elections have voted to power a one-party government. For a parliamentary system based on Western European models, the new Sri Lanka NSA will be a new experience. But there is nothing to be horrified by this. In India, the Congress under Nehru and other leaders had enjoyed one-party dominance and in this period India had registered spectacular advances. But when the Congress became corrupt and its minions misused power, the voters turned them out in no uncertain terms in March this year. Mrs. Bandaranaike did not suffer the fate of Mrs. Gandhi by losing her own seat, but the parliamentary strength of the SLFP has been reduced to virtual nullity (whereas the Congress in India has the consolation of having a reasonable oppositional strength in the present Lok Sabha). The people of Ceylon have indicated that they have no use for the personalised, pseudo-feudal abuse of power indulged in by the SLFP and the LSSP and CP during the last seven years, but very nearly thirty percent of the voters of the Sinhala areas still cling to the SLFP and this is something the UNP must not forget. The UNP has immense responsibility with its unprecedented parliamentary majority. An even greater responsibility falls upon the TULF.

TRIBUNE

Founded in 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

Editor S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

July 23, 1977

Vol. 22 No. 5

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,
COLOMBO-2.

Telephone: 33172

CONTENTS

EDITORS NOTEBOOK

—UNP Wins, Foreign Affairs p. 2

INTERESTING CONTESTS—I

—Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya p. 6

SHAKE-UP IN THE ARMY

—In The Offing? p. 7

JR GOVERNMENT'S

—Welcome Decisions p. 8

DICK, THE GIANT KILLER

—James T. Rutnam p. 9

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

—July 1 - July 8 p. 10

PAKISTAN

—Fall Of Bhutto p. 13

MORE TREES

—R. Kahawita p. 15

CONSTITUTION—2

—R. B. Thanigata p. 17

FROM VIETNAM & CUBA

—Land Reform, Etc. p. 18

BOOK REVIEW

—Plantation Worker p. 20

ELECTION AND MAJORITIES

—From A Reader p. 21

INANIA

—On Atheism p. 22

SAMUEL PAUL

—Remembered p. 23

CONFIDENTIALLY

—Left Debacle p. 24

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

• UNP Wins

• Foreign Perspectives

Colombo, July 23,

The last election result from the Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya seat has just come in and a *Tribune* team has done a quick job of processing the election results and extracting the relevant percentages to make a preliminary analysis of the most sensational general election ever in this country. The *Tribune* had predicted a victory for the UNP, but with due caution born of wrong predictions in the 1965 and 1970 elections, we had not gone beyond a 3% swing which would have given the UNP around 90 to 95 seats. We had sensed a far greater groundswell of support for the UNP in the last ten days but we failed to correctly estimate the extent and depth of the swing. We had also thought that the ULF, especially the LSSP and the CP, would be able to secure the hardcore support it had enjoyed among voters from the 1940s, but this time a large number of traditionally left-minded voters had decided to teach the established Old Left leaders a "lesson" for the many acts of commission and omission they have been guilty of.

Of the 166 seats (from 159 constituencies) contested on July 21, the UNP captured 139 with comfortably large majorities in nearly all of them. The only UNP victory with a small majority (less than a thousand) was in Kalkudah with 545. Only in three or four constituencies did the "divided vote" help a candidate to win, and in one of them it was the SLFP that had benefitted. The SLFP won only 8 seats and in two of them the majorities were 366 and 522 respectively. The TULF won 17 seats, the CWC 1. One Independent won with a majority of 272 in a twomember seat.

By any yardstick the UNP victory is much more than a "landslide". It is a veritable avalanche that carried everything before it. The UNP had contested 153 of the 159 constituencies and its only poor showing was in the Jaffna peninsula. In the Tamil areas of Vavuniya, Mannar and Trincomalee,

the UNP candidates had come second with votes that merited respect. In the Eastern Province area, the UNP won two Muslim single-member seats and one Tamil seat and one Muslim member in the two-member Batticaloa seat. In the seats in the Eastern Province where the TULF had won, the UNP had voted heavily enough to challenge the TULF.

The statistics the *Tribune* team have come up with cannot be regarded as "final" because there are a few minor discrepancies in the figures as taken down from SLBC announcements throughout the night and the variations in some of the press reports. But the margin of error however is, we believe, less than one percent. Subject to these provisos, the statistics reveal that 86.3% of the registered voters in 159 constituencies have exercised their franchise on July 21. In 1970, 85.2% of the registered voters had voted (in 1965 it was 82.1%, in July 1960 it was 75.6%, in March 1960 77.6%, in 1956 71%, in 1952 74% and in 1947 61.3%). The 86.3% in 1977 general election is the highest ever.

Of the votes polled, 3,147,963 voted UNP, and 1,834,245 SLFP. The UNP thus secured a clear 51.2% of the popular vote, and the SLFP, 29.8%. In May 1970, the UNP had obtained 37.92% of the popular vote (and secured 17 seats) whereas the SLFP had got 36.63% (and got 90 seats). This is the first time any party (or even a coalition for that matter) has crossed the 51% mark. The UNP has scored an increase of 13% in the popular vote as from 1970—and this under its own steam without any coalition or no-contest electoral agreements. The SLFP has slipped 7% in the popular vote in the last seven years.

It would be useful to record that the UNP had obtained 29.62% (with 50 seats) in March 1960, 37.57% (with 30 seats) in July 1960 and 38.93% (66 seats) in 1965. The highest the UNP had scored before this was in 1952 when it polled 44.08% (with 54 seats). In 1956, the UNP had dropped to 27.44% (with 8 seats). It is an interesting coincidence that the UNP in 1956 (with 27.44%) and the SLFP in 1977 (with 29.8%) both won 8 seats. It must be mentioned that the elections in 1956, July 1960, 1965 and 1970 took place

with No-Contest electoral arrangements between different parties. In the 1952, March 1960 and the 1977 general elections all parties had gone-it-alone.

The second largest party in the new NSA, the TULF, polled 375,053 votes but if the additional votes won by Kasi Anandan (as FP candidate) in Batticaloa were added the total would be 397,496. On a total island-wide basis, the TULF polled 6.1% and 6.5% (with the FP vote). If one examined the position in the Jaffna peninsula, where the TULF swept the board with amazingly large majorities in practically every one of the seats, obtaining 71.6% of the votes polled.

Thus, the UNP and SLFP between themselves polled 81.0% of the votes, and with the 6.5% of the TULF (and FP), the total is 87.5%. The balance 12.5% of the votes have to be distributed between the LSSP, CP, CWC, MEP, PDP, MVP, PJP, JVP and Independents. It is extremely difficult to disentangle LSSP, CP, PDP, MVP, PJP and Independent candidates because they have all got mixed up. The MEP can be identified more easily but there are Independents who claim they were MEP or LSSP or CP (having used their symbols).

But, our team has started the initial work on these figures, and with possible errors have come up with the following. The LSSP has polled about 217,137 votes (with 80 odd candidates) and this represents 3.5% of the total votes polled; and the CP had obtained 122,922 vote with about 25 candidates) representing 2.0%. In 1970, the LSSP had obtained 8.75% of the votes, and the CP 3.42% of the votes. In earlier elections the figures were: March 1960—LSSP 10.50%, CP 4.62%, in July 1960—LSSP 7.36% and the CP 2.96%, and in 1965—LSSP 7.45% and the CP 2.72%). It will be seen that in March 1960 when every party had gone it-alone, the LSSP and CP had together got very nearly 15% of the poll, but in July 1960, 1965 and 1970 when they were in electoral agreement or coalition with the SLFP they had got about 10%. This time, when they went to the polls alone, both together had got only about 5.5%. But with this 5.5% they had failed to win a single seat.

Such are the basic essentials of the election results. Minor errors and variations may have to be corrected with more detailed and careful processing but by and large these figures show the realities of the outcome and the implications of the voting.

Admittedly, the UNP victory is a personal triumph for Mr. J. R. Jayawardene. It is interesting to note that this is the first time that he has led an election campaign as the leader of the UNP. In all previous campaigns from 1952 onwards he was deputy to either Dudley Senanayake or Sir John Kotelawela. In 1947 he was one of the younger lieutenants of D. S. Senanayake. Many observers had continued to regard the JR who sought to create a new UNP as being no different from the JR who was deputy to Dudley Senanayake when he had failed often to match performance with promise. JR himself was conscious of this shadow hanging over him from a Senanayakian past.

It is not necessary to go into his efforts to break with the Senanayakian past in this note, but it is only fair to record that at the end of the election campaign JR has emerged in a new light as a leader in his own right. He has also successfully persuaded a very large number of voters, especially youthful voters, that the UNP is something of a new party and that he is not the JR who had tailed behind Dudley for twenty years. Whether his performance as a Prime Minister will confirm this picture of a new JR and a new UNP is yet to be seen and the young voters who had turned the tide in his favour on July 21 are keenly watching the way the new PM and the new Government will tackle the difficult and challenging task before them.

Tribune had known that a sizable section of the new one million odd new voters would vote UNP, but there is no doubt that the overwhelming bulk of this new vote together with large sections, popularly regarded as the JVP vote, had switched to the UNP in the last fortnight to contribute to the mighty swing that gave the UNP the 139 MPs (a swing around 6%—whereas no swing in the past had ever gone beyond 4%). The 13% increase in the popular vote achieved by the UNP is a tremendous feat in a politically sophisticated country

like Sri Lanka and JR and the UNP have good reason to be proud of this.

There is of course one danger. A massive victory like the one the UNP has scored, which gives it a total one-party dominance, can easily generate arrogance and power madness. Parliamentarily, there is nothing the new Government cannot do. There is no Opposition in the manner understood in parliamentary democracy with a multiplicity of parties.

The main, though still numerically small Opposition party, the TULF, stands on a racial and communal footing. The UNP is committed to a united single state whilst the TULF is flirting around with solemn proclamations about setting up a separate state. Unless the UNP can remove the grievances (at least some of them) which gave rise to the demand for a separate state and the TULF discard rhetoric and emotionalism in favour of pragmatic and realistic bi-lateral negotiations, the country will be faced with a confrontation that can lead only to disaster.

What is needed today, both for the Sinhalese and Tamils, is an opportunity to effect a breakthrough on the economic front which will

reduce unemployment and increase income levels (without making only the rich getting richer as under CRA socialism). If the twin problems of employment and improving standards of living can be successfully tackled, and if the many petty irritants that chauvinists in all communities had generated during the last fifty years are removed, there is no doubt that the Sinhalese-Tamil problem can be moved from the arena of confrontation to that of negotiation for a *modus vivendi* in a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-linguistic society. The JVP manifesto, from deep within the Sinhalese rural areas, has called for three national languages—Sinhala, Tamil and English (in that order of priority)—and has conceded the right of self-determination for the Tamil minorities "in principle". (And if past grievances are removed, the acceptance of the "principle" may constitute a permanent emotional safeguard for the Tamil).

Without the traditional Opposition normal in a parliamentary system, the new PM and the new Government have to exercise power with circumspection and caution. Apart from everything else, the current developments in Sri

USEFUL STATISTICAL DATA

• The total number of registered voters for this general election is 6,667,585. It represented an increase of 1,142,557 from the number at the time of the 1970 elections. The 1976 Delimitation Commission increased the number of seats in the National State Assembly to 160 to elect 168 members. There are four two-member constituencies (Batticaloa, Pottuvil, Harispattu and Beruwela) and two three-member constituencies (Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya and Colombo Central). In the new Delimitation. The seats were divided provincially thus: Western 39, Southern 21, Central 24, Northern 14, Eastern 12, North Central 10, North Western 19, Uva 12 and Sabaragamuwa 17, making a total of 168.

In the elections on July 21, the polling in the two-member Pottuvil seat was put off because of the death of a candidate (the new Nomination day has been fixed for August 17). For the 159 constituencies which elected 166 members on July 21, the nominations were as follows: UNP 153, SLFP 145, ULF 130 (LSSP 80, CP 27 and PDP 23), TULF 23, MEP 29, CWC 2, FP 1, DWC 1, JVP 4 and Independents 276. There are certain differences in regard to ULF and other Independent candidates because some papers have classified many from parties and groups not yet "recognised" as parties under the election laws as Independents. Some have given the number of Independents as 296. It will be sometime before this confusion is cleared up, but in view of the very poor showing of Independents it does not matter very much so far as this election is concerned. To disentangle the mess in regard to the number of Independents will not be easy.

The percentage of registered voters who actually polled on July 21 is 86.3%. The percentages in previous elections were: 1947 61.3%, 1952 74.0%, 1956 71.0%, March 1960 77.6%, 1965 82.1% and 1970 85.2%.

Lanka have a unique flavour. It has many parallels with what took place in India in March this year and subsequently, but there is a sizable Opposition in the Indian Parliament capable of being articulate. Further, in India there is an alert press which has served and will serve as a good opposition watch dog, but unfortunately the press in Sri Lanka has been emasculated to an extent that it will be a long time before it can function as it should—and that is if the proper atmosphere and conditions are created by the Government for the functioning a responsible, democratic and free press.

It is well to remember that if the United Front Government had permitted a free press to function (with all its limitations) and if the Government had regarded criticism in newspapers as something to help them to understand the mood of the people, the disastrous debacle that overtook SLFP, LSSP and CP on July 21 would not have occurred. If the UF and the SLFP had paid some heed to the criticisms, comments and suggestions made in the *Tribune* since 1972 on the Constitution, on Land Reform, on the Co-operative Movement, on Tourism, on the CRA system and a host of other matters—then the SLFP, LSSP and CP would not have suffered the decimation that has been inflicted upon them.

The burning question of the day in political, diplomatic and academic circles is (a) why the popularity of the SLFP slumped so badly at the polls, (b) why the established Left was decimated at the polls, and (c) why the UNP was able to score so heavily at the expense (mainly) of the Left. These questions will be dealt with from the different angles *Tribune* normally looks at problems in this column next week and also in subsequent issues. Elsewhere in this issue, there is a preliminary and cursory analysis of the Left debacle, but it is essential to go into this in depth to examine the trends that will and must emerge in the immediate future *vis a vis* the youth and the new Government. There is a great deal to be said on this matter and we expect much to be written in other papers and periodicals.

