

TRIBUNE



02.57 ... inoM 6



SUBSCRIPTION RATES

FOREIGN

AIR MAIL

Bangladesh, India, Maldives Island and Pakistan

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

Singapore, Democratic Republic of Vietnam and South Vietnam

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

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

1 Year	Rs.	190-00
6 Months	„	97-50
3 Months	„	50-00

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

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

SEA MAIL

To All Countries

1 Year	Rs.	100-00
6 Months	„	52-50
3 Months	„	27-50

LOCAL

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

TRIBUNE,

43, Dawson Street,

Colombo-2.

Telephone: 33172

Letter From The Editor

WE HAVE A PICTURE OF THE CITY OF COLOMBO on our cover, this week, to bring home to our readers that the island cannot be administered by bureaucrats who sit on their haunches in comfortable offices in the capital. All governments have been ruined by gentry who wrote reports isolated in ivory towers in Colombo and issued orders to lesser mortals in the districts, provinces and the outstations also tied down to desks and chairs. Unless this state of affairs is ended by the J. R. Jayawardene Government it will once again be the same old story—and, if this Government fails, the next change might spell the end of parliamentary democracy and the rule of law which have been unfortunately subverted and can still be, by the unscrupulous to make the rich richer and poor poorer. Already there are manifestations of this kind of greed that has caused the downfall of governments—some henchmen of Ministers already seem anxious to make money as quickly as possible and the hurry is so great that they have begun to upset apple-carts. Slanted news has begun to appear in some newspapers to slander by innuendo honest men who stand in the way of hustlers (and rustlers) who want to make the quick buck. The J. R. Jayawardene government will do well to re-scrutinise the appointments to certain Boards which will be responsible for heavy buying quickly (almost immediately) and make sure that the UNP does not go the SLFP way. We will refrain from any further comment at this stage but we will "wait and see" the outcome of the first internal crisis that has come upon the Government. Crisis, confrontation and controversy can be the motive force for governments to develop, grow and flourish but they can also be the cause of stagnation, decay and destruction. To come back to the point we started on—this country cannot be ruled by gentlemen (and ladies) who view every thing from Colombo. In the last Government, we had top planners who thought that the Maha Season started in November and asserted that it would be enough if tractor spares, fertilisers, seed paddy, credit, etc. etc., were made available before the first week of December. In fact, credit late is no credit at all. These experts had also decreed from Colombo how Mahaweli water should be utilised and at the same time (almost in the same breath almost) proclaimed the quantum of the next crop in terms of millions of bushels to the nearest decimal point. The United Front Government and the SLFP, LSSP and CP were ruined by relying on these Colombo experts who created a new agricultural empire of Agricultural Productivity Committees, Cultivation Committees and Political Authorities, etc. allegedly to increase production—not only to make this country self-sufficient but also export rice and other items. These dreams have all ended the way pipe dreams do. In this issue, our regular contributor, R. Kahawita, a former Director of Irrigation and one of the men in Sri Lanka who knows his onions about agriculture (and also many other matters in the broad sweep of his versatility), has written about a *Crash Programme For The Maha*. All those concerned about the growing of food in this country would do well to read this article. Kahawita was prompted to write it by a newspaper headline story that the Government was considering the issue of free fertiliser to farmers. It is time members of this Government realised that anything "free", more often than not, turns counterproductive. It is not "free fertiliser" or "free insecticides" or "free seed paddy" that farmers want, but incentives that will make them work hard in the hope that results and rewards would be worthwhile. Farmers need credit, in the form of seed, insecticides, ploughing and the like, but this credit must be given at the right time. It is futile to grant the credits for Maha in the Dry Zone in November or the beginning of December—as it happened last year and the year before (because of the ignorance of the gentlemen in Colombo). The farmer must also be assured that he can sell his crops at a guaranteed price (which is realistically pegged to costs plus a reasonable profit) without getting embroiled in the kind of corruption that enmeshed the PMB, the Marketing Department and other buying agencies of the Government. Kahawita's suggestion that the APCs and Cultivation Committees, manned by neo-political appointees, who are not fit to direct agricultural operations in the district, should be left alone will be welcomed by all who know the farming community. In their place, Kahawita wants the Government to mobilise the entire manpower of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Irrigation to help the farmer. This is the only practical and realistic way at this moment of ensuring a good Maha crop. New bureaucrats—ill-educated and ill-trained in institutions that once were universities may think differently, brought up on political slogans and irrelevant textbooks, but if the Government chooses to follow them the history of the last seven years will repeat itself.

TRIBUNE

Founded in 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and

World Affairs

Editor S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

August 20, 1977

Vol. 22 No 9

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,
COLOMBO - 2.

Telephone: 33172

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—Jaffna, Food Prices p. 2

NEW SINHALESE-TAMIL RELATIONS

—James T. Rutnam p. 4

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

—Aug. 2 - Aug. 7 p. 6

FOR THE RECORD

—UNP Government p. 10

LAND REFORM LAW

—R. Victor Perera p. 10

CRASH MAHA PROGRAMME

—R. Kahawita p. 12

MARX AND EDUCATION

—P. Chandrasegeram p. 14

SPEEDY RE-AFFORESTATION

—R. Kahawita p. 15

RULE OF LAW

—Frank R. Moraes p. 16

SHORT STORY

—Fate—3 p. 17

GEOTHERMAL ENERGY

—Scientists' Study p. 20

LETTERS

—From Many Readers p. 25

CONFIDENTIALLY

—Left Debate p. 24

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

+ In Jaffna

+ Prices Drop

Colombo, August 17,

When the National State Assembly (NSA) meets tomorrow, in its first regular session, to debate the Government's Statement of Policy read by the President on August 4, the shadow of the untoward and unfortunate happenings in Jaffna will naturally cloud what might have otherwise been a wonderful opportunity for a positive Sinhalese-Tamil dialogue. What is comforting is that it is not a communal clash. Nor is it a clash between ultra TULF fanatics and those who oppose separation (they are not a vocal crowd in Jaffna). It was just a simple police-civilian clash. But if the Government is so inclined, it can use the "clash" to win over the Tamils and the TULF for Sinhala-Tamil friendship on a new basis.

