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Letter From The Editor

AND JESUS SAID, according to the gospel of St. Luke, chap. 9, v 58, "*Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head.....*". That was said about two thousand years ago. Today, the situation is much worse. It is not merely one son of man who hath not even a stone on which to lay his head. The number runs into millions throughout the world. In Sri Lanka, (we do not know when we will, once again, start calling this country by the generic name Ceylon), conditions are as bad as anywhere else among the poorest of the poor although the island repeatedly has a glittering veneer of sophistication and affluence. We have not quoted the text from the Bible either "*to take the name of the Lord, the God, in vain*" or preach a homily on the housing problem. Though Jesus Christ used terminology that might lead some to think that he was primarily concerned (in that text) with the housing problem, the fact is that he was talking about (so we hope) the spirit of men (and women) who were concerned with the problems of everything on this planet and elsewhere. Foxes still have holes—where foxes have not yet been exterminated—and birds of the air have nests—at least in bird sanctuaries—but those of the human kind who regard all of nature and all of man as one have no place to lay their heads. They see the environment of the world ruined by vandals, profit-seekers, power-hungry war-mongers, grabbers, poachers and a host of other people who in the pursuit of selfish aims have no thought for the common weal or the future of all things living on this earth. Such sensitive people have become restless angry souls let us say 'beings', (lest we tread on Kovoov's toes) have no rest in mind or body overwhelmed by what they see around them and by what is happening everyday. They have no place in which to rest even if they are born into palaces or mansions. A few seek peace in hovels and huts, but they continue to be tormented. Some think that politics and parliaments are the answer, others wander on the face of the earth—as hippies, sanyasis or fakirs in search of the golden fleece of understanding and knowledge. A handful seek asylum in monasteries and ashrams and spend their days in egocentric isolation. But, many throw themselves into frantic and frenetic activity in the hope and belief that they can transform the world to end evil and generate good. In the storm and stress of such human activity, there are the genuine, the sincere, the idealistic and the romantic just as there are the sinister, hypocritical, the humbug and the rogue all striving to lead man to a wonderful millenium. Life in Ceylon is only a tiny microscopic fragment of the vast sea of humanity, but nevertheless to those of us born and/or living here it is often the entire universe. Many of us pretend that Sri Lanka (we use that name deliberately) is world itself. We assert we are the first in everything. We want the rest of the world to follow us—although ninety nine percent in the world around are not bothered about whether Sri Lanka exists or does not exist. Some have heard of Ceylon Tea but that is as far as it goes. The few who have heard echoes of the headlines which proclaimed A Sri Lankan as the leader of two thirds of the world (not merely the nonaligned or even the third world) were not amused. They resent the saucy insouciance of such claims. Even people in Ceylon have no use for such pretensions. They have rejected the validity of such headlines and the virtuosity of those who coined them. It is this kind of braggadacio which makes men and women of goodwill in Ceylon feel that they have nowhere to rest their heads in tranquility and peace. We have no foxes in Ceylon, only nariyas (Jackals) who dig no holes for shelter. Birds we still have, but not in the plenty they were a few years ago—they are being slowly but surely exterminated by man the predatory destroyer of all flora and fauna. **The picture we have on our cover is one of the few birds' nests' housing complex still found outside of the few (all too few) birds' sanctuaries.** The new elite—CRA, FEECs, Gem, Export, Etc—indiscriminately snatch these nests to decorate their houses. In the last seven years—an unfortunate interlude of seven long unhappy years for the vast majority of the population in spite of the pathetic pretensions of people who once could claim to be marxists or self-sacrificing austere socialists and communists—there has been much suffering in mind and body. Whether the next six years will be any different is yet to be seen, but people (much more than half the population of the island) look forward to a new dawn and a new world. It is not houses alone they want, not food, or clothing or even work. All these they demand but what they want more than that is the right to live in dignity without being tormented by corrupt politicians and bureaucratic tyrants, big and small. Without such vermin it will be possible to rest one's head in peace even for a fleeting moment in an aeon of turbulent eternity.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

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Colombo, July 27,

The electoral battle is over and a new Cabinet has been sworn in with a large element of young Ministers of promise and potential. Having in mind the manifesto of the UNP that it would effect a reform of the Constitution and also having in mind the fact that the UNP proposes to introduce the Presidential system of Executive Power (in combination with the British Westminster system of parliamentary democracy so far as the Legislature is concerned), it is clear that these Ministers constitute a caretaker interim cabinet—but one with responsible and challenging tasks.

It was necessary to take over the administration where the last government left or disappeared so that the new government could get the reins firmly and quickly into its hands. There was, in fact, no government in the real sense after the NSA was prorogued in February and more so after Disolution in May. Mrs. Bandaranaike and a small group of her Ministers and a large number of palace guards at different levels had run the country in the most haphazard and atrocious fashion.

And, finally, once the elections concluded at 5 p.m. on July 21 and until the new Prime Minister took his oaths at 9.40 a.m. on July 23, and the rest of the Cabinet sworn in at 4 p.m. there was no government at all. A little after 2 a.m. on the morning of July 22 it was clear to everybody that the SLFP and the ULF had been decisively beaten and that the UNP would be returned with an overwhelming majority.

The Constitution of May 1972, which *Tribune* has criticised and condemned from the time it was formulated and more especially after it was promulgated, had left a glaring anomaly which made it impossible for the President to

take any action until the last election result came in, that is at 9.15 a.m. on the morning of July 23 (over 18 hours later than it should have been received). The President did well to contact Mr. J. R. Jayawardene on the morning of July 22 and issue a statement that he was definitely appointing Mr. Jayawardene as the new Prime Minister no sooner the last election result was announced. Mr. Jayawardene too made an announcement that he was accepting the appointment and appealed to his followers to eschew violence and acts of vengeance.

But neither the President nor the Prime Minister to-be could take any action to stop the violence that anti-social elements under the guise of political indignation set in motion from about 12 noon on July 22. The much boosted (by the UF and the SLFP) Constitution of 1972, either unwittingly or deliberately, left a loophole through which the worst anti-social elements in the country were able to launch a campaign of looting, terror and violence. The Police and the Security Service were tired after nearly 72 hours of continuous election duty and the little they could do was not enough. Furthermore, there was no constitutional authority to give orders: and in many outstation area, the Police were tardy and adopted the attitude that it might bring them into trouble to take action against persons sporting green caps and shirts and shouting anti SLFP slogans—even if they were indulging in acts of violence arson and looting.

This do-nothing attitude had been bred in the last seven years when UF and SLFP politicking had reduced the Police to be a mere appendage of a ruling caucus of the Palace and the Establishment. When the LSSP and CPSL were in the Government, they too had indulged in such politicking to help offenders who pretended to be party supporters under the excuse that an inherently "reactionary police" was always seeking to wreak vengeance on "progressives". After seven years of such politicking by the SLFP, on the one hand, and by the LSSP and CPSL (to much lower degree for five to six years) on the other, it was a

matter for wonder that the Police were able to discharge their functions with great acceptance and due impartiality during the election period.

Even after the violence broke out around noon on July 22, the Police did what best they could in many places until there was a constitutional authority to give the necessary directions. In the city of Colombo, the Police acted firmly and without hesitation but in many outstations some local police officers were in a quandary whether they would be "victimised" by the new Government if they took stern action against looters and arsonists who wore green caps—because police officers were victimised and harassed during the last seven years if they took action against scoundrels who broke the law but who were able to get political patrons from the ruling party.

Orders for decisive police action against looters and other anti-social elements went out after 4 p.m. from properly constituted authority on July 23 but in the meantime the worst damage had been done. The houses and property of rich persons and people of substance who were known to have supported the SLFP were attacked by mobs wearing green shirts and caps. Property was looted and if there was resistance there was assault and even murder. After the goods had been carried away in lorries—all kept in readiness—wherever possible the buildings and houses were set on fire. In the plantation areas persons of Indian origin were again the victims of such attack and looting—although it was a fact (that nobody could dispute) that the Indian Tamil plantation workers (who had votes) had voted solidly UNP. But the plunderers in this case too wore green caps and they offered no explanations as to why the victims were being attacked.

Once the chain reaction of violence had been set in motion from about noon on July 22, it took several days before the trouble could be brought under full control. But the curfew imposed from the evening of July 24 helped to defuse the situation and check the violence. But in the 24 to 30 hours

before the Police received firm orders to take action even against those who wore green caps and shirts there was time enough for the anti-social elements organised by the mafia underworld to loot, burn and kill. Essential goods being in short supply, the anti-social elements and the underworld had a wonderful opportunity to find new stocks for the blackmarket. In many towns in the outstations well-supplied shops, co-op unions, and the like were the first targets of attack where looting preceded arson. It is a sad and sordid story; but it is necessary to take the steps to ensure that such events do not occur again.

It must be admitted that in this general flare-up starting from noon on July 22 there were elements who cannot be classified as anti-social or underworld who indulged in brutal attacks of violence to settle personal and political scores. Five to six years of United Front rule, and more especially the last two years of SLFP rule, has left a trail of victimisation, humiliation, discrimination, corruption, seduction and every form of human immorality and criminality. Impartial observers will testify to such events.

The *Tribune* of this period will give some indication of the crimes and atrocities perpetrated upon innocent people under the smokescreen of "progressivism" fighting "reaction". Victims of this seven year rule of political harassment, (when laws like Land Reform were violated and the Land Acquisition Ordinance and the Business Acquisition misused), cannot be blamed for wanting to take revenge, but they could have been prevented from rushing blindly and madly into such violence only if the police was prepared for it and there was a properly constituted legal authority to give the orders.

It is difficult to say how much of the violence after July 22 stemmed from such political vendetta, but from whatever inquiries we have been able to make it is our belief that the overwhelming volume of the violence, looting and arson had come from anti-social elements of the underworld who were after hard-to-get essential goods in short supply. There were also a few sporadic and isolated cases of such violence and looting in Colombo and its environs but in every one of them it would appear

that political malice had combined with the underworld to wreak vengeance. It can be said—although this is hard to establish in an ordinary court of law (not the CJC) that the underworld had long planned such action and had established temporary pacts with those who had personal and political grievances against particular Establishment politicians to effect a blitzkrieg which in many cases caught the once powerful victims and police napping.

To place the anatomy of the post-1977 general election violence in the correct perspective it is necessary to go back to May 1970. It is also necessary to mention that before the post-1970 election violence there had been no history of big scale post-election violence in Ceylon.

It is no doubt true, however, that the first signs of such political violence had manifested itself after the March 1965 elections when certain UNP elements sought to wreak vengeance on SLFP and LSSP people. In most cases, the violence was mild and was intended to humiliate the victims. In some cases it was intended to weaken the effective political and electoral potential of the persons concerned.

But the post-1970 violence was something different, in scope, extent and motivation. It was the

first time when the anti-social elements and the underworld entered the scene to loot property and hard-to-get essentials. A propaganda barrage was raised by certain interested parties that the "progressives" were settling grievances (mostly imaginary) by attacking UNP supporters and bureaucrats alleged to have been pro-UNP. And what was abhorrent was that the new United Front government had kept quiet for nearly a week without giving the police any orders to act. For a week and more therefore those wearing blue and red caps had virtual immunity to do what they liked. The anti-social elements from the underworld had a field day for a week and because the victims did not resist there was less killing than in the current outburst, but the violence, the looting and harassment, was as far as we can remember and recall, many times worse than what has taken place now.

In addition to this, the blue and red caps (and more especially the red), perpetrated political harassment of the worst kind in every government office and corporation. Every official or functionary not favoured by the blue and red caps were harassed until most of them sought asylum elsewhere. They attacked Lake House, sacked the

DIARRHOEA DRUG TO BE INVESTIGATED

HEALTH Minister Raj Narain told the Lok Sabha on Thursday that the Government was examining the reported side-effects of entero-vioform or mexasform—a medicine administered in diarrhoea cases in consultation with medical experts. The Minister gave this information in response to concern expressed by members over disclosures in "Lancet", a science journal of Britain, that the medicine caused serious injuries to brain, eyes and nervous systems and its use had been banned in countries like Japan, Norway and Sweden. Mr. Raj Narain said there had been no instance of side effects in India.

Mr. Om Prakash Tyagi (Janata) who raised the issue with four others through a short-notice question, suggested that the medicine may be ordered to be used only springly pending investigation and that suitable alternates, may be from the Ayurveda system, might be commended for diarrhoea. The Minister counselled that the experts report on the question first and recommend that the medicine be not used. Then only the Government could move in the matter. As for Ayurveda, he would welcome any measure to advance its cause.

Mr. Raj Narain said the World Health Organisation first drew attention to the side-effects of the medicine in October 1970. The State Governments were then advised to get a warning printed by the manufacturers that the medicine might be sold only on medical advice. He assured Mr. Samar Guha (Janata) that the experts would try to get relevant reports from the countries that had done research on the medicine and then make a thorough study.

—Patriot

place, and like vandals burnt one of the finest libraries in Ceylon with newspaper files, records and archives of the greatest value. This went on in Colombo, in government offices and also in private establishments. In the outstations similar scenes were enacted. And for a week or more, until public protests began to mount, the Government for no known reason let the vandals go on the rampage. Anyone wearing a red cap or blue shirt had immunity because the Police kept quiet. The only inference that any reasonable person can reach is that the Government then had quietly asked the police to turn a blind eye—and if the record of the Government from 1970 to 1977 is any guide then it is clear that it was deliberate vindictive action.

It is in this background that the outbreak of violence after July 22 must be examined. For over six months and more, everybody was certain that the UNP was winning, and the underworld laid their plans accordingly. The underworld was aware that there were hundreds, nay thousands of people (not merely UNPers) who had been victimised, harassed and reduced to pauperdom overnight by politicians and bureaucrats who subverted laws to achieve their selfish objectives. On the basis of this bedrock of grievance the underworld had everything ready: (1) contact with victims of UF rule and victims of the SLFP misuse of power, (2) gangs of young professionally trained thugs, looters, thieves and even killers; (3) arsenals of handbombs, petrol bombs, guns, knives and other offensive weapons; (4) green shirts and caps—and also blue and red for diversionary camouflage; (5) detailed information of intended SLFP and other victims, the location of the premises to be attacked and the positioning of the property they were after; and (6) the full detail of the shops, stores and warehouses to be looted and burnt. These points have been set down by us after a brief and cursory examination of the reported cases of violence and looting in the Colombo area and in some of the outstations. Cases of purely political vendetta are few and far between.

