

Vol. 22 No. 8 — August 13, 1977 — **RUPEE ONE**

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



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Letter From The Editor

THE STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY read out by the President before the NSA on August 4 marks a major departure from the Throne Speeches of the past. In this Statement, slogans were totally absent and rhetoric minimal. Ideological exhortations, based on capitalist logic or pseudo-marxist jingoism, were also avoided. Anything savouring of racial chauvinism was eschewed whilst religious (buddhist) emotionalism was put into proper perspective alongside the rights of other religions. In the past, UNP and more especially SLFP governments had studiously refused to talk about fundamental rights and civil liberties, guaranteed by the Constitution and safeguarded by the Judiciary, lest the majority Sinhalese community misinterpret it as surrender to the demands of the minorities. But more than these negative aspects, the Statement of Government Policy, very correctly, placed emphasis on the decline and deterioration in human and moral values in this country. There is no doubt that these values have been undermined to the point of utter degeneration and that in the last seven years the decline and fall has been so devastatingly terrible that even marxist, communist and socialist adherents were swept into the cesspool of contemporary corruption. Honesty to the point of ascetic austerity is the one quality that can endear communists and socialists to the masses in a poor undeveloped country like Sri Lanka, but parliamentary politics and parliamentary power have corroded these proponents of the marxist faith to such an extent that the masses have rejected them in the most decisive manner. Even the good men among the Leftists suffered for the sins of commission and omission of leading Leftists lost in the flesh-pots of high living and low thinking. The Statement of August 4 indicated that the Government proposed to mobilise all forces—religious and secular—to remove the cancerous rot eating into the vitals of Sri Lanka's body politic. But, what is even more encouraging, is that the Government is conscious of the vital role that will be played by Ministers and MPs as trend-setters and has therefore announced its intention of formulating a code of conduct for all parliamentarians who, as the rulers of the country, have to set the highest standards in morality. After stressing the need for high moral standards in conduct, the Statement went on to discuss the pressing problems of the day. A good part of the speech, like the UNP's Manifesto, was devoted to welfare and corrective measures to make life easier for the common people. Whilst this is understandable, many regretted that the Statement did not pay greater attention to the questions of production—with concrete and detailed proposals about how production is to be increased by generating enthusiasm through appropriate incentives. In the agricultural sector, the emphasis placed on the small farmer is realistic and practical in a poor under-developed country like Ceylon. To attempt to leap into a world of large communes, collectives or co-operatives from the small-scale agriculture traditionally practised by the Ceylonese farming community is foolish, and to justify such leap-frogging by irrelevant slogans and high 'falutin' rhetoric, couched in pseudo-marxist terminology, is to make a virtue of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. Rich in its agricultural resources, traditional Ceylonese small farmers, owning land from one to twenty acres, can easily make this country self-sufficient in food. But, large-scale mechanised agriculture can undoubtedly make this country a major exporter of food items competing successfully with the developed plantations which have exported tea, rubber and coconut for several decades. Under the impact of pseudo-leftism, agriculture was neglected in the belief that the country must first be "industrialised" so that a "proletariat" could be created to fit mechanically into concepts of development which are as far from true Marxism as the man in the moon is from the *homo sapiens* of the earth. Industry is a necessary adjunct of economic development but with the kind of natural resources Sri Lanka is blessed with, it is futile to think that a "proletariat" in the true sense of the world could be created in this country in a short time. And, it is also well to remember that the "working class" is Ceylon has little or nothing of the attributes of a Marx-adumbrated "proletariat". But the best of plans will have meaning only when implemented properly; and one must "wait and see" how the JR Government will set about its task of getting the job done. *Tribune* wishes the Government well in its efforts to build a new society based on justice and fairplay. Our cover picture is a traditional symbol of health, wealth and happiness, and if this Government is not able to improve the lot of the common man even in a small way, the country must get ready for the holocaust.

TRIBUNE

Founded in 1954

**A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs**

**Editor S. P. Amarasingham,
Every Saturday**

August 13, 1977

Vol. 22 No 8

TRIBUNE

**43, DAWSON STREET,
COLOMBO - 2.
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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

The New NSA, Ministers, ASEAN

Colombo, August 10.

The first session of the new NSA on August 4 brought back memories of the opening of the last Parliament in 1970. On that occasion there was a great deal of "leftist" euphoria of a most aggressive nature where the under-currents and open manifestations were that the Opposition should be completely liquidated for all time. The 120 (approximately) seats held by the United Front in a House of 156 (with six Nominated Members) acted as giddy wine to (politically) inebriate men who should have known better. There was a mood to ride roughshod over everything and everybody—especially the Opposition. "Take over" everything that stood in the way of the UF: "liquidate" anybody who questioned the United Front which was thought of as the ultimate in leftist wisdom; and "smash" anything that savoured of the "capitalists" who had worked and voted against the United Front. In this state of mind, the UF majority in Parliament, especially the rowdier elements in the so-called SLFP left and the LSSP, shouted, heckled and booed every Opposition speaker on the first day of Parliament and regularly after that until the stinging was taken out of the UF in later days. Senior UF parliamentarians had watched this insane action calmly and had later privately explained that this was only the "inevitable manifestation" of "people's anger" against the pro-capitalist UNP and the communalist FP.

Thereafter the UF government was more concerned on wiping out the UNP and FP by every possible means. Many elements in the UF also wanted to see the end of papers like the *Tribune* which refused to be carried away by the euphoria (for a time *Tribune* had to be suspended but within a short time it had risen again from the ashes). In retrospect, the entire political, economic and socio-cultural policies and actions of the United Front government was directed towards liquidating the UNP and the FP, and also any paper or person not willing to toe the

UF line. Insufficient, (really no), attention, was paid to development and economic growth. It was assumed that if the UNP, FP and the Opposition were smashed, economic growth and prosperity would descend automatically on the country like manna from heaven.

If one reviews all the action of the last Government, quietly and objectively, every major act of legislative significance—from the inglorious Republican Constitution of 1972 to futile Land Reform and even stupid Legal Reform—was motivated by this short-sighted policy of eliminating all traces of UNPism and FPism.

It did not matter to them that in the process, a new breed of vicious CRA capitalists—worse than the worst comrade bourgeoisie created by colonialism—emerged on the scene to make the corruption that stemmed from UF "arrogance" worse. All the acquisitions under the Land Ordinance and the new Business Acquisition Act were primarily motivated by this desire to liquidate what was thought to be anti-UF. In the process, as current events have shown, especially under the impact of the crazy notions of the lunatic fringe in the SLFP hardcore, the UF turned the people against itself. The Leftist partners suffered the most. The SLFP won about 30% of the votes, exclusively in the Sinhala area, owing to traces of Sinhala chauvinistic emotionalism still lingering among some people and also because of the large number of jobs (and contracts) handed out to favourites, hangers-on and party cheer leaders. Whether this support will be "permanent" is yet to be seen. The UNP can easily make much of this disappear if it does not show any vindictiveness or any desire to take revenge—and if the Government will concentrate on economic growth which will benefit all sections of the people without singling particular sections for favoured treatment (as the last Government had done). Seven years of UF rule—five of which were with LSSP participation and 6 3/4 years with CP collaboration—has uplifted the UNP and the FP-TULF to be the two dominating parties in the country. This is the United Front government's contribution to the political history of Sri Lanka. The UNP and the TULF would be foolish not to realise that the peoples' support which they received

in the July 21 election will disappear like mist before the morning sun (to use a familiar cliché) if they repeat the mistakes of the last Government, whether in the Government or in the Opposition.

Although the new Government has got off to a good start, there are also some disquieting features which if allowed to develop will grow into a Frankensteinian monster. It is possible that the UNP leadership will soon discover these unwelcome and dangerous trends and take corrective measures. And, *Tribune* will not dwell upon them with any degree of emphasis for at this juncture (only passing references will be made when the occasion demands).

It would be pertinent in this connection to mention that the quality and calibre of the MPs of the UNP and the TULF in the new NSA are of a higher order than parliamentarians of the last NSA or even some of the earlier Parliaments. There is a great deal of wealth and talent of educated, qualified and experienced young people who seem to have been left out in the choice of Ministers and Deputy Ministers for which old UNP war horses have been preferred.

Among the Ministers chosen there are a few whose record in the past cannot be said to be good: some were corrupt but efficient, others were corrupt and inefficient, and yet others were plain inefficient. The people know who they are and their actions are being watched with great care. Already some of these Ministers have slipped and there is talk not only among UNP supporters but among the general public as well. There is also a growing sense of disappointment and disillusionment among thinking sections of young UNPers and UNP backbenchers about some of these appointments as Ministers and also about selections for top jobs in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Whilst this trend is still incipient and embryonic—but big enough to be detected and be talked at least in respect of two or three

Ministries—many UNPers are worried whether this may not be the shape of things to come. As against this, as we have said, the Government has got off to a good start. The statement of policy of the government on August 4 is practical and realistic. And combined with this, the ministerial policy guidelines and the actions taken so far by the majority of the new Ministers have tended to create a new atmosphere of confidence and great expectations. Prices have started moving down, very slowly but significantly.

Without increased production it would be foolish to expect that the prices will stay low or get any lower. The removal of road-blocks created by bureaucratic stupidity and corruption, the elimination of the greed of the new breed of traders politically created or sustained and the ending of the "controls" that were imposed in the name of "socialism" will help to bring prices down a great deal. But unless this is followed up with immediate action to induce greater production, stagnation will set in very fast. Over-enthusiastic statements by some ministers threatening import of items like chillies and onions that can be easily grown locally has already made sections of the farming community to think of shutting down the planting programmes for the next season whilst waiting "to watch and see" what the government will do.

It is necessary, before it is too late, (even on a temporary basis) for the Government to find out why chilly and onion prices soar at different times—and it will be found that such high prices are caused (a) by seasonal fluctuations which can be easily remedied with greater production during the season; (b) the high costs of inputs and production which act as a restraining factor on production and the inability of the farmer to invest more than a particular amount in production for a season; (c) the unwillingness of the farmer to produce more because it would immediately enable the traders to push the prices down to low levels which are uneconomic—and traders thereafter store this chilly to make super-profits in off-seasons; (d) the total failure of the government purchasing agencies because of corruption and inefficiency; and (e) the collaboration between the

government purchasing agencies and the new politicalised-traders who have dominated the market for the last four or five years.

In this connection, the plea made by the Commissioner of Marketing, in the *Daily News* of August 10, makes interesting reading. He has appealed to the public to bring to the notice of the Department any irregularities in the purchasing price of vegetables (etc) by the Marketing Department (MD) lorries. "All the Marketing Department lorries," he said, "were obliged to display the day's prices when purchases were being made." The Commissioner then went on to mention a few of the "malpractices" which have made the Marketing Department purchasing vans and branches (in the outstations) ineffective and become auxiliaries of unscrupulous traders. He mentioned that officers often get receipts for higher amounts or for a lower weight. But what he does not seem know is that most of

these receipts will be from bogus "farmers" (agents of the traders).

The Commissioner (and the Government) must know that *Tribune* had exposed the corruption of the Marketing Department vans in the purchase of vegetables and other produce over the years. But nothing had been done except all those who were connected with the *Tribune* and who were producers of vegetables etc. were "victimised" by the Department's outstation branches and vans. Most of them stopped producing vegetables and curtailed other items. The outstation branches and vans have a large number of tricks up their sleeves—to help the trader. If the farmer does not bribe them with arrack and or money, or if the farmer is not in the ring around a particular trader, he is told that the MD was not buying that particular vegetable on that day and he would be well advised to sell to a "named" trader (and the MD's officials buy the same vegetable

TODAY'S

BOUQUETS

RATIONED GOODS: There is universal approbation for the new scheme of distribution—through co-ops, or private traders, or state shops, or voluntary agencies. The existing sole-monopoly co-ops cannot serve thirteen million consumers—hence, the queues, delays and corruption. The monopoly enjoyed in the last five or six years by the co-ops in wholesale and retail trade (rationed goods as well other selected hard-to-get items) has been the greatest source of corruption; and, it also damaged the image of public sector enterprise among ordinary people and the common masses. The decision to restrict the number of ration books attached to each retail selling outlet to 500 is an even more welcome decision. Co-ops and co-op unions are to be democratised by re-introducing the elective principle which had been abandoned by the United Front government.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACES: The decision that JPs will cease to hold office from a date in December 1977 is welcome: thereafter only suitable persons, after due scrutiny, are to be appointed. During the UF regime, JPs had proliferated faster than the fastest fast-breeder. Each constituent party of the Coalition had vied with one another to appoint as many JPs as possible—with the result that even undesirables on the fringe of the underworld were made JPs.

LIQUOR LICENCES: The Government's prestige has been enhanced by the decision to stop the issue of liquor licences. But even more welcome is the decision to set up a panel to re-scrutinise all licences issued in the past. No licences, it was decided, will in future be issued on the recommendations of MPs. People in all walks of life had condemned the inordinately large number of liquor licences issued after 1970 and also the manner in which they were issued. It was a scandal of the highest magnitude. Liquor licences had become a source of invisible revenue (called bribes by the uninitiated) to contact men, brokers, catchers and even MPs. There are, today, liquor shops in every nook and corner of the country, some just next to temples and other places of worship. Liquor was freely available when essential food items were not. A new underworld had grown around these new liquor shops. They were protected by political patrons. Much of the post-election violence was generated by these new liquor licence holders.

at a higher price from this trader) Vans do not stop at wayside farms unless they are "oiled" in the usual way (or have the okay from the trader) and the farmer is told to take his stuff to a town 20 to 25 miles away where there is a branch. MD vans have stopped buying chillies and onions direct from producers for a long time but they buy from favoured traders. If the MD and the Markfed will buy from the producer at prices which are fair it will generate an unprecedented upsurge in production. And the producer will get a steadier price if such purchases are made on a regular basis. Only then can production increase on a long-term end permanent basis.

Traders know what each farm in their area is growing and drop in at these farms while the plucking or the harvest (vegetables, chillies etc) is in progress and arrange for purchases. MD officers spend their time boozing and in other undesirable activities and have no idea about the farms in the area and what they produce. Agricultural Department's Extension officers have also withdrawn from the field after the infamous APC centres of Kobbekaduwa's agricultural empire were set up.