For seven long years under the SLFP and the UF the Police have done very much what they liked in every part of the island. The civilians were too afraid to resist or oppose the police. Only there was an element of resistance in Jaffna where in desperation fanatics shot two of them. Under various political smokescreens, the police (and the army) have treated the Tamil people in the peninsula like a people under "occupation". One of the basic causes for the frustrated cry for separation can be traced to the manner the police and the army had conducted themselves in Jaffna and other Tamil areas—first between 1961 and 1964 and then in the period after 1970—both periods when the SLFP was the main ruling party.

It is true that the police and army had behaved in the same brutal and ruthless manner in a large number of Sinhalese areas, but this did not generate communal overtones and deep-seated racial under-currents. The way the Police and the Army (when it had the opportunity) treated anyone suspected of being an "insurgent" is one of the most important reasons why the rural countryside turned against the UF (from the leaders of which the people had

expected better) and the SLFP (which the people felt had given the police and other security services a free hand).

The Army had been withdrawn from nearly everywhere in the Sinhalese areas sometime after the "insurgency" was held to be "finally" over, but they were stationed at full strength (or more) in all Tamil areas and more particularly in the Jaffna peninsula. The police in their day-to-day dealings with the public, in every part of the island, have earned a reputation which is not to the credit of the Police. Though the Police conducted themselves with reasonable impartiality during the elections—their conduct was partly determined by the possibility of a change of government—their general conduct in the period before and after the elections, *vis a vis* members of the public, has caused widespread resentment against the police. We do not propose to go into details about the attitude of the general public to the Police in this note, but in the current context of developments in Jaffna it is necessary to point out that after the 1974 IATR Conference the Police have built up against themselves in Jaffna an unlimited volume of dislike and hatred.

There are various conflicting reports about how the "trouble" had arisen in Jaffna this week. The SLBC in a dangerously cryptic and obviously slanted remark had stated that the trouble had started because a policeman had been shot at. By itself this might mean anything. It might be the first shot in the war for separation. It might be the first shot in a wave of communal rioting. It might mean a lot of other things.

The "semi-official" version being unofficially spread by official sources—even in the newspapers—is that two policemen had tried to search two youths for alleged possession of illegal firearms and one of them had promptly fired at the policeman. This however does not explain how the trouble had spread to the carnival and why there was a general uproar from the public. Policemen have been shot and killed before in Jaffna without there being a riot and civil commotion of the magnitude that has now shaken Jaffna. Official sources have tried to cover the loose ends of their story by

referring to some trouble at the carnival which led to a "police-civilian" clash. At the time of writing, the most confused and conflicting versions have reached us but none of them bear out the version that the police are inclined to put out as an excuse for their conduct. More will naturally be said in the NSA, but we cannot wait until the statements are made in the NSA, "officially" on behalf of the Government and also "officially" on behalf of the TULF, to complete this article. We have to keep our deadlines.

For the record, we wish to refer to the version that has reached us which stands out, amidst all the conflicting versions, as the one nearest to the probable. In the final count this version may be not be the one that approximates to the truth, but we refer to it because at the moment most people in Jaffna and many outside believe it to be the reason for the commotion that has led to some deaths, several injured and a great deal of damage to public property. The trouble had started, it is said, at the carnival where some policemen in civvies had sought to gain entrance without paying the usual entrance fee. Police, in uniform and also in civvies, believe that they have the state-given right to enter all places without paying any dues and many organisers have "willingly" submitted to this blackmail, but the organisers of the carnival in Jaffna had resisted this demand. This had led to an argument and when "trouble" had erupted, uniformed policemen had entered into the fray to help their "brethren"—and this had led to a major clash.

The searching of the two youths for firearms, if it did happen, is a different story altogether and had been interlinked with the carnival episode only to provide the police with a smokescreen. All pent-up feelings against the Police and the authorities that backed them had then blown up—and the new Government is now confronted with a situation which, if not tactfully and realistically handled, will generate a new setback in Sinhalese-Tamil relations. It is for the Government to take measures as to convince the people of Jaffna that they will no longer be treated like second class citizens under an army and police of occupation (in the Jaffna peninsula and

Prices Go Down

other areas where the Tamils are in a numerical majority). The Police and the Army must behave in Jaffna the way they do in the rest of the country and not swagger about (as they undoubtedly do) like an "occupation" force.

If the versions that have reached the *Tribune* office do not convey the whole truth or have inaccuracies, we shall make the necessary corrections on receipt of the true factual record. But our difficulties stem from the fact that the official news sources are slow in furnishing news to the media—only favoured daily newspapers which can afford to have a regular man hanging around the Police Headquarters get tip-offs from "police sources". The Government Information Service must go beyond the favoured daily media if it wants positive and fair comment in the rest of daily and periodical press (including weeklies).

The Government's Information Department can easily keep in touch with the dailies and weeklies—knowing their deadlines—and keep them informed about sensitive matters like the Jaffna commotion as and when they arise. The truth is that the Information Department has little or no contact with the press—except, as we have said the favoured press which has journalists and stringers to hang on to the coat-tails of the press officers of the Information Department, or the PROs in the Police and other departments. As a result of this "gap", a tremendous gulf exists between the opinion-making press in this country and the Government.

BUT FOR THIS JAFFNA EPISODE, the Government has much to its credit in the last week. Before the first meeting of the NSA on August 18 and within a month of the polling day, the Government has succeeded in pushing down the prices of a substantial number of essential food items. The Government has also fulfilled the election pledge of the Prime Minister by making it possible for every person to buy a minimum of 8 lbs of cereals—4 lbs of rice and 4 lbs of wheat flour—every week. The psychological impact of this on the common man is tremendous—and there is an atmosphere of confidence

that the Government will be able to deliver the goods, at least a part of its promises.