BUT IN THE MEANTIME, it would be pertinent to refer to the fact that the new Government has assumed power at a time when the

political pattern in South Asia and in neighbouring regions has undergone a tremendous transformation. This is not merely a problem for the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr A. C. S. Hameed, but a matter of importance for the entire country more especially the Left movement which has often been over-obsessed with international developments to the detriment of national matters of vital importance.

With the defeat of the SLFP and the virtual decimation (may be temporarily) of the Old and Established Left in Sri Lanka, the process of transformation in the Sub-continent has been completed. Gone is the world of the Nehrus, the Indiras, the Sukarnos, Br. d. d. Bandaranaike, Sirimavos, even the Bhuttos and Mujibhur Rahmans. From the fifties it was a world of Pancha Sila, of Bandung, of the Nonaligned of Afroasian Solidarity, of the OAU and the like where among other things rhetoric about anti-imperialism, anti-neocolonialism, peaceful-co-existence, and what not, filled the atmosphere. It was a necessary phase for the liberation and emancipation of all countries that were held in colonial subjection. This world of anti-imperialist struggle will still persist until the last pocket of colonial rule in Southern African and the Anartheid state of South Africa disappear.

The zenith of this world was reached in the Belgrade and Cairo summits of the nonaligned movement in the 1960s when Nasser, Sukarno, Nkrumah, Tito, Nehru, Mrs. Bandaranaike and other leaders proclaimed a new world of freedom from which imperialism, colonialism and exploitation would be banished. Pakistan was out of the mainstream of this Afroasian upsurge. It continued to cling desperately to CENTO and SEATO to have an identity different from that of its arch-enemy India, but with the emergence of Bhutto, Pakistan had tried to knock at the doors of this "nonaligned world" without much success: and by the time Bhutto had cleared the decks (very recently) to enter the charmed world, not only was he displaced but the world of non-alignment in South Asia has also been transformed in the most decisive manner.

Mujibhur Rahman had appeared in 1971 as a new bulwark in the nonaligned world of Afroasian Solidarity, but he did not last long.

He was swept out of the history of Bangladesh and the Subcontinent, and there is no doubt that the acts of commission and omission perpetrated by him, his family and his cronies, were responsible for his debacle. Before him Sukarno had disappeared and in his case the mistake he had made in seeking the co-operation of maostuluras to stage a coup to establish a one-man dictatorship provided an opportunity to his enemies to topple him. Bhutto in his cocksure arrogance destroyed his popular political base and made military intervention inevitable.

This process of transformation (some may call it de-stabilisation) has been completed with the defeat of Indira Gandhi and Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Internal mistakes made by these two charismatic leaders contributed to their defeat more than any external force or intervention. And, external intrigue was made possible only because of the mistakes made by these leaders and the sycophantic palace guards of arrogance and corruption they had installed to rule their respective countries.

Morarji Desai, austere and puritanical, has emerged as the leader of India as a result of the popular will that defeated Indira Gandhi and her power-drunk caucus. J. R. Jayawardene, as puritanical and austere as Morarji Desai, has been brought to power by a massive show of popular will at the recent election also because of the misuse of power and mismanagement of the Sirimavo Bandaranaike government.

These are the leaders of the new world that has emerged in South Asia. Morarji Desai in one of his first pronouncements had replied to a question that imperialism was dead and that it was pointless worrying about it. Jayawardene has just not bothered to raise any slogans about imperialism one way or other. This does not mean that the new leaders and the Janata and the UNP do not believe in freedom or that they are stooges of the West or Imperialism. They are symbolic of the new world where rhetoric and sloganising has been abandoned in favour of pragmatic manipulations for survival, existence and growth.

The slogans and rhetoric of the fifties, sixties and the early seventies have not solved the

problems of poverty and employment in the world of Afroasia. And the masses are now turning to solutions offered by more pragmatic politicians who want to find new ways of economic growth.

All this is, no doubt speculative thinking aloud, on our part, about the new world that has been ushered in—in the hope that there will be such similar thinking aloud by other people so that we can find a kind of synthesis to make a common denominator to understand the new world. Oversimplified explanations, using slogans and clichés, about "reactionaries", "rightist counter-revolutionaries", "de-stabilisers" and what not will only delay the process of reaching a true understanding of the nature of the transformation and its causes. It is also necessary to know what people who love their countries have to do to accelerate growth, prosperity, stability and happiness.

In this, it will be interesting to examine what has happened in Egypt which celebrates the 25th Anniversary of its Revolution this week. The Nasser Revolution, which seized power on July 23, 1952, really ushered in the new world of Nonaligned and Afroasian Solidarity. It was true that India had emerged into a Nehruian freedom in 1947 but its new Republican Constitution begun to work only from 1952. The freedom struggle in India had been spread over 25 years and it therefore did not dazzle the world as the Nasser Revolution did. It was a tremendous event in which the King and his patrons from the West were decisively defeated. It was not merely a landmark in Egyptian history but also in the history of the Arab World and the third world of Nonalignment and Afroasian Solidarity that was just beginning to emerge on to the world stage.

The Nasser Revolution rid Egypt of imperialist domination and feudal exploitation. Imperialism and feudalism were not empty words at that time. The Western nations still had hopes of maintaining their imperialist cum colonial hold on the third world. Nasser broke this stranglehold so far as Africa and the Arab world were concerned. In Asia, imperialism had begun to retreat and it kept retreating until the end of the war in Vietnam. Nasser's victory was the signal

for the freedom and liberation movement in Africa proliferating at a rapid pace and today all of Africa, except Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, have black majority rule. It is only a question of time before these also disappear whatever the efforts of the Western Powers to find a way of keeping South Africa intact in the same way they want to Israel intact as a vital fighting force.

More than the international implications of Nasser's Revolution, its achievements inside the country itself were tremendous. Nasser introduced the Agrarian Reform Law, he nationalised the Suez Canal, he took measures to redistribute wealth and thereby readjust social relations, he established a huge industrial base and consolidated a growing public sector. Such measures of a mixed economy pattern have now swept through all countries in Asia and Africa in the wake of the Nasser Revolution.

Egypt became a leading force in the third world of nonalignment. It established friendly links with the Soviet Union and the Socialist world as did most of the other countries of the third world. The USSR built the Aswan Dam in

Egypt (as it did build a huge steel plant in India) and thus broke a western monopoly in technology and aid.

Nasser's stature and charisma were such that he survived the defeat of his armies in the 1967 Israeli war but his unexpected death in September 1960 accelerated a chain reaction of change which has now overtaken many countries in the third world including India and Sri Lanka. Already, before Nasser's death, the signs of the coming change had become apparent. Masses in the third world had become impatient that the various brands of socialism—Arab socialism, Nehru's socialism, Banarajaike socialism and the like—had failed to deliver the goods. Sukarno's socialism had failed and the military had taken over. So had also Nkrumah's socialism fallen by the wayside.

In Sri Lanka, the insurgency of 1971 was a signal that Bandaranaike Socialism was a flop and despite the desperate measures to rush through an unrealistic and stupid Land Reform, all those who stood for Bandaranaike's socialism—the SLFP, LSSP and CP—have been swept out of power in the last

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

Although the UNP has won a massive victory, winning 139 seats of the 153 it contested on July 21, for the National State Assembly of 168 members, there has been no suggestion of rigging (as in some other countries in recent times notably in Pakistan). The election this week in Sri Lanka, as in elections in recent years, have been free and fair. In some of the earlier elections under the Donoughmore and Soulbury Constitutions, there had been widespread malpractices—bribery, undue influence, corruption, use of hired private transport, the psychological war of nerves carried on through flags, posters and the like—but our election laws have been amended several times since 1947 to remove or remedy such evils. There is no doubt now that this country has evolved an electoral machine which ensures fair and free elections. Even the worst losers in the last election—the Independents and the Leftists who have suffered most grievously at the hands of the voters—have not complained about any rigging. The runners-up, who normally seek to explain their defeat by making allegations of rigging, have not (and cannot) complained about rigging—apart from everything else the administration was in their hands. However, Sri Lanka has now devised a system where the Elections Commissioner has become an independent entity vis a vis all contesting parties and even the administration. The Elections Commissioner, Mr. E. L. Dias Abeyasinghe, who has conducted five of the elections and who has contributed to streamlining our election laws must be congratulated for the way he conducted the 1977 General Election. The Police and the Security Services called in to maintain law and order conducted themselves in the most exemplary manner—even after the elections were over (and complaints that had arisen in after previous elections about police partisanship have not arisen this time). All in all, it was a free and fair elections. The ballot box is certainly a better and more civilised way of changing governments and leaders than the barrel of a gun.

general election. In the attempt to stem the oncoming avalanche, the SLFP tried a variety of experiments, many of them introduced by the socialist LSSP (like NM's IMF socialism, CRA socialism, etc) but these experiments did more harm than good. The SLFP tried Dompe Socialism and Poultry Yard Revaluation, and they brought disaster. Whether the new JR government will do better is yet to be seen.

Will UNP socialism in Sri Lanka and Janata socialism in India succeed in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire?

In Egypt, the growing crisis after Nasser's death—it had been building up whilst he was still alive—was met by Sadat's Corrective Revolution of May 15, 1951. As the Janata and the UNP are now seeking to introduce corrective measures to take the country away from the one-party caucus rule of the SLFP and its allies by seeking greater adherence to the rule of law and the eradication of bureaucratic tyranny, so also Sadat had attempted to liberalise the Egyptian administration.

Egypt after Sadat took less interest in the nonaligned movement and concentrated on its internal problems. India and Sri Lanka are likely to follow suit. But neither India nor Sri Lanka is likely to follow Sadat in tilting too much on the West (USA) and the IMF because the implementation of such policies by Egypt resulted in food riots in Cairo a few months ago. And now, the Muslim ultras have begun to give trouble. The Libyan war may help to throttle Muslim extremists in Egypt for a while, but for how long?

Parallels and comparisons are dangerous, misleading and sometimes odious, but there is so much to think about the new world that has begun to appear that it is necessary to have serious discussions on every aspect of this.

The Western nations too have changed. They have dismantled SEATO and will soon throw CENTO into the dustbin. Both had ceased to be anything but paper organisations for over ten years. The West has also begun to take refuge behind multi-nationals and are willing to share the profits with the developing world. The West no longer wants stooge governments but seeks to stabilise de-stabilised

societies with a kind of "multi-national socialism" cleverly mixing public sector commercialism with private enterprise. These are, no doubt, only the last efforts to keep old world capitalism and free enterprise alive in a world that has got tired and angry with the inequalities and imbalances of free enterprise and uncontrolled private profit.

We live in a fast changing world and it is interesting to examine what changes in Sri Lanka, India and Egypt really mean in the context of international developments.

SOME INTERESTING CONTESTS—I

Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya

This electorate was the talk of the town for a long time. It has about 62,000 registered voters about 22,000 of whom are registered citizens of recent Indian origin. There are about 2000 Ceylon Tamils and about 3000 Muslims (also Tamil speaking). This leaves 37,000 Sinhalese of whom about 7000 to 8000 were Low country—thus leaving around 29,000 Kandyan Sinhalese.

Each voter has three votes.

UNP's Gamini Dissanayake top scored with 65,903. To the surprise of many people Anura Bandaranaike had come second with 48,776 and Thondaman was third with rather poor 35,743. All others had come trailing far behind with the PDP (formerly SLFP and earlier LSSP) Ariyatileke coming fourth. The former SLFP Abeyasinghe had come way down and the redoubtable Aziz, backed heavily by the remnants of the Peking wing Macists led by Karawita & Co. got only 516. The other contestants got only a few votes apiece.

Gamini's large vote and Thondaman's poor showing can be explained only if a sizable number of Indian Tamil voters had voted Anura. And Tribune's inquiries show that a large number of Indian Tamil votes were also cast for Gamini quite heavily—after ensuring that Thondaman would get at least second place. But the calculations seem to have been upset by Anura. In an earlier issue Tribune

has indicated that after the "rescue" operations launched by Gamini post Delta, Sanquhar and Devon, many Indian voters wanted to take out insurance for the safety of their person and property by tying up with the UNP. Estate women workers, in particular, were keen about supporting the UNP. In all plantation districts, inquiries reveal estate Indian voters have voted UNP, and this explains the increased swing for the UNP in all electorates where the Indian Tamil voters were found some in substantial numbers. Such voters preferred the UNP even to the LSSP which they had learnt to identify with the atrocities of the land and plantations' policies of the SLFP.

Furthermore, Indian Tamil voters in the plantations dread the talk of a Separate State and Thondaman's enemies had no difficulty in associating him with the TULF's Separate State slogans in spite of his attempts to make himself known as a nominee of the CWC's Political Wing. Gamini Dissanayake no doubt got a sizable number of Indian Tamil votes because of Thondaman's association with the separate state rhetoric of the TULF. Aziz is one of those who raised this cry in a big way.

Many people were surprised that Anura had crept into second place overtaking Thondaman by as much as 12,000 odd votes. Some people had been certain that Anura would be out of the running. But knowledgeable sources in the constituency had said that Anura would get the third place—apart from every thing else he had no appropriate challenger. Ariyatileke, the sitting member for Maskeliya, suffered from the taint of having been SLFP and LSSP—two parties which have been political anathema to large number of voters in the current election.

It is difficult to explain Anura's victory except by stating that he had drawn heavily from Indian votes, also Kandyan and Low country. It is also believed that both Ariyatileke and Abeyasinghe had thrown in the towel—about ten days before polling day. In any case, Abeyasinghe did not have any kind of substantial support to worry any of the candidates, but it was felt that Ariyatileke was in a position to pull in the bulk of the Low country Sinhalese votes. But at the end he had got only a little more than a 1000 voters

(if all cast their 3 votes for him), and the balance of Sinhalese votes had evidently gone to Anura.

Inquiries show that Ariyaratne's supporters had in the last week or so backed Anura. How Ariyaratne was persuaded to give up the fight is one of the puzzling questions of the day. It would be inappropriate to call it the conventional 64-million question and irrelevant to pass it off as the 50 thousand rupee question of the year. Whatever it is, Ariyaratne's enthusiasm seems to have waned during the last stages of the campaign.

Anura has certainly done well to win second place. He has won his parliamentary spurs in a tough fight. He will be one of 8 SLFPers in a House of 168.

