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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER, this week, we have an easily recognisable ruined remains of Ceylon's (Sri Lanka's) ancient glory—Sigiriya. It is an aerial picture of the top of the rock where the royal palace and other "buildings" were situated. We have chosen this picture, this week, for a number of reasons. Every government, so far, since Independence, has always talked big, long and furiously about the glories of the Sinhala past and thus sought to make people forget poverty with emotional slogans about race, religion and language. This devious technique for political advancement and for securing electoral victories was used regularly from 1947 right up to 1970—by all parties. The Left and other Parties which claimed to be "Marxist" had originally scoffed at this kind of chauvinism, but in the quest for parliamentary power they too had succumbed to the compelling need to accept chauvinist slogans to win votes—but this they did by hiding behind the smokescreen of no-contest electoral agreements and united front common programmes which used pseudo-marxist verbiage to make such chauvinism "invisible". With each successive election such electoral humbug became less and less effective and people demanded work, food and clothing. In more recent times, governments found that the young people refused to be fooled by "free education", "free rice", "free health services" and the like—"free" only nominally in the case of education and health. The insurgency of 1971 was primarily against the humbug of chauvinistic emotional slogans dishonestly mixed with mass bribery in the so-called "free" handouts and subsidy schemes. The United Front sought to liquidate this protest against electoral duplicity and parliamentary fraud by inhuman repression—killings followed by mass imprisonment. The Establishment Left, especially important sections of the old guard of the LSSP and the CPSL, made savage demands for the total annihilation of the youths who had resorted to arms against what they felt was a socialist government. The failure to realise that emotional and unrealistic slogans, even if clothed in leftist terminology, had lost all charm for the increasing numbers of young voters was the primary reason for the tragic and decisive reverses suffered by the SLFP, LSSP and CP—each fighting on its own in the 1977 election in the fond belief that they had done much for the 'people' and that therefore they would vote for them at least in sheer gratitude. To the credit of J.R. Jayawardene, it must be said, in retrospect, that he had sensed the mood of the nation and its young far better than any leader of his generation. The premature death of Dudley Senanayake gave him an opportunity to formulate policies and fashion a party which could rise to the occasion. To achieve this he had to break with the Senanayakes of Botale. It was the Senanayakes who had resorted to emotional slogans about race, language, and religion in order to win votes. It was the Senanayakes who had conceived of the three language streams (later reduced to two) to stabilise their hold on the majority of the voters, but which has now led to a divided nation. And, it has fallen to the lot of the (insurgent) JVP to make a fresh start to build a united nation with three national languages, Sinhala, Tamil and English. The manifesto of the UNP and JR's election campaign in 1977 had the least amount of emotional sloganising of any election so far. The SLFP, realising that emotionalism was fast becoming a played-out shibboleth, tried everything in its bag of tricks to win votes. The Left were even more removed from the realities of the day. The General Election of 1977 is a watershed. Emotional slogans were at a discount. The no-nonsense manifesto of the JVP, which did not receive the publicity it deserved, is indicative of the mood of the young people and even large sections of older people. The politics of the 1980s (or even earlier) will be largely influenced by hard realistic JVP logic which is not afraid to make "imperialist-tainted" English a national language and to concede "self-determination" to the Tamils. We have, in this issue, published the first half of the UNP Manifesto and the TULF Manifesto, and the remaining part of both will appear next week. Over sixty percent of Sinhala masses (the UNP popular vote percentage was fifty percent because it contested nearly 15 seats in Tamil areas) and nearly seventy percent of the Tamil masses have voted for the UNP and the TULF respectively. The UNP is the ruling party which has formed the Government and the TULF is the main party in Opposition with the SLFP having 8 members wanting to have a separate oppositional identity. Over 25 years of frustration led to the demand for a separate state of Tamil Eelam. The TULF has so far, up to the time of writing, adopted realistic and pragmatic strategies, but how long this tight-rope walking can go on is yet to be seen. The UNP leader has offered, it is reported, a package deal, to the TULF and the latter's reactions to this may help to open a long overdue dialogue.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

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Colombo, August 3,

There is a great deal of excitement in the city about the ceremonial opening of the new National State Assembly tomorrow, Thursday, August 4. Political circles are looking forward to the guidelines that are likely to be set out in the President's Speech. Common people have been led to expect a great deal from the JRJ government and believe that it will bring down the prices of essential food-stuffs. The youth want jobs—especially the rural youth—but the thinking and politicalised youth are sceptical about a UNP government's ability to solve basic economic problems (like poverty, employment and food) in a decisive way. However, they seem willing to give JR's government twelve to eighteen months to deliver part of the goods, but before that time they expect the entire gamut of insurgency cases dealt with under Emergency Laws to be reviewed and redress extended to victims. (It is on account of this pledge by JR that the politicalised youth had generated the swing that brought the UNP its "total" victory).

More than any other government in the past, Ministers have got down to brass tacks without any delay. Slogans and rhetoric are at a discount. It is clear that the UNP has had a good shadow cabinet in readiness (at least in respect of major aspects and sectors of governmental activity) and that a great deal of homework has been done. The Minister of Finance, at a press conference, had indicated the priorities the Government had in mind, but (correctly perhaps) he did not touch on the very sensitive question of undoing the damage done to the economy by the Revaluation exercise of Felix RDB and the possible need to es-

tablish a correct international value for the Sri Lanka Rupee (either through direct and open devaluation—an imperative necessity in our view—or some other device to make the devaluation "invisible").

People are no longer concerned about slogans against the IMF or devaluation (they have had an overdose of the IMF socialism, practised by LSSP's N. M. Perera, coupled with his CRA communism). They want to end with the stagnation and consequent deterioration that had enveloped the islands economy during the latter half of the UF-SLFP government's regime. Whether the President's speech will touch on any of these questions is not known, but there is no doubt that one of the highest priorities for the Government is the question of fixing a realistic value for the Sri Lanka Rupee.

The Finance Minister also did well to assure the public that the Income Tax Laws would be amended to make it easier for the taxpayers to fill forms and pay taxes and for the Department to make assessments and collect the taxes. During the seven years of LSSP and SLFP rule, there has grown in the Income Tax arena, a vast jungle of iniquity intended to reduce some of the rich to pauperdom whilst enabling a new breed to become multi-multi millionaires overnight. Middle brackets in the income structure have been burdened with forms intended to make life unpleasant and intolerable. All this was necessitated by the LSSP philosophy (*a la* the now much lamented London School of Economics, Fabianism and Laski) that through taxation it was possible to usher in socialism and also change the "class structure" of the country.

The LSSP-SLFP "theoreticians" believed that the Tax Department could be used as a punitive instrument to liquidate political opponents, neutralise non-supporters and arm-twist others into being supporters. If the history of the last seven years is written it will unfold a sordid tale where the Tax Department was used as the secret repressive arm of the Government. The new Finance Minister has done extremely well to pin-point the basic and inherent deficiencies of the tax structure which has in fact undermined the desire of the

traditional groups of rich and middle income people to engage themselves in productive activity in agriculture or other vital sectors of the economy. The tax structure must be freed from the punitive and vindictive inhibitions imposed by a government which wanted to usher in socialism in a hurry by liquidating electoral opponents. In the process the UF-SLFP government destroyed the goose that could lay the golden egg of socialism and now find themselves (even if temporarily) in the wilderness.

Moreover, just as the JVP youth want a review of all the cases of injustice which arose during the Emergency regime, others will soon demand that there should be a review of the political victimisation that was perpetrated on many through the Income Tax Department. Certain favoured groups and politicians are known to have enjoyed immunities to escape the atrocities of iniquitous laws whilst others who would not pay poaja to the correct political deities were hounded, persecuted and punished in numerous ways. What is important is that the political motivation and philosophy behind tax laws must be changed and people must realise that it is not possible to bring a socialist millenium through taxation alone, that the tax laws should not be utilised for petty and parochial political ends, and that the tax department should not be used as an instrument of torture against people not willing to bootlick top governmental personalities.

It is essential to remember that in a mixed economy—with private and state enterprise—a tax paying entrepreneurial and rich class has to be fostered in order to activate the economy and make it productive. The new Minister of Finance seems to be conscious of all this when he indicated that tax laws would be simplified. What is even more important than formal simplification in form-filling is that the punitive and vindictive motivation behind the tax structure should be eliminated. The contradictory (and conflicting) position that stems from tax laws to create new classes of CRA and Gem millionaire capitalists overnight must also be remedied.

Trade And Prices

Tax laws affect a very small section of the population, but it is an important section that keeps the economy moving and the administrative machine functioning. A wise system of tax laws will contribute a great deal to a new regeneration of the economy. But the larger part of the community is interested only in the cost of essentials. The Minister of Trade has in this connection made some important pronouncements that has already brought the prices down a little. He has talked much about corrective "imports" to stabilise supplies and prices. But before he talks much more about this it is essential to see that the local producers of essential food items like onions, chillies and the like are not pushed out of production because of the artificial depression of prices through the talk of imports (which may never take place.)

The prices of many agricultural products are high today because of the high cost of inputs and also because the marketing facilities are totally inadequate to cope with the situation. It is because the governmental marketing facilities (especially in regard to the purchase from the producers) are so bad (and corrupt) that the unscrupulous merchant is able to push up prices. Even a cursory investigation will show that the successful trader and merchant today is an adjunct of co-op and marketing department officials in charge of purchase of local produce and the sale of these and imported items.

This intimate tie-up between the new class of politicalised-traders and the officials of the co-operative and marketing departments (this includes agencies like the PMB as well) must be smashed if the prices are to be lowered and stabilised whilst at the same time induce producers to keep on producing and increase production. During the last regime there were many visible and invisible constraints and restraints on production and many of those who could have produced more pulses, dhals, paddy, onions, chillies, coriander and the like did not do so. It is for this Government

to remove these impediments on traditional agricultural production and induce a new upsurge in productive effort. This can be done only—at the initial stages—with a realistic guaranteed price scheme operated by incorruptible government officials and (as in some countries) some of these items could be subsidised temporarily in respect of certain classes of consumers. It is not necessary to go into the detailed mechanics of the inducements to activate production in the agricultural sector to secure increased production, but threats of imports to check prices (which the producer does not get) will be counter-productive.

But there is no doubt that the new Minister of Trade is feeling his way around; but he has to coordinate his thinking and actions with that of the Minister of Agriculture and Lands and the Minister of Food and Co-operatives if he is to bring down prices whilst at the same time ensure greater production.

Whilst the utterances of the Minister of Finance and Minister of Trade have set many people thinking, the Government action in taking over the *Times of Ceylon* under the Business Acquisition Act on August 2 has become the talk of the town.

The Government, it would appear, decided to acquire the *Times of Ceylon Ltd.* "in order to ensure the continued publication of its newspapers and to safeguard the interests of its employees who are in imminent danger of losing both their employment and financial benefits", according to an official statement, which added: "In arriving at this decision the Government has been influenced by the following facts:—

"(1) By a Special Gazette notification issued on 1.8.77 the Municipal Commissioner has declared that on August 28th 1977 the *Times of Ceylon* building would be sold by public auction to recover arrears of rates amounting to Rs. 232,142.72 for the period commencing second quarter of 1974.

"(2) It is reported that a cheque for Rs. 2000 issued by the company in March 1975 to the Municipal Council has been returned for lack of funds at the bank.

"(3) The Employees Provident Fund payments due to employees have been utilised for the purposes of the company and several million of rupees are owing to the employees on this account and similar amounts are due to banks and other creditors.

"In the circumstances, Government has decided on the above for the purpose of rehabilitating the institution by administering the affairs of the Company by a Competent Authority and thereafter hand it back to a Company owned by the people."

This takeover by the new PM, according to some UNP political circles, is said to be an empty blow (see box) to stop faction building inside the UNP. Having liquidated the Dudley Peramuna faction inside the UNP through normal democratic processes, the PM does not obviously want new factions to grow inside the UNP. The control of a newspaper group in the hands of one clique or another will no doubt accelerate and accentuate faction-building.

But SLFP and ULF circles feel that JRJ is only adding more media power to stabilise his government. In addition to the frightening parliamentary majority he has an awesome control of the media. *Lake House* is under the government's control (thanks to the UF and the SLFP). The *Sun/Dawasa* group is completely on JRJ's side because of natural politico-economic affinities and also because of the harsh and unjustifiable treatment meted out to the Gunasenās by the UF and the SLFP. The Gunasenās was now more JR than JR himself and more UNP than the UNP itself. The SLBC, as it always has been, is a sycophantic government under taker. The *Times* is the only paper, in recent times, which had betrayed a glimmer of independent reporting and analytical writing. But it was known that the *Times* could not last much longer unless there was a massive infusion of money to get new equipment and working capital (after paying off debts running into millions). With the Government taking over the *Times* the major section of the media (published by the big groups) has come under government control. The *Virakesari* and the *Ealanadu*—both Tamil dailies—are the only non-party dailies outside the control of Government today.

This new control over the media, as we have said, is as frightening as the 139-strong UNP contingent in a House of 166 members (presently, until Pottuvil). But there is no doubt that JR Jayawardene himself is embarrassed by this huge majority. He wants a lively and strong Opposition. The TULF is not an Opposition in the normally understood concept of parliamentary democracy. But the TULF can easily shed its inhibitions and play the game according to the parliamentary rules—at least for a time—until it is able to persuade the entirety of all Tamil-speaking peoples in the island that a Tamil Eelam is the answer and at the same time persuade others living in this island that such a “division”—in separation, or federation, or district council autonomy, or regional autonomy of one kind or another, will be to the good of everybody. JRJ is reported to have a package deal for the TULF. Will the TULF bite?

Whilst speculation about TULF's possible policy options is growing, the immediate spotlight has been turned on the *Times*. What will the *Times* be under the new Competent Authority? Will its publications be carbon copies of the weak and anaemic newsheets presently issued by *Lake House*? All those who can wield the pen with punch have been pushed out of *Lake House*: first a large number during the SLFP regime and now many more have been tarbrushed out of the place by hooligans who have taken McCarthyian refuge under a covering of green paint. It will be a long time before *Lake House* can once again acquire talent to bring its papers up to the old standards, and the way the mob is said to be running *Lake House* today will make anyone pessimistic about its future.

Elsewhere in this issue, our regular contributor, Jayantha Somasundaram, has written a factual piece of what is happening inside *Lake House*. Our own inquiries and investigations confirm his report. In fact, Somasundaram seems to have under-stated the case. What has taken place, and what is taking place, according to an observer is a freakish cross between the horrors of the Cultural Revolution (a la Peking) and the worst kinds of Varsity ragging (a la Vidyalyankara). It is to be hoped that the new Chairman Bodinagoda will succeed in

bringing order into the place. He should refuse to be blackmailed and intimidated by the new and vociferous “friends” of the UNP. If he does not succeed in eliminating mob rule and green paint witch hunting, *Lake House* will soon be in shambles. The quality of its publications will deteriorate still further—they are bad enough now.