What is important now is to bring the situation under control fully and completely,

defuse the tie-up between the underworld and some sections of the politicians and take the necessary measures to see that future elections are not followed by such violence. Local government elections are expected to take place in three months and it is imperative that the underworld and political fanatics are not permitted to decentralise such violence and looting on a local government basis.

POSTMORTEMS on the 1977 elections will go on for a long time to come. Such postmortems will be made by the different parties, different periodicals and by different individuals. So far there have been short postmortem statements by LSSP (vide last page) and the CPSL and the SLVB (both will be discussed next week). Mrs. Bandaranaike's short radio broadcast on July 24 had no postmortem or even a superficial analysis similar to the one attempted by the LSSP, CPSL and SLVB.

Tribune will publish the text of these postmortems or at least extracts in extenso and offer our own comments on these postmortems if we think it necessary. We start with the UNP postmortem published in *The Journal* of July 26 which concerns itself mainly on why the SLFP had lost—this will no doubt serve as a warning to enthusiastic UNPers not to lose their heads and make the mistakes made by the SLFP (a real danger if ever there was one).

We publish the text of the full UNP postmortem under the heading **RESOUNDING VICTORY OF THE UNP:**

The UNP's resounding victory is unprecedented in the polls history of post-independence Sri Lanka. It surpasses by far the major triumphs of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1956, and Mrs. Bandaranaike in 1970. Seven years ago the United Front consisting of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the socialist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party (CP) headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike scored a run away victory securing over 120 seats and securing a two-thirds majority in Parliament. Today, all these parties have been ignominiously defeated by the revamped United National Party (UNP) led by J. R. Jayawardene. Save for Mrs. Bandaranaike, whose 1970 majority of 20,000 was halved,

and her deputy, Maithripala Senanayake, all her Ministers have been defeated. Her former coalition partners have been so humbled that neither the LSSP nor the CP were able to win a single seat, most often finishing a miserable third behind the SLFP.

The principal causes for the crushing defeat of the Bandaranaike Government are: (1) The severe restriction of democratic freedoms. The attempt to postpone elections. The use of the Press, and Radio as the private property of Mrs. Bandaranaike and the SLFP. (2) The abuse of Emergency powers. The arbitrary arrests of political figures and others or holding them without trial. (Eight of the new UNP MPs were in custody in 1971 and held for over a year without trial). The Criminal Justice Commission was also used to harass political opponents; (3) Corruption, drunkenness and misbehaviour in government circles especially SLFP parliamentarians (every former MP reputed to be corrupt was peremptorily rejected by the electorate); (4) Nepotism and family bandyism. Mrs. Bandaranaike's children, brothers and close relatives were given lucrative jobs. The children and relations of most prominent SLFP personalities also received lucrative appointments; (5) The unbearable cost of living and the high unemployment which was increasing all the while.

The election result is noteworthy for two reasons. The anti-UNP forces have been severely crushed. The SLFP's parliamentary strength has been reduced to a handful, virtually removing it from the parliamentary scene and the traditional Left has been so badly decimated that it will not be represented in the National Assembly at all. The crushing defeat of the government continues the parallels that have been drawn between the Indira Gandhi regime and Mrs. Bandaranaike's seven year rule. Like Indira Gandhi in the latter stages, Mrs. Bandaranaike has ruled for six of the seven years under emergency laws imposed when a youth-led insurrection threatened to overthrow her government in 1971. Using these emergency laws, Mrs. Bandaranaike cracked down on her political opponents the UNP and her leftist allies, banning their planned protested meetings and demonstrations, shutting down a major newspaper concern, crushing working class agitation, arresting and often holding without trial, dissident minority Tamils, refusing to hold elections to

local government bodies and generally reversing the democratic process.

With the two-thirds majority it had in Parliament, the Bandaranaike government adopted a new Republican constitution, which also extended the life of the government by a further two years. Mrs. Bandaranaike thus became the first Prime Minister to exceed the normal five year term of office. Mrs. Bandaranaike has also been guilty of unbridled nepotism and family cliquism. Her two daughters and son-in-law were given important government appointments while her brothers and close relatives found themselves in key official posts. Children and relatives of most SLFP top echelons were given lucrative appointments. Like Sanjay Gandhi in neighbouring India, her son Anura was made the chief of the SLFP's youth wing and given honorary posts as youth adviser in the Ministries of Planning and Education. The Bandaranaike government has also been guilty of muzzling the press. It nationalised Lake House, the largest newspaper concern in the country, gradually turning it into "Her Mistress's Voice". It shut down the Independent Newspapers Group for adopting an anti-government stance. The State-owned Radio and Lake House became the private property of the Bandaranaike's.

Although sections of her Freedom Party clamoured for the postponement of elections, she did not give into their demands probably fearing that she would not secure two-thirds majority required to effect such a constitutional change. She dared not run the risk because of the psychological impact it would have had on an already demoralised SLFP.

However last February when her government was faced with two no-faith debates following campus violence and labour unrest, she suddenly recessed Parliament for three months hoping to avert a serious political crisis.

She could not, however, stave off the impending crisis. The CP left the government writing "fini" to the three party coalition that was victorious in 1970. Some of her own parliamentarians defected. But she again managed to deny her political opponents a parliamentary forum to debate crucial political issues by dissolving the National Assembly the day before the scheduled meeting. These actions of Mrs. Bandaranaike led her political opponents to argue that her claims to be committed to democracy were spurious and that

she was guilty of an arrogant abuse of power. But it is not only the nepotism, corruption, favouritism and abuse of power that the Bandaranaike regime was accused of that bred the disenchantment with her government which caused her electoral defeat.

The government was not able to solve the pressing problems of unemployment and living costs. Despite the claims of the Bandaranaike government to have given jobs to several hundred thousand the unemployed today number around 1.5 million of a population of 14 million and works out to be over 20 per cent of the total work force. Even where employment was granted the whole process was so politicised that it led to corruption among her own parliamentarians and favouritism. This caused a great deal of bitterness among the educated and qualified youth, a growing force in Sri Lankan politics, especially since 1965 when the voting age was reduced to 18 years. Together with unemployment high living costs scarcities of essential consumer items were the central issues in the election. Even though Mrs. Bandaranaike and her Finance Minister, Felix Dias Bandaranaike, realised the need to contain burgeoning living costs their efforts made little impact especially because of food shortages, corruption and inefficiency in the distribution system

aggravated the problem adding to the woes of the consumer.

But it is interesting to note that it was not only in the urban and semi urban areas that the UNP made headway. Traditional SLFP strongholds in the rural areas have fallen to the UNP. The SLFP with its nationalist, Buddhist lineage, relies on the Sinhala peasantry, the village middle class, a newly emergent intelligentsia educated in Sinhala language and a burgeoning rural-based business community spawned by protectionism and import substitution and baptised by State capitalism. The radical impulse that attracted the rural intelligentsia and youth to the SLFP has been blunted. Mrs. Bandaranaike believed that the SLFP's nationalist appeal was still sufficiently strong to allow the people to differentiate between the UNP and the SLFP. The village educated young Sinhala voter, once the assertive advanceguard of the SLFP was not impressed. For the young the Bandaranaike 'revolution' had run its course. They did not see in the traditional Left an acceptable alternative. That is why the vast majority of the almost 1.2 million new voters turned to the UNP. But the election has also brought into sharper focus another problem—the question of the Tamil minority. The second largest party in the new Parliament would be the TULF. A parliamentary confrontation between

NEVER BEFORE

PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

As we go to press, we heard the Prime Minister's speech over the radio as he delivered it from the Pathirippu in the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy. It was an inspiring and soul-stirring speech. No Prime Minister of Ceylon has ever made a speech such as this before. He stressed that he was not a UNP Prime Minister, but the Prime Minister of the whole country. He appealed to UNPers not to ask favours because they were UNP or because they had worked for the UNP in the elections. He spoke of the precepts of the Buddha and pointed out that that to a Buddhist all other religions should be as sacrosanct as his. He wanted Buddha's precepts applied to ensure communal peace and amity. He has promised to take, within two weeks, important measures to settle one of the most difficult problems confronting the country. He needed this time in order to effect changes in the Constitution. By next week he assured the nation that the prices of essential foodstuffs would be brought down. And he asked the youth to be patient for a short time to enable him to initiate measures to provide work. This is the gist of his speech as we heard it over the Radio. The full text of this speech will be published in the Tribune shortly. This message to the nation is a landmark in the history of party politics and parliamentary government in this country. If what he has set out in his message is implemented by this Government there will be a significant and qualitative change in the political life of this country. We live in exciting times and the Prime Minister's message has brought a new element of hope for the future.

a Sinhala Government and the Tamil minority demanding a separate State must be avoided, and the Tamils made to feel they belong to a United Sri Lanka.

The UNP statement is not merely a postmortem on why the SLFP lost but it is also a pointer to what it plans to do. The final paragraph is about the TULF and it is a healthy indicator of UNP motivation in that it has used conciliatory terms to assert that a *modus vivendi* must be found to live with the Tamils. The UNP naturally desires to avoid a confrontation with the TULF demanding a separate State, and seems anxious to make the Tamils feel that they belong to a United Sri Lanka.

It is well to remember that the demand for a separate State grew out of the acts of commission and omission of the SLFP and the United Front government culminating in the Constitution of 1972 which left the Tamils no alternative but to think in terms of separation. TULF reactions will be known after the meeting of its new parliamentarians at Vavuniya on July 30. Hardline attitudes by the FP in the past had prevented meaningful dialogue and it is hoped that the TULF will approach the problem with pragmatic realism taking into consideration that a little over half the Tamil-speaking peoples in Ceylon (Indian Tamils in the plantations and Muslims in the Eastern Province) are not (yet) for a Tamil Eelam state on a separate basis. IN THE MEANTIME, it is clear that the UNP Government is anxious to avoid some of the worst pitfalls into which the United Front and SLFP government had fallen. The decision to nominate only one Cabinet Minister to attend official cocktail parties is a very salutary one. In fact the same rule should be applied to Deputy Ministers and even ordinary M's. It would be a good thing if Deputy Ministers and MPs are restrained, or stopped, from attending even non-official cocktail parties.

It will be recalled that the cocktail party circuit had proliferated after the so-called Bandaranaike Revolution of 1956. Although a history of cocktail party politicking and the pressure groups (lobbying) that operated through circuit from 1956 to 1971 will make interesting reading, it is enough for the purpose

for this note to say that in recent times the conduct of some Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentarians had become a disgrace. In addition to this, various lobbies and power groups, political, commercial and otherwise—domestic and foreign—had made a fine art of making contact and developing such contact with Ministers, Parliamentarians and High Officials at (and through) these cocktail parties. The cocktail circuit has now become the conduit system through which contact and influence maintained with the political world.

The diplomatic cocktail circuit is much talked about, but the cocktail parties of the new rich (the old rich have no money to throw parties) are not talked about but it is in these that the corruption of new parliamentarians and ministers begin. To every diplomatic cocktail party there are thirty parties by the CRA and FEECs elite and the Gem and Export mudalalis and it is to these parties that the ban must specially apply.

In fact, the image of the JR Government will increase manifold among ordinary people and also knowledgeable observers, if Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentarians and key Bureaucrats are banned from attending cocktail and other parties of the CRA-FEECs elite. If this is not done it will not be long before a large number of the parliamentarians in the new NSA start to go down on the downward path that took the SLFP to doom. Left party parliamentarians also fell victims of the cocktail circuit.

The first item on the Code of Conduct for Cabinet Ministers is an excellent beginning and it will be a major triumph for the JR Government if it is able to break the cocktail circuit as it is the most dangerous source of political corruption in this country. Each group of local and foreign businessmen, and each set of CRA-FEECs jet-setters, regard each parliamentarian or minister whom they can inveigle into attending their cocktail parties as one more scalp added to their collection. Already, one hears whispers in town about how different ministers and groups are to be enticed to attend cocktails—and if the person who can successfully invite such bigwigs of the new Government do not have the money

to throw on lavish parties there are many who are willing to foot the bill.

This does not mean that parliamentarians and ministers cannot have a normal social life. They have their old friends with whom nobody will blame them for mixing, but if such friends suddenly blossom out on the cocktail circuit the they too should be avoided. **There are certain austerities which Ministers and Parliamentarians and top Bureaucrats must observe if the image of any Government is not to be tarnished, and one such is to find a way of not being seduced by the Cocktail circuit.**

Every Minister has set the ball rolling by indicating what they propose to do. The statements of the Minister of Finance and the Minister have the greatest amount of "meat" so far as intended action is concerned. The action has yet to come. Minister Premadasa has stolen the thunder by getting on with the job. And he was in a position to do so. He has dissolved the Councils which had no right to exist (*Tribune* has pointed out this in the past) and has announced that elections would be held within three months. But more than this, Minister Premadasa has got the Colombo Municipal Administration to set about cleaning the city and much was achieved in 48 hours. In fact, the city is already much cleaner.

Under Mayor Fowzie, the normal and traditional authority for cleaning, which was the Health Branch, was relieved of the work and the Mayor and some individuals from different branches seem to have assumed the responsibility for keeping the city clean. There are sensational stories about the thousands of casual temporary hands employed to keep the city clean together with a thousand bullock carts (are there even a couple of hundred in the city?) hired to do the job (in addition to the scavenging vans). With all this the city was dirty. We do not want to go into municipal muck-raking at this stage, but we wish to commend Minister Premadasa for getting the job done. All other Ministers have also issued good PRO statements, but Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne's touch about "spiritualism" in education has made many wonder whether he was going to be diverted by Sunday Schoolism from the very

necessary task of undoing the mess that Badiudin Mahmud has left behind.