For the record and the benefit of our readers abroad and in the outstations, who do not buy the daily papers, or even listen to the radio (and depend solely on the *Tribune*), we publish the full text of the Government communique issued last week, on August 12.

The first decision of the Cabinet of Ministers at the Special Meeting held yesterday to finalise the plans for the liberalisation of the import and distribution of essential goods needed by the public was to redeem the promise given to the people by the Prime Minister, the Honourable J. R. Jayewardene, that 8 lbs. of cereals per week would be made available to every member of the public. "In accordance with this decision every consumer attached to co-operatives or authorised distributors will have the opportunity of purchasing on his ration card 4 lbs. of rice and 4 lbs of flour weekly. There will be an immediate reduction in the price of flour from 80 cents to 60 cents per pound. The reduction in the price of a pound of bread will be from 75 cents to 60 cents. This is due to the fact that only 3/4 of a pound, of flour goes into a pound of bread. Since the cost of other ingredients and manufacturing costs remain the same a lower price for bread is not immediately possible. However, the possibility of reducing the price of a pound of bread further is being examined.

The difficulties that the housewives underwent in the past in obtaining milk foods will be eased by the release of a sum of Rs. 66-million in foreign exchange immediately for the liberalisation of the import of milk foods such as milk powder, infant milk food and condensed milk.

Other items of food which will be made more easily available under this programme would be dried fish, for which Rs. 24 million in foreign exchange is released, and sugar for which Rs. 25 million in foreign exchange is released. The ration of sugar will be increased from 1 lb. per month to 1/2 lbs per month at the subsidised price of 72 cents with effect from 1st September 1977.

The shortage of popular items of textiles will be eased under the

liberalisation programme by the release of Rs. 60 million foreign exchange for the import of the popular varieties of textiles. In addition, to help the handloom weavers adequate stocks of cotton yarn will be imported.

Other consumer items on account of which the people suffered shortages over the last few years and which have been included in the liberalisation programme include the following: fishing gear nets and spares, fertilizers, veterinary drugs, motor spares, motor cycle spares, sewing thread, plate glass base metal and tractor spares. The allocation for the import of these items is Rs. 113.5 million in foreign exchange. All these proposals mean an immediate release of over Rs. 700 million in foreign exchange.

As the normal bureaucratic procedures will result in delays in the imports of these items the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Trade will constitute a Special Committee to cut through red tape and bureaucratic procedures and thus provide the facili-

WHY?

One of the first acts of the recently appointed Chairman of the Ceylon Transport Board was to fill key posts in the Technical set-up with men who were competent and capable of producing the results which were needed, quickly. Mr. B. D. Y. Seneviratne was promoted from Chief Mechanical Engineer to Technical Controller with overall control of the Engineering Distribution and Purchase functions. Mr. Ron David was appointed to the vital post of Chief Mechanical Engineer (Maintenance).

There has been an order subsequently from the Minister of Transport, reverting Mr. D. D. S. Jayawardena the previous incumbent of the post as Chief Mechanical Engineer (Maintenance). Mr. Jayawardena is the son-in-law of Mr. Mudalige of Ballie Street. The Minister has acted under Section 7 of the Motor Transport Act which empowers him to issue directives to the Ceylon Transport Board in the national interest.

lities for import orders to be placed expeditiously. In the meantime, all the import as well as distribution channels, which were subject to corruption and other abuses will be cleansed to enable the public to receive the fullest benefits from these extra imports by a reduction in prices as a result of better management methods being employed.

Small-scale private importers will be permitted exchange to import these items in competition with the State so that the maximum benefit in price reduction and quality will be available to the consumer.

It was also decided to sell text books printed at the Government Press and the State Printing Corporation at cost eliminating the 60 cent profit made by the State Printing Corporation in the past. The Cabinet also considered difficulties the farmers underwent in selling their paddy to the Paddy Marketing Board on account of a shortage of storage facilities and the paucity of milling facilities. Supplementary provision in a sum of Rs. 1,670,000/- was approved to the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands to enable storage capacity to be increased. In addition, it was decided that besides purchasing paddy the Paddy Marketing Board should purchase rice from producers. Action will also be taken to increase the milling capacity in the Island.

The Cabinet also approved plans for more effective distribution methods. The private sector is being brought into increase the number of sales points throughout the Island and especially in the area of rationed commodities an individual will be entitled to decide whether he wished to purchase his rations and other items from a co-operative store or from an authorised distributor of his choice. Simple systems of transferring ration books from the co-operatives to authorised distributors have been devised to ensure that there will be no chance of any member of the public forfeiting his rations.

The managements of Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies have already been changed by new Boards of Directors being appointed and these Boards have been instructed to give special attention to ensuring that Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies, which are

the wholesalers, are well stocked with goods that the public need and in addition that retail points whether co-operative or private have adequate stocks of consumer items. There will be continuous supervision of these sales points to ensure satisfactory distribution. Means have also been devised to ensure that consumer items brought into Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies are not released to the blackmarket. Members of Parliament, Government Agents, Assistant Government Agents and Assistant Commissioners of Co-operative Department will be sent copies of the invoices of goods supplied to Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies from such institutions as the Food Controller, the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment, Salu Sala, State Trading Corporation etc. and they will thus be in a position to check that these goods reach the Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies and the retail outlets and that these items will reach the consumer and not leak into the black market. This is the first phase in the programme of liberalisation of imports and distribution of consumer articles in order to relieve the burdens that the people suffered during the last 7 years on account of the inordinate increase in the cost of living."