The question of the future of the *Times* under the new Competent Authority is being mooted in political circles. But, the PM, has declared more than once that he wants a strong Press to play the role of an Opposition. Mr. Jayawardene has the unique task of creating an Opposition to keep the parliamentary system (in which he believes) going. On the political level, he is seeking participation even from the defeated SLFP and

ULF parties. The appointment of Mr. Bernard Soysa and Mr. R. S. Perera to the five-man Committee to probe post-election violence is a welcome step in the right direction.

The official communique regarding the *Times* take-over states that it was only for the purpose of “rehabilitating the institution by administering the affairs of the Company by a Competent Authority and thereafter hand it back to a Company owned by the people”. It will be interesting to see how the PM proposes to achieve this objective. In the meantime he has a wonderful opportunity, through the Competent Authority of developing a critical press by permitting competent writers and journalists to express themselves freely. It is true that the *Lake House* is now repor-

BAZAAR GOSSIP

TIMES OF CEYLON LIMITED

There is a great deal of speculation why the Government decided to take over the *Times of Ceylon Ltd* under the Business Acquisition Act on August 2. Bazaar gossip in knowledgeable circles throws interesting sidelights on current thinking—still unconfirmed, but from usually reliable sources—about happenings inside the UNP. These speculative tidbits may not be all correct or factual but they seem to be based on a bedrock of truth, through apparently disconnected and inferential. However, readers of *Tribune* are entitled to know this (political) hazaar gossip for what it is worth. If *Tribune* learns anything which runs counter to this gossip or confirms it even more strongly, we will keep our readers informed.

Everybody knows that the affairs of the *Times* were in a parlous state. They have been so for years. It is not necessary to delve into its past history, but it is known that the *Times* had been artificially sustained only to help Anura Bandaranaike (and maybe Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike) to keep politically afloat and win the elections. Various devices were used to keep the *Times* afloat. But with the defeat of Felix and the isolation of Anura in a small SLFP parliamentary group, the *Times* seems to have come to the end of its tether. A shut-down with a financial collapse was imminent. At this point of time, it would appear that one bigtime business house in Colombo had sought to buy over the *Times*. Simultaneously another group, consisting of local bigwigs working for foreign multinationals, had also started negotiating with those who were the legal “owners”. The two contending business groups are identified in political circles, even in UNP circles, as supporters of two contending aspirants for succession to top leadership of the UNP. In the alternative, if the new Constitution opted for a Presidential system of Government, the two leading lights were tipped to “fight” for the PM's post. The business interests concerned were believed to be interested in “grooming” the next PM and the UNP Leader on a long-range basis. If either group had grabbed the *Times* and were able to inject the necessary millions into the business to make it work, it would have started new factional in-fighting in the UNP. In this situation, the gossip asserts, the PM, Mr. Jayawardene, had struck—a pre-emptive blow by taking over (for the Government) the *Times* lock, stock and barrel. The Government can certainly find the money to rehabilitate it, but more important is that it has nipped in the bud an unnecessary faction fight developing inside the UNP with business vested interests seeking to help one or the other aspirant with a refurbished *Times of Ceylon Ltd*. What next?

ment is amateurish and interpretative analysis is totally lacking. With the kind of talent the green-paint witch-hunters have admitted into the place, nothing better can be expected. It is only hoped that a similar state of affairs is not allowed to develop in the Times after the takeover.

Whilst the affairs of Lake House and the Times seem to be in the melting pot, even greater speculation has arisen whether the new Government has begun to flirt with the idea of joining ASEAN. The PM is reported to have said that since ASEAN has stopped being anti-communist there was no objection to Sri Lanka joining it.

But, what will this country get out of it? Only the Sunday Times, before the takeover, had a critical comment about it:

Entitled AN ASEAN IDENTITY, the Sunday Times, 31/7/77, editorially stated: "Are we moving from an Asian to ASEAN identity? The phrase 'an Asian identity' cropped up in official statements and speeches a few years ago and appeared with increasing frequency in 1975 and 1976 and then quietly faded out. A slick journalistic phrase, with a nice ring to it 'the Asian identity' did however seem a notion that was too loosely thought out to be dignified into a foreign policy concept. What really have the peoples of the vast Asian landmass, with its diverse cultures, different economies and political systems, got in common? The Arabs, for all their abrasive conflicts such as the current Egyptian-Libyan exchange, do feel and act together on most occasions. Likewise, the Africans. Both groups have their own regional organisation—the Arab League and the all-embracing OAU. ASEAN, on the other hand, is a South-East Asian bloc which was at one time denounced strongly by the socialist countries, including those in the region, as a SEATO surrogate or substitute. SEATO, itself is no more, and ASEAN for its part has concentrated more on economic co-operation than on politics, as the agenda for this week's ASEAN summit at Kuala Lumpur shows. There has been a slight improvement in relations between some ASEAN nations said China but this has been more bilateral. On the other hand, an earlier trend towards normalisation of relations between Vietnam, the strongest military power in the region, and the ASEAN group has not borne positive

results. On the contrary, a recent joint statement by Vietnam and Laos subjected ASEAN to a furious barrage.

Active Japanese diplomacy on the eve of the K.L. summit and the content of American-Japanese discussions at the highest level also confirm the view that ASEAN has become a special responsibility of Japan in the grand US design for South-East Asia. The ambit of Japan's economic thrust, the assertive drive of an outward-looking and dynamic "economy in constant search of overseas trade and investment markets, coincides with the old-prosperity sphere. Sri Lanka, on the other hand, is not only geographically but geo-strategically South Asian. A reading of the new Prime Minister's speeches on foreign policy reveals two principal interests: a close relationship with India and our bigger neighbours, and a definite shift of emphasis from conventional diplomacy to economics, with regional co-operation a high priority. Despite the turbulence in Pakistan, Sri Lanka shares with India and post Ayub Pakistan a fundamental commitment to pluralist democracy and British parliamentary institutions. ASEAN does not fit into that political pattern. While our trade with ASEAN is minimal and there are some conflicts of interest as co-producers. It would be very much to Sri Lanka's advantage if we pursued the same goals of economic co-operation within our own immediate region.

The ASEAN summit takes place in Kuala Lumpur this week. It is known that Japan, Australia and New Zealand will play an important "observer" role in the summit. The Summit has also invited Vietnam to be an honoured "observer"—no doubt to remove the anti-communist stigma that has attached itself to ASEAN in the past.

Whilst it is doubtful whether the JRJ Government will move unilaterally (vis a vis the South Asian group) in this matter of "joining" the ASEAN, there is no doubt that there will be greater consultation and co-operation with the Janata Government led by Morarji Desai in India in this and other matters. A great deal will also depend on the outcome of the elections in Pakistan on October 18.

Another formidable task for the new Government is to find its bearings with the Hua Kuo-feng government in China. With the restoration of Teng to all his for-

mer posts, the number of question marks about the new Peking regime has increased. China is Sri Lanka's largest and most important trading partner and it therefore becomes a matter of paramount importance to know just what is happening in that country. In Sri Lanka, our sources of information are second and third hand, and we have to work out the implications so far as this country is concerned on an inferential basis. Most of the information received is angled from the viewpoint of different countries to which the despatches are sent or where the analytical reports are written. One of the latest of such analysis is a piece in the Far Eastern Economic Review by David Bonavia and which was reproduced in the Daily Mirror.

The introductory paragraphs of this article will show how difficult and tricky it is to project any views about present-day China. But it has to be done whatever the mistakes that arise. Discussion and more discussion—even on a speculative level—is very important to generate purposeful thinking.

Bonavia stated "The vast new mausoleum for the remains of Mao Tse-tung has broken still further the continuity between China's cultural past and its political present, as symbolised by the former layout of Tien An Men Square. The mausoleum now conceals the once-imposing Chien Men Gate and overshadows the previously impressive monument to the heroes of the revolution. More important, the mausoleum is the symbol of a massive cover-up. No student of modern Chinese affairs can be in much doubt any longer about the kind of policies being implemented by the post-Mao leadership. And few people will be induced by propaganda into believing that the basic political aims of the now disgraced "gang of four" were much different from those of Mao himself, however much they have been perverted by personal intrigue and conspiracy. The one important element of Chinese policy-making which has shown signs of stability and continuity since Mao's death is foreign affairs. When United States secretary of state, Mr. Cyrus Vance visits Peking in August, he will probably find a leadership with positions similar to those professed by China ever since the big breakthrough in the country's foreign policy and the thaw with the US

1971. But Mr. Vance's problem will be to assess the stability of the present leadership and to what extent its policy pronouncements should be taken at their face value. The gap between words and actions has long been a feature of Chinese foreign policy, but it is becoming particularly striking now that, in domestic planning, the leaders are moving rapidly back towards more realistic courses of action. Nobody takes too seriously the talk about continuing Mao's policies faithfully and to the letter."

There are so many contradictory reports about current developments in China. According to reports and comments in some newspapers—western and Japanese—there seems to be a serious demand, for example, by the big Chinese brass (to the Central Committee and therefore the Party Congress) to revise China's military doctrine. It has been pointed out,

it would appear, by those who want the change that the previous (Yennan) doctrine of guerilla warfare has been closely connected with Lin Biao's name who had formulated it strictly on the basis that the Chinese would conduct military operations on their own territory. It is now felt that the doctrine is an anachronism and that it has put China at a disadvantage in the third world.

It is said that the new generation of Chinese military leaders seem to think that the Yennan theory of guerilla war should be confined only to third world countries fighting for liberation, whilst the PLA (the name should be retained, it is said, to show that the Chinese were always ready to help oppressed people), should be modernised to make it a new and streamlined fighting machine. The new doctrine that has begun, according

to these reports, to agitate the new military leadership is that the Army should go on the footing that military operations should be carried out in the enemy's territory. As in many other countries, China's General Staff has indicated that all officers and soldiers should study the Vietnam war experience. Is this an indication that China will want to offer countries fighting for liberation the services of volunteers (as Cuba has done in Angola)?

These are many other questions have come up to the forefront in regard to the new China under Hua Kuo-feng. One important question is whether the influence of the "gang of four" has been eliminated or whether this powerful group (or its successors) will succeed in staging a comeback in the coming years.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

July 16 — July 25

A DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD
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CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror;
CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamina;
LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;
SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina;
DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthamani;
WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;

SATURDAY, JULY 16: Air Ceylon which has a thirty year flying history is facing a liquidity problem and is now Rs. 47 million in the red; the Ministry of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism has called for an immediate report from the Chairman of Air Ceylon on it's present financial position. The Minister of Health yesterday inaugurated the Channelled Consultation Scheme at the Central Hospital Colombo. Lake House issued notice to it's employees last evening that the institution would be closed for normal business 'until further notice', this followed a protest demonstration by a large section of employees including many journalists, editors and works staff last morning. The PM advised voters in the South to make a dispassionate assessment of the work done by the SLFP and the UNP, the SLFP was assured of victory by what they have done, she said. The UNP was seeking power not to solve the problems of the country but to betray the country to the imperialists said Mr. N. M. Perera at a ULF rally. Political rivalry has caused eight deaths so far according to Police sources; incidents of violence too have seen reported from almost every police area. The price of chillies has dropped from Rs. 18 to Rs. 12 a pound after

raids by the Price control squad on hoarders; the price of onions has also dropped to Rs. 3 a pound from Rs. 6 a week ago—CDM. July 22, the day after the elections has been declared a non-working holiday. The Ceylon Federation of Labour yesterday termed as illegal the order issued by the Minister of Public Administration cancelling the leave of public servants from July 18. Mr J. R. Jayawardene advised the PM to pack up her belongings and be ready to go home on July 21 at an election meeting in Polgahawela. The UNP said yesterday that it's 'political opponents' were distributing defamatory leaflets in an attempt to discredit the party and it's leaders. According to a Central Bank report the Cost of living has gone up by 300% since 1972. The PM has claimed that Sri Lanka tea is fetching handsome prices in the world market today because of her foreign policy—SU. Due to the heavy rain in the Hatton area, many families have been rendered homeless and transport has been beady affected—VK. The strike by midwives of the Government Hospital, Jaffna has been called off following the agreement of the administration to their demands—EN.

SUNDAY, JULY 17: From midnight today strict security measures will be enforced by the Police throughout the island; special mini riot squads in vehicles will patrol the streets to deal with any mischief or stamp out any trouble. The Elections Commissioner is of the view that the percentage of spoilt votes is likely to be minimal. Work in several Ministries and several government departments will be disorganised from Tuesday onwards owing to about 100,000 state employees being assigned duties-in connexion with Thursday's general election. The General Secretary of the UNP yesterday made a statement to the police on the instructions of their Party leader where he had stated that Mr. Jayawardene had never made certain statements published in the 'Dinamina' of July 12 and 14 and the 'Ceylon Daily News' of July 14. Air Ceylon's Rupee ticket scheme to New Delhi which was introduced a few weeks ago, has not met with much success because of stringent exchange control regulations—ST. 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 UNP leader told the WK in an exclusive interview. With just three more days to go the political parties are winding up their election campaigns. Sri Lankan youth proceeding for jobs in the West Asian countries will no longer be required to sign bonds; the Department of Immigration and Emigration has done away with this requirement in a bid to ease the congestion for passports and cut the delays experienced by them in taking up appointments—WK.