The Government cannot be satisfied with buffer stocks of chillies and onions with the MARKFED (whose operations in recent months have not been satisfactory). It must find out the real reasons for the sudden high prices for consumers whilst producers get very low prices. Most MD, Co-op and Markfed units in the last six to nine months have purchased from traders and intermediaries—and not the actual producers—whatever officials may say. This is one aspect of the matter that must be probed if the Government is not to be fooled by the "official" ring that has made a racket of food purchases inside the country.

The statements and actions of six Ministers of the new Government have aroused public admiration. The Minister of Trade has shown that he means what he says and that he is anxious to get down to a job of work. He is the first Minister to have stood in a queue "incognito" and got what the public have received from Co-op or MD sales staff. (If Ministers are to succeed in checking things for themselves they must take care not to have their photo-

graphs in the newspapers to the extent where every official will know what they would look like even with a little disguise). Minister Ronnie de Mel has also shown that he is getting to grips with the tremendous task before him. Very rightly he has returned four of the businesses acquired for "political reasons" and for reasons which are contrary to the provisions of the Act itself. There are more such illegal acquisitions and it is likely that remedial action will be taken. As far as we know, even the acquisition of BCC could not be justified in terms of the Act. Minister Ronnie de Mel has also indicated that all was not well with the

money situation after the indiscriminate printing of currency notes last year. But he is yet to touch on revaluation and the absolute need to devalue. His appointments to the Boards and Corporations have been good (very unlike the appointments by some other Ministers which leave a great deal of room for criticism and adverse comment). Minister Nissanka Wijeyaratne, after his initial bloomer about "spiritualist" upliftment, has made decisions which are most welcome. Everything in education, from the kindergarten to the University, is in a mess and there is much to be done. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives

TODAY'S

BRICKBATS

BROTHER-IN-LAW: A Minister in the new government has, within a few days of his assuming office, appointed his brother-in-law as an Additional Secretary. However eminent or competent a person may be it not desirable to find refuge in a brother-in-law's ministry. There is only word to describe this phenomenon—*nepotism*. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike had started on his downward path when he appointed his brother-in-law to a senior post in his own ministry. Why anyone should want to follow FRDB's example is a mystery. History is replete with the fateful disasters that has overtaken great men (and women) who succumbed to the unforgivable sin of *nepotism* which was one of the main contributory causes that brought about the downfall of the Sirimavo Bandaranaike government. Once this precedent is permitted at Ministerial level in this Government, lesser men will follow suit as will other Ministers. There is much disquiet among staunchly UNP circles about this in-law appointment. SLFP and ULF circles, however, say ".....we told you so.....the UNP was once the Uncle Nephew Party.....soon it will add all the in-laws to the uncles and nephews....." Something must be done to nip such irritating eruptions of *nepotism* if the JR image of the UNP is to be preserved.

LAKE HOUSE WITCH-HUNTER: Journalists and others-in-the-know are horrified that an old-time photographer (who had sojourned as His Majesty's or Her Majesty's guest for a time) was permitted to be one of chief masters-of-ceremonies in the ragging, bullying and witch-hunting inflicted on senior and respected members of Lake House before they were allowed to enter the premises after the victory of the UNP. This witch-hunter, with the backing of a howling mob, that enjoyed (and still enjoys) total immunity, had forced (often with physical violence) all those who sought to enter the work place to make obeisance before a picture of DRW and JRJ and then be dabbled with green paint. Those who had offered even a little resistance were confined to a room to be humiliated and insulted for hours. Such sadistic treatment was the price paid to be allowed to resume employment. Those ill-treated in this way were not SLFPers or ULFPers. All known anti-UNPers had either kept away or been asked to keep away. Twenty odd loyal SLFPers had been placed on compulsory leave. Those who suffered at the hands of this and other witch-hunters were either a-political or were UNPers of the Wijewardene era but who had kept a low profile during the SLFP regime. And most of those humiliated and physically assaulted are competent journalists. Knowledgeable circles are disturbed that the new management had permitted this horrible witch-hunt. If nothing is done to punish these miscreants, it is the prestige and reputation of the JR government that will suffer.

Why ASEAN?

Herath, has also taken measures which will remedy some of the worst grievances of the people. Minister Devanayagam has not been slow in making a start to clean the Augean stables left behind by Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike. And Minister Premadasa has maintained the momentum he had set no sooner he took over in getting Local Government back on to the rails and also remove the roadblocks that had brought stagnation to Housing and Construction especially after Kumarasuriar had come into the scene.

In addition, a number of new officials in charge of Corporations—some of them have relinquished higher paid jobs to help the UNP to make a real comeback—have begun to do an excellent job. But in some cases they are already being hampered by old-style Ministers who seem to be succumbing to pressures of various kinds. It is also necessary to point out that there are a few officials who had done good work in the last government and who are capable of doing much better if given the opportunity. To discard them through an invisible witch-hunt will be counterproductive.

The Sun group of newspapers seems determined to push Sri Lanka into ASEAN. Why the Sun wants to drag this island out of its natural geographical and geopolitical setting in South Asia and push it into the highly controversial and explosive ASEAN is difficult to understand. It is also not clear what special benefits Sri Lanka will get by joining ASEAN—in fact, on a superficial analysis, there seem to be many reasons against joining. For instance, Sri Lanka's export products, tea, rubber and coconuts, are exported from these countries. Most of Ceylon's non-traditional exports are also exported from these countries. The economic perspectives are such that Sri Lanka will be well-advised to stay inside the South Asia region grouping without getting involved in ASEAN.

Furthermore, there are other characteristics which mark Sri Lanka as being very different from every country in ASEAN. Ceylon has a record for democracy and freedom unknown in any country in ASEAN. There is no press freedom, such as Ceylon has known, and has, in any one of those countries. The rule of law and civil

liberties, as known in this island—even in the worst days of Emergency Rule under the SLFP and worst inroads made by Felixian legal reforms—have been on a much higher level than what obtains in any of the ASEAN countries. In these circumstances to get into the ASEAN set up is to be associated with countries where democracy, civil liberties, the rule of law and press freedom are totally diffe-

rent from what they are in Sri Lanka, India and even in Pakistan (in more recent times).

It is regrettable that Sun's correspondent in Kuala Lumpur should try red-baiting by suggesting that only Vietnam stood between Sri Lanka and ASEAN (Sun, August 10). Does this mean that Sri Lanka was being intimidated by Vietnam and the Reds to keep out of ASEAN? This is the old time

BAZAAR GOSSIP

PRESS AND THE NSA: The Sun, in its issue of August 5, had rightfully complained that the press had been treated shabbily at the ceremonial opening of the NSA. The Sun had, on the next day, reported that the Speaker had ordered an inquiry into the manner in which the press had been handled on the occasion. Something must have been very wrong to compel newsmen representing some papers and international news agencies (local residents as well as foreigners) to be kept out of the press gallery even after they had been issued "passes." The Press Gallery was, according to the Sun, full of outsiders. Tribune understands that some of these "outsiders" were Press Officers of the Department of Information who were not reporting for any paper or international agency. Some of the "outsiders" were their friends or the friends of bigwigs. How these bureaucrats were issued "passes" to crowd the genuine newsmen out of the gallery is a mystery. This is not the first time that such a fiasco has occurred. It has happened at nearly all international gatherings which have taken place in Sri Lanka in recent times. Passes are denied to weeklies and periodicals on the footing that only dailies are entitled to such passes. But, by what stretch of imagination should Press Officers attached to different Ministries have priority is not known. Such treatment to the press is a denial of press freedom. Tribune has long ago ceased to ask for passes because it has been told that weeklies cannot be considered as being entitled to any rights in the Fourth Estate. But non-writing, ornamental, press officers and other bureaucrats who have no connection with the press monopolise the space that should be reserved for the functioning press. If press freedom is to be made a reality, the Government must review the whole question and lay down rules and guide-lines as to how such passes should be allocated. It is also time to recognise that weeklies and periodicals have a place—even if it not be in the gallery for daily papers and the agencies—at ceremonial functions, the NSA and at other official and semi-official gatherings. The joke in the bazaar is that journalists must know how to do pooja at the right places to get press passes or invitations to meetings of public significance.

MINISTERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS: The journalistic bazaar is full of stories of how new Ministers want their photographs on the front page of every newspaper everyday. Already we have ministers basking in all their glory on the front-pages of government-controlled newspapers. If a Minister's picture appears once in a while, or even once-a-month, no one will make disparaging comments. But, if particular Ministers get their photographs on the front page (to illustrate some little deed done) very often, then it is a sign that the rot has begun. The political history of the last 40 years will show that those Ministers and MPs who regularly got their pictures on the front pages of daily newspapers disappeared most quickly and most easily from the political arena. It will be a good thing if the Government decided that Minister's pictures should be banned from the newspapers—except once in a while. Minister's work will be judged by the work done and not by the number of times their photographs appear on the front page. There are so many newsworthy items of photographic interest of first-page importance that are ignored to accommodate the ego of individual Ministers.

cold war days' red-baiting and black-mail. If Ceylon is to follow a true nonaligned policy, without any tilt to the East or the West, it will do well to keep out of joining the ASEAN. It is one thing to have the friendliest relations with the ASEAN countries (their civil liberties and press laws are their internal business), but it is another to get involved in the politics of ASEAN in the highly explosive situation which is developing in Southeast Asia and even in East Asia.

Some argue that ASEAN countries are "rich" and that it would help Sri Lanka to partake of ASEAN prosperity. There can be no greater fallacy than this. Sri Lanka has to get back on its feet on its own and participation in ASEAN's regional and global politics will be a serious obstacle to our progress. Those readers who have read the copies of the "capitalist" and far-from communist magazine *Far Eastern Economic Review* for the last one or two years will know why it is positively dangerous to Sri Lanka's future and well-being to become the weakest and poorest member of ASEAN.

THE I.A.T.R. CONFERENCE

Desecration Of Tamil Memorials

by James T. Rutnam

On 29 July our former Prime Minister released to the Press a letter which she had sent to the President protesting against the new Government for what she calls "its failure to arrest the wave of violence, terror and intimidation that has been let loose in the country by the supporters of the UNP." Everybody deprecates these wanton acts of hooliganism and the Prime Minister had lost no time in appointing a Commission to report on these incidents. He had also promised to release the Siriwardena Report on the Post-Elections violence of 1970. The former Government has to answer to the people why it had withheld the publication of this Report. Was it to protect its supporters? We shall soon be able to know the real reason.

I was intrigued to read this good lady complaining "that statues of the late Mr. S. W. R. Dias Bandaranaike erected by the people in public places have been destroyed, which shows that they have even stooped to desecrate the dead." One could very well understand the unfortunate widow's feelings, although with hindsight this country has come to realise that the personality cult of Bandaranaike, which went to dizzy heights of adulation and toadyism and even to near deification, has been so undeservedly overplayed as to cause now its own destruction.

I agree that the attack on the statues is desecration. But what did Mrs. Bandaranaike do when the several monuments erected by the people of Jaffna to commemorate the tragic deaths, on the night of 10 January 1974, of the innocent victims of the savagery of the Police, composed of Sinhalese constables specially brought to Jaffna were attacked?

These monuments were destroyed on two occasions by underlings of the Government.

Was that not desecration? The former Prime Minister will be able to understand the angry and desperate feelings of the Tamils over these incidents, now that she too has come to taste the bitter gall of the same medicine.

The tragedy of January 10, 1974 is to Jaffna, what the massacre at Jallianwallah Bagh in the Punjab was to India and its Freedom Movement. This was a turning point in the history of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. It also marks the real beginning of the desperate cry for Eelam. See what the *Morning Star*, a newspaper published in Jaffna since 1841 and whose motto emblazoned below its title reads, "Righteousness exalteth a Nation", has to say:

"The eight days from January 3 to 10 will go down as an event not merely in our national story but also as a bright chapter in world history. The City of Jaffna became for the duration of that week the international capital of Tamil Culture. The spontaneous awakening of interest in, and enthusiasm for, their noble language and great culture reached their peak hour at the post-Seminar public meeting held in the town

of the Veerasingham Hall on the evening of the 10th. Aply enough at the moment it was a famous Tamil Muslim scholar from South India that held the audience, made up of seething crowds, in wrapt attention by his eloquence and exposition of the glorious heritage which was enshrined in their common mother tongue.

"Then tragedy struck. The crowds of people were subject to what has been widely described as a 'brutal' attack by the Police. It is alleged that, without any warning, they were going to use tear-gas on the people if they did not move out; the Police rained, eye witnesses say, thrusts with the butts of their guns and batons, and sprayed tear-gas bombs upon the tens of thousands of people who were there. As a consequence seven precious lives were lost, more than 20 seriously hurt and hundreds more sustained injuries. Reports have it that even in the bus-stands tear-gas bombs continued to be rained on them. Thousands more—women and men, children and grown-ups—were subject to untold humiliation. And the night turned into a veritable nightmarish one."

There was no proper enquiry held into this grave catastrophe. The Inspector was promoted—in the same way as General Dyer of Jallianwallah Bagh was hailed by his superiors. However O'Dwyer, the Governor who supported Dyer, finally fell to an assassin's bullet in his own country.

The people of Jaffna called for a Report from an independent Commission of Enquiry composed of two Judges of the Supreme Court, de Kruiser and Manikavasagar, and a former Bishop in Jaffna, Kulendran. After a full survey they came to the conclusion that they could "find no justification at all for the police assault on defenceless and innocent citizens." Their Report is now enshrined in Hansard. A Tamil representative in Parliament had incorporated the whole Report in the course of his speech for inclusion in the proceedings.

It is noteworthy that the tens of thousands who congregated at that spot in Jaffna on that fatal day were a peaceful lot, unlike the hostile crowd that had blocked the railway lines at a place in South Ceylon some weeks earlier. But, strangely enough, the approach by the Government to these two

groups was different. One was pacified by soft words and a response of almost total surrender. In the case of the other, baton blows and rifle-butts and tear-gas were the answer. Why these two different standards?