Whilst Government has made a good start in the matter of cereals, the price of dried fish and even fresh fish is likely to go down with liberalised dried fish imports, but the prices of meat, eggs and vegetables still remain high.

Explanations have been forthcoming from "official" sources to say that vegetable prices continue to be high because of the "drought" in the up-country. This does not explain why the prices of low-country vegetables are "high". The simple fact is that a large number of farmers have stopped producing vegetables for the market on account of the low prices they get. Many people do not realise that there is a three hundred percent (300%) gap between the price the producer gets and the retail selling price. If this gap is narrowed and the producer is assured of ready sales at reasonable prices, production will increase and prices will come down.

The problem of meat and eggs is more complicated and we shall comment on the high prices and

shortage in a subsequent issue. But, one of the most welcome decisions of the Government is to end the monopoly enjoyed by the so-called "Co-operative Movement" in wholesale and retail distribution.

SINHALESE AND TAMIL

A Plea For A New Orientation

by James T. Rutnam

The last General Election was one of the few Elections since Independence where the Tamil Question was not raised as an issue in the Sinhalese electorates. The Tamil Question or the Tamil Problem has been debated threadbare for a number of years. Both the SLFP and the UNP had pledged their word of honour to settle the Question, at least to some appreciable extent. But both had broken their pledges, not realising that this was a dishonourable breach of faith.

Each party put the blame on the other. They were playing politics. Far from guiding and leading public opinion they succumbed to pressures built in for the nonce almost overnight by opportunists, place-seekers, rabble-rousers and misguided fanatics with no sense of statesmanship or love for the country as a whole. Unless this Question is satisfactorily resolved, the future of Sri Lanka will be very bleak, to put it mildly.

This is not the time to go over the mistakes of the past. The UNP has now been completely reorganised, reinvigorated, rededicated and reconditioned on sound and basic Buddhist principles, principles which are acceptable to men of all faiths. The leader of this Party, our new Prime Minister, has in the course of his long and eventful career learned a lot, and I am sure he will not deny it, from the mistakes of the past. I remember the way he reorganised the Ceylon National Congress in the latter part of the thirties and how he led the Congress to victory at the Colombo Municipal Council Elections of 1940.

For Communal Amity

Incidentally I value very much a letter I wrote to the Press at this time applauding his triumph and expressing the confidence we all had in the future. After thirty-seven years he is back at the helm a much wiser man I think, and certainly more confident of success for his Party, Country and People in the years to come. Of course much water had flowed under the bridges and many tears too have been shed in the interval. Let us leave it to the historian to dwell on the ugly past.

A new era has dawned and a new messiah has come. We put our faith in our Prime Minister. We put our faith in the Manifesto which scored his massive victory. We put our faith in the words of the Throne Speech where he had repeated the assurances in the Manifesto. Above all we put our faith in the declaration of the Maha Nayake of the Asgiriya Chapter. This was dutifully accepted by the Prime Minister.

It is well to repeat what the Maha Nayake said to the Prime Minister. He admonished him thus:

1. You are Prime Minister not only of the Buddhists, but of all countrymen.
2. You must hold the scales evenly among Buddhists, Hindus, Christians and Muslims.
3. Religion and Language should be treated equally.
4. You should do everything to correct the situation that had hitherto prevailed.

These words coming from a venerable Buddhist dignitary should form the bedrock of any new Constitution that is contemplated for Sri Lanka.

The new Constitution should ensure equality to every citizen of Sri Lanka. There should be a reorientation in the attitude towards all the people of Sri Lanka, not only Tamil-speaking people (Muslims or non-Muslims), but also Wahumpuras, Karavas, Salagamas, Duravas and other castes. Our very physical features betray that we are, one and all, a mixed lot, with undeniable anthropological, cultural and linguistic links with South India. We are gradually discovering urn burials dotted over Sri Lanka, including the central parts, showing a Dravidian proto-historic megalithic culture in this country. In Pomparippu alone there is an estimated lot of

8000 graves in a three to four acre cemetery. The ancestors of the presently Sinhalese-speaking Karavas of the maritime provinces once formed the vanguard of Tamil expansion in South Asia. They were the bold navigators and colonisers who had enriched the culture of almost the whole of this region.

We should learn some lessons from the efforts made in India towards national unity. Tamil and its daughter languages Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese form the speech of what are called the Dravidians of South India, who had resisted the Imperial legions of Asoka in the past, and have recently stemmed the Hindi wave from North India.

India has had two Muslims and three Dravidians as Presidents within the short period of Independence. Today both the President and the Vice-President are Dravidians. The present Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Hedge, is a Canarese and has no knowledge of Hindi. Could we find similar instances in Sri Lanka? If we do not, could we hope for them in the future? Must we all be said to be equal, and yet find that some are more equal than others? Leaving Tamil and Muslim aside, could we have a Salagama or a Wahumpura as President?

The cry for Separation had come only recently, when, as those who raised it say, there was no alternative. The Elections in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, areas accepted and recognised by successive Governments as Tamil-speaking territories as distinct from the Sinhalese-speaking areas in the rest of the island, were held on the issue of a plebiscite by the TULF.

A motley crew of political adventurers and a few hardliners who were insisting on immediate confrontation with the Government arrayed themselves in the Northern Province against the TULF. They were all trounced. The highest number of single votes gained by a candidate in the whole island was won by a member of the TULF. Many of the other successful TULF candidates won their seats by very large majorities.

In the Eastern Province Devanayagam, a non-Muslim Tamil candidate of the UNP, gained his seat by a narrow majority. The Muslim Tamil candidates fielded by the TULF in the Eastern Province were all beaten, although in every case they gained a considerable number of votes.

However, non-Muslim Tamil candidates of the TULF won their seats in the principal Urban electorates of Batticaloa and Trincomalee. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the plebiscite in respect of the Eastern Province was not a total "yes" vote. The TULF had thus a set-back in the Eastern Province.