MONDAY, JULY 18: A large stock of science equipment worth Rs. 4.5 million will be imported in order to meet the demands of schools conducting HNCE Science classes for 10th and 11th grades; another Rs. 1.5 million worth of science equipment locally produced will also be made available to these schools to implement the HNCE Science syllabus effectively. Copies of newspapers were set on fire at a meeting in support of Mr. J. D. B. Ekanayake UNP candidate for Medirigiriya on Friday; the UNP leader helped to light the papers; he later remarked that the burning of the newspapers was a token of protest by the masses; they showed their displeasure at the 'pack of lies' manufactured by the Lake House group of papers; he denied that he said that he could not bring down the Prices of goods; what he said was that he could not bring down the price of petrol. The Ruhunu forest is being raped; very valuable timber is being systematically cut down with the connivance of certain administrative officers, it is alleged; the GA, Hambantota has alerted all AGA's to keep vigil. The National Housing Department has allotted 320 flats during the past four months. The leader of the ULF will emerge after the election victory, just as a leader from the Janatha Party, emerged in India after the last election there said Dr. N. M. Perera when he addressed a meeting on Thursday. The Daily News has apologised for the non publications of the company during the weekend owing to a sudden strike called out by a section of workers with the active sponsorship of a political party; there was no industrial dispute involved, they say—CDN. No processions or demonstrations would be permitted on any account till Saturday as a security measure according to the SP (elections) yesterday. Tomorrow midnight marks the end of all campaigning and political propaganda in the 1977 general election and the leaders of all parties write finish to their party's campaigns with expressions of confidence in the outcome of the polls—CDM. The main objective of land reform was to increase employment, productivity of agricultural land and to achieve a more equitable distribution of land; all these objectives have gone by the board; production has declined steadily in practically all plantations vested in the government; these disclosures are made in a report prepared by a team of Central Bank experts on The Plantations on the aftermath of Land Reform's. Police yesterday uncovered a massive arsenal of handbombs, revolvers, kris knives swords and other deadly weapons used by the city's underworld in a series of pre-dawn swoops in a pre-election security operation. People in colonisation schemes will be made the legal owners of the lands they occupy, the UNP leader has disclosed. The Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs is making arrangements to manufacture high quality safety matches at Edanduwa in the Yatinuwara electorate—SU. CTB employees who were on strike in the Point Pedro depot burnt an effigy of the district officer—VK. The employees

of the CTB depot at Point Pedro who were on strike for the past week ended yesterday—EN. A citizen of Sri Lanka has to spend 85% of his earnings on food while a citizen of the USA spends only 16% according to a Central Bank report on the cost of living—DW.

TUESDAY, JULY 19: The PM said in a meeting at Dambadeniya that the leader of the Opposition who masqueraded as a saviour of democracy resents the truth being published in the newspapers; he has silenced the Lake House press by organising a strike because these papers published the factual reports of a statement made by him; she added that she could imagine what an iron-fisted dictatorship he would set up if he is given the power; she also said that he was trying to promote the *Dawasa* group of papers which was his mouthpiece. The government had, prior to the dissolution of Parliament decided on a five year plan to set up pre-schools in every local authority ward; the government had also decided to increase the monthly salary of a pre-school teacher from Rs. 75 to Rs. 150. A new system now being adopted at the Colombo Land Registry has eliminated congestion and the long wait for members of the public is now a thing of the past—CDN. The establishment of *Janawasas* had provided employment to more than 400,000 persons; from 1970 onwards they had given teaching appointments to 16,000 graduate and appointed 36,000 others as teachers; the record of UNP from '65-70 was giving teaching appointments to 660 graduates said the PM at Kamburupitiya. If past achievements and records were a guide, the UNP leader should be ashamed to come before the people and ask for a mandate to run this country said Dr. N.M. Perera at a rally in Panadura. Over 10,000 public servants will leave Colombo in special trains and buses today and tomorrow for election duties throughout the country. Eleven Secretaries of Ministries who were appointed after May from outside the public service will enjoy pension rights which members of the legislature are entitled to. Mr. R. Premadasa, said in a series of public meetings that the UNP would definitely bring down the cost of living and bring redress to the masses once they form the government and the malicious propaganda by those of the opposition were baseless—CDM. A fertiliser scandal in which the country's cultivators have been diddled has been uncovered by the customs during a routine check; the State Fertiliser Corporation has been clearing its fertiliser free of customs duty through the government stores for the past many years; however, fertiliser has been sold to the cultivator all these years at a price inclusive of customs duty. Five persons who were taken into custody in connection with the discovery of deadly weapons were produced before the Maligakanda Magistrate and remanded till July 28. Mrs. Bandaranaike addressing an election meeting for Mahara, Kadawata and Eiyagam said that the vast crowd gathered there did not bear testimony to the fact that man does not live by bread alone and though they had not been able to bring down the cost of living as desired nor been able to bring down the prices of essential commodities appreciably thousands flock to their meetings and she was sure that she and her party would be returned to power again—SU. There were unprecedented crowds at the TULF meeting at Jaffna which looked like a tidal wave or an ocean and which surprised and overwhelmed everyone; the leaders got the permission of the people to demand a separate state for the Tamils in the North and East—EN.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 20: The Asian Development Bank has agreed that the State Development and Construction Corporation should exclusively undertake the construction of the Canyon Dam hydro electric project; the project for which the ADB has sanctioned 17 million dollar credit will mark the final stage of the hydro-power development under the Maskeliya Oya Scheme; the 17 million dollar aid is repayable in 40 years and is interest free with a grace period for ten years. The independent candidate for Pottuvil, Mr. Ambalangoda Albert Saranapala, died yesterday morning following a motor accident; as a result of this, the Commissioner of Elections was in consultation with the Attorney General over the situation that had arisen. She was not an astrologer who could make any predictions but from the wave of public support wherever she went, she could boldly say that a pure SLFP government would be formed on July 22 and that she would be called upon to be PM once again. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike said on Monday, 12,000 job cards stated to have been issued by the UNP to young men and women in the Gampaha electorate were set on fire on Monday when the PM was addressing the election rally there; they had apparently been sold at the rate of Rs. 1 each—CDN. Leaders of all political parties have exhorted their supporters to extend their maximum co-operation to law enforcing authorities to check violence to person and property after the elections; they also deplored the acts of violence committed during the current election campaign. Ninety university dons and teachers have come out in support of the ULF; they feel that judging by the manifestos of the UNP and the SLFP, they have no serious plans to solve the problems of the country. The Sri Lanka University Teacher's United Front in a statement signed by fifty lecturers say that they will support the UNP at the polls—CDM. 90.023% of Sun readers believe that the UNP will come into power at tomorrow's general election; this is an opinion based on a sample survey conducted by a special team of experienced data compilers from the entries received for the polls contest; only 9.743% believe that the SLFP will win, while a meagre .234% opt that another party would win—SU.

THURSDAY, JULY 21: The country's eighth general election today—the first to be held since Sri Lanka was declared a Republic—is expected to record a high percentage of voting; at the 1970 elections 85.2% of the voters polled—the highest on record. 'Operation Election' came into full swing yesterday with the entire police cadre of over 15,000 carrying out specialised duties throughout the island. The transport of passengers in lorries has been banned from today till Saturday. Arrangements have been finalised for the expeditious dissemination of election results by the Broadcasting Corporation, according to an SLBC Press Release yesterday. The police have advised voters to wear neutral colours when they go to vote—CDM. The UNP 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 announced yesterday. The Police yesterday warned that it will be an offence for any voter to use even a private residence within a quarter mile of a polling booth for congregational purposes today. Fresh nominations for the vacancy created in the Pottuvil seat following the death of the independent candidate will be held on August 17. No passports were issued last morning

following break-in at the Passports office the previous night—SU. Speaking to local as well as foreign correspondents, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene said that he would like to form a national government with representatives of all the races in this country—VK.

FRIDAY, JULY 22: The UNP is heading for a landslide victory in the general election held yesterday. The LSSP suffered the most devastating defeat in its history when its leader Dr. N. M. Perera was defeated for the first time in 35 years. The UNP was heading for a massive unprecedented Indian style victory at the time of going to press; many of the SLFP stalwarts had toppled or won with a scraping majority—SU. Polling was brisk in yesterday's general election according to initial reports received from the outstations; incidents reported were few; they were mainly personal clashes between rival parties—CDM. The TULF has won great victory in the North—VK.

SATURDAY, JULY 23: Swept on a tidal wave of popular approval, the UNP led by Mr. J. R. Jayawardene yesterday steamrolled itself to a polls victory unprecedented in parliamentary democracy anywhere in the world winning 138 of a total 168 seats in the NSA. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, leader of the UNP and PM designate, while expressing satisfaction over the unprecedented mandate he had just received from the people, said yesterday that he was sorry that Parliament would be without a strong opposition—SU. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene who led the UNP to an unprecedented landslide victory at the general election is to be sworn in as the country's tenth PM; a communique issued by the President's office yesterday said that the President was not legally empowered to call upon Mr. Jayawardene to assume office as the PM until all the results of the Elections were declared. Twelve ministers were defeated at the general election. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene yesterday appealed to the people to extend to him their co-operation by preserving law and order and bearing no ill will to others. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, a few hours after his party was given a mandate by the people said that he was examining the constitutional possibilities of summoning the NSA before August 26—the date fixed for the first meeting of the Assembly after the holding of the elections—CDM. The TULF has won 17 seats at the recently concluded general elections and has emerged as the party having the second highest number of seats; therefore it becomes the Opposition and if this is so, it is the first time in parliamentary history in this country that a Tamil will be the leader of the Opposition—VK. After hearing the election results Mr. A. Amirthalingam expressed doubts as to whether there would be an opposition at all in the NSA—EN.

SUNDAY, JULY 24: Twenty four members of the Cabinet of PM J. R. Jayawardene—which includes a woman—took their oaths yesterday afternoon before the President Mr. William Gopallawa at Janadhipathi Mandiriyai. The Cabinet at its first meeting yesterday decided that the reduction of the cost of living and the distribution of food should receive the immediate attention of the government. A curfew was declared yesterday from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. in the Kandy, Matale and Kegalle districts and the ACA's divisions of Divulapitiya, Miniwangoda and Nittambuwa in the Colombo district. The LSSP accepts the verdict of the people, the leader Dr. N. M. Perera said yesterday; Dr. Perera who faced defeat for the first time at the polls this

week after a forty year political career said that the Politbureau of the LSSP will make a formal statement on the debacle of his party on Monday. The new management of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. is happy to announce the resumption of the normal publication of its newspapers and periodicals. An earnest endeavour of the Lake House employees to thwart the mischievous and calculated attempt of the former management to distort the news pertaining to the general election 1977 and mislead the masses, was a grand success: the management was forced to close down Lake House from Friday July 15-30. Twenty one of a cabinet of 24 ministers were sworn in yesterday evening; the PM retained the portfolios of Defence, Planning and Economic Affairs and Plan Implementation; he has however dropped foreign Affairs and appointed a separate minister for this portfolio; this is the first time since independence that this has been done. Twenty six MP's took their oaths as Deputy Ministers yesterday evening at President's House. The Cabinet at its first meeting yesterday decided to restore the Mahamaluwa at Kandy to the Dalada Maligawa; the handing over ceremony will take place on Wednesday. All unauthorised processions, the transport of persons in private lorries without permission from the Registrar of Motor vehicles and the use of state vehicles without proper authority have been prohibited according to a communique issued last night by the IGP-ST.

MONDAY, JULY 25: Strict measures are being taken to ensure peace throughout the country, a communique issued by the PM's office said last night. All local bodies are to be dissolved in accordance with the policy of the government to conduct elections to them as early as possible, the Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction announced yesterday. The President's Office has contradicted in a communique certain newspaper articles alleging that the President had delayed calling upon Mr. J. R. Jayawardene to assume office as PM. Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis who won the Kotte seat at Thursday's poll by a majority of 7,874 is tipped to be Speaker of the NSA. Mr. R. Premadasa, Minister of Local government, Housing and Construction said yesterday that his policy as the Minister of Local Government was to ensure the active participation of the people of this country in the process of government. The New Justice Minister, Mr. M. K. W. Devanayagam who took his oaths only yesterday afternoon is determined to meet the expectations of the people and streamline the administration of justice in a manner the greater masses of the country. The minister of Transport, Mr. M. H. Mohamed has appealed to employees of the CTB to co-operate with him to ensure that the bus services in the country are maintained at the highest possible level. The three members of the new cabinet who were unable to be present at Saturday's swearing-in ceremony took their oaths yesterday—CDN. Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, the former PM in a message broadcast over the SLBC said that she accepted the verdict of the majority of the nation without hesitation and appealed to the people to end bitterness and strife and act with calm and patience; she also said that over 2 million people had voiced their continued faith in the SLFP, and that she would re-dedicated herself to lead the people along the correct path to democratic socialism. The Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction, Mr. R. Premadasa has directed the

Colombo Municipal authorities not to enforce any more water cuts for residents of Colombo. The Cabinet at its first meeting last Saturday decided to restore the Maha Maluwa at Kandy to the Dalada Maligawa; the handing over ceremony will take place on Wednesday. Thirty persons died in a wave of violence that swept certain electorates last Saturday; according to the police, rival political parties had gone on a rampage of attacking private business houses and committing arson; the army had to be called in to assist the police in many areas to dispose the mobs. Mr. G. V. P. Samarasinghe has been appointed Secretary to the Cabinet. Mr. Dharmasiri Peiris, who was Secretary to the previous PM, has been appointed Chairman of the SLBC.—CDM. The NSA is to be convened on August 4; the PM is expected to advise the President on the matter this week. The PM yesterday ordered more security measures yesterday to ensure peace and quiet throughout the country. The curfew enforced in six areas on Saturday has been extended to the Mannar district and Mahiyangana AGA's division; in Mannar the curfew is being enforced from 9 p.m. to twelve noon while in Mahiyangana it will be in effect from 9 pm. to 5 am. The J. R. Jayawardene Cabinet decided on Saturday, to give top priority to measures to bring down the cost of living in keeping with the pledge made to the people. Mr. D. M. Jayaratne, the ex-MP for Gampola and his brother-in-law have been taken into custody following a shooting incident in which two UNP supporters died and four others were seriously injured—SU. All taverns and bars throughout the island will remain closed today as well. The PM has appealed to all shop and boutique owners to keep their shops open for the convenience of the public. Following the general election, a certain amount of unrest is prevalent in the North of the island; there have been incidents of attack, stoning and incidents with guns—VK. The question is being raised by many Tamil youths, whether leaders of the TULF, who said that they were not contesting in the elections for money nor power but merely to prevent traitors from entering the NSA to stop the establishment of a separate state have any right to assume the position of the leader of the Opposition—DP. The 24 Ministers of the new administration which was swept into office in the most unprecedented wave of popular acclaim in living memory assumed duties this morning amidst smiles and tears and garlands of joy. The new Minister of Transport Mr. M. H. Mohamed gave the assurance at his ministry today that fifty five employees of the CTB who were dismissed by the previous government will get back their jobs. The country's premier local body, the Colombo Municipal Council stands dissolved; this follows action by the new Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction, Mr. R. Premadasa who has decided that the extension orders on the CMC issue by the previous administration are not valid; this applies to other local bodies as well. Sri Lanka is losing a considerable amount of foreign exchange as certain employers in Middle East countries send money to Colombo to buy air tickets for labour recruited here instead of the air ticket—CO.