The present Government would do well to study carefully the extent of the gross maladministration of the last Government, the corruption, nepotism particularly, for this is a general human weakness and the UNP should take pains from the beginning to guard against it, and the provocative attempts to rule the Tamil areas (as if these formed a Sinhalese Colony) with the help of discreditable or discredited Tamil stooges.

Kumarasuriar was one of the handful of Tamils who were close to the last Government. He was brought to tears in the humiliating defeat he received from the people. From oblivion he came, to oblivion he now goes, unsung, unwept, unmourned; for ever let us hope.

It is certainly not a pleasant thing to dwell on the misfortunes of others. We have a Tamil proverb—like the man who fell from a Palmyrah tree being trampled by a bull. But facts must be faced. It was Kumarasuriar who attempted to sabotage one of the greatest events in Tamil history, the World Conference of the International Association of Tamil Research held in Jaffna in 1974, where the cruelty and inhumanity of the Ceylon Police Force were seen at their worst, before an audience which included several foreign scholars. I was an eye-witness to the harrowing scene, being present there as one of the Secretaries-General of the Conference. I was struck unconscious following the burst of a tear-gas shell and would have been electrocuted like the seven others had not some brave Tamil youths taken me away from a live electric wire that was lying near me.

Some days before the Conference was due to open, Kumarasuriar had the effrontery to publish without any sense of shame a long rigmarole to the Press entitled "Why I am not going to the Conference." He little realised then that in publishing that document he was signing his own expulsion from the body politic of the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

Had only Sirimavo Bandaranaike come at that time to Jaffna and opened the Con-

ference, as the highest functionaries in Malaysia and India had done at similar Conferences held in these countries, she would have been hailed with delirious affection. This would have had an immeasurable impact on Sinhalese-Tamil relations.

She failed on that occasion. She despatched instead a large force of Sinhalese constables. Kumarasuriar was one of the madam's closest counsellors with regard to Tamil affairs. He did his best to thwart the Conference. He pitted his imagined strength and influence against a body of scholars and the stream of public opinion in the Tamil land. Pride may be excusable, but Arrogance gets its own deserts eventually.

+ + +

TAMIL-SPEAKING PEOPLES' PROBLEMS

What Next?

by R. Kahawita

The United National Party, under the Leadership, of Hon. J. R. Jayawardene, has swept the Board, leaving the Tamil United Liberation Front as the worthwhile opposition with an inarticulate Sinhala Group of eight (8) to support them. The results of the Elections are devastating from the point of view of Parliamentary Democracy, based on political parties and a vociferous but effective Opposition. However, from the point of view of working out National Unity, there could not have happened anything better.

The TULF may not even take their seats in the National State Assembly, nor even take their Oaths of Allegiance to the Constitution as they have not subscribed to the adoption of the Constitution in 1972. They may be just spectators waiting to see—What's next.

The UNP has 139 seats of their own out of 166 already elected. In this Group of 139 seats in the NSA there are several Tamil-Speaking members, representing a large section of the Tamil-Speaking voter, not counting the voters who voted UNP but those who failed to re-

turn a member. This makes the TULF stand for a separate Tamil-Speaking State—absurd and impractical. Though they have 17 seats out of 22 seats contested, all the Tamil-Speaking people are not with them—o have a separate Tamil-Speaking State.

When the TULF started their Election Campaign on a separate State, they probably did not realize that the desire of the peoples of Sri Lanka was to change the ruling party. Their bargaining with the Tamil-Speaking people that preceded the Elections may have given TULF the confidence that they would be in a position of a "King Maker", to the party that acceded most to their demands to get into the seat of Government. If this was their scheme, the TULF stands isolated and they are not in a position to bargain. The voters have decided this for them. There is no give and take business now. This is why I say nothing could have happened better for National Unity. As usual in a game of Politics TULF must take a different stand and change their strategy to have their grievances remedied through negotiations and participate as equals in a United Sri Lanka.

The voters, in selecting the UNP to the seats of Government with no opposition to speak of, besides other things, have accepted the solution offered by the Leader, Hon. J. R. Jayawardene to "The Problems of the Tamil-Speaking People."

The Programme of action of the UNP on this subject states—"The UNP accepts the position that there are numerous problems confronting the Tamil-Speaking people. The lack of a solution

U.S. Congressman Jailed

New Orleans (Louisiana) July 30,

Former U.S. Representative, Mr. Richard Tonry, yesterday became the first Congressman to be sentenced to jail for breaking election laws. Mr. Tonry, a Republican, received a one-year jail term and a \$ 10,000 fine for having promised jobs to certain persons if elected and for accepting contributions of more than the legal limit of \$ 1,000 from individuals.

—Hindu, 31/7

to their problems has made the Tamil-Speaking people support even a movement for the creation of a separate State. In the interest of National integration and unity, so necessary for the economic development of the whole country, the Party feels such problems should be solved without loss of time. The Party when it comes to power will take all possible steps to remedy their grievances in such fields as (1) Education; (2) Colonization; (3) Use of Tamil Language; and (4) Employment in the Public Sector and semi-public Corporations. We will summon an all-Party Conference as stated earlier and implement its decision."

I have quoted in full here to keep the undertaking given by the UNP in the forefront and fresh in the minds of the Sinhala and Tamil-Speaking people alike. Above offer to the Tamil Speaking people is what the UNP put to the people to decide at the Elections. The Sinhala and a bulk of the Tamil-Speaking voters have endorsed this wholeheartedly by giving the leader of the UNP an unprecedented majority in Parliamentary Elections history. Then, when Mr. J. R. Jayawardene went to Kandy on the 28th July to pay his respects to Thier Holinesses, the Mahanayake Theras of the Asgiriya and Malwatte Chapters, Their Holinesses admonished Mr. Jayawardene in the following words. "He is the 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 in his power to correct the situation that prevailed hitherto." (Extracted from the Sun report of 29.7.77). The two Mahanayake Theras are the custodians of the Language, Culture and Religion of the Sinhala. They guide and maintain the traditions—written and unwritten—of the Sinhala People. They, too, have endorsed as the most high advisers to the Prime Minister to treat Religion and Language equally. This should remove any doubts in the minds of the non-believers as to the intent of the UNP to find a permanent solution acceptable to all citizens of Sri Lanka.

The acceptance of the Party Manifesto by the voters and the admonishment tendered to the Prime Minister by the two highest

religious dignitaries of the Country hardly leave any room or need for an all-party Conference. To my mind, it does not arise at all now. What is now required is to tell the Tamil-Speaking people what the solutions are to the four points spelled out in the Party Manifesto to achieve National Unity and the integration of the communities to weld themselves together to form one people's one country.

So, we exhort the Hon. Prime Minister, without losing time on all-Party Conferences, to formulate his solution to the four points, where he has accepted there are disabilities confronting the Tamil-Speaking people, and place them before the Tamil-Speaking people to accept.

Finding solutions is not our sphere, nevertheless we take the liberty to suggest what they may be.

(1) Education: Sinhala/Tamil to be made compulsory languages in elementary education up to 13 years. There should not be any discrimination to the entrance to higher educational institutions. This should be competitive and open. Standardization should be abandoned so that admission is open and competitive.

(2) Colonization: There should not be any reservations in the selection of settlers to Government sponsored settlement schemes. All must be treated equally and land given on equal merits, and all applicants treated as Citizens of Sri Lanka without any regional distinctions. A Sinhala must be free to settle in a predominantly Tamil-Speaking area and vice versa, as the Muslims have done up to now. Even in village expansion schemes, there should not be any reservations community-wise, as long as the needs of the people indigenous to the area have been satisfied first. Others also may be settled in the area if they wish. There shall not be any areas or colonies reserved for a particular community only.

(3) Use of Tamil Language: Shall be universal and it shall be an official language for administration, business, record, evidence, etc. It will have the same status as Sinhala Language as an official Language. To this must be added English Language, as an official Language.

With the growing demand for English as an international language, our citizens should not fall bet-

ween the benches in attempting to make Sinhala and Tamil as official languages. These three languages are necessary for unity, integration and to widen the outlook of future citizens.

(4) Employment: Shall be open and competitive in all Government, semi-Government or Corporations, with a condition that all employees should be able to work in Sinhala and Tamil irrespective of the area or region of work. All employees in the Public Sector should possess a working knowledge of Sinhala and Tamil alike, with English optional. In all selection examinations for appointments in the Public Sector there should be a written and viva examination in Sinhala and Tamil. In the Education Service, English should also be a compulsory language so that teaching of science can be steeped up in the rural areas.

In the new Constitution, if the three languages are given equal status as official languages and the freedom of movement anywhere in Sri Lanka with equal rights and privileges as Citizens of Sri Lanka, all other issues become matters of administration and nothing more. Thus the integration of all communities becomes complete and absolute. This is the goal, we presume, that underlines the statement in the Manifesto.

LAKE HOUSE

IS IT NOT TRUE that on the morning of August 8 near leading witch-hunters in Lake House had foregathered in the office of one of the dailies wondered how journalists in other newspapers and also other busy bodies who were exercising the freedom of speech by commenting on the sordid happenings inside Lake House can be punished and silenced? That this gang of four felt that such persons and papers should be given "the works" by causing bodily harm to their persons and/or damage to their property? That one had claimed he could hire professionals to do the job? That if this post-election violence in Lake House is carried out side the authorities should know where to look for the culprits? That the top management of Lake House should resign if it cannot stop such incipient fascist tendencies? That the way "journalists" treated fellow journalists in Lake House is the most abominable episode of post-election violence particularly when it was allowed by the management to continue for over ten days?

July 26 — Aug. 1

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

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

THURSDAY, JULY 26: The freedom of the press was a significant component of the democratic process, said Mr. D. B. Wijeyatunge, the new Minister of Information and Broadcasting addressing newspapermen yesterday; that freedom he said would be achieved and established and secured under the present government. The PM leaves for Kandy tomorrow by helicopter to attend the restoration of the Mahamaluwa to the Dalada Maligawa ceremony; this will be followed by a pirith ceremony at the Mahamaluwa at 3 p.m. Mr. A. R. Wijesekera was appointed CTB chairman yesterday by the Minister of Transport. The ULF had to pay the penalty for much of the wrongdoing of the right-wing of the SLFP even though it had dissociated itself from the SLFP at the later stages, a statement issued by Mr Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the Sri Lanka CP said yesterday. Cabinet ministers who went into their offices on their first workingday, appealed to the staff to forget political differences, desist from political victimisation and urged employees to get down to hard work. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives, Mr. S. B. Herath yesterday directed that all closed co-operative stores should be opened to enable the public to get all the essential food items as well as other necessities. Veteran Indian nationalist Neelam Sanjiva Reddy who spent five years in jail during the Independence struggle was sworn in today as President of India—CDN. Overtures have been made by the UNP government to the SLFP to join the government with the offer of two portfolios, the Daily Mirror reliably learns. The Minister of Education, Mr. Nissanka Wijeyaratne yesterday assured that he would not interfere in appointments, transfers and promotions of teachers. Tension in the post-election trouble areas eased considerably yesterday, according to Police Headquarters. The Minister of Information and Broadcasting Mr. R. D. B. Wijeyatunge said yesterday that he was contemplating changes in the Press Council laws and the composition of the Council. The new Minister of Fisheries Mr. S. de S. Jayasinghe instructed the officials of his ministry to take immediate steps to bring down the price of fish.—CDM Several persons, including a former Cabinet Minister, a City Councillor, several key officials and at least two corporation bosses are to be debarred from leaving Sri Lanka. 'Breaking with tradition, the Cabinet of FM J. R. Jayawardene will hold it's first formal weekly meeting in Kandy tomorrow. The government is to abolish the scheme under which 25 cents is levied from patients seeking outdoor treatment at State medical institutions—SU.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 27: More private sector dealers will be appointed to help in the distribution of rationed commodities in areas where consumer facilities provided by the co-operatives are insufficient, the Minister of Food and Co-operatives said yesterday; Mr. Herath said he is aware that this step will affect the turnover of the co-operatives, but he says he is forced to take this decision unwillingly, as he cannot overlook consumer difficulties in order to safeguard co-operatives. The PM will address the nation from Kandy tomorrow. The Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel told newsmen yesterday that the rise in prices for this year would have been 25% and it would have been one of the highest in the world. The government will establish a free trade zone in Katunayake within the next six months, according to the Minister of Finance. Mr. R. Premadasa, will be appointed the Leader of the House, official sources said yesterday. The curfew which was imposed in certain areas has been lifted. The Minister of Trade said yesterday that the consumer should be given the choice of where to purchase his goods—CDN. The LSSP yesterday appealed to the PM to take steps to put a stop to the reign of terror prevailing in the country after the general election. The opening of the NSA has been fixed for 9.45 a.m. on August 4. The administration of Justice is in a terrible mess; to clean up would be like cleaning up the Augean stables, said the new Minister of Justice Mr. K. W. Devanayagam yesterday—CDM. The PM yesterday directed that all candidates who lost at last week's general election should be among those who should be invited for the first official ceremonies of the new government today and tomorrow at Kandy. Horse racing is to be reintroduced in Sri Lanka; initially it is to be permitted in Nuwara Eliya; according to the MP for Nuwara Eliya and the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways this matter is receiving the attention of the government. Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardene Minister of Plantation Industries yesterday directed the Sri Lanka Tea Board to instruct the Janawasama to withdraw all teas assigned to a new firm of brokers. The Finance Minister yesterday gave an assurance that within the next three months, every consumer would be provided with eight pounds of cereals a week. Within another three months, a mini general election will be held in 722 local bodies to elect 8415 members. The General Secretary of the CWC has appealed to the PM to restore the Ramakrishna Mission Madam at Kataragama to the mission as they have restored the Mahamaluwa to the Dalada Maligawa—VK.