So far, Anura has stolen the show as the PM's son. He has enjoyed Police protection and has had the use of official transport. He has thrown his weight around as a member of the PM's family and has aroused the animosity and hostility of many persons by his impetuous and abrasive manner. How Anura will fare as an ordinary MP without having any of the privileges of the PM's inner circle is anybody's guess. If Anura can develop his political stature in the arid and hostile arena into which he has been thrown by the defeat of his mother's party, then he has a chance of graduating into serious political work.

Aziz's 914 votes show that this "President" of the DWC (we do not know what post he holds in the CWC now) has little support among Indian voters in this area. He was a Nominated Member of Parliament from 1970-77 and was widely known to be a standard torch-bearer for the PM and the SLFP. He most suffered from the current swing against the SLFP and the former partners of the United Front. Aziz would have done well not to have filed his Nomination Papers. Then, at least, he could have maintained that he had a mythical and legendary support among these workers as the boss-man of the DWC.

There are also many mysterious circumstances about this election.

SERENDIB

To be continued

* *

TOPICAL

Shake-up In The Army

by A Tribune Investigator

The Sun, on the morning of July 22, when the results were still trickling in, had a prominent box on page three entitled MILITARY PLOT? JR ALERTS DEFENCE SEC. The report read: "UNP Leader, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, last night warned the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe, about a possible attempt by a section of the armed forces to create mischief. The Sun reliably understands that Mr. Jayawardene's warning followed information about activities of some highly placed officers in key regiments who, it is alleged, had planned certain illegal acts."

Tribune inquiries reveal that this "warning" by Mr. Jayawardene had arisen because of the activities of some persons, obviously with military swagger but in civies, wandering about the Dedigama electorate just before and on polling day. One does not know whether they were in any way connected with units deployed to guard the Thulhiriya textile complex, but questioning by some curious election workers had revealed that they were from a unit using the premises of what was once a fashionable club in Colombo.

There has been a great deal of speculation, as reports in the Sun, Dawasa group of newspapers indicate that "certain high army officials who would lose the privileges enjoyed even contemplated creating trouble. It is also reported that when Mr. Jayawardene got wind of this he had taken prompt action by informing the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence about it."

There is no doubt that the new Government has to look into the state of the Army without any delay. Tribune has been aware for a long time (as many knowledgeable persons have been) that all is not well with the Army. There is grave dissatisfaction among all ranks of the army about the manner in which army administration has been carried on. Many officers who were "a-political" or "non-political" have either quit or been pushed out because they would not accept the politicking that went on. Army administration in recent times has

been based on politicking of a kind that has eroded the discipline and integrity. One has only to listen to the chatter among army officers and other ranks, individually and collectively, to realise that all is not well with the army.

It would require volumes to detail all the grievances that have been aired. Some of them may have been exaggerated. Some of them may need investigation. Some may be false. But there are some which are true. In any case, there cannot be smoke without fire.

Voluntary Units, like the National Service Regiment, were created after 1971 where recruiting was done on a personalised and clan basis. Men were promoted from lieutenant to major (and colonel) in less time than it takes to say "Jack Robinson". And the privileges accorded to such units have created dissatisfaction in other units. Recruitment to and promotions in such favoured units were done outside and in violation of the Voluntary Service Regulations.

The situation in the Regular units do not seem to be any better. About this more in the coming weeks.

One matter that has been the talk of the town for some weeks is how a volunteer officer from the dubious post-1971 unit was catapulted over all long-serving officers in the regularly-constituted and established Volunteer Units and was made the head of the Volunteer Force. And the manner in which he was enabled to earn a four-figure salary as the Security Head of a newspaper organisation is one of the comic-tragedies of the current period. Why a newspaper organisation should need an officer of such calibre and brass is hard to understand, but there it is.

And in more recent times, as polling day drew near, the Army High Command was in a dither about guns and ammunition issued to parliamentarians during the insurgency in 1971. These guns and ammunition were withdrawn, but nobody is certain whether all such guns were returned and the ammunition accounted for. Some parliamentarians of the old NSA have been flaunting weapons before, during and just after polling day. Are these weapons "un-retained weapons" or are they duly licensed weapons?

All these questions (and more) have worried thinking people for a long time. The country needs security and law enforcing forces which are kept out of politicking. The role and position of the armed forces in the parliamentary democratic set-up of Ceylon, even according to the ignominious Constitution of May 1972, has been defined in such a way that military intervention (as in Pakistan and elsewhere) in civilian rule is not conceivable.

One of the most important tasks before the new government is to restore morale and discipline in the armed services.

One of the matters that must be looked into in this connection is the way highranking officers use army transport for private purposes. In various clubs in Colombo and elsewhere one can see red-tabbed "gentlemen" bring wives and children for social and sports activities in army transport with army drivers (who hang about while the chocolate soldier marshals sport around). The Government has already issued warnings about the misuse of CTB and Corporation vehicles. It would do well to issue such warnings to army officers as well.

* * *

JR GOVERNMENT'S

Welcome Decisions

***SECRETARY TO THE CABINET.** One of the first actions of the new Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, was to appoint Mr. G. V. P. Samarasinghe as Secretary to the Cabinet. "Putus" (as he has been fondly known from his university days) Samarasinghe is an able administrator with a long and distinguished record in the Public Service. He had quit when the Dudley Senanayake government was defeated in 1970. He knows his way about in the labyrinthian intricacies of the higher echelons of state power and he can be expected to discharge his new and onerous duties with acceptance. Like everybody else he has his little prejudices and strong convictions, but he can be depended upon to maintain the rule with fairness and impartiality.

***LAKE HOUSE.** The very competent and sober-minded Mr. Bodinagoda has been appointed the Competent Authority to manage the affairs of Lake House for the moment. He has in the past worked for many years in Lake House and he knows how a newspaper organisation should be run. In the last three years, Tribune has drawn

attention to the mess that is Lake House and the strike cum lockout from July 18 was the ultimate culmination of putschist-style administrative and propaganda techniques generated by a gang-of-four caucus that has dominated Lake House since the "take-over". The real boss of this gang flew away just before the election results were announced leaving behind the ruins and debris of what was once a mighty organisation. Bodi has an unenviable and challenging task and it will be interesting to watch how he sets about the job of resurrection and rehabilitation.

***SLBC.** The appointment of the former Prime Minister's official Private Secretary, Mr. Dharmasiri Peiris, came as a shock to many people to who had thought that he would be one of the casualties of the change-over. If he is able to pull the SLBC out of the morass it has fallen in recent times and make it function as it should (and implement JR's campaign promises about the SLBC) he will bring prestige and credibility to the SLBC and the new Government. The SLBC broadcast the statement of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, as leader of the defeated SLFP, on the morning of July 24. This is a beginning which portends good. But Pieris must restrain the lick-spittle inhibitions of many SLBC minions who are expert in jumping bandwagons and stop them from overdoing the "hallelujah praise the Lord" stuff about the new government and its leaders on all wavelengths—such sickly sycophancy erodes credibility. The more restrained the "news" about the government the greater the credibility established. People judge by the work done and not commendations from the SLBC. Pieris has a tough assignment. Will he succeed in cleaning the Augean stables?

THE UNDERWORLD AND THE ELECTIONS

The pattern has now become clear. The Police was alert and unearthed arsenals of handbombs and other offensive weapons in Colombo in time to prevent stage-managed "political" clashes to enable underworld cohorts of looters and thieves and to have a field day. In some outstation areas, the police had not been able to take preventive action, in time, and the underworld succeeded in creating "trouble" prior to looting, but a decisive curfew has helped to stop the rot. The underworld thugs were armed with green, blue and red shirts and caps ready because they thought that as in 1970 the winning party would provide at least temporary immunity to those wearing its colours. In the firm belief that green shirts and green caps would bring immunity and even police protection thugs and looters had started operations in some areas but the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, took prompt action to put a stop these activities. The appeals by all political leaders and religious heads succeeded in restraining political enthusiasts and activists, from closing, but the underworld has no use for such appeals. Under the smokescreen of political tension the underworld had planned an islandwide looting spree immediately after the election. In some places they had succeeded for a while, but the Government's quick action checked their activities. The new Government must not take long-term steps to break up this underworld which has, unfortunately, developed sinister political connections in recent years. A clean police force, incorruptible politicians who keep away from the underworld and the ordinary laws of the land are enough to do this job.

CHICKEN AND EGG MARKET

IS IT TRUE that new economic order will soon become impossible in the monopoly-controlled egg and chicken industry in Sri Lanka? That tycoons who had controlled the trade and market have been brought to their senses by a series of volcanic upheavals that have shaken the country recently? That half a lakh of such monopoly-held birds are said to have succeeded in (jail) breaking their cages and escaping into freedom?

DICK THE GIANT KILLER

A Total Rout

by James T. Rutnam

There were giants those days. Dick got hold of them and they are no more.

This is the achievement that our new Prime Minister Junius Richard Jayawardene (Dick to his close friends) had accomplished. It is without parallel in our history.

The Elections were held in an orderly and peaceful manner. The credit for this should go to the Commissioner of Elections, Dias Abeysinghe and our former Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Jayawardene walking in the queue with the high and low and waiting patiently for his turn may seem theatrical, but it heralded a new era.

How far we have travelled since the first Elections of 1931 under universal adult suffrage! The thugery, the impersonations, the shouting and bawling, the flag-waving, the bribery, the intimidation, these seem to be disappearing fast with the growing sense of civic duty among the people. Unmitigated hooliganism was rampant then, even (as Justice Hearne remarked in a judgement in 1944) "at the very portals of what has been called the voters' hall of freedom, the polling booth."

The UNP has to accept its share of the blame, and Jayawardene should understand when we tell him that the image of the old UNP was never to our liking. It was a fortress of Reaction. It was the rich man's Party. It was the hand-maiden of the neo-colonialism of the imperialists. At that time in the fifties we would not have touched Joseph Mc Carthy's America even with a barge pole. The last vestige of Mc Carthyism went with Nixon after Watergate. Let us hope we have heard the last of Yankee Dick, as we trust we have now come to hear the last of Peking-liners and Moscow-liners.

We are amazed at Jayawardene's feat in totally routing his opponents. Felix Bandaranaike, who is a pain-in-the-neck to his friends and foes alike, gave us an exhibition of his intolerable arrogance and bombast when he came to Colombo West the other day. He is laid to the ground today. What a fall, my countrymen! Felix sought his own ruin. He began by attempting to scuttle or weaken the intended relief offered to the Tamils in the Language of the Court's Bill, by conspiring with a fellow Christian leader at a Chinese Hotel, little realizing he was himself a member of a minority community, the Christians. We had to wait in patience until Nemesis overtook him and made him a Christian "martyr" of a sort.

This is not the time for a post-mortem on the defeat of the SLFP. But I feel urged to remark that they let the country down in not correctly implementing the two promises they gave when they appealed for our votes in 1970. They had the advantage of combining in a United Front with the Leftists. Together they assured us they would take over Lake House. They did. But it became private property of the SLFP. They promised two measures of rice instead of one and swung the electorates. This promise was a calculated lie. United they perpetrated a monstrous Republican Constitution. They used the Emergency Laws throughout their tenure in office. They exalted themselves as Judges in the Legislature and made the Rule of Law a mockery. Worst of all, they extended their term in parliament without any moral or legal right.

If you look at a map of Sri Lanka marked with the triumphs of the UNP and the TULF at this Election, you will note not only the stunning hold the UNP has in the South but equally revealing paramouncy of the TULF in the Northern Province, and a large part of the Eastern Province. Sad to relate, Devanayagam is the only Tamil in a National group of 139 members belonging to the UNP. He overcame his TULF opponent by a very small margin of votes. But he retains to a large extent the confidence of the Tamil Community as he had on various critical occasions identified himself with the other Tamil leaders who are today the trusted and accredited

representatives of the Tamil Community, and whose stand to hold the Elections as a plebiscite has been vindicated.

The TULF had won a thundering vote of confidence despite a call to the Tamils by a disgruntled aspirant for legislative honours to support his nondescript nominees, and his stupid and totally unwarranted charge that their leader was an Idi Amin.

Now the time has come for sane counsel. The TULF has rejected the ultra-uncompromising stand taken by Navaratnam in the confrontation at Kayts. The first problem before the leaders of the UNP and the TULF is the defining or understanding of the terms used and of the basic objectives envisaged. Nobody is independent strictly today. No nation either.

Take the negotiations that are presently pending between the PLO and Israel. One party does not recognise Israel, and claims the entirety of its territory. The other will never want a Palestinian State. But the negotiations still go on. They both are keen to avoid a call to arms. And Carter is confident that peace will be restored and that prosperity will follow.

This is my dream too in our present circumstances, and I leave its accomplishment in the able hands of Jayawardene and the true leaders of the Tamils who enjoy, unlike the Kumarasuriars, Duraiappas, Arulampalams and Thiagarajas, the fullest confidence of the people.

STOP PRESS

LAKE HOUSE

IS THERE NOT CONSTERNATION in knowledgeable circles about the chaos and anarchy that has overtaken Lake House? That a kind of mob rule has arisen with several factions fighting for supremacy? That those who went on strike "for JR" seem to think that they are the CHOSEN who should have sole and exclusive monopoly of everything Lake House? That another faction which was only "half-on-strike" are also struggling for a place under the sun? That who had worked at the request of the displaced management are being bodily prevented from either entering the place or doing any work? That the Government cannot afford to tolerate such rowdy tactics by one faction to spoil the new image of the UNP?