UNP's 1977 MANIFESTO

A PROGRAMME OF ACTION TO CREATE A JUST AND FREE SOCIETY

THE UNITED NATIONAL PARTY. There are many achievements to the credit of the United National Party and its Leaders—the obtaining of Political Freedom and Democratic Institutions; the pursuit of Economic Independence; the inauguration of Free Education and Health Services; the Food Production Campaign; the provision of Food at subsidised prices and its country-wide distribution; the restoration of Irrigation Works, the Gai Oya, Walawe and other multi-purpose development schemes; the inauguration of the Mahaweli Project; the colonization of the Dry Zone; the securing of ownership of all Crown land to the people and the promotion of Tourism are some of them.

In spite of these achievements among others, the people of Sri Lanka thought that the confidence they reposed in the Sirima Government would bring them further relief from the burden of the cost of living, create more employment for the youth and speed development. They have been disillusioned.

1970-1977; THE SIRIMA GOVERNMENT. In the last seven years the people have suffered a hunger they have never experienced. They have stood in queues longer than they ever did before. On the other hand the privileged classes toured the World and enriched themselves at the expense of the people. They have prospered while the people suffered. To continue their enjoyment they extended the term of Government and of Parliament without the consent of the people. They even tried to deprive the people of their cherished birthright—the right to vote. It is only the sustained and determined opposition led by the United National Party to overthrow a Government that postponed elections, that secured to the people the right to elect a new Government in 1977.

The Government's actions have resulted in State Capitalism and

has produced a new rich class. Policies on Land Reform have produced a class of State sponsored landlords. The benefits of State owned enterprises are being appropriated by another section of this class. In addition, abuse of Co-operatives, Quotas, Permits, Jobs, Transfers, Contracts, Tenders and Gems etc. are their avenues of enrichment. Included in their ranks are some Government MP's their relations, friends and hangers-on besides corruption and nepotism are wide-spread.

The Sirima Government composed of these persons and backed by their supporters lacks the moral strength vital for honest leadership and good Government. It has today lost the confidence of the people who returned them to office in 1970. This has been clearly demonstrated by massive swings against this government at the bye-elections held during the period of its rule.

Provoked by broken promises a large section of the youth of this country have shown their lack of confidence through a desperate armed struggle in 1971. Further, a section of the original United Front itself namely the LSSP, CP and others has joined the ranks of those opposed to the Sirima Government. The students, in particular have demonstrated their distrust of the government during the recent students upheaval throughout the island, caused by the killing of a fellow student at the Peradeniya Campus. To counter the people's hostility, the government armed itself with harsh emergency powers and assumed complete control over the press and radio and increased the strength and expenditure on the Armed Services. These were all used in December 1976 to crush and humiliate the workers when they took action to obtain relief. Finally, the numerous acts of political victimization have made the Government unpopular with its supporters and several Members of Parliament themselves have left its ranks.

THE UNITED NATIONAL PARTY IN OPPOSITION.

During the years our Party has been in Opposition it has made an introspective search for the cause of our defeat in 1970. We are acutely conscious of the fact that the people are clamouring for radical changes in society. The system of Free Education intro-

duced by the UNP has caused the intellectual leadership to spread from the urban to the rural areas. The younger generation seeks work to do and to actively participate in the administration of government. Pursuant to the change in the leadership of our Party in 1973 the party adopted a new Political, Social and Economic Programme so that it could fulfill the modern aspirations of our people.

At the outset we must mention some of the sweeping changes within the structure of the Party itself. Today it is the masses who finance the Party through the fee paid by each member. In 1976 alone over 500,000 members joined the Party and contributed to its progress. Our electoral campaign is on a house-to-house and village-to-village contact between the Party and the people; enrolling members, explaining policies and attending to the people's needs. This brings the Party to the village level and in touch with the hopes and longings of the people.

CREATION OF A NEW SOCIETY-RELIGION AND CULTURE.

Three decades have passed since Independence which gave us the opportunity to re-make our own destiny. Though political and economic programmes have been executed by successive governments they do not appear to have had the desired impact on the people. On the contrary, human and moral values have degenerated. We are of the view that nothing could be achieved or sustained without solving the moral crisis that has overtaken us.

To get rid of poverty in Sri Lanka we need not only development plans, but also determined and incorruptible men and women who can make these plans work honestly and fairly.

We therefore set ourselves a New Goal—the creation of a New Society, based on human and moral values. When men change, the structure of Society changes; when the structure of Society changes, men change too. Both go together and both are necessary.

It is in the quest of this progress that we encourage and foster all religions—Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam.

We believe that Sri Lanka has preserved her identity and civilization unbroken for over 2,500 years owing to the unifying and

inspiring influence of Buddhism and as such we will seek to continue that influence while guaranteeing to all religions, rights in our proposed Constitution, so that not only the forms and ceremonies of religions are followed, but the ethical wisdoms preached by the great religious teachers are made the foundations of the education system and the conduct of daily life.

We shall therefore in the proposed Constitution ensure that Buddhism, the religion of the majority of the people, is given its rightful place and make it the duty of the State to protect and foster Buddhism. We will at the same time guarantee the just rights of all other religions.

We shall obtain the assistance and co-operation of all religious groups to ensure that all children obtain their primary education in a national and religious environment and make religious education an essential feature in education thereafter. We shall also render all assistance to reorganise and revive the system of Pirivena Education.

We firmly believe that all religions have contributed to codes of conduct and moral standards that civilized nations and peoples seek to follow. The breakdown of these standards and of discipline arise where the influence of the teachings of religion are divorced from the conduct of daily life. We will seek to remedy this deficiency.

We shall actively promote the cultural renaissance of our people by giving language, literature, art and drama, including the film industry, their rightful place and by ensuring to all artistes and craftsmen the fullest opportunity and freedom to develop their creative talents and to give expressions to them both locally and abroad.

We feel that the Prime Minister, Ministers and Members of Parliament as well as Members of elected local bodies should set an example of exemplary moral behaviour. High standards of conduct particularly freedom from bribery and other forms of corruption must commence here. Then only will the people seek to follow the individual political leader and his ideals.

While we seek to change man's environment from a purely indus-

trial and possessive one where man exploits man for his private gain, to one where man does not control his fellow citizens through the ownership of the means of production; so must we seek to help man to change his nature to take his place in a Society which is not acquisitive but where each works for all.

Examples must therefore be set by those at the top and no one is better suited to do so than a Member of the Government and their colleagues in Parliament. We will prepare a code of conduct for Members of Parliament and Members of the government and we will see that members adhere to this code; those who violate it will suffer the consequences and not be protected as Members of Parliament are protected today even when allegations of bribery are made against them. We feel that given that type of political leadership, Members of Parliament of all parties can be associated through Parliamentary Standing Committees in shaping the destinies of our common Motherland irrespective of Party politics.

FOOD FOR THE HUNGRY. We have experienced an unprecedented escalation of prices in the past six years. The rupee has brought less and less of the same commodity during this period. We have been subjected to pain of mind, and the humiliation of being unable to provide our families with essential nourishment, due to the high cost of living, corruption and monopoly of State Corporations and Co-op Societies.

The UNP will give the utmost priority to reducing the Cost of Living which reached Himalayan heights under Sirima's rule and made daily life unendurable.

We shall bring down the cost of living by reducing the artificially increased prices of imported and local goods in day to day use, by increasing local production and shall ensure that the consumer shall not be exploited.

We shall make available an adequate supply of nutritious food including a minimum cereal content of 8 lbs. per adult per week.

Public Corporations will cease to profiteer at the expense of the consumer and will provide essential goods and services at the minimum possible prices. They will be cleansed of corruption and inefficiency.

To ensure greater efficiency in production and to provide a more satisfactory service to consumers, we shall implement a competitive economic policy through the newly established People's Sector, a reorganised State Sector and the Co-operative Sector and shall where desirable permit inter-sector arrangements.

Our policy is to achieve self sufficiency in food which can be grown in Sri Lanka, especially rice. In fact had a UNP Government been returned to power in 1970 and maintained the momentum of the Grow More Food Campaign this country would have been self-sufficient in rice by now.

The UNP started import substitution with the ban of eggs, onions, potatoes and other subsidiary foodstuffs. This has been proved right. The UNP will therefore take every step to be self-sufficient in rice and other essential foods and complete the programme of import substitution.

Food production alone will not be enough unless the benefits of the food production go to the tiller of the soil. To achieve this object the UNP, will take the following steps—

- (1) Remove the artificial price control of farm products;
- (2) Extend the Guaranteed Price Scheme which was initiated by the UNP.
- (3) Radically alter oppressive legislation such as the Land Betterment Tax Law;
- (4) Enact Farmers' Credit Law, to place credit to farmers on a special priority basis and end indebtedness;
- (5) Introduce Farmers' Education Courses to assist farmers with scientific practices to increase production;
- (6) Grant special benefits to farmers in order to maximise and commercialise their production;
- (7) Bring commercial and management expertise to the farmer to ensure fulfilment of production norms;
- (8) Give Farmers adequate fertilizer and other subsidies;
- (9) Provide an efficient transport system for the distribution and marketing of produce.

LAND FOR THE LANDLESS. Far from transferring the benefits of Land Reform to the rural farmer,

the Sirima Government has exploited this situation by transferring the management of lands vested under Land Reforms to several supporters of the Government and their kith and kin. The rural institutions designed to support Food Production efforts have become centres for political revenge and corruption, resulting in great hardships. Government policies have failed to increase production and productivity resulting in the total failure of making our country self sufficient in the basic foods.

We shall implement a programme of development maximising the proper use of land and providing irrigation facilities which will have as its objectives the following—

- (i) Provide employment;
- (ii) Provide land for the landless;
- (iii) Ensure an equitable distribution of cultivable land in the non-plantation sector, guaranteeing to the farmer the ownership of an economic unit of land;
- (iv) Put land resources to the best possible use towards achieving self-sufficiency in essential foods.

To achieve these objectives, we shall—

- (a) Bring under cultivation the large extents of uncultivated land and restore village tanks, further increasing the acreage under cultivation, thereby providing employment to the large numbers unemployed;
- (b) Provide greater assistance in the establishing of agro-industries;
- (c) Encourage the large scale plantation of trees to ensure the adequate supply of food and timber;
- (d) Provide organisational support and facilities such as capital, water, marketing, technical services, fertilizers etc.
- (e) Remove the hindrances faced by the farmers in the existing rural institutions and encourage the formation of Co-operatives by farmers themselves, both in the producing and selling sectors.

With the land ceiling which will not be changed, owners will be free to dispose freely of their possessions and to manage and use such lands. Any injustices caused by political interference or unjust implementation of the above laws will be remedied. Reforms will be

introduced in the management of the lands vested in the State. Members of Parliament and their friends and relations now managing them will be removed and such management and benefits made available to the people.

The UNP considers the problem of Agrarian Reform a continuing one and will seek new ways to achieve four objectives.

- (a) Land to the landless;
- (b) Owners to all cultivators;
- (c) Maximum benefit to the people;
- (d) Self sufficiency for the country in food.

FISHERIES. Every effort will be made to make Sri Lanka self sufficient in her fish requirements.

The State will play a dynamic role in the provision of the infrastructure needed to effectively support the fishing industry.

We will provide—

- (a) Harbours, Anchorages and Repair Services; Research and Training facilities; Housing and Welfare facilities; Credit facilities and Cold Storage Rooms throughout the country.
- (b) Boats, Engines, Spares, Nets, and Fishing gear at reasonable prices;
- (c) Rescue Operations through the establishment of a Coast Guard Service drawn from traditional fishing families;
- (d) Guaranteed prices and marketing facilities to individuals and Co-operatives engaged in fishing;
- (e) Schemes for alternative employment during off seasons;
- (f) Measures for the conservation of stocks through controls such as on dynamiting and the prevention of foreign vessels within the fishing zone of Sri Lanka.

The State will promote the breeding of fish in inland waters and establishment of culture ponds.

We shall take steps to—

- (a) Establish a deep-sea trawler fishing industry;
- (b) Export fish, sea-foods and other by products.

Incentives and encouragement will be given to individuals and Co-operatives to embark on fishing, establish a boat building industry, mechanise existing boats, manufacture of fishing gear etc.

PROBLEMS OF YOUTH-EDUCATION AND EMPLOY-

MENT. The Sirima Government has two standards of education, one for the people and the other for their kith and kin. We shall remove this discrimination and—

(1) Enlist the co-operation of parents and a Parents Charter will be drawn up dealing with the tasks to be performed by parents in participation with teachers regarding the education of their children.

(2) Improve educational standards where by the personality of the individual is developed.

(3) Recognise the importance of the teaching profession in training the citizens of the future. An Education Service Commission will be established.

(4) Extend to the rural schools all facilities and opportunities such as teachers, laboratories, comfortable and uncrowded class rooms, now enjoyed only by the leading City Schools so that students from these rural schools can also study and complete confidently to embark on professional studies covering Medicine, Engineering, Technology, Accountancy, Law etc.

(5) Encourage students to develop a practical knowledge in the basic principles of agriculture through the establishment of school farms. The profits gained from these farms will be shared between the teachers, students and the school.

(6) Take immediate steps to establish specialised institutions for the plantation industry, agricultural industry and fishing industry. We will establish in every district where the above predominates such institutions where those leaving secondary schools may attend.

(7) Provide opportunities and facilities through Night Schools, Adult Education Schools, Vocational institutions etc. to workers, farmers, youths and other less qualified persons to train and qualify themselves for better or new jobs.

(8) Reorganise the University Education system by the replacement of one University structure to a number of independent and autonomous Universities.

(9) Establish an Open University for the benefit of those who are unable to continue University studies for reasons beyond their control.

(10) Formulate a scheme whereby students can engage themselves in part-time employment during vacations.

We shall ensure that the people of our country shall not any longer be isolated from the main current of development in the World and shall have every opportunity of taking the fullest advantage of the advancement among nations in science, technology and arts, a facility that is presently limited to a privileged few by providing that English and other international languages are taught to an adequate level of proficiency in our schools and that the institutional means for adult education are available to all who wish to take advantage of them.

We shall take measures to relieve the frustration caused by the Sirima Government among the intelligentsia and other highly trained and qualified persons, resulting in large numbers of such persons who are urgently needed for the development of our country leaving our shores for service abroad by creating the necessary climate and providing incentives and opportunities for personal progress and job satisfaction, not only to halt the tragic "Brain Drain" in the future but also to attract those who have already left to return to the service of our people.

We shall in the belief that the people of our country are entitled to enjoy without restriction the best professional and technical services that are available in the country, formulate in consultation with the appropriate professional and technical personnel both within and outside the public services appropriate schemes to make such services freely available to the people.