THURSDAY, JULY 28: The Cabinet yesterday meeting at the Janadhipathi Mandiraya in Kandy decided to bring down prices of all essential consumer items next week: the reduction will come in the form of a 'package offer' to the consumer, details of which are now being minutely worked out by the ministers, a top cabinet source said yesterday. A vast quantity of various foodstuffs including dhall, rice and flour imported during the past few years was found rotting at the Chalmer's Granary, exuding a very bad odour; owing to this stench, workers could not enter certain departments of the granary; all this was found out by the new Minister of Food and Cooperatives when he made a surprise visit to the granary. Kandy gave a tumultuous welcome to the PM on his arrival there yesterday; tens of thousands of people wearing green lined the streets, a massive procession that included world-famous Kandyan dancers, drummers and over 50 ele-

phants precede the PM's convey—CDN. The TULF parliamentary group will meet in Va Vuniya on Saturday to elect their leader. As Minister in charge of the National Milk Board, he would make available plenty of milk food for infants and children; the government would also provide sufficient food and clothing for the masses, said Mr. E. L. Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture and Lands. Several ministers are now collecting data on the appointments given to persons in various corporations and statutory boards on the eve of the dissolution of Parliament and after; according to government sources, several thousands of persons were recruited after the dissolution thereby overstaff many of these institutions. The Minister of Education, Mr. Nissanka Wijeyaratne, will re-examine the entire question of standardisation of marks for admission to the University. Several heads of state have sent congratulatory messages to the PM on his assumption of office. The Ceylon Ceramics Corporation has put out a commemorative plaque on the occasion of the PM's first address to the nation—CDM. A code of conduct for MP's and Public Servants was drawn up at a Cabinet meeting held in Kandy yesterday; the PM presided. The UNP government will re-establish the tradition of the ceremonial opening of parliament. In the six days after the general elections, the death toll due to violence has reached the thirty mark. Staff in the government press, who were recruited during the major strike in March 1976 have been told to refrain from reporting for work by the new Minister of Information and Broadcasting pending a decision by the government. Philippines is prepared to consider an application from Sri Lanka to join the five-member ASEAN it's foreign secretary said in a statement today—SU.

FRIDAY, JULY 29: The PM yesterday appealed to the nation to bear no illwill against any political adversary but display compassion to those who suffered defeat at the polls this month; addressing the nation, for the first time from the Dalada Maligawa Pathirippuwa, the Premier in an off-the-cuff speech, said that despite political differences he personally and all the members of his government had no rancour against those who opposed the UNP politically and otherwise during the general election. The PM said yesterday that as a Buddhist and as PM he would take all the steps necessary to protect and preserve buddhism in this country and seek the guidance and counsel of the masses. According to some estimates there were easily over 2 Million people in Kandy yesterday. The President will deliver a policy statement of the government in the Assembly Hall of the NSA after the Speaker, Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees are elected. The Police are hard on the heels of a big hand bomb manufacturer who specialises in a new type of hand bomb. The reduction in prices of sugar, flour, textiles and a few other essential consumer items are likely to be among the steps in the package deal which the government will announce shortly. Mr. M. A. Bakeer Markar, MP for Beruwala will be elected the Deputy Speaker of the NSA when it meets. The General Secretary of the TULF and MP for KKS Mr. Amirthalingam will be the leader of the Opposition. The CP of Sri Lanka has appealed to the PM to take all necessary steps to see that breaches of the peace and order are stopped forthwith. Sravasti, the Parliamentarian's hostel has been remodelled and charges increased, and occupancy will be as in a hotel; a new waiting hall has also been put up for members to see their consti-

tuents—CDM. The government will cease to be the sole importer of rice, flour, sugar, medicines and other essential consumer items; it would allow any person to import them, the PM declared yesterday. Dr. N. M. Perera, the leader of the LSSP raised the query whether the summoning of the NSA earlier than scheduled was legal; in a statement to the press he argued that only a proclamation issued by the president at the time of dissolution can summon parliament; no other person has a right to summon parliament; nor can it be summoned for any date other than the validly proclaimed date according to him.

SATURDAY, JULY 30: SLFP candidates who contested the general elections will meet at their party headquarters on Monday August 1, to examine the reasons for the defeat of the last government; party sources also said that the situation which prevailed immediately after the elections and at present will also come up for discussion. The CTB will not be able to put out a reasonably good service till it increases its present road-worthy fleet by at least a further 2000 buses, said the Vice Chairman, Mr. S. A. G. Yapa. The President of the SLFP, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has written to the President protesting against post-election violence. The consensus among the vast multitude that converged at Kandy to witness the address to the nation by the PM and other religious ceremonies was that the government should get down to the task of tackling the cost of living and food problem immediately. Cabinet ministers and MP's who attended the two-day ceremonies in Kandy spurned police security, broke tradition and mingled freely with the great mass of people that had come to the Hill Capital from all parts of the country—CDN. The Police will smoke out all hoarders in the Pettah and other areas who are responsible for creating artificial shortages in consumer items. Mr. William Tennekoon, Chairman of the Development Finance Corporation of Ceylon has urged the Minister of Finance to review the revaluation of the rupee and take action that may be deemed necessary. All roads in Colombo should be cleaned by 7 a.m. every day; the Minister of Local Government has sent out an order to make the City of Colombo one of the cleanest in the East. The Chairman of the CTB has taken action to being immediate repair to 2,000 buses that are garaged. Mr. Wijeyaratne Banda has been appointed the Registrar of the University of Sri Lanka; he succeeds Dr. D. W. K. Wijeyanunge who has resigned—CDM. The government is to completely review all political appointments, transfers and promotions in educational institutions made by the previous regime after the dissolution of the NSA on May 18. Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, Minister of Justice, yesterday refuted the claims by Dr. N. M. Perera that the summoning of the Parliament before the due date was a violation of the constitution. The Peradeniya Campus of the Sri Lanka University is to remain closed until the prevailing situation in the campus is brought under control, a University spokesman said yesterday. The Minister of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism, Mrs. Wimala Kannangara, has ordered a full probe into a series of irregularities and malpractices in the Ceylon Shipping Corporation—SU.

SUNDAY, JULY 31: A new deal for the tax payer; that's the Finance Minister's first promise to the 200,000 tax payers who now go through what the minister calls a 'veritable jungle' of forms with the costly help of an accountant or tax consultant; the Minister has decided

to appoint a high-level tax commission with international expertise. The government will appoint a Commission to inquire into the post-election violence of 1977 and find the persons and parties behind it; the government will also pay compensation to the victims; this is stated in a press statement made by the PM yesterday in reply to the letter sent to the President by the leader of the SLFP, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, on post-election violence. The Chairman of the Janawasa Commission, Miss Chandrika Bandaranaike has resigned as she feels that the complaints made to the police regarding the damage caused after the election have been of no avail and she can no longer function in a situation where due to partisanship the authorities seem powerless. Mr. M. B. Ratnayake, spokesman for the JVP referring to the future of the Left movement said the JVP would be the biggest opposition outside Parliament; he also said that the UNP would not be able to solve the pressing problems of the country; the JVP believes that in three months time the country will be in the same chaotic state as previously. The seventeen TULF MPs will first take their oaths as members of the constituent Assembly of the 'independent secular, socialist state of Tamil Eelam', before they come to Colombo for the ceremonial opening of the NSA where they will take their oaths under the Republican Constitution. Nearly 50% of those who contested the eighth parliamentary general election lost their deposits; of them 250 were independents including those who belong to parties that were not recognised for the purpose of the lower deposit—SL. The Minister of Trade has given the assurance that flour and textiles are among the items that will come under the price reduction scheme, together with other items such as coriander. The Trade Minister said yesterday that the term 'Free Trade Zone' should not be confused with a free port; the 'Free Trade Zone' is primarily a factory centre, it is a free export processing zone—not a free port; anyone can invest capital there—even communist countries, but all labour must be local—SO. Sri Lanka is to join the prestigious Asian economic entity—the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) there has been a great deal of speculation in diplomatic circles over this matter following the PM's statement last week that he did not see any objection to joining ASEAN as long as it did not have any political undertones. The government is to go ahead with the investigations into charges of bribery against former MPs. A presidential Commission will be appointed to inquire into various acts of Commission and omission in the CWE. The Finance Minister said yesterday since the policy of the government was non-aligned they expected aid from all friendly countries; he believed that we would receive aid be it from Western Countries, socialist Countries or Arab countries. In a communique issued by the PM in reply to the letter of the leader of the SLFP about post-polls violence he said the action taken by his government to deal with the situation was quite different from the manner in which the Bandaranaike government acted in the post election period after the general elections of 1970, when violence continued unabated for over 14 days. The Ramakrishna 'Madam' at Kataragama taken over by the previous government will be given back to the mission—SU.

MONDAY, AUGUST 1: Government Agents and their deputies will be asked to give top priority to food production and development; projects in their respective revenue districts, maintaining a very close

co-ordination with officials of the Department of Agriculture. A retired judge will be appointed as Commissioner to inquire into all malpractices, bribery and corruption in the local bodies; corruption was rampant during the last regime when election to local bodies had been held since 1969; so said the Minister of Local government when he addressed Colombo voters to thank them for electing him. Former Speaker and ex-MP for Kotte, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne was yesterday released on police bail following a charge of alleged assault lodged at the Mirihana Police Station. A 15-member Consultative Committee set up in February this year to study the working of the CTB has recommended among other things, a fare reduction, including reducing the minimum fare from 20 cents to 10 cents. The government will place immediate orders to import fishing nets, engines and spares parts to put to sea the hundreds of boats now lying idle, said the Minister of Fisheries yesterday. The Ceylon Bank Employees Union yesterday sought an interview with the Finance Minister to discuss the union's threat to call a day's token strike on August 8 in protest against the dismissal of the union official at the Central Bank. The TULF has not abandoned its claims for a separate state; as a first step it will establish a Constituent Assembly to draw up a constitution for the setting up of a Tamil Eelam according to TULF sources. The Minister of Textiles Industries yesterday promised sizeable reductions in the price of textiles to be announced on Wednesday. A citizen's taskforce appointed to report on the environment in Sri Lanka has recommended the establishment of a central authority for implementing an effective policy for the protection of the environment and preventing pollution—CDN. All members of the Government Parliamentary Group will be asked to declare their assets and liabilities after they are sworn in as members of the NSA on August 4. A press release issued by the Ceylon Communist Party (Peking wing) on the election asked whether a change of pillows can cure the headache, referring to the elections. The government will appoint a commission to inquire into the post-election violence of 1977 and find the persons and parties behind it; the government will also pay compensation to the victims. A massive campaign against bribery was launched by the Bribery Commissioner's Department on Friday. Britain will make a grant of 280,000 pounds to assist Sri Lanka's Forestry Department, according to a foreign Ministry source—CDM. The government is to afford an opportunity to political parties not represented in the NSA, to participate in the law-making process; this is to be done by making provision in the Constitution to co-opt representatives of political parties (who are not MPs) into Parliamentary Select Committee that will examine laws to be enacted by the NSA. Sravasti the MP's hostel, will be strictly confined to MP's; not even their wives will be allowed inside. The Minister of Housing and Construction has ordered a full inquiry into the sale of 13 perches of land in Bambalapitiya, to the daughter of the previous Minister, Mr. C. Kumarasuriar. When the NSA meets for the first time on August 4, there will be 98 new faces in the chamber. The new Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs has ordered a full probe on the CPC's oil exploration operations which have so far cost the country about Rs. 88 million; this move comes in the wake of a claim by the CPC Executive Officer's Union that despite so many years explorative work, there has not been the slightest indication of the existence of oil deposits.—SU.

UNP's 1977 MANIFESTO-2

A Programme Of Action To Create A Just And Free Society

WORKERS' OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT. Today the Trade Union Movement is in chaos. Each political Party seeks to organise its own Union.

Trade Unions had their origin when all employment was beholden to capitalists who were the owners of the means of production. There was a constant state of war between these two groups leading to strikes, lock-outs and even bloodshed. In a Socialist society where the means of production belong to the People this position must necessarily be changed. Unions should be truly democratic and free of control by outsiders. The employees organised in self-managed institutions should be the masters of their fate and of the institution they work in. They should also have control of not only their own labour but also over the fruits of their labour.

Organisations of employees managing their work places will be formed without political affiliations. Regular elections will be held to elect Office-bearers, and funds collected from the Pay Sheets will be used with State supervision for the benefit of the members. From these organisations delegates will be chosen to serve on the Management together with those appointed by the State.

With Sri Lanka adopting socialist policies, the UNP will advance the cause of worker ownership.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT. The establishment of labour intensive, local raw material based, small and medium scale industries will be encouraged by straight forward fiscal and other incentives.

Industrial Development through foreign collaboration or direct involvement will be encouraged and promoted by way of Free Trade Zones geared to exports to increase employment, to earn foreign exchange and obviate the dependence on foreign aid.

HEALTH. We shall restore the high standard of health care and disease prevention that existed

earlier and make further improvements in our health service particularly in the rural areas through both the Ayurvedic and the Western systems.

To achieve this objective, the following course of action will be adopted—

(1) Medical health services will be improved in the rural areas by—
(2) Making available qualified medical personnel with the necessary facilities;

(b) Modernising and improving the existing hospital facilities for prompt and efficient medical attention.

(2) An Auxiliary Service of semi-skilled health aides will be established to off set the shortage and mal-distribution of medical and para medical personnel.

(3) Great emphasis will be placed on preventive medicine by instituting a programme encompassing health education and immunisation schemes and establishment of clinics in schools and by initiating community health projects with regard to water, sewerage, food, housing and environmental sanitation.

(4) Enhanced Family Planning Services will be provided by the State financial incentives with a view to controlling the population explosion will be given to individuals who practise it.

(5) Foreign and local firms will be encouraged to manufacture drugs locally by granting necessary incentives.

(6) Ayurvedic Hospitals will be established in every District and more funds will be made available to existing Government Ayurvedic Hospitals.

(7) Nurseries for the growing of medical herbs will be established.

(8) The Ayurvedic College will be raised to University status and every encouragement will be given for research and development of new drugs.

(9) The Importance of the Registered Ayurvedic Physicians will be fully recognized in the Health Services of the land and as far as possible Ayurvedic institutions will be headed by Ayurvedic Physicians.

SOCIAL WELFARE. The self employed person like the farmer, fisherman, small trader and businessman, carpenter and mason, artist, singer, dancer, writer etc. look to the future with uncer-

tainty and fear when they think of old age, sickness or disability. To free them from this sense of insecurity we shall establish a National Social Insurance Scheme to assist the self employed and the dependent employed not enjoying retirement or health benefits to maintain themselves or their families in retirement, old age, sickness and disability.