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

July 1 — July 8

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—Dina-
mina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;
SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina;
DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chintha-
mani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;

SUNDAY, JULY 1: Sri Lanka has become the first country to bind itself legally to extradite nationals of other Commonwealth countries who are wanted in connection with exchange control offences; this is a sequel to the PM issuing an order bringing the Extradition Law into operation in respect of Commonwealth countries. The Senior Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, Mr. L. V. P. Wettasinghe, has been appointed to inquire into complaints made by convicted insurgents; this follows a pledge given them by the Secretary to the Ministry who met a deputation of convicted insurgents last week. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has called upon UNP Councillors of the Colombo Municipal Council to oppose the proposal to construct a residence for the Mayor—CDN. The CTB may hire lorries owned by government departments to supplement its fleet on election day. Mr. Upatissa Gamanayake, acting Secretary of the JVP described press reports of an attempted jail break by Rohana Wijeweera and other prisoners as part of a plot by prison authorities and the repressive state apparatus aimed at misleading the public. The Ceylon Teacher's Union which holds its Annual General meeting in Jaffna today has urged the government to accept the Tamil language as one of the national language and to incorporate in the Constitution of Sri Lanka a clause ensuring the rights of the Tamils. The Colombo Municipal authorities were ordered not to proceed with work in connection with the construction of a residence for the Mayor of Colombo in the Vihara Maha Devi Park. The Society of Registered and Assistant Medical Practitioners yesterday decided to suspend the 29-day-old strike launched by the Society's members attached to various medical institutions. Consumers will receive increased quantities of canned fish, safety matches, foodstuffs and infant milk along with dates and fennel seed through co-operatives this month—CDM. Secretaries to several ministries who are political appointees are to receive pensions; a gazette notification announcing the amended Pensions Minute is expected to be issued this week. The Treasury and the private shareholders of the Ceylon Hotels Corporation have been defrauded to the tune of Rs. 97,962 on the profits that should have come to them; this is revealed in the latest administration report of the Auditor General. The Sri Lanka Police Inspector's Association has told the PM that promotions, transfers, appointments disciplinary inquiries, punishments and recruitments should be left entirely in the hands of the IGP; they were protesting against the appointment of temporary ASP's against the recommendations of the IGP. Tamil film hero, M. G. Ramachandran was sworn in yesterday as Chief Minister of the South Indian State of Tamil

Nadu. The AMS and the GMOA yesterday announced that their membership would not work in the Dompe electorate; this decision of theirs will apparently continue till they are satisfied that the conditions there are such that the safety of the doctors has been ensured—SU. Production in the three cement factories of the cement Corporation has virtually come to a standstill because of the total absence of raw material and fuel from the latter part of May—CO. Doctors in the Dompe hospital were intimidated at midnight by a gang of thugs and the wife of the Minister of Finance, and they forcibly opened the stores and took away medicines—ATH.

SAVURDAY, JULY 2: About 12,000 bank employees in the scale of supervisor and below will receive multi-benefits as a result of interim award made by the Finance Minister and the latest offers made by the management following the recommendations of the Arthur Silva Committee which reported on a revision of the salary structure recently. Agreements providing for soft term loans to Sri Lanka aggregating to 14.2 million US dollars were signed this week in Washington, according to the External Resources Division of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs; the loans are to be utilised for financing improvements and extensions to the pipe-borne water supply schemes in Colombo and some suburbs. The Ministry of Defence has sanctioned the use of the armed forces to assist the police in maintaining law and order if there is an escalation of violence before, during or after the general election. The World Bank soft loan agency, the International Development Association and the four countries—Canada, Netherlands, UK and the USA—will finance the foreign exchange costs of Project II of the Mahaweli Ganga Development Scheme. 25 fishing boats, made by Sri Lanka technicians and carpenters are to be exported to Somalia—CDN. The Ceylon Estate Staff's Union wants 'equal rights and opportunities for all sections of the people of Sri Lanka, free from discrimination any grounds, in any context; in its election manifesto, the union calls for the abolition of the prevailing bourgeois parliamentary system and the creation of a new constitution providing for free fair election on an appropriate basis by all sections of the masses. Airline passengers will have to pay more for their tickets from this month; the increase will be 1% of the normal cost and is intended to meet the Business Turnover Tax. Shareholders of the Ceylon Hotels Corporation unanimously passed a resolution asking the government to appoint three directors representing the shareholders to the Board of Directors. Nurses are poised for another strike as the eight hour work shift introduced ceremonially yesterday morning at the General Hospital, Colombo was cancelled in the evening by the Medical Superintendent after the protests of the few assistant matrons of the hospital—CDM. All ballot boxes for postal votes in the general elections are now being sealed by the 32 Returning officers in the respective districts and candidates or their representatives. Shipping circles had expressed concern at the manner in which vessels have been permitted to bunch out of harbour for long periods; yesterday there were 11 ships outside harbour. Sixty graduates have been recruited by the ministry of trade to be trained as Price Control Inspectors. All taverns, liquor shops and bars throughout the country will be closed for four days from July 19 to 22 in view of the general elections—SU.

With the hotting up of the election scene, in the North and East, there are reports of the increase of violence—VK. The PM will visit Killinochchi today; she will open some new buildings there—EN. The security service of the CTB has found out that buses from many depots that are taken out for testing are removed of their spare parts, which find their way to the black market—DW.

SUNDAY, JULY 3: The Ceylon Bank Employees Union at a special general meeting held yesterday decided not to go on strike. Canada and Sri Lanka have come to an agreement on the terms of a convention for the avoidance of double taxation and fiscal evasion—SO. The present ceilings on land and housing will not be repealed or amended by the UNP if it forms a government; instead it will be extended to capital investment as well; this is stated in a message to the voters by the leader of the UNP. Postal voting begins on July 7 and the sealed packets containing the ballots will reach the returning officers of the respective electorate before July 5. Government doctors yesterday continued to boycott the Dompe Hospital following last week's incidents there—ST. A top level probe is now being conducted by the Defence Ministry to fully ascertain the link between the island-wide blackout on June 25 and the jail break attempt at the Magazine Prison, Welikade. Special precautionary measures have been adopted by the government to deal with the acts of damage to private property, thefts, and ticketless travel in the Railway during the general election period. Tea trade is perturbed at a recent directive of Janawasama to keep away Janawasama estates-owned tea from the Colombo tea auctions scheduled to be held on July 26; the amount of tea affected is in the region of one million pounds. The triangle linking Thurstan Road, Reid Avenue and Race Course Avenue is to be declared a top security zone with effect from July 18 to 22: this has been decided at a top level conference held on Friday to complete plans for the two centres where the counting of votes in relation to 28 electorates are to take place—WK. Sri Lanka is a small country; one cannot have two governments here; one cannot have a separate Tamil State either, so said the PM at a meeting in Killinochchi—EN.

MONDAY, JULY 4: The World Bank and countries UK, Canada, Netherlands, Sweden and Norway have shown a keen interest in the district planning scheme of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs which will be started in Kurunegala from September; the World Bank has agreed to give Rs. 200 million. The Colombo Municipal Council has asked the Ministry of Trade that it be given full authority to conduct the Jatika Pola at Bullers Road. The US has authorised a 12 million dollar loan to be provided this year and the next for a five year project to assist the Ministry of Health Anti-malaria campaign. The Minister of Health has offered to make some amendments with regard to the channelled consultation scheme to accommodate the two doctors unions, the GMOA and the AMS. There is a world shortage of honey as a result of producers in developing countries failing to meet the quality requirements of the international market and their inability to satisfy consumer preferences—CDN. A resolution urging that local government employees too be given opportunity to serve in Sri Lanka's missions abroad was passed at the sixth annual general meeting of the Sri Lanka Local Government Clerical Service Union held in Mannar—CDM. The Film Corporation

has clamped down on all forms of commercial advertising and other propaganda through cinemas. The GMOA in a special meeting on Saturday decided that none of their members will serve in the Dompe Hospital until the wife of a VIP politician and her supporters involved in an incident recently gave an unqualified apology and promised not to interfere in the working of the hospital. According to a report submitted by one of the engineers, the electricity blackout that took place last week was deliberate and pre-planned—SU. The position of the CP, which initially said that it would support the TULF in the North seems to be uncertain at present, and no one seems to know which side it is inclined. Saudi Arabia and the UAE have decided to increase their oil prices by 5% VK. The Police are going to take action against two companies which secure employment in Middle East countries for a commission and in addition obtain a percentage of their income—DP. The current commodity boom in international markets has boosted Sri Lanka's external assets and enabled the government to substantially increase the foreign exchange allocation made for import of industrial raw materials—CO. The problems of the Railway workers have still not been solved and commuters are being put to a lot of inconvenience, it is necessary to find a quick solution to bring things back normal; so states a request made to the PM by the Clerical Service Unions—DM.

TUESDAY, JULY 5: Finance Ministers and Governors of Central Banks in the non-aligned countries will meet in Tunisia from June 27 next year to prepare a blueprint to implement the Colombo Summit resolution to set up an international bank to aid developing countries. Sri Lanka will launch a diplomatic offensive at the next UN General Assembly sessions in September this year, to have foreign exchange offence violations included in extradition treaties signed between member nations. Dr. Herbert Woegel will be the new Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Sri Lanka. Detectives investigating the murder of three policemen shot recently in the North by terrorists have met with a wall of silence although there were a number of witnesses to the killings. The Commissioner of Labour has instructed all state agencies employing plantation labour to give permanent status to all their non-executive employees with effect from July 1; this will benefit 10,000 workers in the State Plantations Corporation, The Janawasama and the Usawasama—CDN. Any person caught pasting posters announcing a political meeting will be arrested and produced before a magistrate and remanded indefinitely pending inquiries. The Joint Front of Trade Unions in the CEB in a press release state that the strike is a clear example of bureaucratic bungling and arose as a direct result of interference by senior Ministry officials in the affairs of the CEB; there were no economic demands and neither was the strike politically motivated—CDM. The UNP leader said on Sunday that if he became PM he would review the life imprisonment sentence imposed on JVP leader, Rohana Wijeweera. The CTB will deploy 5,000 buses for voters at the general election on July 21—SU.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 6: The Pakistan army today deposed PM Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and took over power in the country after four months of bloody strike between the government and the Opposition parties; unconfirmed reports said all the leaders of the Opposition PNA were detained; Army Chief of Staff General

Zia-ul-Haque who is believed to have led the coup, imposed martial law, and is to broadcast to the nation today. The new military strong man in Pakistan pledged tonight to hold elections in October. The 70 million rupee coarse count cotton mill at Mettegama will be opened today by the Minister of Textile industries. Nearly 40,000 private sector employees will get a day off on July 21 to enable them to exercise their vote—CDN. While the ministers are today expected to approve new salary scales for university teachers the non-academic staff has threatened to stage a one-day token strike to protest against the salary scales offered to them. Co-operative societies are no second to private traders in selling foodstuffs and other essential commodities underweight, according to a high official of the Price Control Department. Police are perturbed at the recent increase in gun thefts reported from various parts of the country—CDM. 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; so stated the PM when she addressed an election rally at Colombo Central. Rumors have been rampant the last few days that Mr. K. A. Thabrew contesting the Colombo South seat was dead (or dying); this gave rise to speculation of a by-election in Colombo West in such an event, the story went that the UNP leader would not have become the PM even if his party won the general election; Mr. Thabrew has squashed all rumors in this respect to a Sun reporter—SU.

THURSDAY, JULY 7: The managements of all banks have decided to implement from next week the interim award of the Finance Minister which will benefit the bank employees; they will receive two increments on their salary scale with retrospective effect from August 1972. All six campuses of the University will be closed during the coming general election to enable undergraduates to cast their votes. The UNP has no clear cut solution in its election manifesto for the problems of the Tamil speaking people though the ULF has mentioned it in its manifesto, said Mr. A. Amirthalingam general secretary of the TULF at an election meeting in Trincomalee; he also added that the UNP was trying to woo the Tamils by summoning a round table conference, but that too was a farce. The Health Ministry has instructed heads of hospitals that the unauthorised straight shift of nurses in certain hospitals should be stopped forthwith—CDN. 'Operation Security' comes into force from July 18 to ensure there are no incidents of violence during the general elections. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene speaking at an election rally at Badulla said that the free trade zone which the UNP government proposed to set up would be limited only to 2000 square miles of the country. The United Front of Railway Trade Unions and 17 other trade unions in the public sector will organise agitational campaigns against several government party candidates in protest against the dismissal of over 100 employees of the Ratmalana Railway Workshop—CDM. The Sri Lanka Shipping Corporation yesterday rushed its general manager to the Libyan capital of Tripoli, where a mutiny has been reported on Board the Corporation's cargo liner 'Lanka Kirithi'. A total of 6443 motor vehicles have been imported to the country it is reliably understood. Sri Lanka's borrowing from foreign countries reached Rs. 689.1 million last year. The UNP would appoint a Commission of Inquiry to probe all forms

of mal-administration when it is elected to power, its leader announced on Monday—SU. Sri Lanka's share of the lucrative Pakistan tea market had fallen last year, Sri Lanka's Trade Commissioner in Karachi had reported. The CGR has decided to run special 'election' service trains from July 19 to 22—CO.

FRIDAY, JULY 8: Half a million workers of estates managed by the State Plantations Corporation and the Janawasama are being paid a bonus of 75% of a month's salary; the two institutions have declared the bonus for their employees on the basis of their operation from the first nine months from April to December. The Fort Police yesterday seized cartoons and other publications which the Attorney General had earlier ruled was a violation of the Election Law. The island wide security scheme for the general election comes into operation with the moving out of the ballot boxes from the Kachcheries to the polling booths on the morning of Wednesday, July 20. 2000 CTB buses are now being repaired and will be ready by election day to supplement the CTB's existing fleet. The Minister of Health will lay the foundation stone for a new acupuncture unit at Barnes Place, Colombo today; this unit will be put up at a cost of Rs. 1 million, and will be the most up-to-date unit outside the People's Republic of China. The Pakistan Press has been given its freedom for the first time in more than a decade but does not know what to do with it, an Army spokesman said in Rawalpindi today—CDN. Three armed youths locked up the manager and the rest of the staff of Visakamals, Main Street Pettah, and got away with Rs. 15,732 on Wednesday evening in one of the slickest hold-ups in recent times. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene speaking at Kelaniya said that it was he who had first proposed having Sinhala as the official language. While the price of local cement has risen to Rs. 75 per bag the CWE continues to dilly dally with the award of a tender for 100,000 tons which closed as early as mid May—CDM. The Commissioner of National Housing was sent on compulsory leave yesterday; the Minister of Housing has ordered an investigation into complaints of irregularities in the acquisition and distribution of houses under the Ceiling on Housing Property Law and malpractices in the granting of housing loans to applicants. The Channelled Practice Scheme for government doctors, to be implemented through co-operative hospitals, has come up against a new hurdle following representations by co-operative officials that their share of the consultation charges is inadequate. Though polling proper in the general election starts on July 21, about 105,000 postal voters of the 6,667,585 registered voters would have already voted by then—SU. There have been reports of various incidents due the elections in recent times; during one of these incidents at Akarapattu one person died and two others were injured—VK. The TULF have no interest in the welfare of the Muslims, neither do they like the Muslims being in the party and working for their rights; this is why I have been expelled from the Party; so said Mr. M. E. H. Mohemmadally former MP for Muttur—DP.