We shall treat the elimination of unemployment and under-employment as a matter of utmost priority and national importance, and to achieve this objective, shall make the maximum use of our human resources through effective schemes of economic development. We shall strive increasingly to ensure to our youth, work in accordance with their skills and the needs of the nation and not to depend purely on Government jobs. Recruitment for jobs will be on merit.

Industrial Centres will be established at district level to absorb

educated unskilled and unemployed labour. Loans will be given to those who wish to be self-employed with assistance of the Local Development Boards. The Government will with assistance of the Banking System provide the opportunity, facilities and location.

Co-operative Farms will be established to produce non-traditional food crops. Co-operative Trading Centres will be established for the purpose of storage, collection and distribution of farm products.

A national Development Unit for both males and females on the lines of the defunct Land Army will be set up to undertake large State Development ventures like the Mahaweli Scheme, the restoration of tanks and the construction of roads, buildings, bridges etc.

We shall through institutional and other means provide the fullest opportunities for the youth to participate in the formulation and implementation of policy and in the organisation and self management of schemes of economic development and of individual and collective advancement in the building of the New Society in which they would live.

To achieve these objectives we propose—

- (a) The establishment of a Sri-Lanka Youth Movement designed to recruit youth for a period of time in National Development Service for the purpose of—
 - (i) Training in National decision-making;
 - (ii) Instilling a sense of National patriotism and a concern for the well being of fellow citizens;
 - (iii) Developing the inherent characteristics of the individual youth in the leadership, innovative skills etc.
 - (iv) Involving the youth in development activities to establish the dignity of labour;
- (b) To include by election youth representatives in the membership of the Peoples' Councils;
- (c) To create a separate Ministry for Youths and Youth Welfare.

Our proposals guarantee youth partnership in the development of the country by direct representation in policy making and implementation which shall restore their confidence in the Government of the day for they would then be

shaping the future society they would be living in.

1971 INSURGENCY. We take note of the fact that the youth of our country were misled by unscrupulous persons for their own selfish political gain and that this resulted in the insurrection of April 1971. We shall review the cases of those who have been punished and further shall provide every opportunity for those who had been so misled and have thus suffered disability to live useful lives as citizens of the country.

(To be Concluded)

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TULF's MANIFESTO

GENERAL ELECTIONS 1977

For A Tamil Ealam

The Sinhalese people who gained political power from the British, drafted for themselves, in fulfilment of their sovereignty, a constitution which they put into operation and the first general election, after Ceylon was declared a republic, is being held now. The issue as to who would be put into seats of power will not be the only one that would be decided by the votes that people would cast at this election. Do the Tamils and the Muslims who have lost their freedom accept a Constitution that has paved the way for the majority community, the Sinhalese, to usurp, in full, under a facade of sovereignty of the people, the totality of political power in this country? That is the issue to be resolved by the votes that our people would cast at this general election.

At the time the republican constitution was accepted by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter very important changes took place among the political movements of the Tamils and in the midst of the Muslim people. The Tamil Parties that were at one another's throat, with conflicting goals, came together, at last, to form the Tamil United Front. This became possible at a conference of the Tamil political Parties held in 1971 at Vellvettiturai. Organisational consolidation followed at Trincomalee and in 1976 the Front came to be called the Tamil United Liberation Front.

A number of incidents that took place in the country along with certain actions of the Government following the proclamation of the republic led to a rethinking in the minds of Muslim people also. Particularly the Muslims in the Eastern and North-Western regions of Ceylon realised that their religion and language, lands and opportunities of employment were all being taken away from them and that in their own native land their lives and property too were insecure. They also realised that movements that accepted the leadership of the Sinhalese political parties would not defend even these basic rights of theirs. This realisation led to the formation of the Muslim United Front. Bound together by the bonds of a common language and intertwining lives in a common territory and brought together by the common danger of total destruction, the Tamils and the Muslims realised the indispensability of joint action. Subject to the safeguards of preserving the identity of the Muslims and ensuring their sovereignty, the Muslim United Front joined the Tamil United Liberation Front as a constituent unit. The rights of the Muslim people in the Tamil State of Eelam will be amplified further in this manifesto. When we speak of the Tamil Nation, we refer to the entirety of the people in this country to whom the mother tongue is Tamil.

ONE QUESTION: FREEDOM OR SERVITUDE?

The General election of 1977 is a crucial one to the Tamil Nation. So far as the Tamil territory is concerned, this general election is a clash between the only political movement of the Tamil Nation and the representative of the various political parties of Sinhalese imperialism that keeps the Tamil nation under its heels. The election in the Sinhala territory decides the question as to which of their parties should come to power. And in the Tamil territory, the question to be resolved is whether the Tamils want their freedom or continued servitude. The Tamil United Liberation Front will use this election to resolve the issue.

HISTORY

Though Ceylon is a single state now, yet by facts of history, by the languages spoken by its inhabitants, by culture, tradition and by

psychology, it is the common home of two nations and consists of two countries. The present republic of Sri Lanka is in reality a union of "Sinhala Land" and "Tamil Eelam". The fact that the Tamil nation has been living in this country from pre-historic times enjoying its sovereign rights under a state of its own is recorded in no less an authority than the great work of Sinhalese history—Mahawamsa. Even before the Christian era, the entire island of Ceylon was ruled by Tamil Kings, SENAN KUDDIKAN and ELARA (ELLALAN) and thereafter for over thousand years, as a result of struggle for supremacy between the Tamil Kings and the Sinhalese Kings, the capital of the Sinhalese Kings was gradually shifted southwards away from Tamil Centres. These are facts of recorded history. It is also a fact that the entire island was under the sway of Tamil Kings at times and the Sinhalese Kings at other times. From this background of alternating fortunes, emerged, at the beginning of the 13th century, a clear and stable political fact. At this time, the territory stretching in the western sea-board from Chilaw through Puttalam to Mannar and thence to the Northern Regions and in the East, Trincomalee and also the Batticaloa Regions that extended southwards up to Kumana or to the northern banks of the river Kumbukkan Oya were firmly established as the exclusive homeland of the Tamils. This is the territory of Tamil Eelam. For several centuries before the advent of Europeans to Ceylon in the 16th century, the Tamils have been living in this territory under their own Kingdom. Tamils reigned supreme in this country with their own national colours and their own military forces. The Portuguese who for over a century were at times entering into treaty relationships with these Tamil Kings and at other times meeting them in losing battle-fronts finally, in the war of 1619, captured the Tamil King, SANKILI KUMARAN, and took him to Goa where he was hanged. It is the assistance that King SANKILI gave to the Kandyan King in transiting reinforcements from neighbouring South India for the latter's war against the Portuguese that made the European power battle in full vigour for an indispensable capture of the Jaffna Kingdom. The Tamil King was captured by the

military might of the Portuguese aided by local Quislings. However, for three years thereafter, the Tamils continued to fight against foreign domination under the leadership of a coastal petty king VARNA-KULATHIHAN. And they lost. Neither the Sinhalese king nor the Sinhalese people did offer any assistance to the Tamils who were fighting to defend their state. It was their view that they and their country had nothing in common with the state of Tamil Eelam. This is exactly what we want the Sinhalese people to reiterate now.

The Portuguese who subdued the State of Tamil Eelam continued to govern it as a separate state. So did the Dutch who captured it, in turn, from the Portuguese. The Cleghorn Minute clearly establishes that even under the Dutch, the judicial district of Jaffna-patnam that covered the northern and eastern parts of the island extended, in the west coast of the island, from Puttalam to Mannar and in the east, southwards up to the limits of Kumana or the river Kumbukkan Oya that separated Batticaloa from the southern sinhalese district of Matara.

This Tamil State was captured from the Dutch by the British who too continued to retain its separate status till 1833 when for convenience of administration, it was brought under one all-island authority, the Government of Ceylon. Totally disregarding the history, traditions and aspirations of peoples of these various states, the British brought together under one authority the State of Eelam which they captured from the Dutch and Kandyan Kingdom which they overran in 1815 along with the Sinhalese Kingdom of Kotte.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE TAMIL NATION

The sovereignty of the people of Tamil Eelam changed hands from the Portuguese who defeated them in battle into those of the Dutch and later into those of the British. Ceylon was granted independence on the fourth of February 1948. Though political power was transferred to the people of this country, yet the British Queen continued to be the repository of their sovereignty. The republican constitution that came into operation with its acceptance by the Constituent Assembly on the 22nd of May 1972 severed this

legal continuity and guaranteed the sovereignty of the people of Ceylon proclaiming that the people of Ceylon themselves were the repository of this sovereignty. But the representatives of the Tamil Nation withheld their consent to this constitution and rejected it. 15 out of the 19 Members of Parliament elected by the Tamil people rejected it and boycotted the meeting of 22nd of May 1972 that was called to accept that constitution. It is clear that there is neither legal continuity nor the consent of the Tamil Nation to this constitution. The sovereignty of the Tamil Nation and the statehood that was taken away from them, in the battle-field in 1619 by the Portuguese, changed hands to the Dutch and later to the British by right of conquest. But it is clear that the Sinhalese Nation has not taken over the sovereignty of the Tamil Nation through legal continuity or by consent or by right of conquest. There is no doubt that the Tamil Nation, by standards of international law, does possess the right, on the basis of the right to self-determination, to re-establish its sovereignty and statehood and to draft for itself a constitution and thus to administer its own affairs, all by itself. The Sinhala Nation imposing its reign over the Tamil Nation and the conversion of Tamil Eelam into a colony of the Sinhala State are undoubtedly nothing else but imperialistic rule. The present constitution is one that was drafted on the basis of the right of self-determination of the Sinhala Nation, on a mandate given by that nation for that purpose. In the same manner, the Tamil United Liberation Front views the forthcoming general election as an opportunity to obtain the mandate of the Tamil Nation and on the basis of its right to self-determination, re-establish the independence of the State of Tamil Eelam, the expression of the sovereignty of the Tamil Nation. With a view to dispelling the doubts of those who still wonder whether there is no alternative to the re-establishment of our sovereignty in our exclusive soil, we wish to record here briefly to what position of desperation the Sinhala imperialistic reign of the last 30 years has driven the State of Tamil Eelam and the Tamil Nation.

THE TAMIL NATION UNDER SINHALESE DOMINATION

1. **CITIZENSHIP LAWS.** The citizenship laws of this country were made within six months of the transfer of political power to the Sinhalese in 1948. As a result of this legislation, the Tamil labourers of the tea and rubber plantations in the central hills of Ceylon whose blood and sweat alone have built up and sustained the prosperity of this country were rendered stateless. Out of the eight representatives elected to Parliament with their votes in 1947, not a single one could be returned in the general election of 1952 or ever thereafter. Constituencies, for the demarcation of which their voteless numerical strength was taken into computation, returned Sinhalese representatives whose numbers were thus inequitably swelled in Parliament. The Sinhalese people who form about 70% of the population secured for themselves 80% of the seats in Parliament. The concept of 'Safeguard to Minorities' was distorted into 'Safeguard to the Majority Community' that ensured a position of excessive representation to the majority community. One could see this very same position continued in the present Constitution as well. Thus, this disfranchisement of the plantation (Tamil) labour was the first step that paved the way for a series of denial of the political rights of the minorities with a view to enthroning Sinhalese imperialism.

Tamils and Muslims of Ceylon were made doubtful citizens by these Citizenship laws. In consequence they had to face a lot of miseries in their day to day life. And to inquire into these irritations and to provide relief to these people, the very government, in 1964, appointed a committee of government officers. The recommendations of this committee even after 13 years, today, are still in cold storage, awaiting implementation. To register a document of purchase of land made with his own savings, a Tamil or a Muslim outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces finds himself in the plight of having to pay a discriminatory tax of 100%. Tamils and Muslims who are unable to establish that for two generations before 1948 they were born here are being shut out from business, travel, trade, employment opportunities etc. The first fruits of freedom to the Tamil Nation was disfranchise-

ment, statelessness, status of illicit immigrant and a position of doubted citizens.

2. **COLONISATION** The aggression against Tamil Eelam by planned colonisation by the Sinhalese governments has been drastic and grave. Beginning with the government of the United National Party and those of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna and Sri Lanka Freedom Party that followed, in turn, put into operation planned and state-aided colonisation schemes by which lakhs and lakhs of Sinhalese people were planted in the homeland of the Tamil Nation that was once ruled by the Tamil kings from whom foreign imperialism wrested this Tamil homeland through force of arms. Sinhalese people were "put in occupation", at state expense, of extensive tracts of the Eastern Province at Pattipalai Aru, Allai, Kantalai, Padavikulam, etc. Illegal occupation of state owned lands by Sinhalese people with covert government support was legalised and their ownership regularised by the government. Lands and coconut estates taken over from the Tamils and Muslims in the Amparai district by the state, under the Ceiling on Lands Act, are now being distributed to the Sinhalese people. Lands owned by the Tamil and Muslim peasants and also lands, which these people themselves developed and cultivated at places like Kondaivettuwan and Akkilavel have been forcibly taken over and handed over, with government help, to the Sinhalese people. Puttalam is yet another District where state conspired, Sinhalese colonisation has deprived the local people of their territory. While this government has been providing these facilities to the Sinhalese aggressors of Tamil Eelam, it let loose the army, under Special Emergency Regulations, against the hill-country Tamil labourers who sought to make a living by opening and developing forest lands that lay unexploited and uncared for, at Punanai, in the Eastern Province. A cadju plantation scheme started at Kondaichi, in the Mannar District, is now a Sinhalese colony of two thousand families. In the very Tamil heartland of Jaffna, at Colombuthurai, a Sinhalese colony, like AMARASEKERAPURA, has been opened up. The Eastern Province where, when the British left in 1948, there were hardly a 10,000 Sinhalese, is now flooded with

some 1,80,000 Sinhalese people. The extent of this damage to the political power and influence of the Tamils is reflected in the newly created Parliamentary constituencies of Amparai and Seruwila which have engulfed some 1,500 square miles of Tamil territory. And this constitutes a 2/5th of the land area of the Eastern Province whose further development lies within these fertile lands, thus usurped. The Tamil Nation is confronted with the danger of being rendered a minority and being thus destroyed in its own homelands all over Tamil Ealam. The Nation realises the need to liberate its land to save itself from annihilation.