In these circumstances it would appear that this is the best time for negotiation. The UNP having admitted and recognised the Tamil Problem, have also accepted that "the lack of solution to their problems had made the Tamil-speaking people support even a movement for the creation of a separate state." This is very true. The cry for Separation was born out of frustration. If another solution to the problem is found the demand for Separation will naturally recede.

It is a pity that the recommendation of the Sectoral Committee of the Cabinet, headed by Pieter Keuneman to do away with Language Standardisation was upset at the last moment by a majority in the Cabinet. This was a result of heavy pressure brought to bear suddenly on the Cabinet by a microscopic group headed by one of the Ratwattes who were hanging about the 'palace', a brother of Sirimavo and a public figure by the grace of his loving sister, and by some political upstarts who could not have hoped to surface as leaders otherwise than by rousing the elemental passions of ignorant men.

Had Keuneman resigned when his recommendation was rejected and not waited to do so later when he was virtually being thrown out, he would have certainly assured himself at the recent Elections of a honourable place among the three Members of Palriammet for Colombo Central, and not been put to the humiliation of losing his deposit. The Tamils of Colombo Central had in the past formed the backbone of Keuneman's support, just as the Tamils of Colombo West had been a formidable factor in the Prime Minister's sweeping victory there.

The establishment of the Jaffna Campus was largely due to Keuneman's singular efforts, and the cloud in that achievement was the forcible acquisition of Jaffna College, due again to pressure from a rival school-master one of the few Tamil stooges of the SLFP Government, Thiagaraja, who is now eating humble pie at Vaddukkodai. Thiagaraja saw an American CIA agent behind every palmyrah tree at Vaddukkodai, and Keuneman was there tailormade to agree.

In the same noble humanistic and Buddhist way as the Government returned the Maha Mahuwa to the Dalada Maligawa, and is returning the ashram at Kataragama to the Ramakrishna Mission, we are confident the Government will make the *amende honorable* by returning Jaffna College to its Trustees.

It is a pity that Keuneman, universally accepted as one of our best parliamentarians, has been kept out. He seems to have fulfilled a prophecy of Amirthalingam uttered in exasperation in Parliament as far back as April 1965 when Keuneman was persistently interrupting Amirthalingam's earnest pleas on behalf of the Tamils.

Amirthalingam is reported in *Hansard* as saying, "The Third Member for Colombo Central, who was once the First Member for Colombo Central and then be-

came the Second Member and who is now the Third Member will very soon cease to be a Member for Colombo Central altogether." In Keuneman's case there is, I suppose, a hope of a come-back, for he has had, barring his stance in this incident, an exceptionally fair record in Parliament.

Speaking of come-backs one cannot fail to consider the chances of Felix Bandaranaike, although he formed one of the "gang of three" now put on pedestals in an excellent cartoon by Opatha in the *Sunday Times* of 14 August. The other two were Badurdeen and Ilangaraine. Undoubtedly these three were mainly responsible for the humiliating defeat of the SLFP. Of them the best bet for a wiser, sadder and more sober comeback is Felix Bandaranaike.

He will be more himself if he drops his Bandaranaike cognomen which he assumed, for whatever it was worth, then, soon after his cousin's deplored assassination. I am reminded of a letter I wrote to him on 30 June 1960 seventeen years ago. It seems to be worth reproducing.

Dear Mr. Dias (Bandaranaike),
I read in a newspaper report that you have announced that you have "true Sinhalese" blood in your veins! I hope you will forgive us if we had a hearty laugh over it and ended up there.

But you seem to persist in your delusion. For I read in today's *Daily News* that you have said "No Sinhalese having a love for his race could grant the demands of the Federal Party." I remember well your nocturnal visit to the house of the leader of the Federal Party a few months ago.

How come you, a descendant in the uninterrupted direct male line of Nilaperumal, an expatriate from the Coromandal Coast of South India a few hundred years ago, and a Tamil *Kapuwu* of the *Nawagamuwa* Devala, to speak on behalf of the Sinhalese race? I beg to be answered.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd) James T. Rutnam.

Felix did not answer me nor did he drop his new-found magic wand "Bandaranaike" and stick to his Lusitanian "Dias". He continued to be more Buddhist than the Buddhists and more Sinhalese than the Sinhalese. The gods, we find, were not amused!

We need a new orientation based on stark reality and not on fancied legend. We trust that the new Jayawardene will be able to address himself to this challenging task with boldness and imagination. We trust he will be able to act like a statesman and build a new Sri Lanka of happy and contented people enjoying without any distinction of race, religion, language or caste, the fruits of Freedom.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Aug. 2 — Aug. 7

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

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

TUESDAY, AUGUST 2: The government has decided to review more favourably the granting of service extensions to public servants reaching the age of 55 years; extensions of service will however be granted only on the grounds of merit and efficiency and for no other consideration. The high powered Committee appointed by the Minister of Trade meets today to discuss and arrive at a broadbased plan to ensure a

smooth flow of imports particularly essential items such as subsidiary foodstuffs, textiles and agricultural implements. The Transport Minister yesterday decided to seek the views of all trade unions in the CTB and the CGR before taking measures to re-organise the two services. A delegation of Bishops will meet the FM this morning. The CWE will issue over 1,000 tons of subsidiary foodstuffs in August. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, MP for Medawachchiya will be elected Chief Whip of the SLFP group in parliament. The SLFP high command which met at the Rosmead Place residence of Mrs Bandaranaike, Party president, decided to launch a complete reorganisation of the party—CDN. The Minister of Education will prepare a new University Law to give the University of Sri Lanka greater autonomy in the administration of the campuses. Police opened fire on a mob that threw handbombs and attempted to destroy a pandal erected at 4th Cross Street, Pettah on Sunday night. The Minister of Housing and Construction said at a public meeting that he had a plan to build 100,000 houses next year and that the work would commence shortly. The Law Society Building and the canteen were taken over by the previous government about a year ago to house the Corporation's Division of the Attorney General's Department; the canteen has now been handed over to the society and a decision has