AS SEEN FROM DELHI

Fall Of Bhutto

New Delhi, July 9.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has fallen, but his impetuous innings in power has lessons to teach for many. After Pakistan found itself disintegrated in December 1971, a leader emerged out of the shambles left behind by the Army Junta.

The nation's morale was low but the new leader lifted it. Instead of the blanket slogan of *Garibi Hatao*, Bhutto spelt out his promise to the people—*Roti, Kapra, Makan*. An air of great expectations stirred the dispirited people. They thought the long night was over. Men and women of perception and enlightenment—the forward looking elements on the political fringe like Mazhar Ali Khan—thought Bhutto was their only hope for revival of democracy after a long hope for revival of democracy: after a long time, the windows were thrown open, conversations became free, the press began to recover its self respect and political activities surfaced. And they all prayed the process be irrepensible.

Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party itself brought within its fold a large number of democratic and progressive elements. It took a stand against the powerful feudal *sirdars* of Sind and Baluchistan, and there were loud talks of fighting the feudal diehards and the bigoted *mullahs*. Without pressing the analogy too far but making it comprehensive for Indian experience one may venture to say that the promise of 1969-70 in India came to Pakistan in 1971-72.

Thereafter the same inexorable logic followed in different scenarios.

Many politicians who manage to stand out have a way of rationalising their conduct. They first convince themselves that they are the only instruments for bringing about decisive changes in the life of their people, and nothing more is wanted but their personal eminence in leadership. And then, when difficulties crop up, they strive desperately to somehow remain in power forgetting the hope they have roused in their people and the promise betrayed. This is the way Bhutto has gone as others in his neighbourhood, though under cir-

cumstances. He got preoccupied not in restructuring Pakistan's policy on a genuinely federal basis and giving it a new social content, but in indiscriminately wielding power divorced from purpose.

Gradually, the progressives faded out or were eliminated from his People's Party. And so *mullahs* became stronger and aggressive, and a conglomerate of *stauistic* forces—from the remnants of the Muslim League to the revivalists of the Jamaat-e-Islamic overnight became the vociferous champions of democracy. Inevitable, in such a situation, foreign interference, covert and overt, played its part. And as in India so in Pakistan, one could hear about the omnipresence of the CIA and its omnipotence too. Bhutto thought he might be able to excite the imagination of the populace, deceived and embittered, by contrived confrontation with USA on the issue of the plutonium processing plant. He thought he could enlist the support of his Islamic brethren as a countervailing force to the Islamic revolt within his own country.

But once you lose your link with the masses at home, the foreigners can at best prop you up for a while but you cease to be a leader on your own right, and when your roots are so severed in your own country, there is nothing surprising that the Army as an organised force inevitably appears as the saviour of the people. This has happened before in Pakistan when a succession of squabbling politicians and civil servants discredited themselves and corroded the fibre of the nation's policy; and it has happened again this time when Bhutto wrangled with his opponents making a mockery of the elective political structure.

Contemplating the present scene in Pakistan, one is reminded of the tragedy that overtook Sheikh Mujibur Rahman less than two years ago in Bangladesh. Riding on the euphoric popularity as the father of the liberated Bangladesh, the Sheikh also systematically severed his connections with the genuine forces of national liberation, isolated himself from the normal political processes; and thus the way was paved for the Army to take over, unhesitatingly indulging in bloody massacres.

Case-hardened politicians never seem to learn, but looking at the fateful developments in these two

neighbouring countries, it is time to tender in all humility, a warning to our political leaders not to play with promises to the people. Once the effect of the promises wear out and the leader thinks only of how to cling on to power without bothering about the pledges that go with it, then there is little room for escape. Sheikh Mujib lost his life. Indira Gandhi lost her power and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto pushed out of it unceremoniously. Those who are enthroned today should look back to what happened yesterday and the day before.

Nikil Chakravarty
Mainstream

New Delhi, July 16.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the flamboyant and unpredictable Prime Minister of Pakistan, has been overthrown, not by the opposition organisation mass movement but by his own blue eyed boys in the armed forces. In the early hours of Tuesday, military officers led by Gen. Ziaul Haque took the former Prime Minister into "protective custody" and promptly sent him to the Sihala Camp. Fittingly it is this place that Bhutto fancied as the ideal resting place for all his political detractors.

Within less than an hour, the army has rounded up all the members of the Bhutto cabinet and the ruling Peoples Party including Defence Minister Tikka Khan and also the four provincial governors. The opposition leaders too were packed off to detention camps. According to newspaper reports soldiers carrying machine guns began patrolling the main streets of Rawalpindi, while others took up position outside airports and telecommunication centres. It was all over by dawn, and Radio Pakistan came out with the news in a cryptic statement in its regular 7.30 a.m. broadcast.

The power has now passed on to the hands of a four member military council headed by Army chief of staff, Gen. Ziaul Haque and consisting of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, Gen. M. Shariff, Chief of Naval Staff Admiral Mohammad Shariff and chief of Air Staff Marshal Zulfikar Ali Khan. Gen. Ziaul Haque has thus superseded his senior, Gen. M. Shariff, as he did in ascending to the top post in the Army. Strangely, it was Bhutto who ele-

vated Ziaul Haque to the prized post in March 1976 overlooking the seniority of several officers in succession to Gen. Tikka Khan. The Jullundur born, Dehra Dun military academy trained Zia, a dapper former armoured corps commander thus heads the third military regime in 30 years of Pakistan's turbulent history.

The first pledge made was to hold elections to the national and provincial assemblies in October, and allow political activities in time for necessary campaign. Till then, all political parties have been put on a limbo. Another important announcement by Zia was to retain the Constitution, except for some provisions which stood suspended. Judiciary too would function untrammelled and the news papers would have free hands unless they transgressed the set limits.

Zia seemed to have pulled off a neat trick by ensuring the support of the judiciary for his precipitate step. According to first reports, he drove to the residence of both the Pakistan President Fazal Elahi Choudhury and chief justice of the federal court, Yakub Ali. Choudhury has agreed to remain in his exalted post and Yakub Ali has endorsed Ziaul's plan to draft provincial chief justice as governors. The Federal Court which had struck down the Bhutto government's proclamations of martial law seems to have agreed not to admit any appeals against the military regime's martial law degrees.

As a comic interlude to this grim drama was the real resistance put up by Religious Affairs Minister Kausar Niazi and Finance Minister Abdul Hafeez Pirzada. Both were in the house of Niazi, who refused to open the door to allow the unwelcomed soldiers. He was ultimately nabbed after the soldiers entered through an opening in the roof. The fun loving Pirzada, who was quite oblivious of the fate that awaited him tumbled out of the bedroom with a swollen face and barefoot. Obviously, he had been drinking one too many. The military officers seemed to have decided on the coup after both Bhutto and the nine-party opposition alliance accused each other on July 4 of going back on the earlier agreement. Bhutto charged the Pakistan National Alliance of creating fresh problems by raising "ten more points"

of dispute. The PNA, in its turn, openly expresses its doubts on the Prime Minister's intentions about holding elections.

In other words, the nearly two months long negotiations between the ruling party and the opposition to find a way out of the crisis sparked by massive poll rigging in March reached a stalemate. It was time for the army to move in and, to quote Ziaul's broadcast, to end political chaos."

It is too early to predict whether the military officers would stick to their pledge to hold elections in October, or would seek ways to perpetuate themselves in power. Military coups have a logic of their own, and early return to civilian rule does not come easily to army rulers.

This may or may not work in the case of the present coup makers in Rawalpindi. For one thing, the new rulers have thought it fit to arrest Tikka Khan, till now the most feared general. Even Bhutto, a man who had the full measure of the armed forces, all through his five and half years of rule, had to constantly keep Tikka Khan in good humour. He first made him his security advisor, and then a member of the Senate and his Defence Minister. The

arrest of Tikka Khan could mean that the coup makers had decided to weed out influential military elements close to the ruling party, or that they found Tikka Khan too powerful and hence exploited the present opportunity to cut him down to his size.

Another significant point is the pressure the armed forces had been facing for some months to intervene and end the mounting political crisis in the country. The military top brass issued a statement on April 27 indicating their support to the Bhutto regime, and hence their disinclination to topple the civilian rule. The top officers had obviously found the situation too radically changed to warrant their adherence to their two month old pledge.

—Raazi
New Wave

New Delhi, July 16.

With the Army takeover in Pakistan, the 'operation distabilisation' in the sub continent is complete. First went Sheikh Mujib then Indira Gandhi, and now Bhutto. Sheikh Mujib could be killed because he resorted to repression to cover his failure to clear the economic mess created by international financial agencies. Indira

IN INDIA

SURVEILLANCE OF CITIZENS STOPPED

For the first time in the country, surveillance of citizens by various official security agencies has been stopped, says *Samachar*. According to official sources, the Union Government in a major step to restore full civil liberties, has asked all police agencies, Central and State, not to keep vigil over the citizens, wiretap their telephones or overhear conversations with long-range listening devices. The order was issued recently after a Cabinet decision to nullify the blanket powers given by the last regime to the intelligence bodies to conduct surveillance over legislators, judges, journalists, military officials and other prominent citizens. During the emergency, even Ministers and prominent Congressmen were covered by these agencies.

Sources said that from now on, apart from the Intelligence Bureau which is entrusted with national security matters, no organisation will have the power to wiretap telephones. Even the Intelligence Bureau will have to seek permission from the Union Home Secretary to bug phones so that this power is not exceeded. In certain cases, this permission might be extended to the Customs authorities to keep a watch over smugglers. Foreigners are not covered by the order. During the emergency, officers of the rank of magistrate or Superintendent of Police could order a wiretap or general surveillance of any person. Union Home Minister Charan Singh has stated in Parliament that the Government had already cancelled a bugging order issued by the previous government. Sources said that during the emergency, the Congress regime had imported a variety of sophisticated bugging equipment and distributed them freely among the Intelligence Agencies.

Pakistan

Gandhi too lost the election because of the repressive regime she built to implement the policies dictated by the same international financial agencies. Bhutto too has gone because he sought to put down all opposition with an iron hand and refused to accommodate dissent in an attempt to build a "strong State" which his international patrons wanted Pakistan to be.

They have all gone because of their own misdeeds but working behind the scene were the hidden hands of US imperialism whose instruments of destabilisation include both the CIA and international financial agencies.

Once Sirimavo Bandaranaike too goes in the coming elections in Sri Lanka, there will be no government left in the sub-continent which could effectively resist the attempts of neo-colonialism to penetrate the economies of this region to the extent that all attempts at economic independence are frustrated.

Since its rout at the hands of heroic Vietnamese people USA has been concentrating on destabilising the political life of South Asia so that governments come to power in the region, through elections or Army take-overs which willingly subordinate their economies to giant cartels. Viewed in this context the Army take over cannot be taken as merely an internal affair of Pakistan. It is true that India cannot do anything about it, but even official announcements sometimes influence the course of development in neighbouring countries.

It was not necessary for Vajpayee to say that it was an internal affair of Pakistan and Jagjivan Ram did well to add that "sometimes internal matters of neighbouring countries have repercussions on us also, and we have to consider that"

What makes the Army take-over a matter of concern for India is that regimes without popular base tend to become instruments of US designs. In fact, Pakistan under army rule was being used all the time as a counter-weight to India by US imperialism; US spokesmen themselves have admitted this though in the pretext of maintaining the balance of power.

In any case, it is not good for India to have army rule just across its borders. When the army takes over it has a tendency to stay on and generals tend to think in terms of external adventure to divert attention from internal troubles. This has happened in the past in Indo-Pakistan relations.

Even if General Ziaul Haque keeps his promise and holds elections to national and state assemblies in October, India will need to be vigilant. Most likely if the election, is held according to promise, it will result in the opposition alliance coming to power in Pakistan.

The Pakistan National Alliance, the conglomeration of all anti-Bhutto groups, is only superficially similar to the Janata Party. Extending from the RSS-Jana Sangh's Pakistani counter-parts, the Jama'at Islami, to such committed democrats and socialists as the Wali Khan groups at the other extreme of the political pole. But there the similarity ends.

In India the commitment to national sovereignty is so strong that even the cultural freedom warriors cannot advocate an alliance with imperialist powers. But in Pakistan the years of a subordinate role in the American military alliances in the region has so eroded the commitment of Pakistan's politicians to their national sovereignty that both Bhutto, the Prime Minister, and the Opposition sought mediation of third countries in their internal quarrels.

Neither a government which accepts intervention of foreign powers in its relations with its own people nor an opposition which does the same can have the moral strength to pursue an independent foreign policy in relation to its neighbours. For the present the Carter Administration may not be interested in creating problems for India but yet there are indications that this may not last long.

Secondly, India's commitments to secularism is so deep that even the RSS has to talk of admitting Muslims in its ranks, whereas in Pakistan even committed democrats and socialists have to talk in Islamic terms and pledge loyalty to pan-Islamism. It should be said to the credit of Bhutto that he was gradually working for a deeper understanding with India. As the negotiations between him and the

opposition alliance began showing that he was retreating, papers like the *Nawa-e-Waqt* began talking of a jihad while referring to Kashmir and India.

Internal developments in Pakistan therefore are a matter of concern for India and call for greater vigilance on our part. There is another danger which these developments pose for India. As scarce resources are diverted from development to the need of vigilance, the will to resist pressures of the international financial agencies will become weaker among those sections of the Janata leadership who are themselves inclined towards the economic philosophy of subordinating industrial developments to the operation of market forces.