3. **LANGUAGE.** Before the attainment of independence, a resolution was passed in the State Council, the legislature, in 1944 that Sinhalese and Tamil shall be the official languages. Every Sinhalese political party at that time accepted this policy. But Mr. Bandaranaike's government, in 1956, passed the Sinhala Only Act. The United National Party too supported it. At present all the Sinhalese, political parties have accepted the policy of 'Sinhala Only'. This Act, which, in 1956, was an ordinary law, has in the republican constitution of 1972 been elevated to a constitutional status. Regulations on the use of Tamil Language which the Tamils secured for themselves as a result of several struggles with the government have been deliberately dethroned in the constitution. For, Section 8 (2) of the constitution unequivocally stipulates that these regulations will not be treated as being a part of the constitution. In consequence has developed a situation where the Tamil speaking public servants have to groan under the loss of equal opportunities with the Sinhalese officers in matters of employment, promotions, extension of service, increments etc. The real intention of the 'Sinhala Only Act', is to create a situation that would keep out the Tamil officers and ensure the appointment of Sinhalese officers only, in government service. The rulers are greatly successful in the endeavour. This is not an emotional issue as some are inclined to believe, in a country that is being overwhelmed with nationalisation, this is a life and death issue that affects the economic life of the Tamil Nation.

4. **RELIGION.** Buddhism has been given pre-eminence in the constitution and declared to be the only religion that would enjoy state protection. Other faiths have no right to any protection except the right of being practised, in private. Tamil Nation comprises Hindus, Christians and Muslims. And the constitution has thus placed on them the stamp of second class citizens.

5. **CULTURE.** Though the Tamils and Sinhalese have lived in this country for over two thousand years, yet the Tamils have continued to preserve their individual culture based on their language. This culture and the traditions were nurtured even under Portuguese, Dutch and British imperialistic rule. The vital reason behind this survival was that though the Tamils in Ealam were not strong in numbers, yet they never lost the opportunities of maintaining close bonds with the powerful fountains of Tamil culture across the Palk Strait, in Tamil Nadu, South India. No doubt there were pre-eminent sons of Ealam like Arumuga Navalar, Swami Vipulananthar, Father Gnana piragasar and others who rendered tremendous service to the growth of international Tamil culture. Yet, if the bonds of art and literature etc. with South India are snapped, it is certain that the culture of Tamil Ealam would weaken and turn into one that is Sinhalese based. In recent times, the government of this country not only imposed several restrictions on the import of cultural works, literature, quality films etc. from Tamil Nadu but also put obstacles to the visits of Tamil scholars and artists from Tamil Nadu. By the government policy of imposition of the Sinhala language several Sinhala words like FOYA, POLA, LAKSALA, SALUSALA are creeping into the Tamil language in Ealam. With the curtailment of links with Tamil Nadu, on the one hand and the increasing tempo of Sinhala imposition on the other, Tamil language will undergo strange transformation and the identity of the Tamil culture will be destroyed and finally the Tamil Nation itself would disappear from this land. That is the goal that the government has set for itself.

6. **EDUCATION.** Through the help of Christian religious institutions under foreign colonial rule and later through great educational ins-

titutions the Tamil people established by themselves, for themselves, the Tamil students of this country were in the forefront of education. Sinhalese students in districts like Colombo, Kandy and Galle also enjoyed similar opportunities. It is imperative that the Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim students of the backward areas, deficient in such facilities, should be provided with those facilities and enabled to go forward. It is an obligation of the State. But several obstacles are put in the way of Tamil students outside the Northern and Eastern provinces in obtaining even elementary education. Several Tamil elementary schools are being closed down to provide accommodation for Sinhalese schools. Tamil sections in several Sinhalese schools are being destroyed. Some are not functioning because of non-appointment of sufficient number of teachers. As a result Tamil students in several areas are compelled to study through the Sinhala medium. In the heartland of Tamil Ealam, in the Northern Province itself, a few people have been enticed with teaching jobs and Sinhala Buddhist schools have been opened and approved and Sinhala has been made the medium of instruction there. If the government, could display so much of audacity here, then one could easily fathom the depth and fanaticism of Sinhala imperialism in the annihilation of the Tamil Nation.

In the sphere of education, it was in the university admissions of 1970 that the gravest injustice was perpetrated against the Tamil speaking students. Large number of Tamil students qualified to gain university admission to the medical, engineering and science faculties that year were shut out through an inequitable device, designated standardisation. While Sinhalese students who obtained 229 marks were admitted to the medical faculty, Tamil students who were admitted were required to obtain 250 marks. In the same manner, for admission to the Engineering Faculty of the Peradeniya Campus a Sinhalese student had to obtain 227 marks whereas a Tamil student had to score 250 marks. It is intolerable that while a Tamil student with even 249 marks cannot gain admission, a Sinhalese student with 227 marks could do so, with ease. For the last 7 years this standardisation has been in operation in

various guises and in every faculty of the university, the number of admission of Tamil students has been going down. Here is an illustration: Of the total number of students admitted to the university in 1969, the percentage of Tamil students was 40.8. This figure has been steadily going down and it was 16.3 in 1974; it dropped still further in 1975 and 1976. One could see that the sections that were most affected by this injustice were the most backward ones in the Tamil community. Thus, parents who lacked the means to employ private tutors to get their children pushed through this drastic ordeal had to forget about higher education to their children. As a result, the student community was driven to the brink of frustration and engulfed by anxiety about their future. Could anyone deny that the Sinhalese reign that has been responsible for the grave injury should be ended if this generation of youth is to live as human beings brimming with self-confidence.

7. **EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES.** The very same discriminatory policies pursued in the sphere of education are being pursued in a worse manner in the field of employment. Out of a 22% population of Tamil speaking people, not even a 2 (two) percent are selected for jobs in the armed forces. In the police force, at the level of the lowest rung, the constable, five percent of the places and in higher rungs an even smaller percentage of the places only, are offered. In the clerical and technical grades also, the percentage is the same. Because equal opportunities in education were available in earlier times, Tamil students were able to gain enough places in the medical and engineering professions. Now, even in these spheres, as a result of the impact of standardisation, a percentage that is far less than the one warranted by the percentage of the Tamil population is taken in. Vacancies in the minor grades in the Tamil areas are filled with people selected in divisional offices like Anuradhapura and Badulla in the Sinhalese areas. As an example could be cited the recent selections of the Ceylon Electricity Board for vacancies in the Tamil district of Jaffna. Out of the people selected at the Anuradhapura office, 66 were Sinhalese and 2 (two) were Tamils. In a country where, as a result of the policy of

nationalisation, the private sector is shrinking, should we not ponder what tragedy would overtake the economic life of the Tamil Nation if the government should adopt such a form of discriminatory policies. If our country is to prosper, the reins of our destiny must not be left in the hands of others. We must become our own masters of our own Destiny. That is the irrevocable goal that the Tamil Nation has set for itself; now.

(To be Concluded)

REVIEW

Lake House Today

by Jayantha Somasundaram

The most incredible chapter in the history of our journalism began just before the last election. *Lake House* which had been castigated as the mouthpiece of the SLFP, the kept-press as it was contemptuously called, saw the emergence of a vigorous UNP trade union some of whose ringleaders had antecedents other than the UNP, like the CMU.

With the election just hours away the music stopped at *Lake House*. The UNP Union called a strike and believe it or not, most everybody in this bastion of SLFP propaganda was for it. Those who protested loudest about their UNP *bona fides* were those who needed to. They were the first to find seats for themselves in this macabre game of musical chairs.

With the election over and a new management at the helm, all hell broke loose at *Lake House*. A reign of terror was unleashed. A witch hunt which would put Joseph McCarthy to shame was launched by the UNP unions. Those whose UNP loyalties were suspect have had a harrowing time.

The funny part of it all—if one can possibly find amusement in other's misfortunes—is the fact that the few SLFP supporters who were there before the election, either jumped the fence, or just didn't return to work.

It is important to stress that in actual fact, particularly where the English papers were concerned, with the exception of one or two appointments which consisted of political outsiders, the overwhelming number of journalists were good Wijewardene products, at best apolitical, at worst congenial UNPers.

Of course, as we have said before, this did not prevent many at *Lake House* pretending that they were more SLFP than the SLFP itself, so long as the going was good for the SLFP.

By and large the people who are today being harassed at *Lake House* are those who have silently endured four years of pro-SLFP management. They have waited eagerly, anxiously, expectantly for the return of the UNP and a revision to the *status quo ante*. But what they encountered was shock treatment.

The criteria of loyalty is whether one participated in the pre-election UNP-led strike. UNP unionists have lists of those whose loyalty they doubt. These people are being ordered with a moment's notice to leave the premises. This list includes many many innocent journalists, who by no stretch of anybody's imagination, could be taken for SLFPers. For them it's been bewildering. Shock treatment.

One's loyalty to the Grand Old Party is being ensured by a frightening ritual. *Lake House* staffers have to worship a picture of either the foster father of the UNP, the late D. R. Wijewardene or Prime Minister J. R. Jayawardene. They are then baptised, red indian style, with smears of green paint on their faces. Muslims whose religion forbids such idolatory have been forced to submit to this indignity. The participants in this sickening ritual include senior lady journalists and others of equally high position. Some have broken down in despair. Shock treatment.

Then there is Siberia. This is the central News Desk where all the 'doubtful' cases are confined. They are kept like prisoners, doing no work, almost as an example to the others. Senior journalists like the Chief Sub Editor of an English daily and the former Pictures Editor are quarantined here, being subjected to the humiliation of a bun and plantain at lunch time. To such people with a

life time of loyal service to *Lake House* and Ceylonese journalism, this must seem like a nightmare. Shock treatment.

The lady editor of another English daily was at first not allowed to enter *Lake House*. Later once she had paid homage to D. R. Wijewardene's portrait, she was brought back and chucked into an insignificant post. Merit and experience thrown to the winds. For career journalists it's Shock treatment.

Camped outside *Lake House* are UNP thugs. When an 'undesirable' walks out of *Lake House* all the new dictators from the unions do is shout "there goes a black leg." The thugs pick up the victim from there and beat him up. The hell of the situation is that many UNP people are the ones who have been roughed up. Shock treatment.

In SLFP times *The Daily News* was derided for being like the gazette. Today its a lot worse than that. The new editor is a good UNPer and a good Sinhala journalist. Most of the English journalists are either at home, or tending their bruised anatomies, or confined to Siberia.

What is most baffling is the fact that journalists who were victimised by the SLFP administration, some who were kept in cold storage in the *Ceylon News*, others who had been dismissed, those who had suffered for their loyalty to the UNP, have failed to make a come back. Many of them are very competent journalists without a doubt. They have waited patiently, expecting redress. No provision is being made for them.

Behind the enthusiasm of the UNP boys one can see some method in the madness. Some who have secured places in the last four years, often by stooging the SLFP, are anxious to retain their positions and are currying favour with the UNP in order to keep out the UNP Old Guard.

The rampant indiscipline, the mob rule of the unions, the violence of their thugs is now an established fact. The humiliation that senior hands have had to suffer has eroded forever perhaps, their ability to maintain discipline. The confusion and bewilderment of long standing if silent UNP supporters, those who have served *Lake House* faithfully all their lives, is pathetic

to behold. It is a blow from which they can hardly recover. Their self respect will be hard to retrieve. To them it has been a fortnight of Shock treatment.

A REFRESHING SIGN

The Mahanayakes And The Rule Of Law

by James T. Rutnam

One of the refreshing signs of the new era is the forthright declaration of the Maha Nayake of the Asgiriya Chapter, Sri Palipane Chandananda Maha Nayake Thera, when he addressed the Prime Minister on the latter's visit to the Dalada Maligawa on 28 July. This is how it was reported in the *Sun* newspaper the following day:

"The Maha Nayake said that the people of the country had been suffering under the previous regime for a period of seven years. It was because they could not bear up that suffering any longer that they decided in one voice to change that Government.

"He told Mr. Jayawardene that he is Prime Minister to serve not only Buddhists but all countrymen. He must hold the scales evenly among Buddhists, Muslims, Christians and Hindus. Religion and language should be treated equally. The Prime Minister should do everything to correct the situation that prevailed hitherto."

The admonition that the venerable Thera gave to the Prime Minister should be written in letters of gold. It should constantly appear before the Prime Minister. It is a Charter of Hope for these afflicted from discrimination and indifference. "Religion and language should be treated equally." These words truly distinguish the ideal Buddhist in these times. The venerable elder had gone further. "The Prime Minister", he said, "should do every thing in his power to correct the situation that prevailed hitherto." Here there was an admission that the situation that prevailed hitherto was wrong. We await eagerly, confidently, hopefully for the correction.

It was further reported in the *Sun* that "In reply the Prime Minister said that he had noted carefully

the request of the Maha Nayake and that he will do everything in his power to fulfil his wishes." These words were uttered in one of the hallowed places of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, the Dalada Maligawa. What more do we want?

This was one of those rare occasions, so far as I know, where a High Priest in such circumstances had refrained from speaking of *Sinhala Jatiya*. Such a cry may bring elation to the Sinhalese, but it has the opposite effect on the others who are no less patriotic. After all, Buddhism does not belong to the Sinhalese only. Some of the greatest Buddhists were Tamils. The one and only epic of Theravada Buddhism *Manimekalai* was written in Tamil by a Tamil.

The words of the venerable Palipane Chandananda Maha Nayake Thera were like a ray of heartening sunshine. It came soon after the sweeping victory of the UNP, which was like the rain that brought hope to a parched waste of despair.

The Prime Minister's speech from the Dalada Maligawa has already been commented upon in the *Tribune*. It was reminiscent of his moving funeral oration on the death of Dudley Senanayake. It had a ring of sincerity that brought instant response from the audience. I had the good fortune to hear both the speeches. The written word does hardly any justice to the spoken.

The *Tribune* has called this address "an inspiring and soul-stirring speech." Indeed Jayawardene spoke like a new messiah bringing the good tidings of the Buddha, for long misrepresented and misapplied by self-seeking men who had failed to realise that fundamentally Buddhism means Maitreya, Justice and Fairplay and no Hate. E.W. Adikaram, the learned Buddhist scholar has clearly explained this in his famous article which was reproduced in the *Tribune* last week.

N. M. Perera, who might have been a worthy Prime Minister had he only continued to hold fast to his early ideals and followed an inflexible course, had raised an interesting point over the legality of summoning Parliament on 4 August. The Attorney-General has given his ruling supporting the Prime Minister and had explained that the intention of the relevant Sec-

tion was to bind a Prime Minister to name a date within the maximum four months interval allowed between the date of dissolution and the date of the assembly of the new Parliament.

In the issue of the Sun on 30 July, Devanayagam, the Minister of Justice, is reported to have said in this connection, "Even if there was any doubt interpretation should be in favour of the decision of the people. It was unjust and unfair to be bound by a decision taken by a Government that has been discredited by the people. The people had given the UNP a mandate and nothing should prevent that mandate from being exercised."