also been taken by the present Minister of Justice to hand back the building to the society. The government will diffuse the distribution of synthetic textiles at channels besides the co-operative societies which were found to be veritable back doors to the black market. Mr. B. D. Rampala, former General Manager of Railway yesterday assumed duties as an adviser to the Railway Department on the advice of the Minister of Transport. Mr. R. P. Wijesiri, the independent 2nd MP for Marispatuwa has joined the SLFP-CDM. A full inquiry is now under way by the Ministry of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism into the circumstances under which nine vessels of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation were purchased. The government has decided to lower the school-going age to five years, the Deputy Minister of Education said yesterday. The Minister of Education is to review the position of about 1,600 uncertified teachers who were appointed by the last government at the tail-end of its term. The President yesterday sought the opinion of the Attorney-General in regard to the convening on the NSA on August 4; it is reliably learnt that the AG had advised the president that it was not in conflict with the constitution. The PM is to establish a new tradition by not attending diplomatic parties. Eight young men are reported to have robbed Rs. 98,000 from the Bank of Ceylon Branch at Kimbissa in a daring daylight operation yesterday. The Times of Ceylon building is to be sold by public auction to recover arrears of rates due on the premises. Mr. Wickrema Weerasooriar, who was arrested by the CID in January this year for the alleged publication of the cartoon book entitled 'the Family Tree', has been freed on the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecution—SU. The Action Committee of the TULF which met in Jaffna has decided that all 17 MP's of the TULF should participate in the ceremonial opening of the parliament on August 4; however it is reliably learnt that the Action Committee has decided that the TULF MP's should not be accompanied by their wives and friends to the opening ceremony. The prices of a wide range of Ayurvedic drugs have been reduced by the Ayurvedic Drugs Corporation with effect from yesterday—CO.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 3: The PM will appoint a three member commission to probe post-election violence, informed sources said yesterday; it is understood that Mr. D. B. I. P. S. Siriwardene, secretary to the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs, former SLFP Minister Mr. R. S. Perera and the Samasamajist leader Mr. Bernard Soysa have been invited to serve on the commission. The issue of liquor licences which the UNP government feels had led to a spate of corruption would not be brought under the purview of the Finance Ministry, according to the Minister of Finance. The Special Imports and Distribution Committee of the Ministry of Trade yesterday recommended that the price of all varieties of imported dried fish be reduced by 10%, while the profit on all other food items sold by the CWVE should be reduced to 10%—CDN. The government yesterday acquired the 'Times of Ceylon Ltd' under the Business Acquisition Act; the gazette notification to this effect was issued last night. The government decided to acquire the 'Times of Ceylon' not with the intention of making it a government paper; it was taken over in order to make a press institution survive, said the PM yesterday. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs will not pay pensions to former secretaries of ministries who were appointed

outside the public service by the previous government; instead he has decided to pay them gratuity for the period of service they had put in. A witch hunt has begun in the six campuses of the University of Sri Lanka; power groups close to the ruling party are now demanding the removal of several senior administrators; another group of dons are of the view that the senior administrative posts should be held by non-party men; according to omicams of the Education Ministry several charges are envisaged in the administration of the higher education set up. The Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction has ordered the Special Commissioner of the Colombo Municipal Council yesterday morning to refund immediately a sum of nearly seven lakhs of rupees which the former council had collected from over a hundred private individuals promising them stalls in the new Municipal vegetable market which is under construction—CLM. The removal of FEEC's from milk foods and tractors will be undertaken with immediate effect in order to bring down prices and provide relief to consumers and paddy producers respectively, said the Minister of Agriculture and Lands yesterday. The PM has made a series of proposals to the TULF to settle some of the problems of the Tamil community; UNP sources yesterday described the PM's offer as a 'comprehensive package deal' which would not only solve the language problem but also a number of administrative matters in the northern and eastern regions; the response of the TULF is being awaited, the sources said—SU. There is a likelihood that Hollywood films will be imported to this country; this is because the import of films will again be in the hands of the private sector—DP. The Ministry of Food and Co-operatives has decided to root out all manner of corruption and malpractices in the co-operatives—VK.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 4: The Cabinet yesterday took far-reaching measures to relieve the consumer of the difficulties of purchasing essential items and for the functioning of state corporations efficiently; among the decisions taken were: apart from government sales points such as the Salu Sala, CWE and Co-operative Societies, sales of textiles should be made through any licensed textile dealer; better distribution system for rice and other food stuffs and the number of ration books per co-operative society be limited to 500; reports and other audited statements of accounts of corporations and other statutory boards be made available within six months of the financial year. The PM, addressing voters of Colombo West on Tuesday said that they wanted newspapers to express independent opinions and he said that they hoped to make the Times Group of newspapers independent and people's papers. Sri Lanka's eighth Parliament and the second term of the NSA under the Republican Constitution will be ceremonially declared open by the President this morning. A massive work force of about 50,000 to 75,000 youths to be deployed on development projects throughout the country is now being planned out by the Minister of Labour. A loan of 17.5 million US dollars has been approved by the Asian Development Bank for the Canyon Dam Power Project. Jubilant employees of the Times of Ceylon Co. Ltd. greeted the Competent Authority yesterday morning when he arrived to take over the affairs of the company after it was vested with the government under the Business Acquisition Act the previous night. Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, died today following a heart attack—CDN. Owing to alleged bungling by the