We shall establish or give the necessary encouragement and incentives for the establishment and maintenance of; creches for the babies of working mothers; homes for the aged and the physically, mentally or locally handicapped; and organisations engaged in social and relief work for the community at large.

HOUSING. Help will be given to those who wish to build or buy a house as well as for the transfer of State and Local Authority owned houses to tenants. Steps will be also taken to ensure the security of tenure of a rent-paying tenant. In order to establish a Home-owning Society—

(1) Increased funds will be made available to the public through Banks and the Department of National Housing at reasonable rates of interest.

(2) An Insurance Scheme will be formulated whereby a person could insure his housing loan for the payment of premia to give him relief in times of financial distress and also to afford security of a home to the dependents in case of death.

(3) Fiscal incentives will be provided to employers to invest in housing for its employees. In the case of State employees, steps will be taken as far as possible to locate them permanently in a single district during their career.

(4) The Rent Act of 1972 will be amended to afford relief to one house owners. An owner will be able to get back his property if his claims are fair and just and particularly if he is seeking possession himself or for a dependent and not merely to put in a different tenant.

(5) Low Cost Housing Schemes will be organised in a more attractive way on a self-help basis particularly in the rural areas.

(6) Builders Co-operatives comprising of masons, carpenters, and other skilled labour will be established and will be given

finance, materials and technical know-how to construct homes for those in need.

(7) Brick and Tile making industries and suppliers of sand and timber components etc. if operating on self-employed basis will be given all assistance to market their products direct to the builders.

(8) The problem of slums and shanties in Colombo and other large Urban centres will be settled through self-financing schemes whereby the land originally occupied by them could be sold at higher values to set off against realistic subsidies provided in the re-housing of dwellers in more decent houses and surroundings.

(9) The Department of National Housing will be reorganised and regional Housing Authorities established by combining the resources of and the services provided by Housing Department, the Territorial Civil Engineering organisation, the State Engineering Corporation, Building Materials Corporation and the Commercial Banks.

(10) Light-weight, low-cost and standardised pre-fabricated housing components (including timber items) will be manufactured by the Regional Housing Authorities and all types of building materials made available to the public and local government institutions at cheaper prices.

(11) More positive fiscal incentives will be given to Registered Building Companies who may either purchase housing components from the Regional Housing Authorities or themselves manufacture the standardised components.

We shall stimulate construction activity in all sectors and ensure both through institutional means and individual assistance schemes that a family shall possess its own house.

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT. The United National Party recognises that any economic progress must involve the free and wholehearted participation of the people. One reason why this Government has failed to rouse the enthusiasm of the people and obtain their co-operation was that it attempted surreptitiously to introduce into the administrative apparatus a political technique that was foreign to the wishes of the people, namely,

a Government of the people by a few Government officials and political favourites for their benefit.

The political philosophy and the economic and social objectives of the UNP visualise that the whole concept of these bureaucrats controlling the economy will be discarded.

We will set up a PEOPLES SECTOR and the necessary enabling institutions with the object of ensuring that ownership and management of the means of production, distribution and exchange belong to the people of the country. We will give special and priority emphasis by providing economic units of land with the necessary facilities to the landless thus helping the small farmer to cultivate his own plot of land; by assisting the small industrialist; and by making the small trader an important and integral element in the distribution system. The UNP will, therefore, both in its programmes and organisations, deal especially with the needs of the small man and woman to create more wealth, earn more money and to improve his standard of living.

The UNP feels that if you have a little property of any kind, a small business or a small house you are by that much independent. If property throughout the country is widely dispersed in millions of private hands, the power which resides in the ownership of property is also dispersed and power dispersed cannot be used coercively. We do not intend to concentrate and centralise ownership and power in the hands of the Government or in the hands of a privileged class. We will eliminate the enslavement of the people by the Government and its bureaucracy and provide for the people's participation in the activities of the State.

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT.

The Sirima Government's policies have confined peoples participation only through political stooges and have thus been reduced to speechless spectators of State action. The Sirima Government has even made local affairs far remote from the people's control by the arbitrary removal of elected representatives. Local Councils have become direct agents of Government and have no longer become responsible to the electors.

We shall enable and ensure the participation of the people in the process of Government by decentralising the administrative set-up to the village level and making the people partners in the planning, organisation and implementation of policy. For this purpose we shall recognise the importance of Local Government as an institution representative of the people.

We shall revitalise the Local Government System by—

(a) Creating a net-work of Local Government Bodies throughout the Island with wider and more responsible areas;

(b) Providing the resources both financial and otherwise by allocating monies from the Consolidated Fund to Local Bodies;

(c) Making provision for the election of Heads of Local Bodies by all the voters of the respective areas of authority.

We shall also establish Development Councils at the Electoral and District levels for the purpose of co-ordinating and directing development programmes.

Electoral Development Councils will be headed by the Member of Parliament and it will consist of elected Members and officials of the Local Bodies and Government officials in the Electorate.

District Development Councils will be headed by a District Minister of State who will not be a member of the Cabinet and will consist of Members of Parliament, elected Heads of Local Bodies and Government officials.

CONSTITUTION.

We seek your mandate to draft, adopt and operate a new Republican Constitution in order to achieve the goals of a democratic socialist society. We shall include in the Constitution, the Basic Principles accepted by the 1975 Party Sessions with reference to Religion and Language and among them being the guaranteeing to the people their Fundamental Rights, Privileges and Freedoms, re-establishing the independence of the Press and the Judiciary and freeing it from political control and interference. We will ensure in the Constitution that every citizen, whether he belongs to a majority or minority, racial, religious or caste group enjoys equal and basic human rights and opportunities. The decisions of an All-Party Conference which will be summoned to consider the problem of non-

Sinhala speaking people will be included in the Constitution.

Executive power will be vested in a President elected from time to time by the people. This will ensure stability of the executive for a period of years between elections. The Constitution will also preserve the Parliamentary system we are used to, for the Prime Minister will be chosen by the President from the Party that commands a majority in Parliament and the other Ministers of the Cabinet will also be elected Members of Parliament.

Under the Sirima Government the powers of Parliament have been superseded by Emergency Regulations published as Gazette Notifications. The independence of the Judiciary has been eroded by patronage in appointments and interference by the Executive. The Rule of Law has been made a mockery by vesting Members of Parliament and the bureaucracy with dictatorial powers and through political victimization.

We shall strengthen Democratic institutions and the Judiciary and re-establish the Rule of Law. Members of Parliament and the bureaucracy will not be allowed to victimise the people for political reasons.

PROBLEMS OF THE TAMIL-SPEAKING PEOPLE.

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

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

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

FOREIGN POLICY. We shall follow an independent foreign policy which is opposed to imperialism and colonialism in all their manifestations and which seeks to pre-

serve and protect the sovereignty, integrity and freedom of Sri Lanka. We shall not permit any interference by foreign countries in our internal or external affairs or allow the independence or security of our country to be threatened in any way.

In achieving these objectives we shall pursue the following lines of policy in foreign affairs—

1. We will continue to give unqualified support for the principles and objectives embodied in the U.N. Charter and support both U.N. and its Agencies in their efforts to:— (a) Preserve peace throughout the World (b) Eradicate completely colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and big power hegemonism; (c) Introduce a New International Economic Order.
2. We will support vigorously all efforts of the Third World to the poverty and backwardness that are now its characteristics.
3. We will support the principles of Non-Alignment which were first adopted at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955, one of whose sponsors was the UNP Government of that time.

AFTER 1977—A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PROGRAMME.

We, therefore, place before the People a realistic policy based on our past experiences both as a Government and Opposition Party and our knowledge that economic and social conditions have changed. We propose a programme suited to contemporary Sri Lanka which is Democratic and Socialist. It is Democratic for Democracy alone permits each one the freedom to live as a free individual and to bring up his family, to own his lawful possessions and dispose of them, to use his talents as he pleases, to practice his religion and to elect the Government of his choice. It is Socialist, for Socialism provides opportunities for the vast majority living in poverty and misery to afford happier lives for themselves and members of their families. It can redress the social injustices whereby a few enjoy luxuries and comforts while the rest live without food and clothing, in huts and hovels. We believe this democracy and socialism must go hand in hand.

We believe that Democracy with out Socialism is a Democracy of exploitation; and that Socialism

without Democracy is a Socialism of oppression. All men cannot be made equal but all be afforded equal opportunities to rise according to his ability and to be provided for according to his needs.

Our allegiance to Democracy as the Party that brought Democracy and a Parliamentary form of Government to this country is complete. Our Leaders have always bowed to the will of the people. Our task therefore will be firstly to restore those democratic freedoms which have been lost.

The UNP is not only a Democratic Party, it is also a Socialist Party. In brief our policy is to make the people and not the Government of the day the owners and managers of the means of production, distribution and exchange and terminate the exploitation of Man by Man, and Man by the State with in the framework of a Democratic Society.

In implementing Socialism we do not intend to fit the Government into the place of the private capitalist. We do not intend to concentrate and centralise production, distribution and financial power in the hands of the Government, a privileged class or a few families.

It is the small farmer who will enjoy the benefits of Land Reform; the small industrialist and trader who will be helped to produce and distribute. All our policies will be directed to help the people to create more wealth; enjoy more opportunity and to improve their standard of living.

We reject a Socialism that liquidates individual effort and transfers the ownership and management of all productive activity to the Government and not to the people. This technique is foreign to the genius of our people whose free and whole-hearted participation we will seek in implementing our programme of economic development.

Thus, the picture of Democratic Socialism which emerges from these remarks, is a society dynamic in its propensities for the creation of wealth, ensuring a greater dispersal and decentralisation of political and economic power, by giving to the community the ownership and management of the institutions that are set up for the achievement of these objectives, whilst adequate ly providing for the national, reli-

gious and cultural aspirations of the people.

We want this country to consist of free men and women, where rightful ambition is encouraged, initiative applauded and enterprise rewarded. We emphasize the fact that our policy is not Socialism alone but Democratic Socialism.

WE SHALL endeavour to provide a future Government that is efficient; free from corruption and fair to all, irrespective of political beliefs; a Government that will lay the foundation for the creation of a New Society tomorrow for the young men and women of today.

TULF's MANIFESTO-2

General Election 1977

For A Tamil Eelam

8. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL EELAM.

The state-owned factories in Tamil Eelam today were set up 20 years ago. Every single factory that was set up in this country, with foreign aid, was set up only in the Sinhalese Districts. Schemes like the Kachcheri Salterns, the Kankesanthurai harbour development, Fishery Harbour at Myliddy, all of which were started between 1965-1970 by a government in which the Tamil representatives too were members, have all been abandoned for the last seven years. No major irrigation scheme of the government will help develop our Eelam. Save for the schemes like Gal Oya, Allai, Kantalai etc. whose deliberate motive was the planting of the Sinhalese population in the territory of Tamil Eelam, no irrigation scheme of any consequence that had as its objective the welfare of either the Tamil or Muslim population in Eelam has ever been implemented during the last twenty years. There were of course some minor schemes of white-washing. When oil prospecting with Soviet aid was started in Mannar, the local Tamil and Muslim populations were ignored and 90% of the labourers were imported from the Sinhalese areas. In the private sector, obtaining licenses to start industrial ventures in the Tamil areas is a herculean task. Even in some minor factories started in the Tamil areas, the majority of the employ-

ees are Sinhalese. Not only are the Tamil people ignored in the matter of employment opportunities in the state sector but also are the Tamil areas ignored in the economic development. They have been allowed to deteriorate into backward areas.

9. RACIAL TERRORISM. For the last twenty years, racial terrorism has been let loose in this country, against the Tamil and Muslim population in a manner that reminded them that they were slaves who were not entitled to any rights or protection. Tamils and Muslims have been quite often the objects of violence of the Sinhalese hooligans instigated by government supported Sinhalese communal organisations and of the Police and the armed forces in whose hands they suffered untold misery by way of looting and arson in homes, shops and places of business, by grievous injuries, loss of life and property and violation against women. In 1956, Tamils were attacked in Colombo and in a part of the Tamil territory of Eelam that had been turned into Sinhalese land, Amparai. Age-old Tamil villages like Thurainelavanai had to resort to fire-arms in defence of their hearths and homes from attacks by Sinhalese hoodlums.

The communal fury against the Tamils in 1958 in the entire Sinhalese land is a chapter of dreadful blot in the history of this country. Thousands of Tamils were taken to the Northern and Eastern provinces in commandeered ships and army-protected convoys. Property worth several millions were lost, several hundreds lost their lives and thousands, their homes. Tamil women were raped; pregnant women were slaughtered to pieces on public highways. The Murugan Temple priest at Panadura was burnt alive. Several dead bodies were retrieved from one well alone at Maha-Oya. While Sinhalese terrorism raged against the Tamils all over the country the Sinhalese government arrested the Tamil leaders and put them behind bars. It was insult added to injury.

Military terror was let loose in the Tamil provinces against the Tamils who were engaged in a non-violent campaign of Civil Disobedience in 1961 to demand their language rights. No civilized country could have witnessed a police attack as barbarous as the one

that the Sinhalese police made against the Tamil people who, in their lakhs, were listening in a state of rapture to a treat of a Tamil literary talk by Professor Nainar Mohamed on the last day of the IVth International Tamil Research Conference where Tamil scholars from the world over had assembled, on January 10th 1974 in Jaffna. The rulers of this country refused either to hold an enquiry or even to express sympathy at the atrocity that resulted in 9 Tamil deaths. This tells its own tale of the manner the Sinhalese governments treat the Tamils in this land.

Pararasa, a bank clerk, was shot dead by the police while he was returning from a temple festival, in Jaffna. Tamil leaders who went to the office of the police superintendent were set upon by the Sinhalese police in civil clothes. Ledchumanan, the Tamil youth, who refused to be driven out into the street from his home in the tea plantations was killed by the police. Homes of Tamil labourers at Gampola were looted and set ablaze. Unjustified Sinhalese police attacks and the fury of Sinhalese hooligans have, for the last few years, been let loose against the Muslims also. In 1976 alone, in no less than 40 places like Mahiyangana, Gampola, Panadura, Sinhalese Nikawaratiya etc. unprotected Muslims were the targets of rowdies. Their losses ran into lakhs and lakhs of rupees.