Minister Mohamed has also started off with a bang in Transport. He has appointed a technically qualified and experienced Chairman to the CTB and placed qualified people on the Board. Already, bus commuters have reported to the *Tribune* that the bus services were running better. In regard to the CGR, he has made an auspicious start by appointing Mr. B. D. Rampala as an Advisor to the Ministry. He will be invaluable even for the CTB, but he will be of immense help in getting the CGR back on to the rails. Rampala was derailed because of the LSSP's mania for throwing out technocrats whose faces the LSSP did not like. The LSSP had carried on a witch-hunt in the CGR in 1970 and 1971 and had compelled some of the best men to get out or had thrown them out.

Minister Leslie Goonewardene had removed the head of the Security Service only to satisfy the whims of some party members—and within a short time the Railway was without a Security Service. This officer's was one of the worst cases of victimisation. *Tribune* was aware of. Anyway, with Rampala's premature exit and the witch hunt against many technically qualified persons, the CGR was soon a disgrace. Those who have no alternative but to use the CGR know what a mess it has been since 1972. And the worst crime the LSSP regime inflicted on the CGR is to condemn long distance travellers—two to three generations of them—to sit in great discomfort in carriages bought from Rumania. Whether Rampala can get suitable alterations made in the seating we do not know, but if he can get the seats and spacing changed to give travellers a painless ride he will win for the Government (and himself) eternal praise from all those who use the CGR.



CHALLENGING TASK

The Problems Of The Tamil Speaking People

by James T. Rutnam

The above is the title of a paragraph in the Manifesto of the United National Party. The Manifesto comments on the problems as follows.

"The United National Party accepts the position that there are numerous problems confronting the Tamil-speaking people. The lack of a solution to their problems has made the Tamil-speaking people support even a movement for the creation of a separate State. In the interest of national integration and unity so necessary for the economic development of the whole country, the Party feels such problems should be solved without loss of time. The Party, when it comes to power, will take all possible steps to remedy their grievances in such fields as,

- (1) Education;
- (2) Colonisation;
- (3) Use of Tamil Language;
- (4) Employment in the Public and semi-public Corporations.

We will summon an All-Party Conference as stated earlier and implement its decisions."

The problems are thus recognised and admitted by the present ruling party. The Prime Minister had already declared that he would begin to solve these problems at the commencement of his Government's tenure in office and not wait to attempt to do so at the end, as the SLFP did despite its return along with Leftists in 1970 with more than a two-third majority. There was hardly any reference to the Tamil problem as such in the SLFP manifesto. They closed their eyes to it. The ULF manifesto was more specific declaring that the principle of regional autonomy will be applied within the general national framework of District Councils. It also stated that the Republican Constitution will be amended to include the rights already administratively granted to the Tamil language and that the Tamil language will be declared a national language.

The JVP which represents the potential national substratum of the country did not seriously fight the elections, because of its leader Rohana Wijeweera, being confined in jail. But it made its view very clear by declaring that it was for the adoption of Sinhalese, Tamil and English as national languages, and for regional autonomy for racial minorities with right of secession. Wijeweera in his clear, thoughtful, responsible and memorable speech before the Ceylon Criminal Justice Commission declared in these words:

"The SLFP politicians had shamelessly sown the seeds of communal discord against the Tamil minority. In the 1956 elections the CP and the LSSP stood for parity on the language issue. But what did they do a short time later? They were not only against equal status for Tamil and Sinhalese, but opposed even the granting of any lesser rights. It was in these conditions that we became disillusioned with them. That is why we struggled. If anyone willingly risks his or her life or is prepared to be shackled as a prisoner, this can only be because there is no alternative."

"There is no alternative", this was the burden of their cry. The Tamils of Sri Lanka too have come to this unenviable position. Rohana Wijeweera seems to have understood the situation more than any other leader in this country. Hence his demand for Sinhalese, Tamil and English as national languages and regional autonomy for national minorities with right of secession. The idea of secession would never arise in the midst of such goodwill from the majority community. A statesmanlike diagnosis and prognosis.

In an exclusive interview to the *Sun* newspaper, which was published on 17 July and widely reported in the International Press, the Prime Minister had announced:

"We shall use the mandate we received to draft, adopt and operate a new Republican Constitution in order to achieve the goals of a democratic socialist society. We shall guarantee the people to whatever race, religion or caste they belong equal opportunities in every sphere of life. An All-Party Conference will be summoned to consider the problems of non-Sinhala speaking people, the deci-

sions of which will be included in the Constitution."

The significant clause in this announcement is the guarantee of equal opportunities to all people, to whatever race, religion or caste they belonged, in every sphere of life. If this is truly implemented, the unbridled rage and the furious desperation of the Tamil-speaking people at the present time, and of their youth in particular, would be restrained, controlled and guided. This is a human rights denied (and in a larger measure) to the Tamil plantation workers as well. The world will look at Sri Lanka as it presently does at South Africa and Rhodesia, if things are allowed to continue any longer.

I am not exaggerating the position. One has only to read the manifesto of the TULF, which will be published in full in the *Tribune*, to become wise about this matter.

W. B. Yeats the Irish poet had revealed in his apocalyptic vision, "Things fall apart: the centre cannot hold." This is reported in a recent issue of the prestigious journal *Insight*, published in Hong Kong. The author Gatbonton of Manila, ends his article on rebellious minorities thus: "Autonomy as a principle has satisfied both parties in all the minority rebellions already settled. Autonomy allows the leadership of the minority group to control the pace of national integration. Over the longer term, of course, autonomy is an interim formula. The need for it ends when the minority has caught up with the majority people in every way." It will be noted here that autonomy in these circumstances will gradually end, and integration will follow provided there was goodwill on both sides.

John Donne, the English poet has mused in his "Devotions" "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never sent to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Thus the humanistic outlook, so well proclaimed by the Buddha, must pervade our entire life. Otherwise we would be hypocrites.

Can this nation of ours ever forget the pioneer labours of Tamils for the emancipation of the country? The earliest attempt made to wrest responsible and representative government from the British was by William Digby in 1875. He wrote a series of articles in the *Ceylon Observer* against the views of the Chief Editor A. M. Ferguson. Did any Sinhalese support him then? No. It was Ramanathan and Arunachalam that supported him. See Ramanathan's letter published in the *Ceylon Observer* in 1875 under the heading "A Plea for Responsible Government in Ceylon". Arunachalam too backed Digby with a letter, the original of which I have with me, which was returned unpublished by Ferguson. These letters were written when Ramanathan was 24 years old and Arunachalam 22.

The foundation for the liberation of Sri Lanka was laid by Arunachalam when he inaugurated the Ceylon National Congress. I am happy to report that the Prime Minister's Christian father E. W. Jayawardena and that great statesman, my political guru, E. T. de Silva, a Roman Catholic, were the two stalwart Sinhalese who triggered this emancipation movement of Arunachalam by proposing and seconding respectively the motion formally to establish it. The Prime Minister's uncle, the gallant and dauntless Hector, was the leading supporter of Ramanathan when he won the Educated Ceylonese Seat in 1911.

Today E. W. Jayawardena's son has been given the great honour and responsibility to bring back, like his father, the Tamils to the national fold. He has a Party strength of 139 members in Parliament of which only one is a Tamil and as many as ten are Muslims. We do not grudge the proportion of Muslims. They are our Tamil-speaking brethren.

But why only one non-Muslim Tamil, and not a single from the large plantation community of Tamils. There is something rotten in the state of Denmark, as one might say. This is quite plain and has to be acknowledged.

This has to be corrected and corrected soon. Sane counsel must prevail on both sides. The wounds must be healed. Or else Ramanathan or Arunachalam or even the noble E. W. Jayawardena or his brother: Hector will not be able to rest in peace.

NEW VISION FOR NEW VENTURES—I

Common Religious Resources For A Responsible Society In Sri Lanka

by The Rev Celestine Fernando

Every nation looks forward to a happier life in a new society. It is every person's constant aspiration for one's self and for others. The constituents of such a new society are generally true freedom, social and economic justice and the spirit and disciplines of brotherhood although this last is often lost sight of in the pursuit of power. Without these there can be no national unity or true peace. They are the essential foundations of any good society which will help the personalities of its citizens—whatever they are and to whatever group they belong—to grow with the integrity and the dignity which every person needs.

In countries in which there are free elections and where the secret ballot is a reality, it is only at a time of General Elections and, where the procedures and practices of Referendum on specific issues prevail, at such times, that there is any real freedom such as is possible in this age of mass-pressure. But for most of the time even in countries which are called democratic, true freedom tends to become progressively restricted. Parties that call themselves "progressive" may rule but too often it is in the wrong direction that they progress with the authority of "Government" behind them. For most of the time, those who are elected as "representatives of the people" to the National State Assembly are the self-confident masters in control of our "progress". On a wider basis the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the M.P.s and those who act under their authority—the Government officials, high and low, the Police, and the Armed Services wield the real power. Most ordinary people become creatures of mass-manipulation and bureaucratic control while the hidden processes of Government grow daily and in-

sidiously in their outreach to control the nation. The nation, then, tends to be divided by the powers that be into "the People" who support the Government and "The Others" (to whom other labels are given) despite the plain fact that the whole nation is composed of People who as voters cast their votes for one party or another and ought to be presumed to be not only People but Patriotic Citizens, at least on this basis!

This fact that all those in the Government and those outside it are People—not mechanisms or structures or systems—is very important. For People matter more than all other resources of the land. They are persons of good or bad character whatever names they call each other. One party may blame the other for being stooges of the "Western Imperialists and Capitalists" or the "Communists and neo-colonialists". For it is a characteristic of true freedom for the many pots to call the many kettles black and the "representatives of the people" (however high their office and however grand their promises) to be like the people themselves. Each nation therefore gets the government it deserves or at least the government the majority freely voted or in terms of the electoral system. The powers that be are therefore "ordained" but "ordained" to use that power for the "good" of all the people and not for "evil" which often comes with the self-aggrandisement of those in power.

After more than a quarter century of political interdependence, in this very interdependent world, Sri Lanka has certainly progressed in many directions. In the standard of living in many sectors of the population, in our educational opportunities, in our urban housing in the basic policies of land reform (despite some flagrant sins in their implementation), in income limitation, in industrial and agricultural services, in medical and social welfare facilities and in many other ways there have been radical and yet comparatively peaceful changes for the better in recent years. But there is very much more to be done if we are to make the best use of our national resources and of the opportunities we still have in Sri Lanka to lay generally acceptable foundations for a nation that can be truly great not only in material wealth but also in the character of its people.

We have still a very long way to go to be a responsible society in Sri Lanka. We have to overcome the abject poverty of the vast majority of our people in town and country alike and the oppressive structures of daily life to which far too many of them are subject. The spectre of unemployment, grossly sub-standard housing in the lower income groups and especially in the rural and plantation areas, the scarcity of essential food-stuffs, the sky-rocketing prices of what is available looms large on the horizon. On the other hand, the facilities afforded for the wrong kind of Foreign Aid, for luxury living and for unessential imports, the consequent frittering away of valuable foreign exchange and, worse than all these, the toleration of laziness, indiscipline, wastage, alcoholism, bribery, favouritism and other forms of corruption and immorality—even among those who are called "leaders"—have progressively increased under our respective governments since independence. There are too many clouds on the nation's horizons for any citizen to be happy doing nothing about these many problems or to relax in order to leave all action to the politicians and the bureaucrats for they can so easily be a law unto themselves when there is no Public Conscience to guide them. These are human prob-

lems affecting not only our common nationhood but also our common humanity.

This is why all citizens of a country such as ours have a great responsibility whatever our religion to concern ourselves with spiritual and moral values and the standards of those who, whether in the National State Assembly or elsewhere, aspire to any place of leadership. It is not enough for us to be satisfied with religious beliefs which are expressed merely in public worship, in ceremonial action and display or in the empty support of policies and programmes of "religious" education which fail to help persons to grow in character and relationships in accordance with the religions professed. Nor is it enough to be satisfied with what politicians "promise" in terms of their idealistic eloquence and their understandable desire for power and privilege. For ultimately it is not the Speeches and Manifestoes that really govern us but the People we have elected as our chief leaders who themselves appoint others under them. Whatever party to which our leaders belong we therefore need men and women of good character who respect their fellow men and women for their humanity, who speak the truth, treat each other with goodwill by the norms of common

TRUE HEROISM

IN NITTAMBUWA

OF THE MANY STORIES AND REPORTS about the violence that followed the General Elections *Tribune* has received one that stands out as something that merits the greatest admiration and the highest praise. It revolves around the Roman Catholic Parish Priest of the Church near Nittambuwa Junction and a group of young members of his congregation including the Grama Sevaka (no. 343) of the area. On the afternoon and evening of Friday, July 22, when all but a few results had been announced a mob sporting green shirts and caps had taken out buses from Nittambuwa stand and a number of shops in closeby Attanagalla had been burnt. Word went round that the same fate would overtake SLFP-owned shops and business houses at Nittambuwa Junction no doubt after the goods in them had been looted. When it became manifest that a green-capped brigade (how many of them were party sympathisers and how many were professional thugs and looters it cannot be determined) were ready for action—this was sometime close to 5 p.m. on Saturday July 23, the Catholic Priest of Nittambuwa Y.M.C.A. took a group he had collected in his Church and surrounded the shops and places which were marked for destruction. He also persuaded those hijacking the buses from the stand to return them to the stand and also succeeded in making the crowd that had come to destroy to return peacefully. But for this Catholic Priest and his band of young Catholics, led by a youth named Michael, half the shops at Nittambuwa Junction would have been razed to the ground. This was a feat of heroism in an area which was predominantly Buddhist. Actions such as these generate hope and faith in man in the troubled times which envelops us all.

decency and fellowship, rather than with violence of temper, speech and action and who also recognise integrity and merit, irrespective of political party or religion. The essence of Parliamentary Government—whatever form it takes, for it has many forms besides the Westminster model—presupposes a basic framework of integrity, mutual respect and non-violence in thought, speech and action as being the only possible foundation for the true community life of the nation.