While it is agreed that the Prime Minister has through the President correctly and legally summoned Parliament for the fourth of August one need not take cover for this action in any "mandate" or "decision" given by the people. The mandate was for Parliament to govern under and within the established Laws of the land. This is what is called the Rule of Law. If it is argued that the people had given a mandate, and that the Government could carry on irrespectively of what the Law states, then it would smack of the old regime's cry "Election Appita Eppa", viz. We have the mandate from the people not to have an election.

This brings us to what the former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike is reported to have said in the course of an interview to a foreign journal *Himmat*. She said "When certain people suggested a postponement of the elections, I rejected the idea even though we could have mustered the required two-third majority to change the Constitution." Here again the former Prime Minister had been ill-advised. Under the Law she certainly could have changed the Constitution with a two-third majority; but she could not have extended her own tenure in Parliament. Jayawardne had categorically maintained this position, as we have seen when he resigned from Parliament on this issue. The Rule of Law applies to all Governments. Despite the massive majority gained by the present Government it too comes within the ambit of the Rule of Law.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Cost Of Living

— a Commitment —

by R. Kahawita

The most urgent problem that awaits a solution by the J. R. Jayawardene Government is "the Cost of Living. It affects both producer and consumer. The items of food and clothing that affects the daily budget of the consumer, as was in 1970 and today, were published by the UNP in a leaflet issued during the election campaign, explaining the price spiral of basic consumer goods during the last seven years. Now that the Party is in the seats of Government—with hardly any seats available to others—the consumer expects a miracle to happen overnight. This is not possible. It may be six months before a wage earner can take a part of the pay packet home after he has purchased his daily 'vituals'. This must be made clear to all and sundry, so that they do not expect too much from the miracle already happened—the change of a Government from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on 21st July 1977.

In the daily diet of the consumer, protein—both animal and vegetable—is an important constituent of food intake. What are the sources of protein? Meat, fish, eggs and pulses. Meat is expensive because animal meat sources are in extreme short supply. Cattle do not breed as fast as we consume. The price of meat cattle has gone up, because of the shortages and high prices of consumer goods of the breeders. This is reciprocal. To produce sufficient meat is a long term programme—very little can be done to reduce the cost of meat except for the minute reciprocal reduction in the cost of a breeder's food items, if that could be reduced. Action to increase the meat producing cattle population is urgent and must be undertaken as a long term plan.

Poultry and Pigs. This is a short term plan of 6 to 18 months. The biggest stumbling block is the cost of animal feed, which is controlled and processed by the Government Oils and Fats Corporation. *This institution must be cleaned up, disciplined and efficiency brought*

in, and corruption wiped out; at the same time, the few Private Sector provenders given all the assistance and procurement facilities to produce in bulk and quality. If this is done, price of eggs, poultry meat and pig meat can be brought down within 6 to 8 months. Provided of course production incentives and facilities are given to the producers. Then, eggs at 30-35 cents, Poultry Meat at 4/50-5/- a pound and pig meat at 2/50-3/- a pound is within reach in 18 months or less.

Milk. This, too, is a long-term plan. Many a village cow that was producing milk has been slaughtered. Who has suffered most are the children. Solution: Import baby food and milk in consumer packets to prevent contamination and waste. It is urgent to remove mainitricin in our growing child population. Therefore, import all the milk foods required to feed the children—the cost will be Rs 50 million per annum—and distribute them at cost price.

Vegetable Proteins. Some Varieties of protein-rich pulses can be grown locally. It takes time after the devastating Policies of a Minister of Agriculture, who has been sent home by the voter. While a programme of developing subsidiary crops is worked out, pulses—ready to consume—must be imported. India and Pakistan can be the sources of supplies—particularly Mysoor Dhal and Thoor Dhal. The imports should be a temporary measure—may be 18 months—till the Agricultural programme is brought back to be in line with the national needs.

Fish. Price spiral of fish today is mainly reciprocal—consumer goods to the fisher-folk are high, so they must increase their prices. There is no shortage; catches are more or less the same. Complementary causes are, high cost of transport and distribution (for some reason, ice is available at a reasonable price). Prices of motor vehicles and carrier cycles are very high, so operation, depreciation and repairs are high; so the price of fish goes up. This is an area where the Government can step in. All hidden duties and price escalations have to be reduced. Push cycles play a very important part in distribution, particularly to the interior. Cycles are not available for the love of money. Prices are in the range of Rs. 600/- to Rs.

800/- apiece, compared to prices in India—Rs. 250/- to Rs. 300/-. Import at least 3000 cycles a year from India—they have a surplus—till our "sick cycle factories" are reorganised. The reason why they are 'sick' should be investigated and corrective measures taken to put out sturdier, lighter and suitable machines for rural transport in the market around Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/- apiece. This is urgent, as it will reduce the transport cost of several items of consumer goods. Also a means to provide self-employment to the unemployed.

Rice. Outside the Ration, the price of a measure of rice can be brought down to Rs. 2/-. There is plenty of paddy awaiting milling for want of milling capacity. A dog-in-the-manger policy of the Paddy Marketing Board in not milling outside paddy except their own is one reason for this. Many a rice mill has been taken over by the PMB. Also, the Board has its own mills, but all of them are working undercapacity. A policy change to offer milling facilities in the Board's mills, will bring a large quantity of rice to the market, with a resulting drop in price. Yala Harvest will be good; so towards the end of August, there will be more paddy needing milling. How to increase paddy production is another kettle of fish. The aim now is to reduce the price of off-ration rice to Rs. 2/- per measure.

Flour. This is given to Sri Lanka as Gifts or outright grants, or under PL 480. There is no reason why a pound of flour cannot be retailed at fifty cents and a pound of bread at around forty cents immediately? Government should not convert gifts into unconscionable profits. Let the people have it as such—"gifts". Cheaper flour will reduce the run on rice which, in turn, will be then available for the free ration without imports to meet the ration requirements. If the price of bread and flour is reduced immediately, it will help the consumer.

Sugar. World market prices have come down from what it was two years ago when the price was fixed at Rs. 5/- a lb. Producing our own Sugar is another story. Take sugar off the control and sell the sugar at CIF price without FEECs and 50% plus the CIF to the consumer. This will reduce the cost of a cup of tea to the worker. (I am aware of the price

structure of flour and sugar to cover the cost of the free measure of rice; this can be dealt with in other ways, later.) The reduction in the price of sugar will affect a large number of consumer items. It will adversely affect the price support given to crude Sugar-cane Jaggery, etc., but this will adjust itself in a free market).

There are several locally produced items of food, the prices of which must be stabilized.

Chillies-Dry. Under local weather conditions, supply is seasonal. The obvious thing to do is to import and build up buffer stocks to be released to the market during the 'off season', to maintain a price of Rs. 8/- to Rs. 9/- to the consumer. Chillies are available in plenty in India at about one-third our prices. Import the buffer stocks and use the profits to support the local producer. This aspect I have dealt with elsewhere, some time back. There is no real problem in this item, if the situation arising from seasonal shortages are handled intelligently and steps taken to import when there is a glut in the producing countries.

Red Onions. The position of Red Onions is the same as dry chillies—imports to build up stocks. In both these cases, the Government must ensure that the local grower the seed material and agro-chemicals in time and at a reasonable price. Chemicals should not be adulterated to reduce price and increase profits, as it is happening today.

Potatoes. The island's requirements can be produced locally; the problem is seed and fertilizer. Seed potatoes should be imported and issued to the grower at a subsidized price, free of FEECs and duty. To stabilize prices, storage facilities to be provided so that stocks can be carried over to the 'off season'. With all the facilities provided to the cultivator, the consumer price can be pegged down to around Rs. 1/50 to Rs. 2/- a pound.

Vegetables. Currently, there is a big drop in production. The reasons are many. There is no organised production, grading, pecking and transport. Due to these shortcomings, wastage is tremendous and this wastage has to be borne by the producer, thus nullifying all his efforts. Quality seed is simply not available in quantity

and regularly. The Dept. of Agriculture has failed completely in this matter. To set up a seed production unit takes time, as well as a fairly vigorous organisation. While this is being done by the Dept., quality seed will have to be imported and a regular supply maintained during the seasons. This same applies to Agro-chemicals necessary for vegetable growing. Market Gardening, as such, is non-existent in Ceylon. This is an area where a whole programme of employment orientated projects can be developed. This goes into another area of activities. Due to keeping qualities of Up-country vegetables they are popular everywhere. Therefore, production must be increased by liberalising land for market gardening, regular supply of seed—to be imported, pumps for irrigation and easy procurement of fertilizer and chemicals, organising the marketing facilities to the producer.

Imported Condiments. Coriander, Cummin Seed, Fennel Seeds, etc. These must be imported in quantity and distributed in such quantities that a housewife can purchase at least a month's supply to reduce the weekly journeys to the ration shops to buy the rations and save the time spent in the queue weekly. These must be imported free of FEECs and duty and sold to the consumer at CIF, plus ten per cent, or so.

There are other condiments grown locally, like Pepper, Mustard, Saffron, etc. The prices of these will automatically come down when the price of other food items come down.

Dry Fish and Maldive Fish. Local production of these two items should be undertaken by the Fisheries Corporation, as import substitution items. Instead of the Corporation producing unsaleable tinned fish, the Corporation should undertake processing these two items at sites where fish is plentiful. Pesalai Cannery may be disposed of to the private sector to produce tinned fish. In the meantime, these two items should be imported free of FEECs and duty. If the prices of these two items are to be brought down, then the import should be handed over to the private sector on a quota basis. Dealing in Dry Fish is highly tricky as the importer must follow up the market trend with the seasons. As this is the

cheapest source of Protein to our people, dry fish must be made available freely and cheaply to them.

Multi-million-rupee fishery projects should be abandoned. There may be glamour and world-wide publicity in such ventures, but they have failed. What we should aim at, are small projects in keeping with our economy so that a large number of self-employed youths can be trained and attracted to the fishing business. Capital investment in a small unit is around Rs. 32,000/- and less, when compared to millions as planned by the Corporation for International aid—Scrap them.

Tea. Tea at Rs. 8/- to Rs. 12/- per lb. for the local consumer is fantastic. It must be reduced to Rs. 3/- a pound. Tea Sales for the local market should be held regularly, arrangements made with large tea packeting houses like Liptons, Brooke Bonds, etc. to packet tea for the local market in 1/4-lb., 1/2-lb. and 1-lb. packets price-marked at Rs. 3/- a pound, and arrangements made for distribution to retailers. Such packeting houses can purchase from the Local Sales on a permit system. Tea estates are now owned by the State, so let the people enjoy a cheap cup of tea. Their need comes first.

The above are the main items of food that go to make up the food basket of the average consumer. If the Government desires to reduce the cost of these items as promised during the election campaign, it can be done before the year is out. This should be the first step.

In general, there are several fiscal measures that should be taken by Government to reduce the Cost of Living. They are, in summary, (1) No FEECs to be levied on the import of basic needs of the consumer as suggested above; (2) A nominal customs duty levied to cover documentation expenses; (3) BTT to be reduced to 5% on items of food coming under 1 and 2 above, and where applicable; (4) Profits of CWE and other Government organisations importing food items to be levelled down to a nett 7%—the maximum. (5) Handling, transport and cost of distribution of food items to consumer points should be rationalised so that there are no empty trucks moving. Let the private sector

participate in the transport of food items, and thereby reduce wastage in trucks under utilization, maintenance of trucks, etc; (6) Retrench surplus staff in the various co-operatives handling consumer goods. Unemployment cannot be solved at the expense of consumer needs. This is what the last Government did and, as a result the present Government has to carry an unprecedented C.O.L. burden. This cannot be continued. (7) Sell off the investments of the CWE in Hotel Lanka Oberoi (5-Star Hotel) and use the proceeds to give a better and cheaper service to the consumer. The whole Co-operative movement was started to serve the consumer better than what he got at the hands of the private sector, importer, wholesaler, stockist and distributor, who were supposed to give the consumer a raw deal. In this, the Co-operative movement has failed "Wholesale". Instead of training hotel staff to be courteous, decent and presentable to the tourist, train the Co-operative staff to be courteous and polite towards the consumer, irrespective of his status. Under the Constitution, the consumer is the "top dog". He has brought about a revolution in nine hours and he has the right to demand what the present Government promised him—to bring the cost of living down. It is for this reason that I suggested a separate ministry for Pricing and Consumer Protection" in my article in Pegging Down Cost of Living.

The other most urgent need is to get rid of the queues at ration shops. The agony the consumers go through waiting for their half ounce of Maldiva Fish is indescribable. The only way to do away with the queue is to broad-base the distribution. Establish private sector traders also to participate in the distribution. This, was the case before we started on the road to "State Socialism". This kind of Socialism the people have rejected in no uncertain terms. The people do not want it. Their desire is to go back to the old establishment of "Gamey Kadday".

Let us take the one-time small trader into our confidence and let him also participate in the distribution of consumer goods, side by side with the so-called "Co-operative Shop". If they are efficient, they will survive. Incidentally the "Gamey Kadday" will provide

self-employment to a large number of now unemployed persons. Another aspect of this institution is that the small scale or subsistence cultivator will be able to sell his surplus to the "Kadday" and he, in turn, to others who need them. This completes the cycle of exchange in the village, itself: producing, selling and buying. This satisfies everybody, and this should be the aim of any Good Government. If people are happier this way, why should they be herded to "State Socialism" which they have rejected. Let us start the business of supply and distribution from the Village level—Village is our Strength.

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AFTER THE INDIAN ELECTIONS

Freedom And Discipline In Democracy

by— k. P. S. Menon

In the second half of March, India was the scene of what more than one foreign newspaper called "a political earthquake". An earthquake it was and, judged from the results of the recent State Assembly elections, the tremors continue. But, it was an earthquake free from the physical havoc which generally accompanies earthquake of such magnitude, thanks to the gospel of non-violence which the Father of the Nation had dinned into the heads of the people.

The outcome of the General Election in 1977 was not only different from, but the very reverse of what it was in 1971. In 1971 there was a veritable Indira "wave" which swept the Congress triumphantly to power not only with an absolute but a two-thirds majority. In 1977 the Janata wave took the place of the Indira wave of 1971.

Almost all observers are agreed that in reversing the verdict of 1971 so decisively, the Indian electorate was not behaving quixotically. Its conduct was very different from that of the Roman mob in Shakespeare's play which, swayed by the eloquence of Mark Antony, turned the tables on the assassins of Julius Caesar.