On the 2nd of February 1976, seven of the Muslims at prayer inside a Mosque at Puttalam were ruthlessly massacred by the Sinhalese police, inside that holy spot. 271 houses, 44 shops 2 fibre factories belonging to the Muslims of Puttalam were set on fire, 2 Mosques were burnt down, 2 Muslim youths were burnt alive by the Sinhalese hooligans. The government was not willing to hold a public enquiry into the horrible murders. These incidents only reiterate the fact that the lives and property of Tamils and Muslims who are living as slaves in this country do not enjoy any protection from the Sinhalese governments.

10. IMPOSITION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION ON THE TAMIL NATION. Drafting a new constitution and its imposition on the Tamil Nation is the climax of the dictatorial actions, samples of which were shown here.

The Ceylon Parliament which became a symbol of perverted democracy when its citizenship laws helped grab 80% of Parliamentary representation by the 70% Sinhalese population, after the general election of 1970, was formed into a Constituent Assembly. The deliberations of this Assembly were conducted under a state of emergency, proclaimed in 1971, where the freedom of speech and freedom of writing were all taken away from the people and while a strict press censorship was in force. The two-thirds majority of the Government and the Sinhala communal majority were fully exploited. All the Amendments to the Basic Resolutions introduced on behalf of the Tamil speaking people were rejected, in toto, by the Sinhalese majority in the Assembly. A federal scheme with an Autonomous Tamil state and an Autonomous Muslim state with three Sinhalese states, put forward by the Federal Party, a constituent of the present Tamil United Liberation Front, as a solution to the racial problems of this country, was turned down by the Assembly even before being examined. Neither any Sinhalese Party nor any member from the majority community came forward to discuss or offer any alternative scheme that could meet with the aspirations of the Tamil Nation. Attempts made by the Tamil members to secure a place in the Constitution at least for the Regulations for use of the Tamil Language proved abortive. The only outcome of these efforts was the introduction, in the Constitution of section 8 (2) that categorically stated that these Regulations on the use of Tamil Language shall not form a part of the Constitution. Realising the futility of any continued participation, the Tamil representatives in the Constituent Assembly walked out. The Assembly meeting of 22nd May 1972 which was summoned to pass the Constitution was boycotted by 15 out of the 19 elected Tamil representatives. Out of the four that voted in favour of the constitution, two lost their representative character after having been expelled from their party, the All Ceylon Tamil Congress; one was elected as a candidate of the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kachchi (Federal Party) and was expelled from that party and thus lost his right of representation. The fourth was a member who contested on

an anti-government platform and won as an independent. Hence it is obvious that this constitution was rejected 100% by the Tamil people. The manner in which the unanimous opposition of the Tamil Nation was ignored and how the new constitution was imposed on them has only confirmed the psychology of the Sinhalese imperialistic masters that they are ruling over a slave Nation according to their own whims and fancies. They have done away with the meagre safe-guards provided for the minorities in the constitution left behind by the British, placed their own language and religion at such high a pedestal that no one could ever tamper with them and through this imposed constitution made the Tamils their slaves without any share in the political power of this State.

DOES THE TAMIL NATION HAVE AN ALTERNATIVE ?

The leader of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, before the withdrawal of British power, demanded balanced representation for the protection of minorities. Though the Soulbury Constitution rejected the demand, yet it incorporated a safeguard in Section 29 of that constitution. But the new Republican Constitution of 1972 has deleted all that safeguard. Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam through his Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kachchi (Federal Party), toiled for 25 years to safeguard the rights of the Tamil Nation through the device of federalism. He entered into agreements with Premier Bandaranaike and his Sri Lanka Freedom Party and also with Premier Dudley Senanayake to obtain at least autonomy for the Tamil Nation. These agreements were later abrogated because of opposition from the Sinhalese people. The demand for a federal solution was rejected by the Constituent Assembly even without a debate. Neither the six-point demand of the Tamil United Front nor the twenty-point demand of some Tamil leaders ever had any reception. What is the alternative now left to the Nation that has lost its rights to its language, rights to its citizenship, rights to its religions and continues day by day to lose its traditional homeland to Sinhalese colonisation? What is the alternative now left to a Nation that has lost its opportunities to higher education through

standardisation and its equality in opportunities in the sphere of employment? What is the alternative to a Nation that lies helpless as it is being assaulted, looted and killed by hooligans instigated by the ruling race and by the security forces of the State? Where else is an alternative to the Tamil Nation that gropes in the dark for its identity and finds itself driven to the brink of devastation?

There is only one alternative and that is to proclaim with the stamp of finality and fortitude that "we alone shall rule over our land that our forefathers ruled. Sinhalese imperialism shall quit our Homeland." The Tamil United Liberation Front regards the general election of 1977 as a means of proclaiming to the Sinhalese Government this resolve of the Tamil Nation. And every vote that you cast for the Front would go to show that the Tamil Nation is determined to liberate itself from Sinhalese domination.

TAMIL EALAM—A SECULAR SOCIALIST STATE.

Hence the Tamil United Liberation Front seeks in the General Election the mandate of the Tamil Nation to establish an independent, sovereign, secular, socialist State of Tamil Ealam that includes all the geographically contiguous areas that have been the traditional homeland of the Tamil speaking people in the country.

At the same time The Tamil United Liberation Front proclaims the following guarantees on the political, social and economic structure of the State of Tamil Ealam. The Front declares that the Tamil State of Ealam will be established on the basis of these guarantees.

1. FOLLOWING SHALL BE THE CITIZENS OF TAMIL EALAM:

- (a) All those people now living in the territory of Tamil Ealam.
- (b) Tamil speaking persons from any part of Ceylon seeking citizenship in the State of Tamil Ealam.
- (c) Tamil speaking people of Ceylonese descent living in any part of the world and seeking citizenship in the State of Tamil Ealam.

2. Political power shall be decentralised so that no one region or no one religion is allowed to dominate over any other region

- or religion thus ensuring regional autonomy for the people in the various Regions in the pattern of federalism obtaining in Switzerland. The Tamil United Liberation Front guarantees that particularly Muslims who form a part of the State of Tamil Ealam will be established in the Regions where they are in a majority as an autonomous province with the right to secede on the basis of the right to self-determination.
3. The Tamil United Liberation Front guarantees that neither a Tamil majority region nor a Muslim majority region will be allowed to be colonised by the other group thus ensuring that no group of people is reduced a minority in its own Region.
 4. Caste system along with the atrocity of untouchability and the grave injustice of attributing social superiority or inferiority by birth will be totally eradicated and any such practice subjected to rigorous punishment by law.
 5. The State of Tamil Ealam shall be a secular one while all the religions practised by the people in the State will receive equal protection and aid.
 6. Tamil shall be the official language of the State of Tamil Ealam while the Sinhalese living in the State will be provided the right to be educated in their own tongue and to transact their business with the state in their own language. Similarly guarantees will be sought from the Sinhala State about the language rights of the Tamil speaking people living in that state.
 7. In the Tamil Ealam which shall be a scientific socialist State,
 - (a) Exploitation of man by man will be prevented by law;
 - (b) Dignity of labour will be protected.
 - (c) While the private sector will be permitted within limits imposed by law, means of production and distribution will be state-owned or subject to state-control.
 - (d) Full protection will be afforded to tenant-cultivators and residents on privately owned lands.
 - (e) Economic development of the Tamil State of Ealam will be on the basis of Socialist planning.
 - (f) A ceiling will be fixed on the wealth an individual or a family could accumulate.

8. While the Socialist State of Tamil Ealam would follow a policy of non-alignment, it would, in the international field, lend its support to the anti-imperialist forces and democratic liberation movements.

9. The State of Tamil Ealam will develop friendship with the progressive forces in the Sinhalese State and would on the basis of fraternity, work out a peaceful solution for the mutual problems facing the two nations.

LIBERATION—HOW IT WILL BE ACHIEVED?

The Tamil Nation must take the decision to establish its sovereignty in its homeland on the basis of its right to self-determination. The only way to announce this decision to the Sinhalese government and to the world is to vote for the Tamil United Liberation Front. The Tamil speaking representatives who get elected through these votes, while being members of the National State Assembly of Ceylon, will also form themselves into the National Assembly of Tamil Ealam which will draft a constitution for the State of Tamil Ealam and to establish the independence of the Tamil Ealam by bringing that constitution into operation either by peaceful means or by direct action or struggle.

The National Assembly of Tamil Ealam will draw up and implement plans relating to the economic development, social progress, protection of territory, educational development etc.

Action will be taken to enlist international support to achieve the freedom of Tamil Ealam.

OTHER PROGRAMMES OF WORK

The problems of the Tamil speaking people outside Tamil Ealam are getting complicated today. Particularly the up-country Tamil workers are being forcibly driven out of their places of work and places of residence by the Sinhalese government and government abetted Sinhalese hooligans. It is quite clear that the terrible act of arson on the homes of Tamil labourers and the police firing that caused the death of the Tamil youth, Ledchumanan, in the Devon estate, have been preplanned and deliberate. The Tamil United Liberation Front will fight for the rights of these workers who have toiled for the prosperity of this country, to live in their own homes

with security of employment fully guaranteed. The Tamil Liberation Front will work for the basic human rights and political, social and economic rights of the Tamil speaking people living in any part of Ceylon.

At the same time, the Tamil United Liberation Front will set up a special organisation to prepare plans for the well-being of and to give all assistance to the Tamil speaking people who wish to migrate to Tamil Ealam to set up their lives in their new homes.

It is indispensable that every person who is a member of the Tamil Nation that aspires to be free must be able to live in enjoyment of human rights, in full. Hence, as an important aspect of liberation movement, intensive steps will be taken for the abolition of the caste system and social disabilities imposed on any section of the Tamil people.

Tamil United Liberation Front will take steps to develop friendship with the progressive forces, in South Ceylon, that recognise and are sympathetic towards, the aspirations of the Tamil Nation and with countries that are sympathetic towards the freedom movements particularly with the anti-imperialist forces abroad.

CONCLUSION

The Tamil Nation is at a turning point in its history. The unity we have achieved has made the Sinhalese imperialists take a fresh look at the situation. In this background, as a first step towards the realisation of the freedom of the Nation, the unanimous verdict of the Tamil speaking people is indispensable.

Hence we appeal to you to set aside your passions for, or prejudices against individual candidates, to forget differences of region, caste or religion and, with the one and the only determination of making the Tamil Nation master of its Destiny, to

VOTE for the Tamil United Liberation Front,

for the emancipation of the Tamil Nation,

for the Freedom of Tamil Ealam.



NEW VISION FOR NEW
VENTURES—2

Religious Organisations And Development

by The Rev. Celestine Fernando

Far too many people spend a great deal of time, energy and money on religious preaching and teaching that have little meaning for day to day living. Too often the radicalism in religion has been submerged by unessential ceremonial or inherited and unexamined procedures of administration, conciliar action and finance which have resulted in action contrary to the religious truths that have been proclaimed. There is therefore a widespread need to re-discover the basic truths which can help us all, specially because there are many who have such a dim view of religion that they cannot believe that any good can come out of such an exercise. In the very valuable and most interesting book he has edited, "Religion and Development in Asian Society" (Marga Publication) Godfrey Gumatilleke rightly points out that:

"The way in which religion can animate society towards certain goals, the intense social energy it can generate are existential facts which cannot be overlooked. The only equivalent one can think of is a mass revolutionary movement led by charismatic leaders and pulsating to the vision of a new society. But even here when the visionary gleam has faded, when the glory and the dream have faded, the animation of the masses lapses and a bureaucratic or political elite takes over. The religious impulse in contrast is capable of institutionalisation and continuous renewal, it can remain a subterranean life-stream from which men and society continue to draw energy over long periods. Religious observance has a regularity and discipline which perhaps no other non-economic activity can claim; religious occasions are mass demonstrations of a kind which have few counterparts in other areas of human life."

"It is unhistorical to regard religion as an inherently conservative force. On the contrary,

throughout history religion has also been one of the most significant and powerful agents of social changes and transformation. When we look back to the rise of Christianity and the transformation of Europe, the Protestant Reformation and the dissolution of feudalism, Buddhism and its affirmation of a humanist ethic in a caste-ridden society, early Islam and its unifying role among the Arab races, we see religious movements giving ideological form to major social forces, and engendering profound changes in the ordering of men's lives and their societies.

"The ethical and spiritual core of religions constantly oppose the transcendental to the human, the ideal to the real. They create a continuous immanent tension, a spiritual dynamic which can be an inexhaustible source of radical thought and action. The light is focused uncompromisingly on the imperfections of the human organisation, man's disfigurement of the divine image. Therefore the genuine religious institution, and the truly religious individual can find no rest in a society in which grave inequality and mass poverty are the norm, and in which various forms of oppression are an intrinsic part of the system. There could of course be a wide variety of religious responses to the problem of society's imperfections. The conservative response has been to work within the prevailing order, make the spiritual mission the central concern, and rely on charitable works and good deeds in order to mitigate the deformities of the social systems. In this scheme, the mundane life will be peripheral, the religious experience will be the vital centre, and the religious institutions will try to adapt themselves to various social orders, survive and work within the structures of oppression and inequality, ministering to men's spiritual needs. The radical response is fundamentally different. It requires the religious institution and individual to take up positions in regard to the social systems themselves, the inequities in the relationships among men as structured by those systems. It seeks to move society towards the image of "God's Kingdom". (p. xiv, xii-xiii-fore-

word to Religion and Development in Asian Societies.)

There is in all great religious teaching a call to integrity and the renewal of life and based on this the conversion of personal character and relationships in all areas of life. Every religion teaches that righteousness and spirituality are essential to combat evil everywhere—beginning in our own selves. These are the qualities that help human beings to respect and help each other in true fellowship and peace. An office, a factory, even a co-operative or a commune cannot be run without integrity, righteousness and brotherhood. This is why there must be a careful evaluation of our religious institutions by the way religious truths we proclaim. It can lead to radical changes in some of our present ways of life. The spirit of integrity and brotherhood within our community will then have the strength to extend beyond our community which is so necessary for the nation's good.