But these are all spiritual and moral qualities. They cannot come by sermons, speeches or even by legislation. Before they are understood and accepted by the representatives of the people, they must be understood and accepted by the people first. For it is from the people that their representatives emerge and all leadership, in fact, reflects the character of its people. Thus, if we are to have the kind of Government our country deserves, whoever is in Power, we certainly need what Walter Lippmann called "a Public Philosophy" based on some common ideals. It involves a quite serious nationwide spiritual and moral evaluation by the people themselves of what their true religious values are if they are to produce new persons with a new vision capable of new ventures for a new society. It must further involve a spiritual and moral transformation affecting every family, village and town—each neighbourhood taking some responsibility for its own life—without any sectarian-partisanship spoiling it—for the sake of the whole nation. Our country like most other countries needs not only the politics of Power but also the politics of Grace. We need human beings to be truly human and to act on the basis that the good of each will be the good of all and that no group of human beings can really prosper and maintain their prosperity and be at peace for long at the expense of any other group. Only on such a basis can we help to lay the basic foundations of a new society in Sri Lanka ensuring national unity, personal freedom, social and economic justice in the spirit of brotherhood and to be enjoyed by all the citizens without some being made to feel that they are second class. It is the only basis for solving the Sinhala-Tamil problems and our many Trade Union conflicts and for redeeming our country from the worst corruptions of power.

A primary question that arise here is whether we can succeed in working for such a society when the dominant spirit in our land is the present spirit of power politics. Clearly power politics cannot be avoided or ignored in our world today. But when it becomes the primary determinant of social change it is an entirely different matter. For the spirit of power-politics is the spirit only of temporal and material power. It is the spirit of competition-for-conflict, not the spirit of competition-for-cooperation. It is the spirit of self-glorification for survival come what may, for vengeance and exploitation of every opportunity for one's own good. Machiavelli's Prince and Hitler's Mein Kampf reveal the spirit of power-politics on the grand scale. And ultimately it is this spirit that prevents both national and international peace. It has spoiled the best work of the United Nations Organisation and even of some of its affiliates. For whatever it touches it corrupts. It has undermined the good in every nation including our own and produced the barriers which have prevented conflicting groups coming together to talk their problems over in peace.

The spiritual and moral transformation that our nation and our people need should be based therefore not on the basis of gaining earthly power—necessary as this is in various areas of life in the world—but on the basis of the religious truths and ethical norms we profess. It is these religious truths alone that can provide the resources to help us to use the Power we need to right and to cleanse it from its corruptions. There are many such teachings common to the great religions that the people of our country have professed over the past several hundred years. These teachings, when carefully examined, reveal a very radical character even though the religious institutions which profess them seem successfully to hide this radicalism. They include integrity and a devotion to truth and honesty, to goodwill, to the spirit of unity, freedom and justice through brotherhood all of which have very far-reaching implications for peaceful but revolutionary social change. It is this spirit that can bring the permanent revolution that all society needs and can help to evolve the structures of goodwill that will help such a revolution. For it will help us to discern what is

right from what is wrong, and to act righteously for the sake of our common humanity and peace, without making private profit and personal prestige the primary motive of our behaviour. It is also this spirit that will help our people to co-operate with each other for good rather than to be led by the power struggles that inevitably destroy each other in the process.

If this spirit of true religion and ethics is to grow in our land, then there is an urgent need for our religious leaders and bodies concerned with this area of life to come together and act on a common basis. It concerns not merely those who hold "office" but all persons who believe they have a responsibility to lead, whatever their position. It is not enough, when the nation's welfare demands it, for such leaders merely to instruct their own people from their respective pulpits (however necessary that may be, considering the state of some of our religious institutions) in village and town. There is a greater witness productive of greater good for the whole nation if they could on common platforms and in terms of the common religious truths they uphold, explain what these common religious truths mean for the practical affairs of modern family life, politics and economics.

(To be Continued)

TRIBUNE

TRIBUNE takes this opportunity to apologise to our readers for the delay in the publication of this issue and the previous issue of July, 23. The earlier issue was delayed because of the elections and the weekend holiday that followed. This issue was delayed because of the Poya and the weekend followed immediately after. We hope to get back on our regular schedule in the next two issues.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

July 9 — July 15

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—Chinth-
 mani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;

SATURDAY, JULY 9: In 190 working days, the Tax Court which was established in June last year has disposed of 7067 tax default cases and imposed fines amounting to Rs. 11,405,976.99. A new firm of brokers to handle produce business has been formed and it is assured of the tea produce business of the State sponsored Janawasama; according to tea trade sources the firm Inter Markets Limited will handle the produce of the Janawasamas from the tea sales of July 26. Work will commence shortly on a water supply scheme to provide water facilities to Colombo and greater Colombo extending from Negombo to Ambalangoda; this project will be undertaken with 14 1/2 million dollars aid from the World Bank—CDN. Forty armed police units in cars and 20 special motor cycle patrols will commence rigid patrolling of Colombo round-the-clock from Monday July 18. Employees of the National Housing Department yesterday staged a token strike as a protest over the sending on compulsory leave of the Commissioner of National Housing. A separate state in the North and East would in no way solve the problems facing the plantation workers of Tamil origin in the hill country, said Mr. S. Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Worker's Congress, in a lecture to the Foreign Correspondents Association of Sri Lanka. Mr. Prins Gunasekera, former MP for Habaraduwa has rejected the pension he is entitled to, because heavy he was and is against it. Detectives working on the Visakam's holdup case were surprised when they took the hand bombs left behind by the gang to the Government Analyst for a report; after careful examination it turned out to be stones wrapped in cellophane—CDM. The cost of living index for May and June this year has shown a marked increase, according to statistics now being prepared by the People's Bank. Police Headquarters yesterday rushed a senior SP to Gampola following reports of a serious clash between rival political parties. Imported boxes of matches will be issued at all co-operative stores from today. The one-man commission which inquired into the activities of the Gem Corporation will hand over its report to the President within the next few days—SU. A new type of matchbox factory is to be opened in Atchvely by the Pandatterippu Co-operative society—EN. A case where 70 bags of sugar worth Rs. 70,000 while being transported from the Colombo Harbour to the CWE stores, was transferred into another lorry, taken to Pettah and sold to a merchant is being investigated by the police—DW.

SUNDAY, JULY 10: The Colombo Municipal Council has launched a crash program to improve the street lighting and the water supply to the 'high security triangle', Racecourse, Thurstan Road and Reid Avenue for the General Elections—SO. By exercising their right to self-determination, the Tamils could establish the sovereignty of their homeland and regain their lost freedom; by voting for TULF candidates they will be showing to the world and to the Sinhala government that they have exercised their right to self-determination the TULF representatives so elected, while being members of the NSA, will also constitute themselves into the Assembly of Tamil Eelam and will proceed to formulate a constitution; this is stated in the TULF manifesto, which is addressed to the Tamil-speaking people of Sri Lanka. The revised consultation scheme for doctors will come into operation on Thursday, accord having at last been reached between the AMS, the GMOA and the Ministry of Health on the fees payable to doctors for consultation. The most effective drug against cancer—Adriyamicin—is out of stock at the Cancer Institute, Maharagama making it extremely difficult for poor patients to obtain treatment; the drug is understood to be available outside at a reported cost of Rs 3,000—ST. The Police have stumbled on a unique hand bomb—the latest addition to the underground arsenal; it is minute in size, but can instantaneously kill the victim or damage his features so as to be unrecognisable. With eleven days to go for the General Election, the candidates are at the summit of their respective campaigns. The Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs has asked the newly appointed Ambassador in Jakarta, Mr. M. P. de Z. Siriwardene, to immediately tender his resignation from the office of the Minister of Labour: this followed the government's inability to appoint a successor following his being appointed as Ambassador to Indonesia—WK. At the Annual meeting of the Ceylon Buddhist Congress, Mr. Senarath Gunawardene said that till Ceylon became a Buddhist country they would continue to fight—VK. A worm that is attacking onions is on the increase in the North; this is apparently one of the reasons for the shortage of onions in the country; according to an official of the Agricultural Development Ministry it is the Spodoptera Exiqua Caterpillar—DP. In the 14 districts of the Northern Province over 30 election meetings are being held daily—EN.

MONDAY, JULY 11: The University of Sri Lanka will start training courses in nuclear engineering and neutron physics at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels to enable Sri Lankans to be trained in the new developments in nuclear science. The Compensation Negotiating Board has so far settled claims amounting to Rs. 100 million to former owners of lands taken over in the first stage of land reform. The CID has commenced investigating a massive smuggling racket between Sri Lanka and the Maldives resulting in a considerable loss of foreign exchange to the country. A UNP government will order a review of the cases of all those convicted by the Criminal Justice Commission for their involvement in the April 1971 insurrection, the leader of the UNP said at a meeting at Beliatta. The All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress yesterday unanimously passed a resolution at its annual sessions calling for Sri Lanka to be declared a Buddhist State. Three armed young men robbed Rs. 1,50,000 at gun point from the Homagama Co-operative Society yesterday evening—CDN. Next week's general election has generated greater en-

thusiasm and interest among the people than at the seven elections held so far; this is the consensus of stalwarts of the major political parties and the police. A fully-fledged commission of inquiry would be appointed to inquire into all the undemocratic acts committed by the present government, said the leader of the Opposition at a meeting at Padukka. The Director of Health Services has sanctioned the continuation of the eight hour straight shift for nurses—CDM. A high-powered review team from the World Bank is due in Sri Lanka next month to finalise plans for a multi-million rupee tuna and skip jack fishing project in a bid to revive the country's ailing economy. The University Teacher's Federation has appealed to the PM to authorise the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Education to finalise the revised salary scales for university teachers. There is an acute shortage of milkfood throughout the island; but for the past three months or so, over 2 lakhs of rupees worth of 56 lb bags of Lakspray is lying in the Port, according to a Port Commission source. A fresh crew for the 'Lanka Kirithi' now in Tripoli was flown from Colombo yesterday. Another vessel of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation, the 'Lanka Rani' has run into problems with its crew; this time the dispute is over alleged shop lifting and insubordination—SU. The election campaign which is going on at fever pitch with propaganda meetings and rallies will stop at midnight on the 19; this will give the voters one day's time to evaluate the election pledges of various parties. There was an incident at Wellampitiya where a gang from particular party had entered the police station and attacked some constables—VK. There is an increase of violence in the North and East where the TULF has put up candidates; force is an indication of weakness, so said Mr. V. Navaratnam, Independence candidate for Kayts—DP. The GMOA and the AMS have accepted the new revised co-operative channelled practice scheme put forward by the Ministry of Health. Commercial banks have granted Rs. 315 million in loans and drafts, according to the Central Bank Bulletin—CO. The Central Bank has conducted investigations and found out, that to make about 5 oz of sambol (without coconut) it will cost Rs. 3.06—DW.

TUESDAY, JULY 12: Price Control Department officials requisitioned 13,500 lbs of good quality chillies valued at Rs. 243,000 from a number of godowns in Pettah during the weekend; the raid followed the steep rise in prices of chillies in the open market during the past few weeks; three weeks ago the price of a pound of chillies in the open market was Rs. 9 but last week the price had shot up to Rs. 18. The Joint Front of Trade Unions at an emergency session decided to protest against the order to send the Commissioner for National Housing on compulsory leave. The Ceylon Tea Board, the government authority for controlling and regulating the marketing of tea, has expressed uneasiness about the Janawasama handling over its produce business to a new broking firm of Inter-Markets Ltd., floated about nine months ago with an issued capital of Rs. 6,000. A consignment of 2.52 million boxes of matches has now been received by the CWE from India and is being distributed to co-operative stores on the basis of six boxes for a household card—CDN. The government's food subsidy bill for this year had dropped by Rs. 200 million, following the revaluation of the rupees. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, will take 700 years to implement socialist policies because it took him forty years to realise the value and importance of

socialism, said one of the supporters of the LSSP candidate at a meeting at Wanduramba. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene addressing a meeting at Akuressa said that his aim was to set up a clean government based on the Five precepts preached by the Lord Buddha, free of bribery and corruption. Construction work at the Gin Ganga Flood Protection Scheme has almost come to a standstill because of the shortage of cement—CDM. The Engineer's Union of the Ceylon Electricity Board has warned that the delay in the completion of the Bowatenne power project, scheduled to be completed by mid-1977 would result in a massive power shortage in 1978/79. Sri Lanka will be fully linked with West Asia and other Asian countries through the Asian telecommunication network, by 1979. Akuressa, once the stronghold of the CP boss Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe was one of the surest seats for the UNP at the election, party leader Mr. J. R. Jayawardene held a rally at Tibbotuwewa last week. The CMU branch at the State Plantations Corporation has protested against what it calls 'large scale recruitment' now going on at the Gregory's Road—SU. The Commissioner of National Housing was sent on compulsory leave because he objected to and did not fulfill something the Minister Kumarasuriar had asked him to do—ATH. Around 350 clerks of the Velantha Sevaka Sangamaya and the Sri Lanka Vavili Samithiya have decided to go on a day's token strike today to protest against new appointments being made very hurriedly and about the promises that have not been implemented—DW. Some employees of the Postal Department are tampering with letters and removing stamps, especially from foreign letters—LD.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13: Nearly 40,000 pensioners in the Colombo District who have completed ten years in retirement will receive their full pension along with arrears with effect from February this year on July 15; these pensioners are the beneficiaries of the present government's rule that a pensioner who commuted his pension at time of retirement need not wait for twelve and half years as he did in the past to draw his full pension. The police have found a large cache of unlicensed firearms and ammunition in a raid on a UNP office at Dummalasooriya, in the Bingiriya electorate, on Monday. Around 1000 clerks who joined the General Clerical Service before 1964 and who are now in grade 2 will be promoted to Class I, the Ministry of Public Administration said yesterday. All agencies recruiting labour for employment abroad will hereafter be required to satisfy the Commissioner of Labour as to the bona fides of the organisation as well as the conditions under which Sri Lanka workers are to be employed abroad. No further bookings will be entertained by the Sri Lanka Air Force for the use of its aircraft for election purposes this decision has been taken by the SLAF in order to conserve available aircraft and as the aircraft have to be serviced in case they are needed for security work—CDN. Timely action by the Labour Department has prevented mushroom employment agencies from luring away Sri Lankans with false promises of employment in petrodollar countries; they have made it compulsory for all agencies to obtain a licence from the Commissioner of Labour. Although the government claimed that the Mahaweli Diversion Scheme was successful, imported rice was still being distributed throughout the country said Dr. N. M. Perera, at a meeting at Baddegama.—CDM.