State Fertilizer Corporation imports of 10,000 metric tonnes of NPK compound fertilizer will cost the country 20 US dollars per ton more than when the Corporation last called for tenders. The Ceylon Bank Employees Union has decided to stage a one day general strike of its membership on August 8. The roadway opposite the PM's office is open to pedestrian traffic from yesterday; this follows an election promise the PM gave to his voters—CDM. Mr. R. S. Perera, former Minister of Information and Broadcasting, has declined the invitation of the PM to serve in a three member committee that will probe post-election violence. The Minister's at their weekly meeting yesterday took a series of far-reaching decisions; they include abolition of conciliation boards, JP's posts, further reduction in fertiliser prices and an immediate ban on the issue of liquor licenses. A few more of the cabinet decisions were; to utilize all private mills and to establish new mills to give the trade a boost; since there are no political authorities at present GA's will proceed with the programme of work in consultation with the MP's; no state corporation head should hold more than one post except under stipulated circumstances; special sub-committee to make detailed reports on liberalisation of imports of all essential consumer items. A top level review of the Mahaweli Project revealed that the project is behind schedule and that the World Bank was not prepared to finance the project as a whole—SU. Fate plays strange tricks in the NSA; the leaders of the SLFP and the Left who created the constitution are out of it, the ones who opposed it are meeting for the first time. The TULF decided yesterday that except for the position of the Leader of the Opposition they would not accept any other—DP. Land that was taken over for political reasons and those which do not come under land reform will be handed back to their rightful owners, said the deputy minister of Agriculture. The President who has held office since 1972 has expressed a desire to be relieved of his duties—V. There is a likelihood that there will be enough stocks of Lakspray at reduced prices at outlets other than co-ops—CO.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 5: The UNP government under the leadership of J. R. Jayawardene, yesterday pledged itself to create a New Society based on human and moral values; the statement of policy was read out by the President in a simple ceremony held in the Assembly Hall of Parliament yesterday. The PM perhaps forced by a seven year old habit almost took the seat of the Leader of the Opposition; quickly realising his slip, he walked across the floor and sat on the PM's chair. Mr. Amirthalingam, leader of the Opposition welcomed the speaker on behalf of the opposition and said though small the opposition represented the views of a considerable portion of the population; he also said that he hoped that the speaker would bear that fact in mind and hold the scales fairly. The debate on the government's Policy Statement will begin at 2 pm on August 18—CDN. The government in its statement of policy made by the President at the ceremonial opening of the NSA yesterday gave top priority to the solution of the cost of living and the unemployment problems. Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, MP for Kotte was unanimously elected Speaker of the NSA—CDM. The government in a policy statement delivered by President William Gopallawa at a colourful ceremony in the Audience Hall of the NSA yesterday pledged to implement the proposals contained in the programme of action of the UNP: the statement broadcast live to

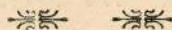
millions of listeners throughout Sri Lanka, offered to provide an administration that would lay the foundation for the creation of a new society tomorrow for the young men and women of today; the statement reiterated that the government would prepare a code of conduct for members of parliament; they also said that an adequate supply of nutritious food including a minimum cereal content of eight pounds a week for adults would be made available; pointing out that food production alone will not be enough unless the benefit thereof went to the tiller of the soil, the statement of policy promised benefits for farmers. The TULF's Parliamentary group yesterday decided to propose an amendment to the Policy statement of the government; they feel that the 'Tamil Eelam' had given them a mandate for the formation of a separate state; but no provision in the government's policy statement to make this possible; hence they would move an amendment calling for the creation of a Tamil Eelam. The government will re-establish the independence of the press and the judiciary and free them from political control according to the government's policy statement. The Sun reports that there was the rape of the fourth estate in the NSA at the ceremonial opening; they say that there was discrimination in that the Lake House and Times Groups were given preferential treatment with a large number of reporters and photographers while the Davasa group were allowed only one each—SU. The policy statement of the government promised that the problems of the Tamil speaking people would be dealt with in an all-party conference and act according to the decisions taken—V. Sri Lanka's 15,000 acre Sevanagala Sugar Development Project is to receive technical assistance from funds made available by the EEC to the Asian Development Bank. Rubber production last year totalled 152,138 metric tons—an increase of 3,413 metric tons compared with the corresponding period in 1975—CO.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 6: One million acres of land vested in the State Plantations Corporation Jenawasama and Usawasama now will be brought under a single ministry (plantation industry) for better management, co-ordination and development; this was stated by the Minister of Plantation Industries at a press conference. The PM said that he would establish in Sri Lanka a just and free society based on the teachings of the Buddha without discriminating against any other religion at the Rajamahavihara Kelaniya when he along with cabinet ministers attended a religious ceremony after the first meeting of the eighth parliament. The proposed token strike of the Ceylon Bank Employees Union scheduled for Monday has been suspended. The Finance Minister yesterday appointed three worker directors to the State Distilleries Corporation, the National Lotteries Board and the National Savings Bank—the first worker appointments made by that ministry. The Minister of Transport has taken steps to streamline the train service which has deteriorated due to various reasons such as inefficient administration, strikes and employee restiveness, according to a communique issued by the Ministry of Transport. Changes of a far-reaching nature are to be made to the existing laws of the country; these changes are to be made to ensure that the ordinary litigants could have access to the law at least expense and delay—CDN. The TULF yesterday submitted to the clerk of the NSA the amendment to the statement of policy of the government delivered by the President