But if this is to happen there must also be radical changes in some of our religious institutions. There must be greater understanding and rapport between the religious leaders in each locality; getting to know each other better in order that they may work together in the service of the nation to which they belong. For apparently there are still too many places in our land where not only religious leaders of different religious movements but even religious leaders of the same common religious movement in the neighbourhood do not know each other, much less discuss and plan for matters of common concern for the areas in which they live. It is when those involved in religious work show the spirit of fellowship among themselves that the people will learn to follow in their steps. All who come together for common action in such a spirit will soon discover that there are common truths in every religion that can help human beings to respect each other and unite with integrity and brotherhood. Such common actions are richer by far and far more satisfying than the life of separation that the preservation of our group identities seem to demand.

What has happened in the long history of religious institutions is that as time has gone on, such

qualities of character that are stressed in the Scriptures have been remembered in pulpit exposition and in religious teaching. But in actual practice and in the day to day affairs concerning the power structures the processes of decision-making and consultation, the methods of administration, financial procedures, conditions of work and employment in religious institutions themselves far too many have simply been content to be "conformed to the world" around them in the pursuit of worldly patterns of prestige, privilege and power. As a result many religious institutions have gone far away from the authentic teachings of their founders. They have spoiled the image of religion itself and made it what Charles Kingsley, the Christian priest, and Karl Marx, the atheistic social philosopher, agree in rightly calling "the opium of the people". It is in this manner that too many religious bodies have so easily become victimised not only by ecclesiastical careerists but also by political opportunists, and have been turned into ceremonial agencies or instruments of worldly power and exploitation. They have become a source of disunity rather than a means of redemption which true religion is always meant to be.

If we are to be saved from this situation, religious leaders, having evaluated their constitutions, methods of worship, methods of religious education, their power structures and, above all, their processes of decision-making, must also be ready to change their patterns of life and work to conform with the religious truths that they proclaim. Those who criticise must also be willing to help not only with practical suggestions but with the co-operation without which even in religious institutions no real change can take place. But the initiation of such changes, involving radical religious reforms, has brought in the past greatly needed spiritual power and revival to many religious institutions despite the divisions caused by obscurantism and intolerance. If these movements of religious revivalism and reform are also initiated and conducted in the spirit of mutual respect and goodwill—such as all religions teach—then a primary religious responsibility will also be fulfilled. It will ensure a wider social redemption beyond the conventional

boundaries of the religious institutions themselves. And many more of our religious institutions will be a far greater witness to the "secular" institutions in our land than is the case today.

How greatly such changes in personal character and social relationships within the normative structures of society are needed is seen from the vast body of literature emanating from so many international sources today who are working for a New World Order and World Development (UN Conferences, Seminars, Academic and Technical Groups—all of whom are also concerned with the principles and strategies of essential change). Nearly all of them clearly agree that the character of the developers in every sector of society is a *sine qua non* if we are serious about the building of a new society. As Karl Mannheim has reminded us in all planning, if we are to plan aright, there is no doubt we must ask the question "Who will plan the planners?" It is also a relevant question to be asked at every level of Plan-Implementation. It is the character of those who are engaged in each Project that either brings to fulfilment or destroy it.

This is why many well known international thinkers use religious/moral terms in describing the tasks before them. For ultimately, all world development, national development and local development programmes have to be worked not by theories, paper plans, inanimate machinery or structural devices but by people, good or bad. It is men and women who are called to plan and build enduring structures by their integrity and efficiency. On the other hand they can undermine and destroy whole enterprises, including governments by their corruption. Our efforts to build a new society, which is also, a good society, without a radical spirituality and without moral men and women, in an a moral or immoral society, is to attempt the impossible. It is doomed to disaster.

It is in this context that there is significance and challenge in what Godfrey Gunatilleke goes on to say about the religious radical who strives to discover right modes of action in the complex situation in which we are:

"The religious radical seeks to complement the secular revolu-

tionary movement with elements which he with his religious vision of man and society is uniquely equipped to bring. He remains profoundly conscious of the tragic dimension in human action. He remains sensitive to the corruption of power in all forms of human organisation. He sees the contradiction in life which can overnight transform the oppressed to the oppressor. In his realistic struggle against prevailing forms of oppression, he is not deluded by dreams of human perfections. His own understanding of man and the human condition has made him aware that suffering and evil can find expression in all social and economic forms. The "revolution" for him therefore must remain "a permanent revolution" of man himself and of his values.

"This concern he must take with him to the modes of social action which he must find to bring about the social change. This means a fierce spiritual integrity not only in relation to society outside, but also in relation to the modes of social action he chooses, to the relationships within the movement in which he acts, to the human and interpersonal values of those who seek to bring about the change. In him the inward life and life of action meet. The example of the spiritual integrity of the agents of change, their own intense awareness of the tragic choices they must make in every situation will determine the quality of the new society they help to create. The religious dimension therefore has to work as a constantly purifying element in the social struggle, the spiritual leaven in the secular movement, the infusion of the secular process with the religious insights. This religious presence in the pursuit of the major secular goals in development can have nothing in common with the theocratic concepts, the unification of the religion and the state. It is in fact its opposite and finds its most opposite forms in the "Abrahamic minorities" and "the prophetic calls". It is a modernisation of saintliness, and rests on the living example of a conscious minority, rather than in mass action (pp xvi-xvii in Foreward to 'Religion and Development in Asian Societies').

In the light of our nation's needs today, it is surely imperative that the leaders of all religious groups should come together and organise themselves to devote their rich resources to help the country to build a new society in a far more active and constructive way than ever before not only on a national basis but in each neighbourhood. For there is much power in each neighbourhood that we must harness if we are serious about breaking the religious and political sectarianism that is well on the way to ruin all truly human fellowship and community life in our fair land.

If there is such a coming together on a personal and religio-moral basis in the spirit of common meditation on and study of the basic teachings of their religions (for it is in this spirit of prayer and devotion that all religious action should take place lest soon we given way to our selfishness) there is much that religious leaders willing to serve the nation can do. e.g. They can

1. Provide a new sense of personal and social redemption to all religious activity and create a new interest in religion in our land;
2. promote mutual respect between persons of every creed, race and community, support the ways of integrity and honesty in all relationships in both private and public life "speaking the truth in love" in all situations and doing all they can to promote non-violent action for all social and political change;
3. condemn all violence, oppression and torture whatever form they take—often, more subtly hidden in the social order than many are aware of and like to know. (The tragic happenings in the Gampola District Estates (Devon, Delta and Sanquhar) are only one example of such violence);
4. reveal the inevitable political and social involvement in all religious endeavour and therefore promote all movements to build a new political, social and economic order with unity, freedom, justice and brotherhood in our land.
5. protect human rights everywhere and do everything possible to change unjust power structures and decision making processes

and to set up such social mechanisms that could prevent the abuse of power and enabling the use of power for service rather than for privilege;

6. adopt norms of life and work based on character and merit as opposed to political or other partisanship and favouritism;
 7. uphold the need for and make provision for the fullest possible education for all according to their capabilities and irrespective of class, creed and community;
 8. maximise the use of all the resources of the land for the employment of all able to work as being far more important than gaining foreign aid;
 9. provide as many opportunities as possible in neighbourhood community growth by helping in the building up of a people's organisations (new Gamsabhas) and work for the utmost self reliance and fellowship in every area encouraging local, district and regional community responsibility and developments;
 10. promote cultural and religious harmony through the development of each person's religion and language, giving due respect and opportunities to all cultural and religious groups for the purpose and removing all legal and administrative obstacles in the way;
 11. uphold the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary not merely in theory but in actual practice and therefore help to set up the necessary structures and promote the atmosphere to ensure this;
 12. co-operate with all concerned to ensure principles and methods of government which could provide suitable employment, education, housing, land, opportunities for leisure-time recreation, and social security for sickness and old age;
 13. eschew all unessential expenditure on personal, ceremonial, religious and other social functions and keep the simplest possible standards consistent with their religious teachings and their responsibilities.
- Such a programme of action overrides considerations of political partisanship. No political manifesto is worthwhile if it is not based on such standards. There are many religious leaders who are well aware

of this and have taken the necessary action in their areas of responsibility though not always with the publicity that such work may get. But those who are only concerned with intramural worship and ecclesiastical administration, have not had an effective redemptive message in the past for the nation nor can they have such a message today. Where principles and objectives such as these are accepted and honestly and actively pursued by any people on the basis of their religious convictions then the nation to which they belong will succeed in building firm religio-moral foundations that are essential for a new society that would be truly progressive. If not, such a people will most surely undermine and destroy whatever religio-moral foundations there are. In view of the religio-moral character of life

Ramakrishna 'Madam' to be Returned

The Ramakrishna 'Madam' at Kataragama taken over by the previous Government will be given back to the Mission. This follows a direction by the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene to the Minister of Justice, Mr. K. W. Devanayagam to study the legal implications and to seek a remedy to give over the building to the Mission. Mr. K. W. Devanayagam told Weekend that he had discussed this matter with the Prime Minister who agreed that the Mission should be given over.

He said that the Mission was taken over under the provisions of the Sacred City Declaration Bill and it had been closed down by the previous Government.

Even if there are legal impediments a satisfactory remedy will be found to solve the situation he added. Meanwhile the President of the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress, Sir Senarath Gooneratne has appealed to the Government to hand the Mission back as it had done in the case of the Mahamaluwa. He stated that the Mission at Kataragama is visited by people of all faiths and has been of immense service to pilgrims in offering food and other facilities at very cheap rates.

—Sun, 31/7

Guidelines

and of the principles and objectives of nation building, the leaders of the nation and specially its religious Bible must set the example. As the Bible reminds us "Righteousness exalts the nation and sin is a reproach to any people." It is for our respective religions to help us to understand what the norms of righteousness are.

When various political groups promise grand visions of life through their political manifestoes all who leave our nation should pay heed to the religio-moral implications of what they say and religious leaders must become more aware of their inevitable political and social involvement in a world that has become "a global village" and in which there is a better understanding of the wholeness of human life and society. They must support the principles of nation building which will not only help one political party or other to come into political power but the whole nation also to lay lasting foundations for a good society whoever comes into power. It is not good enough at any time in history for a party to win, and for the nation to lose. Nor is there any purpose served by our many religious activities if all we do is in fact to help partisan power-struggle and then fail to honour and live by the principles of life that we profess. If any religion is to be truly effective, it ought to be able by saving its people from the corruptions of power to cleanse the nation for the building of a wholesome community life in which all our people of every religion, class, language and community can feel that they are all common and responsible citizens with a common interest—a united and peaceful Sri Lanka.

Some years ago, after the last world war, a group of Western religious leaders led by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Revd. Dr. William Temple, set an outstanding example in accordance with their responsibilities in coming together in their own country and giving common guidance to their people in terms which could help the people of every nation. It certainly helped many in places of power at the time and enabled them to look beyond the conflicts and bitterness of purely national and sectarian ambitions although not every political group took kindly to it and many individuals were apathetic. Since some of these who were responsible

for commending the Guidelines were well known ecumenists, the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church too have in many places joined together to take practical action over the years in many areas of need in terms of these Guidelines and many national religious organisations have been helped to rethink their programmes of action and to help in the cause of positive and practical social redemption. Its influence was felt in some measure even in Sri Lanka when similar Guidelines were commended by the Colombo Diocesan Council in 1953. Similar valuable Guidelines have been provided by the R. C. Conference of Bishops, the National Christian Council and undoubtedly also by other religious and denominational bodies over past years.

Such Guidelines ought to stimulate thinking in terms of our basic religio-moral perspectives so that what we decide for ourselves would be in terms of our own religious professions and not unrelated to or contrary to them. This is so important when in the case of so many of us thought and life tends to be compartmentalised today, disintegrating our lives and the spirit of our nation. It is such disintegration that has prevented the besarrel Guidelines, whatever they are, being acted upon.

All citizens thus need to take seriously their responsibility to base their actions on their religious convictions and to work for cleansing our society from the evils that beset us and for Nation building on secure foundations. But a new vision is needed, even if it be based on old truths, for practical action. Only such a vision could give power for new ventures urgently needed to bring about a society in which the call to Brotherhood is not only heard but is acted upon in terms of Brotherhood Administration when the Politics and Economics of Brotherhood are also taken seriously.

There are three quotations which may have a message to us all at such a time as this:

The first from Edmund Burke:
"All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing."

The second from Martin Luther King:

"The ultimate tragedy in such a time as this is not the brutality of the bad people but the silence of the people who are good."

The third is from Ralph Waldo Emerson:

"When you have to make a choice and don't make it, that is in itself a choice."

(Any comments on this paper will gratefully received if sent to The Bible House, 293, Galle Road, Colombo 3).

Concluded

REVIEW

Tyranny Of The Majority

by Jayantha Somasundaram

Through much of its lifetime the United Nations Organisation has remained the instrument of the victors of the Second World War. The veto right given to the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, USSR, UK, USA—seemed to indicate that in a world where all are equal, some are more equal than others.

The quantitative and qualitative change in membership has altered the balance of influence in the UNO. Membership has gone up from 51 to 144. But that's not all. The new members are almost without exception, members of the Third World.

The unification and growth of the Third World, beginning with the Bandung Conference in 1955, heralded the end of Western, particularly Anglo-Saxon, domination of the UNO. The acceptance of People's China by the UNO in 1971 was the outcome of Third World agitation—but it was also a step towards greater militancy among the Third World nations, since China's support was invaluable to it.

Efforts to use the UNO as a forum in order to wrest concessions from the West in the economic field began in earnest at the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly in 1974, when Resolution 3201 and 3202 pertaining to the establishment of the New International Economic Order were adopted. Thus began what US Re-

representative Scali called the 'tyranny of the majority'; and since then the Third World has not looked back.

The discomfiture of the USA has grown. She sees the recent evolution in the UN towards "extremist rhetoric about economic issues." She is anxious that where economic matters are concerned "responsibility should be vested in the World Bank, IMF and GATT where American interests can be adequately safeguarded."