THURSDAY, JULY 14: Radical and far reaching reforms in the curriculum of the Sri Lanka Law College have been recommended to the Council of Legal Education by the Ministry of Justice; the Council has sought the views of the legal profession as well as of the public on these recommendations. We do not promise to reduce the prices of consumer items when we come to power; today the prices of such items have risen very high throughout the world; to reduce the cost of living is no easy task; we will not deceive the masses by giving false promises, so said the leader of the UNP at election meetings in the Deniyaya and the Akuressa electorates. The Elections Branch of the Police has set up a special Anti-Subversive Unit; this unit has been deployed throughout the island with instructions to keep a close tab on insurgent and other subversive activities during the current General Election period. The PM has asked for an urgent report from the Secretary to the Ministry of Industries on the reasons for the present shortage of safety matches. All taverns and liquor bars throughout the island will be closed from July 19 to July 22 on account of the General Election. Chillie and onion prices have steadily come down in the Pettah market following last week's raids by the Price Control men. The government of Pakistan has decided to appoint Muhammad Waliullah Khan Khaigsi as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Pakistan in Sri Lanka in succession to Mr. Addur Rauf Khan—CDN. Four long-haired youths robbed a taxi in Grandpass and then proceeded to Homagama where they held up the Manager of the Multi-Purpose Co-operative Stores and got away with Rs. 150,000. The UNP leader Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has protested to the PM against the denial of a helicopter to him for use on July 14, 15 and 16. The National Federation of Pensioners' Association of Sri Lanka has appealed to leaders of all political parties to redress their grievances—CDM. Police are investigating an alleged attempt to cause bodily harm to the UNP leader; this follows a complaint made to the IGP by H. W. Jayawardene QC. The Supreme Court yesterday directed notice to be issued on the Minister of Agriculture and Lands and two others over two applications for a writ of certiorari seeking a quashing of land acquisition order in respect of two portions of land which were taken over by the government. The UNP's proposal to establish one trade union in each institution is only part of a broad programme to streamline the working of trade unions; the UNP also proposes to enlist the services of workers in the control of their work place; for this purpose trade union representatives will be appointed to managerial positions at all levels, party leader J. R. Jayawardene said yesterday—SU. There is no need to believe that the army will take over; if we win the elections nothing can stop us from forming the government whether it be army, guns or even the atom bomb, there is no situation in this country that can bring in military rule, therefore no one need be afraid, so said Mr. J. R. Jayawardene at Galkissa—VK. Workers in the Powdered milk factory of the National Milk Board are on strike because their demands have not been met for a long time—ATH. The Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways is planning to extend the Mahaweli Development Project north of Vavuniya at a cost of Rs. 300 million—DM.

FRIDAY, JULY 15: An average of 300 Sri Lankans seeking jobs abroad—especially in the Middle East—are applying per day to the Department of Immigration and Emigration for passports; a spokesman for the department said yesterday that there had been a

phenomenal increase in the number of applications for passports from the beginning of this year. If Mr. J. R. Jayawardene was interested in stamping out corruption in the country why did he want to scrap the CJC Act by which exchange racketeers were brought to book, the PM asked on Monday while addressing an election rally in the Akmeemana electorate. The Police and the Prison authorities have uncovered an insurgent plan to stage a massive jail break in Colombo and cause violence; this is the fourth attempt made to free insurgent leaders during the past three months. The Tamil Nadu government has agreed to reserve 200 posts of drivers and 200 posts of conductors for Sri Lanka repatriates who are covered under the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1964 in various government-owned Transport Corporations. The first general election results expected to be announced between 1 and 2 a.m. on Friday July 22, according to the Police—CDN. Trainee pilots at the Flying Training School have expressed misgivings about the Committee appointed to probe into the crash of the Pushpak Aircraft on June 14; they say that a person to whom blame could be attributed is also on this committee. The Sri Lanka Overseas Foundation is to be formed soon in the US; this is intended to help Sri Lanka by Sri Lankans living there. All co-operative stores will be guarded after a spate of robberies reported in recent weeks. No proper solution to the cost of living and other economic problems could be found until the country was first rid of her dependence on foreign sources for food and other essential goods said the PM at an election meeting at Bentota. The Islamic Socialist Front has condemned the UNP proposal of a Free Trade Zone—CDM. Special armed units of the Police will be placed on duty near the residence of the PM and the Leader of the UNP on the day of the elections and the day following. All employees of the PMB Head Office at Maharagama walked out yesterday afternoon. A feasibility report for a regional fertilizer warehouse in Maho has been finalised by a joint team of experts from Sri Lanka and West Germany attached to the Ceylon Fertilizer Corporation; construction work is due to start immediately according to sources in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs—SU. Those who are in possession of lethal weapons will be arrested and kept in remand for two weeks; under no condition will they be allowed to be released on bail, according to the police—DP. The leader of the UNP will let out the secret regarding how he proposes to bring down the cost of living on Tuesday at the last election meeting at Havelock Park. The shortage of cement in recent times is due to the shortage of crude oil—VK. Mr. M. Sivasithamparam has said that the separate Tamil state will be a reality before the next general election and it would be useless to talk in terms of the TULF or the CWC—EM. Many Corporations and departments have become like blackmarketeering mudalali's shops with wrong weights, balances etc according to investigations made by the National Metric Office—LD. The amount set aside for the foreign travel allowance for Minister, their deputies and other high government officials has doubled from the amount in 1975-76. After the rupee was revalued some government corporations are in debt to the Commercial banks; for example the State Hardware Corporation is in debt for Rs. 10 lakhs—DW.



FOR THE RECORD

JR's Interview In The Week End—

Sunday July 17.

It will be back to freedom after July 21. Every Sri Lankan, irrespective of what group they belonged to would be assured of a fair deal, the United National Party leader, Mr. Junius Richard Jayawardene, told Weekend in an exclusive interview.

Mr. Jayawardene who has toured well over 95 electorates during the current general election campaign said that his party was sure to form the next Government. "The country is looking forward for a change. A change for the better," he said. He asserted that his main objective was to provide a clean, efficient and exemplary Government—one that future leaders of the nation would wish to follow. A new Republican Constitution, Ministers for 22 districts, a Commission to probe maladministration, new judicial machinery to probe exchange control offences, liberalised press laws including amendment of libel laws to expose names of corrupt personalities were some of the significant highlights the UNP Government would undertake, according to Mr. Jayawardene.

Here are Mr. Jayawardene's answers to some of the questions now in focus at the polls campaign.

Q. You have mentioned that the United National Party if voted into power would make certain constitutional changes. Would you please elaborate on this.

A. We shall use the mandate we receive to draft, adopt and operate a new Republican Constitution in order to achieve the goals of a democratic socialist society. We shall guarantee the people, to whatever race, religion or caste they belong, equal opportunities in every sphere of life. An All-Party Conference will be summoned to consider the problem of non-Sinhala speaking people, the decisions of which will be included in the Constitution.

Executive power will be vested in a President elected from time to time by the people themselves

This is in order to provide stability of the executive for a period of years between elections.

We intend preserving the Parliamentary system with the Prime Minister chosen by the President from the Party that commands a majority in Parliament. Other cabinet ministers will be chosen from the members of parliament.

We shall strengthen Democratic institutions and the Judiciary and re-establish the Rule of Law which has today been made a mockery by vesting Members of Parliament and the bureaucracy with dictatorial powers and through political victimization. MPs and the bureaucracy will never be permitted to victimise the people for political reasons.

Q. How do you propose to allocate each district in charge of a separate Minister? Will this interfere with the local government machinery.

A. (a) The Prime Minister will appoint such Ministers (b) The District Minister system will not interfere with the local government machinery. The duty of such a Minister would not be to collect taxes or rates and provide the services that local bodies give their rate-payers, but to draw up plans for the development of the District with the assistance of all the MPs in that District.

When these plans are accepted by the Central Government, Parliament will vote the monies for its implementation from the Central Budget. The expenditure will be decentralised and spent at the District Level. It will be different to the present Political Authority system which is riddled with corruption and favouritism to certain electorates only.

Q. You have stated that a UNP government would appoint a Morarji Desai style commission of inquiry to probe all forms of misconduct and maladministration committed by the present regime. You have also emphasised that the UNP will not be vindictive. Please elaborate on your course of action in this regard.

A. The scope of a commission of inquiry will depend very much on the terms of reference of that commission. This commission would concentrate more on the excesses committed during the long and

dark period of the Emergency and on the mis-use of Ministerial and Official authority against the humble people of this country.

Q. Under your proposal to revoke the CJC Act do you plan to establish any other independent judicial machinery to curb exchange control offences?

A. The CJC Act is a Barbarous act, for it gives Ministers and the Police, the power to keep ordinary you and me in jail for any length of time, in-communicado. No civilised country should operate an Act like that. As for foreign-exchange offenders, the normal Courts will be given the powers to try such racketeers with any Amendments to the present criminal law that are necessary.

Q. How do you propose to wipe out incidence of bribery, and corruption at all levels?

A. I will begin at the top with the Prime Minister, Cabinet, Parliamentary Group and high Government officials first. The rest will follow the example—I hope.

Q. Please give details about the code of ethics for politicians you have envisaged.

A. This code will see to it that the same group of persons whom I mentioned earlier do not commit the acts of bribery and corruption as well as publicly misbehave under the influence of liquor. Any incident like that will be immediately inquired into and any person found guilty, whoever he or she may be, will be dealt with accordingly.

Q. How do you plan to review the cases of all those who have been convicted for the 1971 abortive insurrection.

A. We feel that the youth of our country were misled by unscrupulous persons for their own selfish political gain and this resulted in the insurrection of 1971. I intend to review the cases of these young men and women and shall take steps to see that they live to lead useful lives as citizens of this country.

Q. What prospects do you foresee in your plan for a Free Trade Zone and its inherent possibilities for foreign investment?

A. I intend declaring 200 sq miles a Free Trade Zone. The

investors will be permitted to manufacture goods only for export. Foreign investment will be permitted in the rest of the Island outside this Zone for small industries. I intend earning foreign exchange for the country instead of going begging to rich countries. How can we say we are a sovereign people by not permitting foreign investment, but yet go on our knees to each and every financial institution asking for aid. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike calls this Free "Trade Zone, of 200 sq. miles an "Imperialist Zone". But, she has declared the whole country an "Imperialist Zone" with her foreign investment policy—all 25,332 sq. miles of the country.

Q. One chief factor that has contributed to foreign entrepreneurs having invested their capital in countries like Hong Kong, Singapore and Indonesia is due to the fact that Communists and other forms of Opposition that clamour for nationalisation have been suppressed in those countries. Any comment, with reference to Sri Lanka?

A. Anyone, including the Communists, will be free to preach anything they want. They will have the complete democratic right to do that as long as they abide by the law.

Q. How would you prevent smuggling from this Zone?

A. We will have a border around the Zone. Smuggling goes on in every country which has borders, but we will do our best to prevent this type of activity. Offenders will have to face serious consequences.

Q. Will there be any change in the foreign policy of Sri Lanka under a UNP Government? Would you agree to be an associate with an economic entity like ASEAN? Will a UNP government pursue a goal towards achieving a Peace Zone in the Indian Ocean?

A. There will be no change in our foreign policy. We will be completely non-aligned. I do not think it would be necessary to join ASEAN. As for the Peace Zone in the Indian Ocean, we certainly do support it. But, I intend concentrating my time and efforts to settle the problems of Sri Lanka rather than those of two-thirds of the World.

Q. Do you believe that there is foreign interference in the internal political affairs of Sri Lanka, particularly in view of the forthcoming elections?

A. No.

Q. Do you propose to liberalise press laws that have been introduced by the present government? What will you offer by way of more freedom to the Fourth Estate?

A. There's apparently no press toay. The powerful State is squeezing the neck of whatever independent and opposition news service that exist in the country. I will give complete freedom to the Press by associating members of the Opposition in the Board of Directors of State news agencies. I will even go as far as giving financial assistance to the recognised Opposition political parties to enable them to print their papers.

Q. Would you consider the amendment of libel laws, in line with the powers given to the Press in England and America, to expose the names of corrupt personalities so that men and women in high office will be more careful?

A. Yes, I will consider that.

Q. How do you assess the chances of UNP forming the next government?

A. I think the UNP will form the next government. The country is looking forward for a change. A change for the better. I feel that we need such a change, and I know that I can provide an effective and desirable change.

Q. You have often advocated the need for a National Government with all political parties represented in the Cabinet to pull us through this crisis. Do you intend giving effect to this proposal under your Premiership?

A. Yes, I will give effect to such a proposal for there's no logic in this tiny island of ours being divided by political ideologies. Under my Premiership I hope to give the necessary leadership to the entire nation and not to one Class or Religion or political party only.

JR's Press Conference

The United National Party would grant an amnesty to all those who have suffered as a result of the total abuse of power by the Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene an-

nounced yesterday. He told an election eve press conference at his Ward Place residence that the amnesty would apply to all categories—those who have been locked up without charges, victims of land grabbing, dismissals, acquisitions, false bribery charges, abuse of emergency powers and the suppression of democratic processes. The UNP leader said that a Commission of Inquiry would be appointed to probe the excesses and abuses. Adequate relief would be afforded to those who have been wronged, he assured. Mr. Jayawardene answered a series of questions put to him by local and foreign pressmen at yesterday's conference. Among the subjects he spoke on were:

Free Trade Zone—The Zone will be up to a limit of 200 square miles. Taxation limits on Capital Dividends and such matters will be decided later. But the scheme will be given top priority. What was needed was Foreign Investment and the necessary incentives. The Business Acquisition Act will not apply to this Zone. It will be confined to big business enterprises. In this matter he was following the pattern of Singapore and he did not expect it to last more than 10 to 15 years. This Zone will bring in the foreign investment and solve unemployment and other problems. He stated that there would, naturally be problems of smuggling, currency rackets and the like, but they will be tackled on a study of the whole process by the experts. He stated that this Government got no foreign investment although it tried very hard. The only solution to inviting such investment was the Free Trade Zone, which has been so successful in Singapore. While this Zone will create the Free Enterprise sector the rest of the country will be put on a socialist pattern. He will not give over the country to foreign investors. In the Free Trade Zone even the Russians and Chinese can establish their Banks as they have done in Singapore.