—Girish Mathur
New Wave

THE COUNTRY MUST GROW

More Trees

by R. Kahawita

The *Sun* of the 14th June carried a photo of Elizabeth quay—Now Bandaranaike quay, showing large quantities of logs being unloaded helter skelter from Malaysia. The caption to the photo was to bring home to the readers of the *Sun* the wanton damage that is being done to the warehouses in Bandaranaike quay. These are national assets acquired at great expense to the country. The news item did not say that this kind of annual activities are motivated by the "hatred" for the remnants of colonialism or to register their utter disgust of the so-called "Bandaranaike Policies and principles"—the author of which is memorialised in the quay by changing the name from imperial Elizabeth to the middle way Bandaranaike.

I am not interested in either of these. My interest is in the trees, the natural wealth of our country. Our vandalism seemed to have exhausted our timber resources. Not many years ago our timbers like Satin, Ebony, Palu, Hulanhik, Nadun, Calamander were world class, very competitively sought after by the

industrial countries. This era of prosperity has been replaced by the begging bowl, so we are now in the world markets looking for raw materials to keep two sophisticated timber processing factories going.

This situation sounds peculiar because not long ago S.L.B.C. was rowing about the large export orders for our Plywood products and a song and dance of tree planting scheme. It is this kind of false news item that has undermined the confidence of the people in the establishment, may well be the reason for wanton destruction of our wealth. We could do very little by complaining about the establishment. We will be asked to decide this soon. But the stark reality is that we have destroyed our timber resources and it will be a century before we can recoup our timber resources.

The year 1977 is designated the year of trees and the way the event was inaugurated showed how enthusiastic we were in rebuilding the forest wealth of our country. Planting a tree here and a shrub there with many cameras clicking with as many dames and men in their glad clothes attending the ceremonies, with the S.L.B.C. commentators at hand to scream about the ceremonies, cannot grow the trees the country needs to meet the timber shortage in the country. Before the developer's chemicals dried on photographs of the ceremonies of tree planting we have forgotten the Problem—Timber for our industrial and housing projects.

We said it would be hundred years before we can rehabilitate our forests. Establishing Forests fall in the category of long term plans. Because of this, some years backwards the end of the Colonial era very comprehensive plans were prepared and implemented to maintain our forest reserves. For every jungle area that was cleared for development, a proportionate area was declared forest reserves and other areas re-afforested. In keeping with this policy re-foresting certain areas with jak, broadleaf and narrow leaf Mahogany, Teak, Lumumidella, Eucalyptus varieties, margosa, Pines species etc. were planned

and implemented. There was appointed, in fact a highly qualified re-afforestation forest officer to Forest Department to undertake this work. These reserves and plantations were scattered in the wet and dry zones, patnas and sub-montane areas.

I even remember, Dudley Senanayake, as Minister of Agriculture, drawing up a plan to acquire all private lands above elevations 5000 ft. above mean sea level to be re-afforested to conserve the land and water resources of the Island. Also, in those days, it was a requirement under General orders that for every 100 Acs. of jungle land opened up for development, 15 Acs. of virgin forests were to be reserved for wind belts and jungle produce for the use of the would be settlers. Every "declared stream" was to have its banks to a width of the stream on both banks, preserved of its jungle cover, where this had not been done, they were to be replanted. All channel, drainage, road reservations were to be treeavenued with useful trees. This was done in many of the older colonisation schemes all high elevated hillocks in the development areas were declared micro-climate reserves.

This was the era when Sri Lanka was blessed with visionaries as political leaders who valued their country more than political power. Like the ancient classical era, we have lost that period even before it passed into. Today what matters is how to get into power and stay in power at any cost. For this we are paying the penalty: no food, no clothing, no shelter, no raw materials for our industries and no goods to sell in the foreign markets to buy our ware withall. So like the beggar that discovers a rupee in his begging bowl we scream from the house tops when some foreign country, which we despised because of her wealth announces a gift of a few million rupees as aid etc.

We cannot go along like this forever. Trees have become important and urgent to us. Time is long overdue when positive action should have been taken to regenerate our forests. Very soon, the two massive plywood complexes will have to be sold for scrap for want of raw materials. We cannot use the foreign exchange we have to feed the factories, we want every cent of it to feed our people.

The solution to the problem is a policy decision to re-establish our forest wealth. A Minister whose sole contribution to his political career has been the destruction of our agricultural wealth cannot be expected to make this decision—a decision which will benefit the third generation from today. Therefore of no political value to the presented legislators. The scheme, for what it is worth, in the present political climate, is to re-afforest 10,000 Acs annually for the next 10 years. These are the steps that should be taken by the Government. All land above 5000 ft. above M.S.L. must be re-afforested. This operation has become simple now as the State is the owner and the State can release such land for re-afforestation. All declared forest reserves must be conserved and all the boundaries, at the time of declaration must be restored and effectively controlled and protected.

All lands unsuitable for "productive Agriculture, that is—the terrain too steep for cultivation or soil mantle too shallow etc. or where the soils have to be built up like the patna lands should be planted up in forest trees. Reservations that were set apart for timber, wind belts, stream reservations etc. in all the development schemes since 1934 should be re-declared as reserves and maintained so. In all development works such as roads, irrigation channels, irrigation reservations, should provide sufficient funds to plant trees in their reservations under the control and supervision of a Forestry officer. (The R.V.D.B. had such a wing in its organisation). This programme must be carried through year after year and financial provision made in the annual appropriation bill.

The cost to the Government to carry through this programme may be around Rs. 150 million annually. This is not too much for a Government that now owns all the lands and is appropriating the income from these land, also when the country is faced with the import of timber to meet her day to day requirements. Employment wise there will be new jobs for 2000 unemployed in production and building up the forest wealth of the country.

To implement the scheme a training school for sub and technical grades, supervisory and exe-

cutive grades will have to be set up, so that the scheme can be launched with the necessary trained and qualified personnel. The present forest department should be able to undertake the training—I know they had a forestry Training school and provide the necessary incentive programmes and financial resources for such training. If the school has been closed down, it will have to be re-opened.

This project is commended to the Government that will come into office after the 21st July as a means of (a) to rebuild our forest and timber wealth, (b) for conservation and protection of our water resources (c) for Training of our unemployed youth, (d) to place them in gainful employment and to get them involved in national development.

THE CONSTITUTION—2

First Select, Then Elect Prime Minister, Cabinet

By R. B. Thamitta

This is the *Second article in the Series on The Constitution by R. B. Thamitta. The first appeared in the *Tribune of May 28.

The Legislature and its Executive, only when these cannot override the Rule of Law can true democracy live and function. The Law must therefore be made safe for Democracy, the Rule of Law as true democracy's sanctuary. How may this be done?

The ready-made answer is the Separation of Powers. In the Constitution that we have the Rule of Law was reduced to subjection. Will not the Separation of Powers continue to be uncondusive to inter-respect and rapport so long as the Law's dispensers at the highest court in the land are unprocessed, beyond the norms of legal learning and juridical expertise, for the highest possible measure of public approbations?

I have cause to believe that the Law will be made safe for democracy only when the personnel

of its loftiest institutions—the top executives of State Court or Supreme Court, name it how you will—is canvassed for preference amongst equals. How better, indeed, can the whole democratic process be originated, from volunteering for election to appointment upon merit, from the political base to its apex, than by the application of the self-same process to the creation of the premier tribunal in the land?

Such application must of course have its due dignity, and I think this dignity is wholesomely ensured when one is judged by one's peers. The Electorate that would amply fulfil these requirements is the senior membership of our Law Society—the attorneys in active practice, say, a dozen years and more. Called to this high function of determining preferentiality amongst equals, it will be only natural for such a body of light and learning to discharge its duty with the wonted integrity of an empanelled jury.

Whilst rigging can be counted out, the machinery of election can be so framed as to restrict to a minimum the untoward possibility, with its attendant risks, of canvassing by, or for a candidate. An agreed table of essential Qualifications for Candidature can be set out by the Law Society, and thereafter its Election Commissioners will invite applications and receive and process them for the ballot, with due regard being had for the confidence and trust the applicants will naturally repose in their integrity. No judge worthy of high office can cavil at being judged by his peers, Humility in its essence being Justice at its best.

The elected State Court or Supreme Court, on being given appointment by the President of State, will be vested with its one and only quasi-political jurisdiction. Namely, to examine and report on the credentials of Parliamentarians elected to the new National Government who aspire for ministerial office. I think it will be universally conceded that the claims of the aspirants cannot be put in safer hands.

A body of men professionally disciplined to adjudge innocence and guilt and dispense life and death is unquestionably pre-eminently fitted to hold evenly the merit-measuring scales for ministerial

office and its responsibilities. There is, indeed, no other single body of men in our society better informed as to the nature of the qualifications and qualities expected of an individual in the responsible discharge of the ministerial function; and capable, further, of consensus in sifting the competing claims of contenders with the least possible prejudice or bias.

The President of State will inform Parliament that the State Court will function as an advisory Council to him for the above-mentioned purpose and that, accordingly, it will:

- (a) Invite and receive written applications from the aspirants and, having carefully considered same, interview each personally; and
- (b) recommend to the President of State, in strict confidence, not less than two and not more than three suitables in respect of each of the following Offices—Speaker, Ministers, Prime Minister.

I hope and believe, let me say here, there isn't one worthy of our democratic citizenship as would feel demeaned by an honourable and impartial examination of his credentials. Paid employment from the lowest to the highest levels is universally governed by the methodology of application and selection. The kudos of public acclaim and honour unfaithfully accrues to the man who does his duty, honourably and well. Can we afford any longer, the ghastly orgies of undeserved position and power bestriding the Echelons of government?

Possessed of the Court's recommendations, the President of State will:

- (a) Cause the necessary papers to be prepared by his confidential Secretariat for conduct of a secret ballot;
- (b) Cause Parliament to be summoned to elect by majority vote of the House the Speaker, the team of Ministers, and the Prime Minister;
- (c) Himself preside over, and declare, the election of the Speaker; and
- (d) Direct the Speaker to conduct the elections therefrom, the House rising only after the day's business is done and completed. Having scheduled the Ministries in alphabetical order for the balloting, the Speaker will,

(a) Submit to the vote of The House one set of Nominations at a time and declare the result before proceeding to the next ballot;

(b) Submit last of all the set of Nominations in respect of the Office of Prime Minister; and

(c) Report to the President of State the results of the ballot and present for swearing-in to Office the Electeds as the Chief Executive of the National Government.

(Next: The President of State)

LESSONS FROM VIETNAM & CUBA

Unemployment, Agriculture And Land Reform

by A Special Correspondent

Every political party in Sri Lanka has proclaimed that its objectives is to establish a socialist state. Even the TULF has finally joined the band wagon in its latest manifesto.

And each party has its own brand of socialism and its own special strategy to achieve it. The SLFP believes that socialism can be attained through the Republican Constitution. The UNP has stated that its socialism could be attained through parliamentary democracy with a presidential or Chief Executive to run the government. The LSSP seems to believe that socialism can be attained through a parliamentary "coup" to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat (the LSSP). The Communist Party accepts parliamentary democracy as a way of reaching socialism but has not yet set out how the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established.

The People's Democratic Party also believes in socialism but has not yet proclaimed its strategic plans. The JVP and its splinter groups like the PJP and the MYP the true blue Fourth International MRP, also claim that parliamentary democracy can be utilized to pave the way for socialism, but in their ultimate analysis all these parties assert that the real power lies in the barrel of the gun and that it is through that socialism can be attained. Sharmuganathan's Peking Wing Ceylon Communist Party claims to be more socialist and

more Marxist than any other party but it is not clear how it hopes to achieve dictatorship of the proletariat in the era of Hua Kuo-feng. The TULF that in a separate Tamil Eelam state it will be able to set up a socialist society.

Whilst all these claims to reach socialism continue to fill the air, this country is faced with the very urgent question of reducing the unemployment problem and at the same time increasing agricultural production to reduce the import of foodstuffs.

In this connection it is interesting to see how a country like Vietnam set out to meet, for instance, the unemployment problem in Saigon. The April 1977 issue of Vietnam Courier has published the views of Mr. Van Di, the Vice Chairman of the People's Committee and the Chairman of the Planning Committee of Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) in regard to meeting the unemployment question. He said.

Answer: This was an acute problem right after liberation, and the stabilization of the political, economic and social situation depends largely on its solution. But finding jobs for hundreds of thousands of people, giving each of them a modest but stable and regular income at a moment when everything was to be started again from scratch or to be reorganized was a baffling question.

Let us recall in passing that following the signing of the Paris Agreement of January 27, 1973, the complete withdrawal of the US expeditionary corps had entailed the closure of the branches catering directly to war and the needs of the GIs, and of industrial enterprises, as a result of the shortage of raw materials: unemployment was already a problem then. On the day of liberation, the collapse of the puppet army and administration further swelled this army of unemployed.

To redress this situation, the people's power took urgent measures: helping industrial enterprises get back to work, developing handicraft production, and in particular, subcontracting work for export, opening public works sites (water conservancy works, dredging, building of public squares, and so on).

However, the basic way to reduce unemployment consists in orient-

ing jobless people toward agricultural production, and in particular, persuading hundreds of thousands of "refugees" to return to their native villages, to reclaim waste land or to take part in new agricultural projects. This is the only sure way of being able to reduce the city population, solve the difficulties of food supply, and boost agricultural production, which has always been one of the fortes of southern Viet Nam. A broad movement to this end has been launched, embracing little by little all social strata, and especially young people who maintained their revolutionary ardour through long years of neo-colonial regime. So far, 700,000 people most of them former peasants, have left the city for good to take up agriculture.

For city-dwellers to accept the as yet hard life in the countryside is not easy. The people's power, working in close association with the local population, has done its best to make life less arduous for those who leave the city. Substantial assistance in the form of food, capital, seeds, draught animals, dwelling-houses, tools and the like, and teachers, medical workers, and technicians are dispatched to the new settlement areas. In many regions, the people have begun to be self-sufficient in food, children have begun attending school, and health establishments to receive patients. Although this new life is not yet very comfortable, most of these people are gradually getting used to it and have begun to feel confident and secure with regard to their own future and the future of their children.

We plan to send another contingent of about one million people to new agricultural areas in one or two years. This work, however, requires a great deal of preparation.

In terms of the Ceylon context, this means that the youth and the now middle-aged people our educational institutions have turned out during the 40 years for white collar jobs have to be persuaded (or even be compelled) to enter agricultural work in order to raise production. It is not enough to ask them to go back to the land and to allot them a small fragmented plot.