In the elections of 1977 the pattern of voting in the South was materially different from that in the North. The entire *Aryavarta* voted against the Congress. The entire *Dravidistan* voted for it. It is as if the Janata wave stopped short of the Vindhya mountains, or at any rate, lost its force on its way to Kanya Kumari.

For this disparity between the North and the South there were substantial reasons. What has come to be known as the *extra-constitutional caucus* in the Centre did not have, or was not given, an opportunity for operating in the South. The southern States escaped the excesses, associated with the caucus in States like Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, especially in the matter of compulsory sterilisation.

But, more than personalities, involved in the elections were, issues that were fundamental. The elections touched the age-old question—freedom vs discipline.

The nature of freedom and the extent to which it should be tempered by discipline is a question which has intrigued political philosophers as well as politicians from time immemorial. Our electorate, largely illiterate and poverty-stricken as it is, showed good sense to an uncanny degree in answering the question in the general elections of 1977 and, earlier, of 1971. To simplify matters to the 'point of absurdity, our electorate may be said to have voted for discipline in 1971 and for freedom in 1977. What India needed in 1971 was discipline. What it longed for in 1977 was freedom. And what India permanently needs is a blend of freedom and discipline. Or, shall we say, a disciplined democracy?

At the end of the sixties democracy in India was going off the rails. All the evils of democracy, groupism, casteism, parochialism, sectarianism and defectionism were rampant. Democracy was in fact becoming demogogy. The ruling principle seemed to be "Each for himself—or each party, each group and each union for itself—and the devil take the hindmost." The Congress lost its majority in the Centre and in the States and India was faced with the prospect of a series of coalition governments; and coalition governments are notoriously unstable, except in a time of real national emergency.

Most foreign observers thought that India was heading for chaos or a military dictatorship. And Philip Talbot, an Assistant Secretary of State in the USA said: "India is going down the drain."

The elections of 1971 silenced these Cassandras. The electorate returned the Congress, which was then the only party capable of ensuring stability, not only with an absolute, but with a two-thirds majority. That was not a minute too soon. For before long India was faced with the grimmest hour in its history, which also turned out to be the most glorious, the Bangladesh crisis, when two great powers, and many not so great almost ranged themselves against it. Thanks to the solid backing India received from its consistently unflinching partner in peace, progress and prosperity, the USSR, it emerged splendidly victorious from the war forced on it by Pakistan which resulted in the liberation of East Bengal from the Pakistani colonial yoke.

The voting of the electorate in 1977 was equally significant. Basically it was a vote for freedom. The nation had been "cribbed, cabined and confined" within the steel frame of the Emergency. Whatever justification there might have been for its proclamation, the Emergency had outlined its purpose. It had also resulted in the harassment and worse of innocent individuals, as in the Rajan case which occurred in an exceptionally well-governed State, Kerala.

On the eve of the elections of 1971, the pendulum had swung to one extreme, total freedom; and on the eve of the elections of 1977, it swung to the other extreme; total discipline. On both occasions, the electorate tried to set it right.

In 1971, the danger was that freedom might become licence, and in 1977 the fear was that discipline might become dictatorship. Mahatma Gandhi made some profound observations regarding the role of discipline in a democracy. "Democracy", he said, "and violence go ill together. Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Nothing is so easy as to train mobs for the simple reason that they have no mind, no pre-meditation. They act in a frenzy. I do not mind governmental fury as I mind mob fury".

The primary function of government, especially in a country

such as India which has only recently attained independence, is to ensure, to use a phrase of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the architect of the Chinese Revolution of 1911, "the peoples livelihood." Dr. Sun Yat-sen based the newly formed Republic of China on what he called "the three people's principles," namely nationalism, democracy and the people's livelihood. However, the Kuomintang Government, under his successor President Chiang Kai-shek, grossly neglected the third principle of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and that is why it fell ignominiously to Communism, which promised to ensure the people's livelihood.

Mahatma Gandhi realised its importance: He once said that "to the hungry even God shall appear only in the form of food". Man, however, cannot live by bread alone. He has other yearnings, as demonstrated in the recent elections.

If the Janata Government can deliver the goods without unduly restricting our freedom or allowing it to become licence, if it can fulfil or go some way towards fulfilling our nationally accepted goal, namely, a socialist pattern of society at home, and an enlightened policy of non-alignment abroad, with the inevitable bias towards peace, progress and freedom from colonial exploitation, it will have set an example to the world—particularly to the "Third World" which, in its efforts to rise from the abyss of poverty and misery after centuries of domination by imperialist Powers has been oscillating between freedom and discipline, between democracy and dictatorship.

In order to achieve our national objective, to which we should rededicate ourselves with renewed fervour, our continued friendship with progressive forces the world over will be naturally, imperative. In a country where most of the people live below the poverty-line, and it is these people who have given the Janata such a massive mandate, only a socialistic pattern of society has relevance, and India's sustained effort to achieve it must continue.

—Patriot

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CIBA DRUG

Enterovioform Damages Brain And Eyes

ENTEROVIOFORM MAY CURE YOUR DIARRHOEA but it will damage your brain and eyes in the process. In fact it may have already affected millions in our country since this is one of the commonest drugs used to control diarrhoea.

Practically in all cases of non-specific diarrhoea, except those like amoebic dysentery, this drug based on iodochlorohydroxyquinoline or similar other preparations are prescribed by doctors on a large scale. It is available in all chemist shops without any prescription.

Enterovioform is made by a number of companies but the most popular is the brand called Mexaform produced by Ciba-Geigy. Sandoz company has also marketed similar drugs like Intestopan-In and Folestine. High pressure propaganda campaign by Ciba, however, has very largely captured the Indian market for itself.

According to a report in *Times of India* (June 20), well-known British medical journal *Lancet* in its latest issue has demanded that "the time has come to halt the free sale of Clinoquinol (enterovioform-ed) and similar drugs for intestinal ailments and to demand good evidence before their use for other purposes is allowed to continue."

The drug is already banned in Norway, Sweden and Japan. It is available only on specific prescription of doctors in West Germany, France, Denmark and Finland. Demand has been made for its ban in USA and Ciba-Geigy has recently removed the drug from the American market.

According to *Lancet*, the utility of this drug in the treatment or prevention of diarrhoea "is scanty".

The bad effect of this drug came to be known in Japan recently when patients using this drug suffered from brain damage and eye trouble, leading even to blindness.

Several eminent doctors in our country have noted effect of drugs like enterovioform and similar preparations. Drs. P. C. Pandiya of Jaipur medical college who is also president of Pharmacy Council of India, J. S. Bapna and S. K. Patni of University College of Medical

Sciences, New Delhi, in a letter to the editor of the *Times of India* (June 23) have pointed out:

"The Indian brand of 'Mexaform' contains two more drugs—phanquone and oxyphenonium—and has come to be used not only to travellers diarrhoea but diarrhoeas of all descriptions, including that due to indigestion, and in most cases brings about dramatic relief, which initially is not due to its iodo-chlorohydroxyquinoline content but due to oxyphenonium which reduces the spasm of the intestines and bowel movements and thus markedly reduces abdominal pain and discomfort.

"Thus this combination brings about a far more dramatic relief than the basic drug iodo-chlorohydroxyquinoline which has to be taken for sometime before it is effective. With some individuals it has become a habit or even a panacea of all abdominal ills."

They added: "These combinations 'Mexaform', Intestopan-In, Folestine' are more widely employed for checking the non-specific diarrhoeas and abdominal discomfort than in specific cases like amoebiasis, and this has to be viewed seriously in the light of the reports on the toxic actions of iodo-chlorohydroxyquinoline.

"The frequent non-specific free use of 'Mexaform' and other preparations containing these drugs should be curbed by making it a prescription drug and similar caution may also be employed as regards the free sale of preparations containing broxyquinoline and brobenzoxaldine."

It is not merely this American drug that has such dangerous effect. Over the years, many American drugs, pesticides and chemicals have wrought havoc with health and environment in many countries including ours. The use of many such items have since been banned in USA itself. But these continue to be used in many countries including India.

Medical practitioners and those responsible for health and environment in our country, by and large, do not seem to be fully alive to the danger that continued use of these things pose.

For example, till very recently wellknown brands of soaps and talcum powders used a chemical called Hexachlorothine. This chemical has been proved to be a brain-killer for children and many babies suffered serious damage in West

Germany, USA and other countries. But even after this chemical was banned from use (it has the property of removing body odour) in USA and elsewhere, it continued to be used in India (for example in Cinthol powder and soap) till very recently.

The wellknown insecticide, DDT is no longer used in USA and in Europe. But it is still being used in our country on a wide scale without bothering for its lasting poisonous effect on food.

Another pesticide called Aldrin is also widely used in India. Its use is banned in USA. But under the foreign aid programme, this chemical along with several others were till recently sent to India and a number of other countries by the US administration. Aldrin has been proved to be a dangerous chemical which attacks the nervous system in human being and damages it. The common result is paralysis.

The report on the damage that Enterovioform can cause should be ground enough to take a stricter look on the operations of the foreign drug multinational companies that operate in India. They pass on even those drugs and chemicals to the Indian market and also to markets of other developing countries which have not been proved for their effectiveness and after-effects. The birth control pill of an American company is one such example.

Often the lobbies of drug companies through high-pressure campaigns manage to get their items sold here even when many developed countries have banned these products as injurious to health.

There is no other way to control the operations of these drug-cartels except through their nationalisation. This view is supported by many eminent doctors and health service men.

The Indian Medical Association also supports the demand of nationalisation of these companies for the good of our country. Its President Dr. A. P. Shukla said here on June 26 that to ensure availability of cheaper drugs, the nationalisation of foreign monopoly-owned drug industries and production of essential drugs by national drug units.

The question is: does the Janata government bother for the health of our Janata?

—New Age

Confidentially

On The Left Debacle-2

IS IT NOT A FACT that the post-mortem statement of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL) was no more than a damp squib? That if it was intended to explode and make people think it failed in its purpose? That many expected the CPSL, unlike the LSSP, to make a profound analysis explaining the near-total debacle of the Old Established Left? (That many cynics have told *Tribune* that it would be more correct to describe these Leftists as the *Establishment Left*?) That the *Daily News* (26/7/77) report of the statement issued by Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the CPSL, under the heading, ULF PAID PENALTY FOR SLFP RIGHTWING'S WRONG-DOINGS, read as follows: "The United Left Front had to pay the penalty for much of the wrong doing of the SLFP right-wing even though it had disassociated itself from the SLFP at the later stages, a statement issued by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the Sri Lanka Communist Party, said yesterday. Mr. Keuneman added that the ULF which was formed only two weeks before Nomination Day, had neither the time nor opportunity to place its alternative program before the people for their serious consideration. The UNP with its overwhelming majority could not find any excuse or alibi for any delay or failure to deliver the goods they promised. It was the duty of the new Government to tell the people by when they could expect to get the weekly 8 lb of cereal that the UNP promised to give every citizen after it came to power; the CP statement said. It said that it was now up to the Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene and his new UNP Government to show in practice that they were worthy of the confidence that the people had placed in them. It would be interesting to see how they hoped to satisfy the often contradictory expectations and demands of those who supported them. The vested interest and the rich had high hopes that

the new UNP Government would help them to regain the positions and privileges they lost in the recent years. The mass of the people, however, would want to see how and when the UNP Government gave effect to the many demagogic official and unofficial promises that the UNP leaders made during the election campaign. In particular, they would want to know what specific steps the new Government would take to make food and other essential goods more readily available to bring down the cost of living, and to providing work for the 11 lakhs of unemployed youth. The results of the elections in the North and East also posed the need for urgent solutions to the problems of the Tamil people. The new Government would have to put forward its specific proposals on this matter as well. While there was little doubt that the outcome of the 1977 general elections was likely to open a new chapter in Sri Lanka's political history, the Politburo of the Communist Party would comprehensively analyse and review these results. However, the CP predicted that the period ahead was likely to witness both the sharpening of all contradictions within the present political and socio-economic system and a greater and more rapid polarisation of class forces. The CP statement called upon the working class and the left movement to strengthen, expand and further unite their various organisations. They should further heighten the political consciousness, vigilance and militancy of their members. It also called upon the membership to make a sober and self-critical examination of the reasons for electoral reverses and take the necessary corrective measures." That the CPSL statement is much more explicit than the very meagre statement of the LSSP (vide *Tribune*, 30/9/77), but it seeks to place the primary blame on the SLFP "rightwing" for "mistakes" which ruined the CPSL? That this is an easy way out of the predicament—to shift the blame on to somebody else? That the CPSL must realise many who are left-inclined and are usually patronisingly categorised as "progressives" find fault with the CPSL for having "tailed" (to use Lenin's terminology) behind the SLFP far too closely and far too long? That in this "tailing" the CPSL had abandoned its Marxist and "progressive" policies on a large number of matters particularly in regard to national minorities and the language

question? That the "original sin" of the CPSL started with its surrender of its marxist principles in order to pursue parliamentary politicking tagging on to the coat-tails of the SLFP, of its rightwing, as well as its leftwing (if there was one)? That at the end of the Keuneman statement there is a pious (we hope, not sanctimonious) exhortation to make "a sober and self-critical examination of the reasons for the electoral reverses" and thereafter to "take the necessary corrective measures"? That it is not merely the question of being "tainted" by the mistakes of the SLFP rightwing that brought defeat to the CPSL? That the parliamentarians of the CPSL and some of its bigwigs, who were part of the Establishment, were guilty of the same SLFP "mistakes" which stemmed from arrogance and misuse of power? That CPSL parliamentarians and party chieftains lost contact with ordinary people and the masses? That old friends among the "progressives" were discarded in favour of new rich elite created by the LSSP-sponsored CRA capitalism? That the CPSL did not have the guts to point out the mistakes of the SLFP (both right and left) and call the LSSP early enough to give the CPSL a different identity? That in the public mind there is a belief that some CPSL bigwigs and functionaries were guilty of the same kind of corruption indulged in by their counter-parts on the SLFP (and also the LSSP)? That for a long time people had thought that the Left was incorruptible? That five and six years respectively of LSSP and CP sharing of government power has exploded the belief that if one was a "leftist", especially one who claimed to be a "marxist", the thought of being corrupt would not enter his thinking or infect his actions? That people now feel that a leftist and a marxist can be as corrupt and as arrogant as anybody else? That the rest of the CPSL statement is a sneering challenge, on low key, to the UNP to fulfil its promise? That the CPSL (and all other Leftists parties and groups) must do a great deal of re-thinking to formulate realistic policies? That superficial slogans will not do? That the CPSL must study in-depth (something it has not done so far) all aspects of life and work in this island: agriculture, industry, wholesale and retail distribution, power, national minorities etc. before drawing up a new programme of work?

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