Code of ethics for Parliamentarians—This will primarily be for Members of Parliament. The declaration of assets will be given effect to, and investigations will commence after allegations are inquired into by a Select Committee of the House. Previously the Bribery Commissioner had to get the permission of the Speaker and for

seven years no investigations were undertaken. This will not happen with the UNP Government he assured.

The Opposition:— The Opposition will be given its due place and consulted on all matters. Members of the Opposition will be nominated to the Directors of the SLBC, and even to Lake House. Since the latter was still a joint stock company there were matters to be considered before the new scheme is put into operation.

Recognised political parties will be given financial aid to run their campaigns and to finance their newspapers.

Non-Alignment:— "I am *all for it. After all we started it at Bandung" he said. The Head of the Government is the Chairman and he need not go to Cuba for the next Conference. After all Fidel Castro did not come here. He would consider sending Mrs. Bandaranaike if she likes to go, but of course if she is in Parliament first.

The CJC Act:— The UNP opposed it in Parliament on the basis that it was not necessary. The same purposes could be achieved by amending the Criminal and Penal Codes. He said the Act had been very badly abused in that many persons have been arrested and held incommunicado.

Land Reform:— There will certainly be changes in the Management, but not in regard to the ceiling on ownership.

The New Constitution:— This will be on the pattern of the British, American and French systems while maintaining the Parliamentary process. The president will be elected by the people and have full executive powers with certain limits. He will not have any legislative powers.

Zone of Peace:— "We are fully for it."

Cost of Living:— He will bring down prices of commodities immediately. He had a solution to solve unemployment.

Trade Unions:— There will be one for each type of work. Elections will be on the basis of freedom of the ballot and choice. Funds will be supervised by the State. Unions will be allowed to elect members to management positions.

The Independence of the Judiciary:— By and large the judi-

ciary has maintained its independence, but attempts have been made to control it.

Political Appointments:— They can all carry on with their jobs as long as they are qualified and possess merit. That is the only criteria. Mr. Jayawardene stated that he went to Polls on the issues of Bribery, Corruption, Mismanagement, Abuse of Emergency powers, Suppression of Democratic processes, family badism and nepotism, the extension of Parliament, cost of living and unemployment. He was quite confident that the masses will give him the mandate he has asked for.

CONSTITUTION MAKING—2

Basic Essentials

—Virtues of the committee system—

by R. Kahawita

I should have said constitution drafting. No, it is different from constitution making, a process in which the people must be involved. The former is for the legal experts to put the legal mantle to cover what the people agreed to what should be in the constitution.

There are two basic rights the people of Sri Lanka have got in the process of gaining independence (a) *Subremacy of the people* and (b) *Universal Franchise*. On these two sacred rights—rest the claim to our right to a democratic way of life. Every safeguard necessary to sustain (a) and (b) must be written into the constitution. However, these two rights can be denied to the people through institutions set up by the Executive and the legislature to administer the country, to maintain law and order, and for the execution of Government Policies and Principles.

These institutions are often open to political interference, manipulations, and influences that may encroach onto the rights and privileges of the people or, even

undermine the administration to the advantage of a Political party in power. How this can be done, we have experienced during the last seven years, where the party supporters were always at an advantage in every activity of the Government, over the rivals, neutrals and others who supported or support Political parties other than those in power.

As a result the country has suffered in no small measure during the seven years just ended—a privileged few who are dished out from one kind of laddle and the others, mainly the opponents from another kind of laddle. If there were to be disturbances during the elections, the cause is solely due to the kind of discrimination adopted by the Government according to individual Political convictions. Therefore a constitution must lay down the independence and the freedom from Political manipulation of those institutions of paramount importance to maintain a just and fair administration. What are these institutions?

1. **THE JUDICIARY.** The judiciary must be independent of all political or executive manipulation. The judiciary is the Arbitor between the State and the people, legislature and the people, executive and the people, and finally the judge of offences, one against the other. The judiciary is to mete out justice in the day to day relations of the fellow members of the nation. Therefore the independence of the judiciary must be guaranteed by the constitution, and to create an autonomous body of the State elected by the judiciary and members of the legal profession.

2. **Auditor General.** Public accounting is as important as the judiciary. Therefore the independence of Auditor General and his office must be guaranteed by the constitution. His function is to see that all the public funds are collected and spent to the ultimate good of the people. He is the watch dog of all financial transactions of the State on behalf of the people. As such he should be free to comment and pin point any shortcomings, irregularities and even make recommendations for correction without fear or favour.

3. **PUBLIC SERVICE.** Incorruptible, impartial and an efficient Public Service—(the Civil Service of England) is the most essential

Constitution Making

administrative tool in a democracy. The progress, the development, implementation of Government Policies, and the maintenance of law and order depends entirely on the quality and ability of the Public Service. It is a permanent body established on the principle—Governments may come and Governments may go but the Public Service goes on. The members of the Service must be politically unbiased; decision making and action must be free from Political influences, and above all must be impartial.

To maintain the dignity and quality of the Public Service, the constitution should provide for the establishment of a *Public Service Commission*—Before the present constitution was adopted, there was a P.S.C. This was abolished and in its place the Political Authority and a Chit System was imposed on the country administratively. We all know what has happened and how public money has been frittered away to gain Political primacy. This kind of Political interference in the Public Service must be stopped. The *Public Service Commission* will deal with appointments, promotions, discipline and such other matters dealing with the Public Servants. The members of the Commission should be selected from within and without the Public Service who have proved their integrity, impartiality and ability as administrators, managers and executives. Its members should not be selected as favours for past services or politicians who have failed to make the grade or who were rejected by the people. The selection must be on their qualification and good judgement.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE COMMISSION. In view of the commitment to liberalise and increase the responsibility of Local Authority it has become necessary to create a local government service similar to the Public Service. The avowed Policy now is to take development and minor administrative activities to the village level and move upwards from there. To maintain continuity of programme implementation, and administration, the members of the service must be free from Politics. Their appointments, promotions, discipline etc. must be in the hands of an independent Commission, similar to the P.S.C. and with similar obligations and duties to the people.

EDUCATION SERVICE COMMISSION. The country has endured too long as to how the Politicians have used the school teacher population as tools to work out their design to get into the Political arena. This has proved disastrous to the student's, to the quality of education, and to the quality of the end product—the student. It is urgent and necessary that the educational institutions should be kept above political manipulation and the staff therein too to be free also, in that they, the teachers, should not depend on the politicians for their future and welfare in the service. In the social security sector of the Government the heaviest financial commitment is in education, so are the members in employment in educational institutions. Therefore there must be an *EDUCATION SERVICE COMMISSION*, to deal with the school, staff, to deal with training, appointments, promotions, transfers, disciplinary action and such other matters dealing with the teaching fraternity.

UNIVERSITIES. All institutions of a University status granting degrees and diplomas financed from Government funds should be Autonomous Bodies, to manage their own administrative, financial and disciplinary matters, with Government nominees to the Boards to keep the Government informed of the Policy matters that the Autonomous Bodies are expected to follow and implement.

For a democracy to be meaningful and to secure the Supremacy of the people over institutions that will have to be set up for Good Government, the non-political nature of the above institutions must be written into the constitution.

In constitution making one question may be asked. Has the British Parliamentary system, with which we started our Independence structure, proved suitable to Sri Lanka to push ahead to achieve our goal—to create a better world for our people? To us the answer is a big NO. Our First order-in-council provided for two houses, an Upper House—selected by the Lower House which is elected by universal suffrage, a Prime Minister and a Leader of the Opposition. Sri Lanka is a very raw, young and inexperienced democracy. Often the vote is controlled by the stomach and not what is necessary for the welfare of the country. The first

constitution—"A Commonwealth Constitution" was changed by the U.F. Government to a Republican unitary form of constitution. At its best, it can be described as a half baked hybrid constitution, with very inspiring and high idealistic words like the People of Sri Lanka are supreme etc. But behind it there is a subtlety to establish a state socialist regime.

During the last five years we have experienced how it has worked and how the liberties and freedoms of the people have eroded gradually till the people have been reduced to *State Slaves* and made to live in a *Police State*. The General Elections just concluded, the people have given the verdict in the most positive manner they could.

The United National Party leader Mr. J. R. Jayawardene in a interview on the subject of forming a National Government, has said that he would give effect to a *National Government*, "for there is no logic in this tiny island of ours being divided by political ideologies." We fully agree with him—after all the total population of Ceylon is a little more than the population of Greater London—except we are thousand times poorer than London. This is the clue we have to devise a National Government. While we accept a party system for political education, we should not take it to the Assembly to confront a Government and put a spoke in the Government wheels to take the country to a better world.

Once elected to the Assembly, all members should work towards that common end, not ideologically but to raise the people to a higher plane of well being in all respects; spiritually, socially and economically. That should be the common aim of all political parties. To achieve this, once a member enters the Assembly he must bury his ideological differences and work for the common good of the people who have put him there. How is this to be achieved, while we accept a party system?

We suggest the introduction of the *Committee system* with the chairman of the Committee as the Minister and a member of the cabinet to be presided over by the Prime Minister. This was what we had in the State Council days, when the programmes of development were laid down and the system worked very well.

Our reasons for advocating the committee system in preference to the present set up are, (i) The efficient working of the present form of a Ministry is pivoted on a capable, experienced Permanent Secretariat manned by well tried and experienced administrators and specialists. This, the country has not got, either in equality, integrity nor in experience. They have become just highly paid "yes Men" prepared to do anything to secure their bread and butter. Under this system, the members of the Assembly are often at sea or even at loggerheads with a Minister's schemes. The success of such a set up depends on a vigilant opposition and "a moderating" Upper House, we have not got this either. (ii) In the present set up we have witnessed, how what one party started in the interest of the country being destroyed by another party when it gains control. The result is stagnation in our economy, inflation, high cost of living, low income etc. This is our malady today.

With a committee system, the chairman of each committee will be supported by a number of members of the Assembly, who chose to be in a particular Committee, who will actively participate with the Chairman in the shaping of a subject to be discussed at cabinet level and on the floor of the House. This will give all the aspects of a National Government, while maintaining the democratic form. In each committee there will be the ruling party and the opposition to hammer out the differences and shape something the committee agrees and approves finally. This will guarantee the continuity of all development works in particular, those works, whose continuity is essential for the good of the people.

This is the most important need of a developing country. There will be delaying tactics, nor pigeon-holing important National undertakings just because they were undertaken by the Previous Government. An often heard cry at the election meetings currently but not without cause. So for the National Government, contemplated by Mr. J. R. Jayawardene the leader of the U.N.P. we commend

the Committee System which must be written into the Party's proposed new constitution. A committee system which will involve both the Government and the Opposition in settling matters of National importance. This will ensure the continuity of measures designed to improve the well being of the citizens. A Government's function is that.

BUDDHISM

And The Doctrine Of Hate

by Dr. E. W. Adikaram

This article first appeared in the *Ambassador* published by the Ceylon Rationalist Association.

Compassion is, as far as I understand, the essence of the teaching of the Buddha. Remove compassion, and love from Buddhism and you make the religion a mere empty shell. But that is exactly what we are doing in Ceylon and perhaps elsewhere as well. Not only is compassion and love relegated to the back-ground, but the doctrine of hate is openly and shamelessly preached on the plea that it is to safeguard the rights of the Buddhists. I underline the word rights intentionally.

There is a Pali stanza in the *Karaniya Metta Sutta*, which is broadcast almost daily over the Ceylon Radio. Translated, the stanza reads: "As a mother at the risk of her own life protects her only child, even so should one extend loving thought without limit towards all beings." The Buddhists believe that this is the teaching of the Buddha, but how differently they put that teaching into practice!

The compassion and love referred to in this teaching have no limits. They are to be extended to all beings. This means that there can be no distinction in one's mind between a Buddhist and a non-Buddhist. In fact the very division of humanity into Buddhists and non-Buddhists in this light is un-Buddhistic. Where then are the rights of Buddhists as different from the rights of all other human beings? And how did the doctrine of hate get into Buddhism and replace almost completely the doc-

trine of love and compassion, as is so abundantly clear in what is taking place in this country today? Let us go into this matter with care.

When compassion is organized it ceases to be compassion, and when love is organized it ceases to be love. This is a fact which anyone can see if one is watchful of himself. Compassion and love are qualities that spring up spontaneously in the heart of man. They cannot be brought about. One cannot say 'I will not love' and then feel the warmth of love, or one cannot say 'I will now be compassionate' and then feel that oneness with the other in suffering. They come into being when the factors that dull the heart of man are absent. No human being is incapable of these qualities of love and compassion. No man, however misguided or however cruel he may be, can be rejected and discarded saying 'he is not ours'. Ours is humanity as a whole and not merely the Buddhist or the Sinhalese.

And what are the factors that dull and shrivel the capacity of man to love. Surely, they are the factors that divide man from man. In this connection I can never forget a scene that I saw sometime ago in a road in Colombo. A poor Sinhalese woman was carrying her small child in her arms. The child was dirty and unkempt. An English lady was taking her child in a pram. The two children were more or less of the same age. As they passed, they looked, smiled and waved to each other. The radiance in their smiles was something beyond verbal description.

If these two children are yet living, they would now be young men in their early twenties. If they were to meet today, would they yet smile and wave to each other as they did so joyously twenty years ago! They were human babies then and the humanness of one responded to the humanness of the other without barriers. Today they would no longer be human beings. They would be English or Sinhalese and Christian or Buddhist.