Tribune has emphasised, for a long time now that there is a tremendous shortage of man power in our agricultural districts; that our agricultural production during the last four to five years has suffered grievously because of the shortage of manpower. It would be stupid to wait until the educational system begins to produce young people attuned to do agricultural work. To solve the unemployment question and to increase production the government must find a way of persuading all those who are presently unemployed or under-employed, or constitute the big excess staff in government institutions to turn to agricultural work.

Making paper orders to insist that they go back to the land will not do. Merely allotting land will not do. In this connection, it will interest *Tribune's* readers to know how Cuba is tackling some of these problems. At the fifth Congress of the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) held in Havana from May 14 to 17, concerted attempts were made to persuade Cuban peasants to adopt higher forms of production and agricultural co-operation.

The delegates represented over 200,000 owners of private farms throughout the country. At their Congress they agreed on formulas for effecting a change-over from the present system of small individual plots to co-operative farm system or to the system of State Agricultural enterprises so as to be able to apply more advanced techniques in agriculture and as a result increased production and raised standards of living in rural areas.

The Congress worked under the inspiration of seven major slogans which were clarified in Fidel Castro's speech at the Congress.

The slogans were:

* Only by integrating the land and developing rural communities on those integrated lands can there be radical change in living conditions in rural areas.

* These two methods—integration in state projects and co-operatives—must be used in order to reach higher forms of production.

* Every peasant must rest assured that his own free will be respected. That must be principle number one.

* We can't grow horizontally, because there's no room; we must grow vertically. That is, the only way to increase our output of agricultural produce and foodstuffs is to boost productivity per hectare.

* Our peasants are more educated, more ideologically and politically aware and more patriotic, and they have a greater understanding of things.

* It is of vital importance that we increase productivity per hectare and cultivate down to the very last inch of land.

* We must assign a set percentage of the total resources of the nation to support that movement, with tractors, machinery and other resources that become available.

These slogans speak for themselves.

In his speech, Fidel Castro pointed out that "improvement could not advance much more with the present forms of peasant production. Looking back over how ideas concerning the agricultural questions have evolved, the first months of the revolution in 1959 come to mind. Because on this question of higher forms of production, there are two schools of thought and two forms of integrating the peasants: the integration of peasant lands into state plans and the grouping of peasants in co-operatives."

Dealing with the question of Land Reform, Fidel Castro stated as follows: "Because, at the time of the attack on the Moncada, we were already talking about co-operatives, and even before the Moncada we were of the conviction that the small plot of land was not the solution for the agricultural and economic problems of the country, although of course, the plots could help solve a social problem of an important sector of our populations; but they can't solve the problems of the people as a whole. Among other things, there wasn't enough land to give to all the agricultural workers in the country. This kind of agrarian reform had already been carried out in other parts of Latin America; there had been big land redistributions—of course with a capitalist and not a socialist criterion—and there had been more than

one government that had capitalized politically on this land redistribution. I asked myself how was it that our law didn't say a single word about co-operatives. The law was enacted. And in effect, later the first co-operatives were set up on some of the big estates that had been taken over. Then, when the state took over the cane lands, on the big agricultural enterprises we organised production based on co-operatives, the first co-operatives. But we soon realized that our cane co-operatives were not the answer. We were organizing co-operatives with landless agricultural labourers and historically, and logically, a co-operative is organized with peasants who own land. The organisation of those co-operatives on the cane enterprises was a step forward in comparison with what parcelling out the land would have meant. Actually, we don't have to argue the case too much to prove that such a measure would have been economically disastrous for the country, since it depends on agricultural exports for its economic livelihood, and agriculture is not something that can be played around with in our country.

You can just imagine what would have happened if all the cane that was being worked by agricultural labourers had been divided up. Organizing co-operatives with those workers was better than parcelling out the land, but from the social point of view, it would have been a step backwards, because we would have been transforming those workers, those proletarians, into peasants; we would have been placing great wealth in their hands, making them the owners of a sector of production on which the country as a whole depended. We rectified this in time, at a meeting with all the leaders of the cane co-operatives that had been set up. Those cane co-operatives which were set up in let us say, an artificial manner, were turned into state farms. And the workers, who of course, had now a very different standard of living, with no unemployment, no dead season, no oppression, and no injustice, continued to be workers."

What Castro has said has a lot of relevance to what has happened

in Ceylon after land reform. Although land reform in Ceylon was coupled with state farms and co-operative farms (enforced from the top by bureaucrats) indiscriminate fragmentation has made a mess of the best intentioned plans of the government.

* * *

BOOK REVIEW

Plantation Worker And Education

EDUCATION AND THE INDIAN PLANTATION WORKER IN SRI LANKA

G. A. Gnanamuttu, Published, by the author, 4, Chelsea Gardens, Colombo 3. January 1977 Rs. 12.50. xi+138pp.

In recent weeks citizens of this dharma-dwipa in the Indian ocean have had their hearts warmed and their spirits elevated by reports from New York based organizations monitoring violations of human rights, repressions of political freedom, and the "physical quality of life" around the globe. Sri Lanka is listed among the proud ranks of 61 "free" countries, and the "only 'free' country in S.E. Asia" (sic) to boot, while, according to a new index measuring indicators of cultural and physical well-being, and how efficiently a state attends to the educational, health, and other social needs of its people, Sri Lanka actually takes fifth place not 50 far behind well-known affluent nations. Such statistics, however, like that tantalising bathing suit in the famous adage, reveal on most occasions what may be significant, but hide, more often, what is truly vital. All Ceylonese may theoretically be equal, but many are more equal than others quite unabashedly, and the least equal are little noticed and seldom figure in national statistics. It is the purpose of George A. Gnanamuttu's valuable and timely exposition to throw a revealing spotlight on one very old skeleton in the welfare cupboard of our society.

The Indian plantation worker was introduced to Ceylon by the British coffee planter almost a century and a half ago, and, over the years, the estate Tamil population has contributed by its specia-

lized and back-breaking labours to the wealth and gross national product of this island. The tea industry, in whose service they are largely concentrated, remains the major source of our foreign exchange earnings. As a result of the Sirima-Sastri Pact of 1964 about 400,000 persons of Indian origin will ultimately become Ceylon citizens, along with their natural increase. The number of children will amount to about 150,000. A much larger number will be repatriated to become Indian citizens, but the problems and deprivations affecting both groups are similar, and need equal care and attention. In comparison with conditions and progress in other areas of the country, health services are minimal, educational facilities primitive, cultural amenities practically non-existent, and unemployment most acute, while political representation is limited to a single nominated member in Parliament since 1952. The living and housing conditions of many of them are appalling, while undernourishment wreaks havoc among child-bearing mothers and infants. Nearly a lakh of children of school going age on estates receive no schooling, and where rudimentary facilities exist, attendance seldom reaches 50%. The literacy rates among adults and children are lowest in the Tamil estate population and only a handful have had the benefits of a superior education to university level. Despite many proclamations and pledges of intent to remedy these sad and cruel deficiencies, successive governments since Independence have done little to alter the stark dimensions of inhuman neglect reaching back into the middle of the nineteenth century.

But the recent bold and sweeping legislation affecting land reform and the nationalisation of estates, in particular, appear to hold out promise of a brighter future. Planned programs of development, agricultural diversification on tea and rubber estates, and co-operative schemes of cultivation offer economic hope, while the vesting in the state of over two hundred estate schools, the extension of national health services to these forgotten areas, and, even more important, the delimitation of electorates enabling the estate Tamil population registered as voters to send at least three elected representatives to Parliament, are portents of a less unjust morrow.

But however fine these reforms may have appeared on paper, certain serious flaws and restrictive practices affecting existing rights and hard-won privileges have become apparent in the implementation of these beneficial trends—the evidence for which is not too difficult to ascertain. Even prevailing facilities in the area of Tamil medium education are in serious danger of being further cramped and even taken away through absorption into the national network. But we must return to the proper focus of this important book.

Mr. Gnanamuttu's total concern, in this absorbing study of a notable blot in the otherwise splendid educational landscape of this country, is with the denial of a conventional education to and the enforced cultural backwardness of the children of a class of immigrant workers who make up nearly a tenth of the population of Sri Lanka. The underprivileged conditions of their existence on the periphery of the Sinhalese-Buddhist core of the island, and the ambiguous nature of their political and civic status have together combined to thwart nearly every impetus towards an advancement of their educational and social aspirations up to now. The author brings to his research and investigation of a greatly neglected field a painstaking turn of mind and many years of experience both as a teacher in a plantation district school and later as an official in the Department of Labour. He has seen it all from both sides of the sombre curtain, which few Ceylonese travelling carefree amidst the resplendently verdant slopes of the island's tea-gardens or the serried ranks of rubber groves elsewhere have thought it worth their while to penetrate. Behind the emerald aroma lie 150 years of blatant discrimination and segregated ignorance, which not all the sessional papers, committee reports, commission recommendations and legislation, nor the strenuous work of conscience stricken agencies (both spiritual and secular) and more dedicated individuals have succeeded in eradicating to any significant degree. In the pages of this well-documented book the author lays bare in unheated, though unsparing prose, a grim record of a society which has permitted a grave waste of potential human resources to continue for many generations, thereby inhibiting through the creation of per-

manent grievances and tensions, the harmonious development of its economy. Strong winds of change have however begun to blow, and in this necessary re-education for self-reliant development, Mr. Gnanamuttu's labour of love is required reading, for information, encounter and dialogue.

In the seven chapters of this thoughtful and well-constructed book the author deals with the dismal vicissitudes of the education of the children of plantation workers of Indian origin, from about 1870 to 1976. The work of the various agencies, religious and secular, private and state, that have interested themselves at various times in this problem is reviewed with detachment and a wealth of statistics. Their achievements and failures are evaluated, and the causes for failure are analysed and remedies suggested. Since education cannot be viewed apart from the total personality of the life of the Indian estate worker, the presentation is made against a historical background of the sequestered plantation community, its living and working conditions, and the unsettled political and social environment, which have influenced their thinking and attitudes no less than the attitudes of others towards them. To quote the author, "In Sri Lanka the 'estate school' has not changed very much from what it was nearly a century ago, and no serious attempts have been made by the State to enforce even the minimum requirements that the law prescribes. The children attending these schools have not been brought within the scope of the reforms that have been devised from time to time for the benefit of the other children in the country. What is, perhaps, not sufficiently known to many is that even the facilities for education that were available to these children some years ago have of late been reduced or completely removed. It is also a matter for regret that training in vocational skills is denied to a sector that is likely to take to such training more readily than any other".

The author has marshalled his facts with diligence and understanding, assembled the data with impressive accuracy, and assessed their significance with exemplary sympathy. This highly purposive study points an unerring and accusing finger at the citadels of official apathy, administrative neg-

lect, and political indifference, and must stir the social conscience of every considerate citizen. Mr. Gnanamuttu has written a brave, challenging, and instructive book which cries aloud to be read at a crucial juncture in the affairs of this land, when the amelioration of social disadvantages, the elimination of economic distress, and the integration of minorities are high on the list of national priorities.

H. A. I. Goonetilleke

FROM A READER

On Election And Majorities

In ancient Athens, those who admired the Stoic philosophy of individualism took as their motto: "Abstain from Beans". The phrase had a precise reference. It meant DON'T VOTE. Balloting in Athens occurred by dropping various colored beans into a receptacle.

To vote is to express a preference. There is nothing implicitly evil in choosing. All of us in the ordinary course of our daily lives vote for or against dozens of products and services. When we vote for (buy) any good or service, it follows that by salutary neglect we vote against the goods or services we do not choose to buy. The great merit of market place choosing is that no one is bound by any other person's selection. I may choose Brand X. But this cannot prevent you from choosing Brand Y.

When we place voting into the framework of politics, however, a major change occurs. When we express a preference politically, we do so precisely because we intend to bind others to our will. Political voting is the legal method we have adopted and extolled for obtaining monopolies of power.

When a vote is expressed in the market place, the only relationship that ensues is one between the purchaser and the seller. Those not voting, or those voting elsewhere, are untouched by our individual decisions. But when we vote politically, we seek a monopoly of control over others. And the largest number invariably binds

the minorities. The political voting process is basically, hostile to all minority views. It must be. Once a plurality of choice is found, it becomes binding upon all.

Political voting is nothing more than the assumption that might makes right. There is a presumption that any decision wanted by the majority of those expressing a preference must be desirable and the inference even goes so far as to presume that anyone who differs from a majority view is wrong or possibly immoral.

But history shows repeatedly the madness of crowds and the irrationality of majorities. The only conceivable merit relating to majority rule lies in the fact that if we obtain monopoly decisions by this process, we will coerce fewer persons than if we permit the minority to coerce the majority. But implicit in all political voting is the necessity to coerce some so that all are controlled. The direction taken by the control is academic. Control as a monopoly in the hands of the state is basic.

There is another development easily discernible among persons addicted to solving problems by means of popular voting. Such a process removes individual responsibility. Whatever the popularity arrived at conclusion, no one is responsible for it. Concepts ranging from doubtful to malignant are imposed upon the total populace, and they are accepted as though arrived at by divine intervention. The error that might creep into any man's judgement is now removed, by mere fact that the error is repeated enough times. Any majority decision as the weight of a divine decree.

When an advantage, either of candidate or issue, is offered at the polls, the only choices available to an individual are: vote for it; vote against it; refrain from voting. The assumption is that by the process of voting, each individual is practicing self-rule. If an individual votes aye but a majority opposes his view, he is clearly not obtaining his preference. But he is told that he must abide by the decision since, had the results been as he wished them to be, others would have been coerced to back his position. Now if he votes aye and a majority is with him, we will be told that he got what he wanted and that those who op-

posed were wrong. Finally, if he does not vote, he will be told that he could have voted and, therefore, he can only blame himself if he didn't get what he wanted.

This is a curious philosophy. He is, in effect, told that right has triumphed, whether he got what he wanted, whether he got what he did not want, or whether he did not express a preference.

The voting process in politics is simply disguised coercion. Stripped of all pretense, it is the method of employing violence and coercion upon others in such a devious way that men bow supinely before its dictates. Had the same choices been offered at the point of a gun, a fight to the death might have ensued.