America's flamboyant and outspoken former UN Representative Daniel Moynihan sums the state of affairs thus: "We are witnessing the emergence of a world order dominated arithmetically by the countries of the Third World. This order is already much too developed for the United States or any other nation to think of opting out. It can't be done."

"We are a minority. We are outvoted. This is neither an unprecedented nor an intolerable situation. The question is what do we make of it. Going into opposition requires first of all that we recognize that there is a distinctive ideology at work in the Third World, and that it has a distinctive history and logic (a situation which requires) a reversal of roles for American spokesman as well."

The West, particularly the USA, has fought defiantly and desperately to protect its position in the UNO and its agencies. First through the use of the power of veto. Second, through its financial impact on the UNO. The West bankrolls the UNO. This gives them subtle pressure, which they do hesitate to use. Thirdly, we have the presence of Westerners in key UN posts. Twenty percent of the UN professional staff come from the USA.

UNESCO has been the field of bitter, but vital battles. In 1974 the US congress authorised the President through PL 94-559 to withhold funds from UNESCO for "actions of a political character." This was provoked by the UNESCO Resolutions on Israel.

In November 1974 three resolutions pertaining to Israel were passed, condemning Israel "for its persistence in altering the historical features of Jerusalem."

Since December 1974 the USA has not paid its UNESCO contribution. That is US \$ 2.7 million left over from 1974 and US \$ 38.9 million for 1975/76.

IN THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE

Heroin Versus Coffee

by Thomas Land

In the international struggle against narcotics, agricultural economists have just proved that some of the people who grow opium poppies can make a much better living by growing coffee. But with Communist insurgents, feudal warlords and the big crime syndicates all playing a part, the battle is far from won.

London,

Peter Boustead, an agro-economist attached to the Tropical Products Institute here, has been posted to Thailand for two years to help in the establishment of a marketing system for alternative crops to the opium poppy grown in the northern hill-tribe regions of that country. He is one of several West European and North American specialists to be stationed in Thailand recently in a global effort to stop the westward flow of heroin at source. The reason: an elusive and highly efficient network of Chinese traffickers replacing the notorious French Connection has recently flooded Western Europe with heroin-3 or "brown sugar". This is creating a serious and potentially disastrous problem. Many experts fear that the network may soon be extended to the United States and Canada to fill a vacuum about to be created there through the severing of the existing clandestine supply routes from Central and South America.

The so-called Golden Triangle region—which takes in Thailand, Burma and Laos—produces an estimated 500 to 600 tons of opium a year, a large part of which is locally consu med. Theremainder is refined and smuggled out in an increasingly dangerous and pro-

fitable operation involving nationalist as well as communist insurgents, convoys of bandits, feudal warlords, fleets of fishermen and sophisticated crime syndicates.

One of the major trading and supply centres of this gigantic business is the Thai capital of Bangkok where Britain, Canada, Australia and Holland have recently attached narcotics specialists to their embassies. The French, the West Germans and Swedes are about to follow suit. A unit of the American drug enforcement agency has been operating in Bangkok for some years.

The British agro-economist said before his departure for Thailand that the crop substitution scheme, mounted under the international supervision of the United Nations Programme for Drug Abuse Control, may well benefit immensely from the currently high price of coffee—a new crop which

Sri Lanka Government Return Building to Ramakrishna Mission

Colombo, July 31,

Following representations made by the General Secretary of the Ceylon Workers Congress, Mr. S. Sellaswamy that the Ramakrishna 'Madam' at Kathirgammam, which was taken over by the Bandaranaike Government last year, should be returned to the Mission authorities, the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has directed the Minister of Justice to study the legal implications and to seek a remedy to give back the building to the Mission. Sir Senarath Goonewardene, President of the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress has also appealed to the Prime Minister to return the building to the Mission pointing out that it was visited by thousands of pilgrims of all faiths and the Mission was doing exemplary service to the pilgrims visiting Kathirgammam. Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, Minister for Justice told pressmen that even if there were legal impediments for the return of the building to the Mission a solution would be found to solve the problem.

—Hindu, 1/8

Thailand's Difficulties

was only introduced in the area to increase food production. A three years ago. Other alternative crops now being introduced in Thailand include tobacco and various fruits and vegetables such as kidney beans, medical herbs and essential oils.

Boustead's work will involve marketing investigations while his colleagues are engaged in agricultural and social research to select a variety of other suitable crops for the local farmers to plant instead of opium poppy. The Tropical Products Institute, a scientific unit of Britain's Ministry of Overseas Development, is recognized as an eminent world centre for the study of tropical and sub-tropical agriculture. Many other distinguished scientific research establishments are likely to be drawn into the crop substitution project.

Considerable assistance is expected from the Nordic countries of Europe which have just decided to make a joint contribution to the scheme. The increase of drug abuse throughout the wealthy regions of the continent has made a violent impact on Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and even Iceland—where the total number of "potent" drug addicts now exceeds 10,000 in a population of 220,000 according to police estimates.

Mrs. Irma Toivaen, the Finnish Minister of Health and Social Affairs, recently persuaded the Nordic Council in Helsinki that the most effective means of combating drug abuse was to go to its source in a joint programme to prevent production. Knut Frydenlund, the Norwegian Minister of Social Affairs, told the Storting (the Norwegian Parliament) afterwards that the Nordic countries had agreed to use development aid funds to support economic and social efforts for crop substitution in Thailand and elsewhere in Asia.

"Such a joint Nordic initiative will undoubtedly mean a considerable strengthening of the activities of the UN Drug Abuse Fund and could lead to other countries increasing their contributions and to new countries joining in the effort," he said. "This would then be the beginning of an increased and co-ordinated international effort in the fight against drug abuse. At the same time, farmers in the areas where production is substituted should be secured legally and economically, which is likely

better use of development funds could hardly be found."

The UN fund originated with the Nixon administration. The United States decided to create an international vehicle for distributing aid finance for drug abuse control in countries which, for political reasons, did not wish to be seen as recipients of American assistance. During its first four years of existence, the fund received \$ 15m from the United States, \$ 608,000 from Canada, \$ 355,000 from Britain and small token donations from other countries. But the fund, which operates in many opium-growing regions with some success, needs more cash or some of its current projects may have to be abandoned. The Thailand project, for example, could run out of funds this year.

The first crop of coffee under the UN scheme in Thailand has just been harvested and proved to be an unqualified financial success. The pilot project yielded only about 10 tons but, acre for acre, it produced a far better return than opium poppy (which earns only about \$ 400 a year for the average grower, just enough to cover the cost of rice and other essentials). The coffee project is thus likely to be extended on a vast scale.

Opium poppy cultivation is banned throughout Thailand, but the authorities fear that strict enforcement of the law in the hilly regions of the north would alienate the growers unless they were offered suitable and acceptable alternative crops. The administration of Prime Minister Thanin Kraichien, which seized power in a military coup last October, is particularly sensitive to popular loyalties there because communist insurgents are fighting for control of the area.

Thailand recently accused communist guerrillas of trafficking in drugs and announced that a communist-run heroin factory had been captured. It was "vitally important" for the countries in the region to mount an effective campaign "to eliminate this menace which could kill just as surely as bullets," an official communique said. The Prime Minister recently took personal charge over the re-organized National Narcotics Control Board. He ordered various Burmese tribes in the frontier regions either to quit the opium

trade or to leave the country. A recent visit by a United States Congressional delegation, led by Lester Wolff, coincided with the execution, without trial, of an alleged drug merchant.

Yet Western diplomats are only cautiously optimistic over the success of the crop substitution scheme. They fear not so much that the Prime Minister may lose enthusiasm for the scheme but that the army, the real power in the country, may lose patience with the Prime Minister as well as his policies.

Diplomatic observers point to increasing dissatisfaction among the Generals who put the Prime Minister in office, giving him extraordinary powers under a new Constitution. The army is said to be bedevilled by rumours of coups and counter-coups, throwing the entire international project into doubt.

So the crop substitution scheme, despite all its initial success, is still far from acquiring its own momentum of expansion. A change of regime in Thailand at this early stage of the project might still halt and postpone it, perhaps indefinitely.

—Financial Times News-Features

Salary and Facilities for Mr. Karunanidhi

Madras, July 30.

As Leader of the Opposition in the Tamil Nadu Assembly, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, has been given certain secretarial and other facilities, besides the salary and allowance he is entitled to draw under the Payment of Salaries Act. The facilities are: a stenographer in the grade of a reporter; a car with driver, and 100 litres of petrol a month; a telephone at home (truck calls upto Rs. 100 a month); an attender and an office room at the Secretariat. These details were announced by the Speaker, Mr. Munu Adhi, in the House today. Mr. Karunanidhi is eligible to draw Rs. 500 as salary and Rs. 100 as House Rent allowance per month.

—Hindu, 31/7

Confidentially

On The Left Debacle—3

IS IT NOT A FACT that there is a great deal of agitated "thinking" in all the Left circles in this country and also in the potentially Left emerging away from the (Establishment) Old Left Parties about the future of the Left Movement in the country? That in the first two pieces in this series, *Tribune* had dealt briefly with the LSSP and CPSL statements on the election results (vide *Tribune* 30/7/77 and 6/8/77) and had pointed out that both parties had sought to evade the issue by suggesting that the people had been fooled (or bamboozled) by UNP promises and hinted that Doomday was ahead because the UNP would not be able to fulfil its promises? That we had stressed that this over-simplified passing the buck to the UNP will not help those who are anxious to find out why the Left parties fared so miserably in the last election? Apologists for the LSSP and CPSL have stated that the in-depth analysis in self-critical terms would be forthcoming soon but it is sad reflection that parties which have existed for over 30 years and which claim to be marxist with an extra-large quota of intellectuals were not be able to issue an analysis-in-depth within a few hours of an event of such magnitude as the parliamentary decimation of the two parties? That in this article it was proposed to discuss position of other Leftists who had joined the LSSP and CP to fight the last elections as the United Left Front? That some were members of the People's Democratic Party (PDP)? That the others were single member representatives of Wijesekera's MVP, Dharmasekera's PJP and Vasudeva's Vama Samasamajist? That in subsequent articles it is also proposed to examine the Left parties outside the ULF like the MEP, SLVB, and the JVP? That though *Tribune* had wanted to discuss the PDP and other ULF allies in this article, its attention was drawn to a letter in the *Sunday Times* of August 7 which merits citation in extenso? That

this letter carried the heading **THE CP OR COCKTAIL PARTY? —A REPLY TO MR. KEUNEMAN?** That the author chose to be pseudonymous is understandable signing his name as "A.R.—EELAM OOLAM" of Point Pedro? That the letter read as follows "Mr. Keuneman's statement of July 27 putting the blame for the rout of his party on the Right wing of the SLFP only proves yet again that there is none so blind as he who will not see. It will be well for the Communists to think about their political line during the last seven years. Right from the start the Right wing of the SLFP led by the man for all portfolios Felix Dais Bandaranaike held sway. Did not the golden brains of the LSSP toe the Dasa line of creating a class of new millionaires. Knowing this why did Mr. Keuneman cling to his portfolio even to the extent of almost breaking up his party? They have no one to blame but themselves. Everything had a price, whether it be an appointment, a licence, a loan or a transfer—and whether it came from the right, left or centre. In the process, the Communists themselves degenerated and the doctors became part of the disease. Stalin's men of a special mould proved to be cast in common clay. The way Mr. Keuneman's Ministry functioned in the North would put a much lesser man to shame. The Government Mr. Keuneman adorned heaped unbearable burdens on the masses. The Master-builder stood by and watched even prices of building materials soaring upwards. Prices and charges were not merely increased, they were doubled and trebled. The workers and the middle classes were impoverished. The middle class farmers made some money but the mudalalis were the men who struck gold. The masses have shown that they know that the job of making the rich richer will be done by the UNP better than by the SLFP. Many even believe that a capitalist party is better than the "Socialist" misrule of the last seven years. Police terror played its part. Death in police custody became a part of everyday life. Everybody was at the mercy of police batons. Mr. Keuneman saw all this and contributed as Minister to these conditions. Kumarasuriar the thunderbolt that Sirimavo hurled from the blues on the North gathered round him a gang of men with the midas touch—and they touched all they could. This political founding lived behind bayonets whilst the extermination squads of the

Federal Party went gunning down all who disagreed with them, including policemen and bankers. Further, Sirimavo gave us as Political Authority a gentleman who had spent much money losing six general elections. His victory in 1970 gave him a chance to be of service and he made full use of the opportunity. Even our excellent co-operative movement was converted into a den of thieves. The Communists themselves fell victim to the prevailing malady. Membership of the Communist Party became a scramble for trips to Eastern Europe and parties at the embassies of the Socialist countries. The CP became the Cocktail Party. The party that was deemed the vanguard of the working class was so out of touch with reality that the insurrection of 1971 took them completely by surprise. Their debacle in the present election may have been an even greater shock.

The leadership of the Communist Party has not only helped to destroy the support the party had, it has also driven the vast mass of the people away from socialist ideas. It will be well for the younger elements to think afresh, clean the party of the rot and corruption that prevails in it and to build up anew the trust and support of the people without which no Communist Party deserves its name, by putting forth a political line that will really help the ordinary people of this country. The first requisite for a communist is absolute honesty. How many of these who used Mr. Keuneman's name would pass this test?"

That this is in harsh, in ruthless and aggressive idiom? That whilst *Tribune* cannot agree with some things it says or the conclusions it draws, *Tribune* is aware that letter reflects the feelings, sentiments and views of a large number of people who were supporters, sympathisers and even camp-followers of the CP? That if the CP wishes to arise anew from the ashes of 1977 it must pay heed to what has been set out in this letter from Pt. Pedro? That *Tribune* has been assured now that (a) the statement on which we made our critical analysis about the CPSL in this column last week was not an official statement of the Party but only a statement of Pieter Keuneman; (b) that a statement of the Party containing a full and detailed analysis of the election results (etc. etc.) would be available early next week! That we await such statements from the CPSL, LSSP and other political parties with eagerness?

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