In the very division of human beings into Buddhist and non-Buddhist or Christian and non-Christian or Sinhalese and non-Sinhalese, there is the beginning of violence and hate; as such division is fundamentally based upon self-interest. Thus it is at the very

inception of a religion as an organised religion or of a nation as a separate unit that we deviate from the basic oneness of humanity.

The Sinhalese Buddhists, having a long history of their own, have also a long heritage of hate, and that heritage of hate has always been extolled as the power that protected the teaching of the Buddha from extinction in Sri Lanka.

Mahavansa, the historical Chronicle of the Sinhalese Buddhists, has made the biggest murderers the greatest protectors of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. King Dutugemunu, who according to this Chronicle ruthlessly killed millions of Tamils, did so to save the Buddha Sasana from extinction! Was the author of the Mahavansa, who was a Buddhist monk, so grossly ignorant of the fundamental teachings of the Buddha or was he too a helpless victim of the doctrine of hate which had infiltrated into Buddhism even at that time?

The Mahavansa to the Sinhalese Buddhist is not merely a historical document. It is to them almost a canonical text. As such it has wielded and it wields today a most sinister influence in inculcating the doctrine of hate in the minds of the Buddhists both young and old. The Mahavansa has been the most powerful single factor in the destruction of the Buddhist spirit in Ceylon.

The present day Buddhist faced with the impossible contradiction of trying to practice both love and hate simultaneously has become unbalanced and blind. This has forced him to escape into a kind of militant Buddhism which is no Buddhism at all. The contradiction between the teachings of a Teacher and the doctrines and practices of the organized religion, and the destructive effects it has on the adherents are common to all organised religions, but that cannot be taken as an excuse for the Buddhists, because the very essence of the teachings of the Buddha is love and compassion.

The pursuit of the doctrine of hate is not good for anyone. Hate may or may not injure the person against whom it is directed, but it does definitely injure the person who hates. The Buddhists who get worked up over real or imaginary wrong doings of others are injuring themselves first. They are also creating an oppressive atmosphere

which is not conducive to any spiritual growth. A person with even a little sensitiveness can feel this oppressive atmosphere in Sri Lanka today.

If Buddhism is love and compassion, who in this world can touch it, let alone destroy it? But if Buddhism is merely an empty shell devoid of the essence of love, the earlier it disappears the better it is for the world.

AN INDIAN PLEA

To Save The Elephant

by Asad Rafi Rahmani

—Patriot, New Delhi—

ALTHOUGH he is not a human being, he is recognised and treated as another kind of human being throughout our country, Ceylon, Burma, and Thailand. He laughs, weeps, gets drunk, plays joke, falls in love, gets married, doses himself with laxatives, cares his wounds, and teaches his children. Many people in our country believe that elephants have a prime and sunset.

Elephants are found in Africa and India, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia etc. African elephants are larger than Asiatic species. African elephants reach a height of eleven and half feet and weight of seven tons, while the Indian elephant, ten feet and weighs six tons. African elephants have large fan shaped ears; the Asiatic species have smaller ears.

Indian elephants roam the forests in herds which are believed to be large family groups. When the herd is on the move it is led by a female, the bulls walking at the rear. The African elephants, which may group together into 500 to 1,000 animals, sometimes, if not always, are led by a bull. If food is scarce, the herd breaks up into parties which stay about two miles apart. These parties keep in touch through their keen sense of smell.

In our country, the family herd lasts until the leader dies—perhaps for as long as fifty years. Then the younger females move off to form their own herds. In this way, a large family is fragmented into smaller manageable families.

Though these huge pachyderms live in herds, their life is not strictly communal. The rapport between different individuals is not on the same level. They often strike up friendships of the closest kind, two of them becoming inseparable. This pairing may be between two males—in case of homosexuals—or between a male and a female. The pair may shower each other with little gifts, play outrageously and even live a little separately from the parent herd. In the case of a male and a female elephant, this friendship may bloom into real love. Not infrequently, and just as with us, two males will fall for the same "girl", and she may tease both, choose one, or try to take both. The female elephants are great flirts, especially if they are getting a bit old.

Even if the female elephant is not amorous, during the 'heat' period, she catches the attention of other males of the herd. The poor suitor has to fight to claim his love lady. These fights are spectacular and are performed in sight of the whole herd, which usually stands around indifferently, feeding or pretending to feed. Only in exceptional cases does a third elephant join the fight, usually a homosexual who had previously paired up with one of the contestants.

According to Ivan Sanderson, a British-born American naturalist, birth is a "tremendous event among the elephants and a very important one to the herd." Birth is anticipated weeks in advance by the mother. She selects an experienced female called "Auntie" to assist her. The two females select and clear a very secluded spot and live there till the birth. Meanwhile, the herd does not interfere nor does it go on trek.

Actual birth may take as little as two minutes; the afterbirth may be passed within an hour, and the mother usually consumes it. One of the strange behaviours of the elephants is that every scrap of evidence of the birth is eliminated before the mother cleans the newborn. This is perhaps done to avoid detection by the tigers, which are estimated to kill twenty per cent of all elephant youngsters.

Extreme rarity of the placenta or afterbirth has not prevented the origin of a folklore in Ceylon. Writing in an old volume of the Journal of the Bombay Natural

History Society (vol. 38) Mr. A. C. Tutein-Nolthenius said that one day his friend came across an elephant placenta. The excited natives told him that when washed and dried, the solid part would make a very valuable and excellent medicine. A small bit of a dried substance, dissolved in a little lime juice and water will at once relieve a woman's labour pains or will help to advance an overdue confinement.

The story shows that validity and impact of the folklore on the simple people. Though the men had never seen the placenta of the elephant and knew of no one who ever had, yet through the tale handed down for generations, they all knew the importance of the afterbirth of the jumbo.

Elephants eat a wide variety of plant food ranging from grasses to tree bark and foliage. The elephant's teeth are so strong that they can chew the branches and roots of trees. Slowly, the molar are lost piece by piece as they wear down, and are replaced six times in a lifetime. When the last of its teeth set has gone an elephant can no longer chew food and may face starvation. Old bulls often spend their last years near rivers, where the vegetation is plentiful and succulent and is easier to swallow.

Just like human beings, elephants are very considerate to their fellow beings in distress. In addition to taking care of their children, they take great care of their old or sick. The trunk of the elephant performs a variety of tasks like tearing down the higher and more succulent branches of trees, sucking up water to squirt into the mouth or spray or picking up fruits from the ground. If the trunk is lost, the elephant is helpless and unable to feed. Once in Africa, an elephant lost its trunk completely, probably eaten by a crocodile. But that lucky creature was with his companions and they repeatedly fed him with green leaves even before eating themselves. Sometimes they brought so much food that the trunkless fellow hardly had time to chew it.

Elephants have their own sense of humour. Whenever, they get time from feeding, they either sleep or play games with each other. In Africa, after eating a fermenting fruit, which makes them

drunk, they play and giggle with delight as they throw pieces of fruit at each other. These intelligent animals also play with water. They splash and squirt water by their trunk. Like human baby, elephant baby is also afraid of water. Her mother teaches him/her to swim and drink. If the baby is reluctant, then the mother forcefully pushes the baby into the water. But in deep, running rivers mother elephant places her very small baby above the trunk and tusks while crossing.

Elephants not only save the life of their brothers but many times tame elephants have saved the life of their machoute. For instance, last year in Basti district of UP, an elephant saved the life of his master's son at the cost of its own. When the jumbo saw a cobra approaching the 14-year old boy sleeping nearby, it killed the reptile but the snake bit the elephant. The grateful father arranged a befitting funeral for the faithful elephant.

Today, it seems, the days of the Indian elephant are numbered, thanks to ivory poachers and land grabbers. Large tracts of virgin forests, where the elephants used to live peacefully, have been cleared for cultivation, tea-gardens, townships or factories. These pachyderms are great wanderers and they follow the same route year after year. The poor creatures "raid" the farms and tea-gardens which now fall on their route. The agitated cultivators pump bullets in the elephant's body.

To quote one from the several examples. According to Saroj Rai Choudhury, IFS, the Antibiotics Complex near Rishikesh, has greatly disturbed the local elephants. The complex stands on the belt of forests that connected the Chila wildlife range to the more moist and denser forests of Doon valley. Now the elephants cannot migrate to the Doon valley during the summer months, because the complex has completely bifurcated the habitat. Following their age-old practice, the elephants now concentrate seasonally on the eastern bank of the Ganges and the pressure of over-crowding has disturbed the ecological balance. Moreover, the pressure is increasing because of the influx of more elephants from the forests that are being

cleared for eucalyptus plantation and the natural growth of the population.

A recent survey in UP revealed that there are 450 elephants in the State. A previous count showed only 400. Alarmed by the "increase in population," the UP Forest Department intend to catch twenty-five elephants a year for export to earn foreign exchange. Moreover, last year about twenty elephants migrated from Nepal side towards the terai in UP and damaged crops near the Dudwa National Park in Lakhimpur kheri district.

We have a paradoxical situation. The cultivators and some officials of the Forest Department claim that elephants have greatly increased, but naturalists and wildlife experts say that the species is declining; more frequent raids on farms, and animal sightings are due to the disturbance and shrinkage of the habitat, not due to any increase in population.

Perhaps, both groups are correct. The elephants have increased in few places—due to influx of neighbouring population—but all over the country their number is static, it not decreased.

In Africa also, some of the national parks are facing ecological deterioration due to the heavy concentration of elephant population, whereas in other places the jumbo have totally disappeared. Moreover, threat of ivory-poachers perils the survival of the remaining herds.

In order to know the correct position of the elephant, and to work out conservation measures, the World Wildlife Fund and the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) have launched a three-year project under the overall guidance of Dr. Iain Douglas-Hamilton, one of the leading experts of the African elephant, who is Chairman of the IUCN's Elephant Group. Dr. Douglas-Hamilton will concentrate on the African elephant, working in association with Dr. H. Croze, while Dr. J. C. Daniel, Curator of the Bombay Natural History Society, and Mr. Robert Oliver, will work on Asiatic-elephants.

REVIEW

Sycophancy Syndrome

by Jayantha Somasundaram

Right upto 1970 all we knew about our national press and its journalists was the fact that they were partisan. But now we have come to learn that they are unprincipled and opportunistic partisans. We discovered that they were the most articulate component of a species that came to be called twenty-eight-Sris.

Much earlier, writing in the aftermath of the fifty-six election, Tarzie Vittachi said:

"The knights of gladness who have done so much to ruin the reputation of the UNP by their silly ass toadyism and their bought honours, traipsed along to Rosemead Place looking over their shoulders all the while to see if Sir John or any of her entourage were looking."

"These are the types who hang around the High Table waiting, tongue out, for any crumbs going. If the High Table is at Kandewela or at Horogalla what's the difference to them? Even if the High Table was moved to Pieter's or N.M.'s they'd still be there...."

Twenty-one years later, history is repeating itself. The roles are reversed—so what?

When the spectre of take-over began to loom over *Lake House* in the aftermath of 1970 it was no 'reluctant revolution' but a mad clamour on the part of the press to establish its UF *bona fides*. With the possibility of press-power being handed to the left, as Tarzie Vittachi said, they were not unwilling to wait at their tables either. One fair *Lake House* editor beat everyone else in making peace at Chitra Lane.

Governments come and Governments go—but human nature goes on for ever.

Soon after the change of management at *Lake House* in seventy-three we couldn't resist compiling an article titled *Save Lake House from Stooges*; What happened at *Lake House* immediately prior to last weeks election seems to have vindicated what we said three years ago.

Here was a press that would publish a picture of the statue of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, but give it the caption: The statue that Mrs. Bandaranaike would unveil. Someone remarked that this was reminiscent of Stalin's proposed tribute to Pushkin: A statue of Stalin reading Pushkin's works.

Then came July seventy-seven.

The music stopped in the game of political musical chairs. For goodness sake find a seat!

That bastion of anti-UNP journalism for three long years found everybody from editor to van driver jumping the UNP band wagon. Read their heroic statements, ponder their righteous commitment to press freedom—if that isn't soul stirring what is? *Lake House* and her journalists with their brilliant record of non partisan journalism had suddenly discovered that news was being distorted!

Blessed are we who live in an era of such unparalleled amusement.

The *Dawasa* group had been Mrs. Bandaranaike's champions at the 1970 elections. They know best why they somersaulted—it wouldn't do for us to wash other peoples dirty linen in our pages. Anyway, the literary works of so many staunch UF supporters, now writing for the *Dawasa* papers, makes for sober reading. Journalists who refused to put pen to paper on subjects other than the achievements of Mrs. Bandaranaike and her Government, now specialise in abusing her.

The Fourth Estate in Sri Lanka can be summed up in one phrase: "*Vashi Paththata Hei-ya!*"

The *Tribune* has never felt it necessary to hold briefs for any politician or party. In a climate of sycophancy this has been frowned upon by the powers that be, since our dispassionate remarks contrast with the slobberings of the stooge press. We've paid a price for this of course. Successive governments, accustomed to a stooge press, simply withhold advertisement from those who don't serenade them. That is one of the realities of the Ceylonese newspaper world.

In view of all of this, the most helpful thing that we can wish for Prime Minister J. R. Jayawardene as he takes office is, to ask God to protect him from his new found friends.

LETTERS

• Christian Cremation

Sir,

The fact that *Tribune* (July 2) printed the letter of A. C. S. Knight regarding "Christian Cremation?" seems to indicate that a reply to his question would also be welcome. Although I am not "someone in authority" and my competence consists in citing approved authors, the following comments may be of some interest.

According to traditional teaching and an unbroken custom, Christians normally bury their dead. Burial, they think, more faithfully expresses the dogma of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body. Cremation, on the other hand, was often adopted in Europe in a deliberately anti-Christian and anti-religious spirit, namely, as a formal denial of belief in the resurrection of the body. Because of this attitude, the Roman Catholic Church decreed serious punishments against those who practised cremation—they were refused the sacraments, excluded from public prayers, and denied ecclesiastical burial.

Yet in itself cremation is not contrary to any truth of the natural or supernatural order. Still less is it to be considered an obstacle to the raising of the body from death. Hence the Church was never opposed to cremation when it was justified by grave reasons especially of public order—e.g. after earthquakes or other disasters.