Majority rule is one of the most corrupt political methods that can be contrived. Yet in our schools, children are taught that politics (through voting) is the "science of the possible". In simple terms, this means "anything goes". The claim is made that voting makes it possible to avert an undesirable program or to dismiss an unsatisfactory office holder, without bloodshed. And so it does. But in process, voting insures that centralized control will replace individual control and that some program will be imposed upon all, administered and enforced by some agent who holds monopoly power.

In times such as these, it is incumbent upon free men to re-examine their most cherished, long-established beliefs. There is only one truly moral position for an honest person to take. He must refrain from coercing his fellows. This means that he should refuse to participate in the process by means of which some men obtain power over others. If you value your right to life, liberty and property then clearly, there is every reason to refrain from participating in a process that is calculated to remove the life, liberty, or property from any other person. Voting is the method for obtaining legal power to coerce others.

compiled by
C. C. Russ

Inania of this, that and the other

Take Out Atheism

—and I'll accept—

By INNA

One day a good christian gentleman came to see me and asked me: "Why can't we take out the sting from atheistic Marxism and then adopt its trend for ourselves?"

Then we discussed far into the night. Vatican II speaks of atheism and among other things, blames theists for showing forth the wrong aspects and pushing people into atheism. It says it three times:

"believers themselves are frequently responsible for this situation....."

"believers can have more than a little to do with atheism, if they neglect their own training in the faith...if, deficient in their religious, moral or social life, they conceal rather than reveal the authentic face of God and religion."

"remedy against atheism..faith must penetrate entire life of believer, including worldly dimensions and by activating him to justice and love, especially regarding the needy" (Gaudium et Spes)

The Benedictine monk of Ampleforth, Fr. Cullinan, says: "In his early years Marx said the gospel is a confrontation with society and a challenge; and in later years he said Christians have domesticated it and it is doing evil and not good" (Roots of Social Injustice, p. 14).

How can I charge today, that the Marxism of yesterday was atheistic? If the Church tells the christian that even yesterday, it was his "behaviour" that may have produced the atheists of yesterday and may produce the atheists of today, isn't it true that I must reflect more on my misdeeds than on their atheism? St. John, one whom the christians regard as a close apostle of the Christ, says in one of his Letters: *If we do not love man whom we can see, how can we say that we love God whom we cannot see,* or words to that same effect. Have you not heard, if the rains pushed you in to a place of worship, some christians singing

loud and long: "They will know we are christians by our love, yes they'll know..." The Vatican document seems to be saying: "Be careful, far from knowing you are christians, your lack of love makes them atheists". What about making a song and dance about that grim fact?

Just to give you one case in point: you perhaps jumped at the idea of Marx being a deliberate atheist because he hit at your property. Then you labelled him, 'communist', 'atheist' and parish (meaning foreigner). You and I had not read Thomas Aquinas of the 13th century:

"Man should possess external things not as his own but as common, in such a way that is, that he is ready to communicate them to others in need..." and again: "those things which some possess in excess of reasonable needs are owned by natural law (i.e. by basic right) to the sustenance of the poor" (S.T. II-II, q. 66, art 2 and 7)

He was a good man and catholics call him 'Saint'. He was only following what an earlier saint had said:

"You are not making a gift of your possessions to the poor person, you are simply handing over to him what is his. For what has been given in common, for the use of all, you have arrogated to yourself. The world is given to all, and not only to the rich" (Ambrose of Milan in de Nabuthne, quoted by Pope Paul VI in DP)

Party Representation

After the May 1970 general elections the party strengths were as follows: SLFP 90, LSSP 19, CP 6 (the UF coalition having 115), the UNP 17, FP 13, TC 3 and Independents 2. In May 1972, the FP, TC and CWC "united" to form the TUF, later (after the Vaddukkodai resolution on a Separate State) re-named TULF). The TULF and the CWC (political wing) were given recognition after five years of identifiable existence in May 1977 (just in time for Nominations on June 6).

The party breakup after the election on July 21 are: UNP 139, SLFP 8, TULF, 17 CWC 1 and Independent 1.



This re-quote brought on placards and posters against Pope Paul VI when he went to Bugota Eucharistic Congress: "Communista Communisti" as contemporary newspapers would reveal. Were Ambrose and Aquinas atheists? Far from it. Is Pope Paul VI, because of his recommendation, an atheist? Absurd.

Marx would never have bothered about religion being the peoples ganja if we had done our bit.

REMEMBERED

Samuel Paul

—arma virumque cano—

On the 8th of May one of the illustrious sons of Sri Lanka passed away. He had carved his name in the annals of our sister country, India, and attained a position of dignity and honour rarely achieved by others.

His apprenticeship was self-employment. When it came to be known that the son of the Pastor was skilful at mending things, the Parsonage was flooded with sewing machines, watches, clocks and other such contrivances which were out of order. He must have been fourteen then. I, his acolyte was six years younger. I watched with absorbing interest the self-taught mechanic. He never taught me anything, he just let me watch. I did not worship him—that would have been inconsistent with the dignity of either of us. I watched him as he thought out each problem by himself, unaided by any book of rules or standard text books. He happened to see a Dover Stove in the Mission House, and immediately set himself making a replica, only where there was iron he substituted baked clay and Kerosene tins. There was never a prouder moment for my mother, than when she exhibited the cakes baked in her own son's oven. Soldering, improvising parts, repairing, were his chief delights. With his expert tools he kept the sewing machine serving the family for long years, though

rather eccentrically. During my 'Pupilage' under my brother, I had the opportunity of helping with the repairs of a Mason and Hamlein harmonium, and an Estey organ (10 steps knee-swell, four sets of reeds). This meant complete stripping, fitting with bellows of local materials, gumming, re-assembling and testing—no mean job for a fifteen year old, assisted by a nine plus.

When he left school, he was sent away to Singapore, to pursue his studies under the guardianship of his uncle Henry Hoisington, a tripos engineer, who turned out to be a remarkable school teacher. However he and Samy did not seem to have "hit it off", and Samy was smuggled away to Madras, where he pursued a course in Engineering, with the help of his brother Charlie, and obtained a first class degree in Mechanical Engineering. He had made a deep impression on the professor of that subject, which later stood him in good stead. At that time the Engineering College was in the process of being shifted from the Esplanade to a new Site at Guindy. The bulk of the work was done by students, the hydraulic pipes having to be designed, cast, machined, and fitted into their new location. The undergraduates worked alongside the mechanics. This experience was of great value in later life.

My brother, on graduation, found a job at the Labugama water works. Among other duties he was expected to sign for and take charge of stock which had not actually been physically delivered. When he demurred some pretext was found to fire him. He then, in tattered clothes and with a meagre purse went back to Madras, where his old professor, still in service, welcomed him with open arms, and gave him a small job. From this lowest rung of the ladder his rise to be head of the Mechanical Engineering Department and finally the principal of the College, is a saga of human achievement rarely equalled.

In the College he reorganised the Engineering Unit of the Officers Training Corps, building up the morale of the men, who grew from strength to strength physically, intellectually and morally. He

ended up by being Commandant of the whole Corps, which included men from the medical, law, Arts, and Science Colleges. One year the Engineering unit won all the challenge cups for Athletics. Once I was left in charge of these trophies of gold and silver, some of them donated by Maharajahs. Never in my whole life have I slept surrounded by such riches.

When his term at Guindy was drawing to a close he was ordered to Coimbatore, but Alagappah Chettiar, the great philanthropist stepped in to request his help to organise the Engineering faculty at Karaikuddy, where he had endowed a great complex of Arts, Science and Engineering Colleges. He had picked up my brother to head this complex. In his words he wanted a man "to teach the human engineering". A few years later Annamalai Chettiar sought his help to reorganise the Engineering faculty at the Annamalai University at Chittambaram. In his retirement he had the solace and company of his wife, children and their families. Unstinting hard work had taken toll of his great frame. Hundreds of engineers who had passed through his hands, and come to pay their last respects remarked, "he was a principal with a difference, he was an institution". He had not merely the gift of passing on the torch, but the art of strengthening the grasp of the receivers

So rest in your glory, Samuel Paul, B.E., Rao Bahadur, Lieutenant Colonel. Your personality was as strong as the palmyrah that battles the monsoons, your memory as sweet as the fragrance of the Sea—breeze that sweeps the plains of Jaffna. Your life and achievements are truly a "Monumentum aere perennius".

R. H. Paul

NEXT WEEK

- WHY SLFP FAILED?
- THE OLD LEFT.
- BUDDHISM AND HATE
- ELECTION TID-BITS

Confidentially

Elections And The Left

IS IT NOT A FACT that very large number of complacent people in the Establishment (especially in the SLFP, LSSP, CP and the PDP) received the "shock of their lives" as the election results began to roll in the early hours of Friday morning, July 22? That some of these persons had told *Tribune* that in its issues in June and July it had foolishly hinted and even predicted a UNP victory? They had asserted that the results would show how wrong the *Tribune* evaluation was? That some of them who knew that *Tribune* had a reputation for forthright comment and analysis, whatever the consequences *vis a vis* the ruling Establishment, went on record with a mild piece of advice that *Tribune* should be "more cautious and circumspect" in making such predictions? That, when the results came tumbling in, these wiseacres (who are not even blessed with hindsight wisdom), were silenced? That it was also then that *Tribune* realised that it had been inhibited by a subjective built-in bias regarding the Left (but for which its predictions would have been even closer to the mark than it has turned out to be)? That the biggest mistake in its appraisal was that *Tribune* thought the ULF (LSSP, CP and PDP) would score anything from 10 to 25 seats (and even going up to 30 seats)? That this estimate was based on reports of left-minded persons who in the past had always been able to sense the mood of the people better? That, as against this, there were others, with deep-rooted anti-Left inclinations who had told *Tribune* that the ULF would not get anything more than 5 seats? That not even the staunchest UNPite or the most vicious anti-Leftist had told us that the Old Left would be wiped out in the elections? That only one UNP leader had told *Tribune* that he could not see the ULF winning anything more than two or three seats? That what has happened in reality, provides the beginnings of a very interesting development in our poli-

tical history? That the Established Trotskyite LSSP with its forty years of history, and the Moscow-orientated CPSL, with its thirty odd years of existence, have been wiped out as parliamentary parties in the new NSA? That whilst these parties may be able to re-establish and rehabilitate themselves in electoral popularity within a short time, it is essential to have post-mortems (in this and the coming issues of *Tribune*) as to why the Established Old Left has suffered this fate in this election? That it must be also noted that the pro-Peking Janavegaya Maoists, inside the SLFP (like Minneriya's Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake and Gampola's Jayaratne) and outside the SLFP (as those in the PDP like Tennyson Edirisuriya and Nanda Ellawela) have failed to win any seats in the new NSA? That maverick Leftists like T. B. Subasinghe and Vasudeva Nanayakkara have also been defeated? That veteran old timers like Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, Dr. N. M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardene (who have been regarded by the Left as legendary heroes) have all been defeated with massive and decisive majorities against them? That what is of even greater significance is that even those from the New Left—in the JVP, PDP, MVP, PJP, MEP and also among those who have masqueraded as "Independents"—have all been defeated ignominiously? That the LSSP which had fielded 80 odd candidates and the CPSL which had fielded 25 or more candidates could not get more than a few hundred votes in each electorate? That only in a few seats were they able to get a few hundred votes and only in three seats were they able to win to a few thousand votes? That the MEP, (which ran over 30 candidates), in all but a couple of seats, was able to secure only a few votes in each electorate? That the statistical facts about the votes secured by the Left and pro-Left parties are not yet available, but even without them, it is clear that the Left has suffered a major setback in the elections?

That *Tribune* was led into thinking that the Left would make a good showing—on the basis of assumptions which have been traditionally accepted (even among astute political scientists in the island) that a basic ten to fifteen percent of the voters would vote Left? That it was

also an assumption that at least half the new youth voters of one and a half million would vote with the Left—not with the established Old Left but the new and maverick groupings of the Left in the JVP, MEP, PDP, MVP, etc? That the votes won by the JVP MEP, and other new Left candidates show that the youth and even some of the older pro-1971 insurgent groups have voted UNP? That in the issue of July 9, *Tribune* in analysing the groundswell of the tide turning in favour of the UNP had hinted that the insurgent and other youth had decided to vote UNP? That the analysis in that article has proved correct? That in reality that youth have turned to the UNP even more strongly than *Tribune* had suggested? That this youth expect the UNP to fulfil its many pledges on a large number of matters that affect these young people? That in this process of turning to the UNP, very interesting voting patterns have emerged? That until the final figures have been worked out it would be only possible to say that on a total all-island basis, about thirty percent of the vote has gone to the SLFP, about fifty to the UNP, about seven to the TULF and about five to the Left? That in any analysis it will be seen that the Old Left has paid the price not only for its association with the SLFP during the days of its abuse of power, its limitless corruption and the personal arrogance of its hierarchy, but also because Left parties in the United Front Government from 1970 were guilty of the same acts of commission and omission as the SLFP? That the youthful voters did not turn to the New Left because they knew that they could not go far and young people wanted a few things done in a hurry? That the young voters have brought the UNP to power in 1977 as they had brought the United Front of the SLFP, LSSP and CP to power in 1970? That the history of the Old Left in this period will be complete only when the actions of the Left and its leaders are objectively analysed? That the smokescreen behind which the Old Left has so far operated (that those who questioned their particular version of the gospel or their actions, however opportunistic or wrong, were motivated by "reaction", "counter-revolution" or "foreign intrigue") is of no more use?

**Make
A United
Sri Lanka
Possible**

On the Basis of

EQUALITY

- IRRESPECTIVE of race, religion, caste.
- OF LANGUAGES, Sinhala, Tamil, English.
- OF OPPORTUNITIES in education and employment on merit.
- IN ADMINISTRATION, with regional or district autonomy
- BEFORE THE LAW, with civil rights, rule of law, and an independent judiciary.

SPACE DONATED

Retain Your
Original Documents
And Submit

**EXTRA COPIES
OF**

LETTERS
CERTIFICATES
DEEDS
INVOICES
PLANS
SURVEY DRAWINGS
BOOKS

Rapid Service

with

Latest Photocopying Equipment

STUDIO TIMES
TIMES BUILDING
COLOMBO-1.
TEL: 21331