In recent years the mentality regarding cremation has changed—it no longer is *prima facie* a denial of Christian doctrine. Particular reasons of hygiene or economy, and regard for the traditions of certain peoples make cremation, even for Christians, a becoming way of disposing of the bodies of the dead. Hence in 1964 the Roman Catholic Church abolished the sanctions it had instituted against cremation. Yet the Church's preference for burial remains. Interment, suggesting that death is a sleep, keeps its value and meaning and is to be encouraged.

For Sri Lanka, the Bishop's Conference has simply ruled that "Cremation may be permitted for serious reasons." In Japan cremation had

already been practiced by Christians and had been incorporated into the Christian funeral rites a number of years before the 1964 decree.

The resurrection of the dead, like resurrection of Jesus Christ himself, is an act of divine omnipotence. It completes Christ's victory over death. But no one can say how it will be accomplished. Learned or unlearned, those who believe in the resurrection of the body have to leave the details to the omniscience and omnipotence of God.

Claude R. Daly S.J.

31, Clifford Place,
Colombo 4.
11 July 1977

• GGP

Sir,

The article on the Hon. G. G. Ponnambalam Esq., by Mr. N. R. Nicholas of Vavuniya which appeared in the *Tribune* of June 25, 1977, has compelled me, as a Sinhalese, to write this letter to you, dear Mr. Editor. Although much more could be said about him this writer who has never spoken one word with the "GG", as we shall always recall him, pays this tribute through the best possible medium today in Sri Lanka—the impartial *Tribune*.

Although I have met him on very many occasions in different parts of the island, I saw him at his best in every way when he came to Jaffna College, Vaddukkoddai, for a reception in the company of the Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, our first P.M. Then, I was a student in the University Entrance form there in 1951.

These observations of mine still linger in my mind even as I write. That day was a really impressive (and important too) one for everybody who was lucky enough to be there. Everyone of us watched the P.M. and his cabinet colleague "GG" (as he was already famously known in the island even at that time) very closely and intently. All of us actually studied these two personalities—two great leaders—me a Sinhalese and the other a Tamil.

To put everything in a nutshell I shall boldly say that these two

gentlemen were the best fighters that Sri Lanka produced after Independence. What is more important to stress here is that these two gentlemen fought very hard indeed—but, together on the same side—SRI LANKA.

If a tribute or compliment is wanted, let me give it here and now had our "D.S." made our "GG" our own "GG" (Governor General)—what a difference it would have made to our country!

Both were unlucky—DS for not having made the appointment although I know personally that there were plans for the same. And "GG" for not becoming our own Governor General to build a better motherland.

The rest of the tragedy is present history.

An impartial study of personalities would easily classify D.S. and G.G. as of one class—*Statesmen*. As much as two others, the late Mrs. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike as politicians.

Dr. G. T. Herath

Anuradhapura.
9.7.77

• Tamil Dilemma

Sir,

I am sending you a poem I wrote after reading James Rutnam's article "The Tamil's Dilemma" in the *Tribune*. I am disappointed that you did not care to publish my open letter (of June 19) to political leaders, written in verse, for I felt very deeply about the atrocities committed on defenceless estate Tamils by our government. Below is the poem I've written re: "The Tamils' Dilemma" or "To a Tamil Voter".

Will you vote for separation;
Have you got the moral courage?
Will you demand full reparation
for the injustice and the outrage?
Can you trust the new Morality
of Pre-Election Conscience-
ridden leaders?

Or will you keep on hoping
for equality
As proclaimed aloud by Leftist
Pleaders?

The Youngsters who have borne
the impudence
of upstarts who claim to be the
Master Race

Will not put up with racial
insolence,
And Justice smothered by a
sanctimonious face.

Have you thought about the
coming years

For generations yet unborn?
Are you prepared to shed your
blood and sweat and tears,
and even give your life,
When by violence and endless
strife

Our Motherland is torn?

Jagatheswari Nagendran

33/3, De Fonseka Place,
Colombo 5.
11.7.77

• Bandaranaike Socialism—1

Sir,

Some of the features of Bandaranaike Socialism in the past seven years children and adults rummaging dustbins for scraps of food, public transport packed to capacity so that footboard travel on trains and on the roofs of passenger bogies and the couplings between them, soaring food prices through incompetent distribution, corrupt Co-ops and Political Authorities who made an institution of Corruption and were duly protected, all the travails of dishonesty in government "marching to Socialism" the Bandaranaike way. In marked contrast are the C.R.A. Gem and Tourism boys and Bhoys guzzling Pink Champagne, Whiskey Sour, and feeding on Turkey and Ham with dolled up women as company at the Oberoi and Intercontinental Hotels. Ten minutes expenditure by the Bhoys and Boys from Beruwela and Bentota and Galle and Ratnapura, and their femme fatales, would have kept a whole street of the Janatava in clover for a month—food, clothing and shelter and schooling of kids included.

Kalugalla's Tourism boys and bhoys never had it so good since the latter days of the Roman Empire when lasciviousness ran riot. Kalugalla, of course, was the ideal choice for the job, like the butterfly-collar Coconut planter-broker from the Moratuwa side before him.

In one previous era locals in Rambukkana noticed the road to Pinnewela macadamised with a Barber-Greene carpet; this time a whole Zoo was established while the old House duly renovated and enlarged was hired to a Tourist Complex company now under surveillance for violation of Exchange laws. There are many shades and definitions of Socialism nowadays in Sri Lanka but none to beat Bandaranaike Socialism in practice.

If a cake of soap and a box of matches can win an election for the "bloated capitalists" and the "Pope of the Private Sector", we must trace the origins of this national disaster to the canons of Bandaranaike Socialism as practised by the latter day Bandaranaike Socialists.

Kalugalla's Private Secretary, Wilbert Perera, who ran the Kalugalla Empire, and retired much richer for the experience to become a Private Sector, and Central Bank combined as Vice-Chairman of the Dasa Overseas Empire, escaped scot-free of all investigation as to how wealth can be accumulated and developed in a mere matter of seven years.

The institutions of FEECs and C.R.A. have created a New Class of compradore crooks and Moghuls who eat nothing but Moghul food in the top hotels. That, too, is Bandaranaike Socialism.

Hospitals are short of drugs; buses and trains are the pickpockets' Paradise for no sardine tins were packed so tight with commuters straining to find a foothold to take them to work on time, matches, soap, and food are short and available at blackmarket prices—this is Bandaranaike's Golden Era, plus a regular breakdown of Law and Order. Bank robberies galore like the Wild West days of USA are the Janata answer to CRA money for jam.

Is this the prosperous Sri Lanka promised in the 1970 landslide election?

Royston Sumanatilleke

Glenfall Road,
Nuwara Eliya.
July 17, 1977

● Railway Waggon's

Sir,

May I be permitted as a 'layman' to make an observation about the maintenance of rolling stock on the Railway. We are all aware that the CGR is in a bad state of disrepair, but valiant efforts are being made to improve things, to judge at least by my experience of recent travel on the Main Line. The recent strikes have not helped at all.

I note however that couplings on goods wagons have been defective for many years now and not much seems to be done to improve the situation. If anything, conditions are deteriorating.

Each goods wagon should have at both ends a hook and a draw-bar (that's the technical word, I believe) to allow of easy coupling. The draw-bar is attached to a hook to couple two wagons together.

Large numbers of wagons have draw-bars only at one end of the wagon; the other end has only the hook. This should delay shunting operations. Two wagons which have to be coupled and which are equipped only with hooks cannot be attached. In such a case, the guard or shunter must (1) either turn round the wagon on a turntable so that draw-bar faces hook, or (2) look for a wagon on the train carrying a loose draw-bar to which to attach such a wagon.

Many wagons carry the new type of articulated couplings which do not require hook and draw gear but until these are universal could not the Railway authorities repair wagons by attaching draw-bars at both ends. This will reduce delays to goods trains, clear the tracks for the movement of passenger trains and ensure economies by the quicker turn-round of wagons.

I do not know how practical this suggestion is but I am offering it for what it is worth. Am I technically correct? Would some railwayman like to comment?

Rev. Dalston J. Forbes

De Mazenod House,
40, Farm Road,
Colombo 15.
15 July '77.

● Tamils

Sir,

It is with interest that I read Wijaya Indra's appeal and advice to the Tamil Voters of General Election 1977.

He has paid scant respect to the Tamil Leadership of the last two decades. But what one must admit is that the Tamil people have re-elected the same leadership through five (5) General Elections during the last 20 years (and may be so again in 1977) and have been unwavering in their political ideology inspite of the "glaring mistakes" of the past.

The criticism of Wijaya Indra fails to be a constructive one when he "glaringly" fails to show what other alternate leadership was and is available to the Tamil people.

I feel that the Tamil leadership has done well in that there has been no other acceptable leadership.

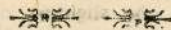
It is a painful and futile business to demolish or destroy the past record even though they may be monuments of error.

If we are to give the right leadership to the Tamils we must create a forum for discussion within the mainstream of the Tamil people. We cannot stand apart and hope to gain support for our views.

Is the need for a separate State still evitable? This is the question in all our minds. Can the Democratic Socialist Wijaya Indra outline a new political line for the Tamils to obtain equality of status and a sense of belonging to the country of their birth, Sri Lanka?

D. M. Wijaya Raja

16 July 1977.



Confidentially

On The Left Debacle-1

IS IT NOT A FACT that the Left, or what is left of the articulate Left, has begun to beat its breast and search its soul as to why everything went wrong with the Left? That, in our view, it is wrong to use the generic term Left to cover the multitude of parties in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) which claim to be "Left"? That, as we had pointed out, not so long ago, the Left in this island must first be divided into two major categories the Old Left and the New Left? That there are also grey-tinted Leftists in between, who want to be in the two major camps? That there are also individuals and groups in the Old Left who are struggling hard to be accepted by the New Left? That there are also leftwing groups which are neither here nor there? That of the Old Left the prominent are the LSSP (NM), the CPSL (Pieter), CPC (Shan), CP-ML (Karawita, but defunct after Hua), MRP (Bala) and MEP (Dinesh)? That the New Left resolves around JVP (Rohana), MVP (Mahinda Wijesekera), PJP (Dharmasekera), and a host of other small factional groupings splintered from the 1971 insurgency? That BLP (Prins G) has all the trappings of the Old but endeavours to speak for the New? That the MEP has decisively thrown its lot with the New with the demise of the "father of the revolution" Philip? That newly born PDP (Nagda Ellawela) consisting mainly of dissident hangers from the Palace Guard Peking-tilted Japavegaya (Kumar and Sunethra) and the Vama Samamajists (Vasudeva N) want the best of both worlds, the Old and the New? That, though for a few fleeting weeks (or days), there were wishful hopes that the New Left (or at least a substantial number among them) would vote for the Old Left (which had wanted the insurgents physically liquidated in 1971 as "counter-revolutionaries"), there is not the slightest doubt that practically the entirety of the New Left together with the bulk

of the young new voters (1.2 million) and the second time young voters (1970) and the third time young middle-age voters (1965) swung to the UNP leaving the Old Left, MEP and even the few New Left candidates high and dry? That the youth turned to the UNP with decisive massiveness after JR had pledged to review all the cases of insurgency and also the validity of the trials before the CJC—and the CJC law itself?

IS IT NOT A FACT that just before polling day, several ULF leaders, in particular Dr. N. M. Perera, had spoken with more than mere confidence that the ULF would emerge as a major force in the parliamentary scene? That a much-deflated NM, after the elections, had told the *Sunday Observer*, 24/7, that the LSSP accepted the verdict of the people? That the Politburo of the Party would make a formal statement on the debacle on Monday, 25/7? That the *Sunday Observer* made it a point to mention that this was the first parliamentary defeat NM had suffered in his forty-year political career (ie ever since he entered the State Council in 1936)? That on Wednesday, July 27, the *Daily Mirror* carried a front-page box proclaiming LSSP TELLS PM. STOP THIS REIGN OF TERROR. "The Lanka Sama Samaja Party yesterday appealed to the Prime Minister to put a stop to the reign of terror prevailing in the country after the general election. The Party's General Secretary, Mr. Bernard Soysa, in a press statement released yesterday said:

The people of Sri Lanka have installed the UNP in power. It is clear that the people have accepted in particular the promises of the UNP to solve the problems of intolerably high prices of essential commodities, of the shortages of these goods and of unemployment. The majority given to the UNP is not merely overwhelming but is one that has well-nigh eliminated the Opposition in Parliament. The Government now has the unhampered opportunity to fulfil its promises.

The masses eagerly await that fulfilment. That a new order of righteousness would commence under a UNP regime was announced by the UNP during the election. However, with their achievement of power, an unprecedented reign of terror against political opponents is

proceeding since the announcement of the results of the polls. The destruction of the homes and property of those who worked for candidates opposed to the UNP the looting of houses, the humiliation and the killing of opponents are on a scale that has never before been seen in the aftermath of a General Election. We call upon the Prime Minister to put a stop to this terror and take immediate and adequate measures to compensate these innocent victims. That the most important point made in this LSSP statement is that the people "have accepted the promises" of the UNP in regard to the high prices of essential commodities, of the shortages of these goods and of unemployment? That what it means is that that the people have been fooled and bamboozled by UNP "promises"? That the second point made is that the people have eliminated the Opposition? That the LSSP finally (in sneering and patronising manner) called upon the UNP to fulfil its promises and also to stop the terror? That this kind of statement does not take the LSSP anywhere? That it is the usual over-simplified explanation by a loser as to how the winner won? That this analysis does not satisfy thinking people who had supported the Left for the last thirty to forty years? That there is no attempt in the LSSP statement to examine, in true marxist self-criticism, the weakness manifest in the LSSP, in particular, and the whole Left and "Progressive" Movement, in general, that lead to the Left debacle in the last General Election? That this is what this column hopes to do in the coming weeks (in respect of the LSSP, CPSL, PDP, and other Left groups) in order to induce thinking on why the Left failed, and also on the question of the future of the Left? That Tribune also invites comments from its readers on this question of great importance and significance?

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