on Thursday. Most of the problems relating to the shortage of fish and the prevailing high prices are because the last government halved the import of dried fish. Investigations made by the present government have shown; with the import of 18,000 tons of dried fish the problems will be solved they claim. The Finance Minister speaking to pressmen on the acquisition of Times said that it was particularly to save press freedom from Mr. Anura Bandaranaike and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike that the government decided to take it over. The Minister of Finance has advised the General Manager of the Chartered Bank to accept an unqualified apology from the Union official and reinstate him to settle the bank strike, but the Manager is not willing to do so till he speaks to his principles abroad—CDM. All victims of land alienation through land reforms or land Kachcheries will have their cases reviewed and, where necessary, will be compensated either with land or financially, according to the Minister of Labour. The PM has cautioned government MP's against going the way the SLFP MP's went immediately after the 1970 general election by asking for vindictive transfers of public servants. The Ministry of Education has appointed a board to review the cases of teachers and other Education Department employees who have been transferred on political grounds by the Bandaranaike government. The Speaker of the NSA and the Leader of the House have both ordered inquiries into the incidents that occurred in the NSA on Thursday when the Sun group was prevented from covering proceedings. All appointments made to departments, boards and corporations under the Ministry of Finance, after the dissolution of the NSA will be cancelled with immediate effect. Inquiries into allegations made by the Jathika Seva Sangamaya branch of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation will be conducted on Tuesday by the Minister of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism—SU. The TULF has decided to join the all-party conference that the government has decided to summon, to deal with the problems of the Tamil speaking people; they will decide whether to start the struggle for a separate state for Tamils after seeing the decisions reached by the conference said a high up in TULF circles—DP. Mr. M. Sivasithamparam said yesterday that the TULF was not satisfied with the policy statement of the government because it has deceived them and that they had no confidence in any one's promises and that they would fight for the separate state that the Tamil speaking people have asked for—VK. The shortage of soap will ease shortly because the Minister of Industries has ordered the Principal soap manufacturers to increase production—EN. Part of the income derived from large estates will be utilised to develop surrounding villages according to the Minister of Plantation Industries—DW.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 7: Four business undertakings taken over by the previous government under provisions of the Business Acquisition Act of 1971 are being returned to their original owners, according to the Finance Minister, they are The Radawana Desiccated Coconut and Fibre Mills, in the Dompe electorate, New Ceramics Industries in the Kamburupitiya electorate, the Hotel de Buhari, Maradana and the Kandy Weaving Mills Ltd. The Fisheries Minister said yesterday preliminary investigations into the fisheries sector has revealed colossal wastage and damages. Several Parents Teachers Associations and eminent educationists have urged the Education Ministry to take immediate action to revise the present system of education and re-assess the various

educational reforms introduced by the previous government. MP's may be required to refrain from partaking of liquor in public places such as hotel bars under the code of conduct for parliamentarians now being drawn up by the government. The government has announced that no new licences for the opening of liquor shops will be issued; further, if any MP—whether he be in the government or the opposition—requests that an existing license be revoked, this will be done. All campuses will be re-opened by the end of this month to admit first year students to both the Science and Arts faculties. Nearly five thousand tons of cement are due from the Maldives in the course of this month—SO. The PM has ruled that no outsiders should be appointed to posts in the Public Service; he has said that apart from Secretaries to Ministries, in respect of which political appointments could be made, no other posts should be filled by outsiders. The idea of opening independent and autonomous universities and an open university has been hailed by many eminent educationists. Several consumer items have recorded a drop in price during the past two weeks; business and financial circles say that this trend was due to the slump now faced by the local trade in anticipation of price reductions by the new government. The 138 defeated candidates of the SLFP will meet the party high command next Sunday for a 'free and frank' discussion on why the party was so badly defeated at the recent polls and on how it can be revamped and revitalised. The Police will henceforth be the only law enforcing power; all security duties earlier performed by the armed services have been withdrawn from them. The brain drain from Sri Lanka may be reversed; many Sri Lankan professionals serving overseas indicated in congratulatory messages to members of the government their eagerness to return; among them are engineers, accountants and doctors. A member of the Victorian PM's Migrant Advisory Council has said that many burghers who have migrated to Australia would now want to return to Sri Lanka since prospects here seem bright and life more congenial—ST. A radical step to ensure a clean administration will be initiated by the PM when provision is made shortly to subject all appointments to high government office to a screening by a select committee of the NSA which will include members of the Opposition. Corruption, mismanagement, waste and wrongful appointments of favourites at the SLBC, Government Press and State Printing Corporation are to be probed. Arrangements are being made by the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs to install a micro film unit so that the service records of government servants can be found out in five minutes—WK. The problems of the Tamils will not be solved by conferences, laws or circulars; there have been a great number of these in the past and they have not achieved anything; the power to implement all these things should be in our hands, only then anything can be achieved said Mr. Amirthalingam at a meeting.—EN. The Sinhalese people should co-operate with us to help us to secede from Sri Lanka just the way Singapore seceded from Malaysia without trouble, otherwise this country will have to undergo a great deal of trouble; we will adopt peaceful means to win Tamil Eelam; if that doesn't work we will finally fight for it said the Leader of the Opposition and secretary of the TULF at a meeting organised by the Tamil Youth League of Colombo for the establishment of Tamil Eelam—VK.



FOR THE RECORD

U.N.P. Government

CABINET MINISTERS

PRIME MINISTER, DEFENCE, PLANNING AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND PLAN IMPLEMENTATION: Mr. J. R. Jayawardene

LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION: Mr. R. Premadasa

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr. A. C. S. Hameed

IRRIGATION, POWER AND HIGHWAYS: Mr. Gamini Disanayake

TRADE: Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND HOME AFFAIRS: Mr. Montague Jayawickrema

SHIPPING, AVIATION AND TOURISM: Mrs. Wimala Kannangara

EDUCATION: Mr. Nisanka Wijeyeratne

JUSTICE: Mr. K. W. Devanayakam

FINANCE: Mr. Ronnie de Mel

LABOUR: Capt. C. P. J. Seneviratne

INDUSTRIES AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS: Mr. Cyril Mathew

CULTURAL AFFAIRS: Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle

FISHERIES: Mr. S. de S. Jayasinghe

HEALTH: Mr. Gamini Jayasuriya

INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING: Mr. D. B. Wijetunge

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SPORTS: Mr. Vincent Perera

TRANSPORT: Mr. M. H. Mohamed

AGRICULTURE AND LANDS: Mr. E. L. Senanayake

SOCIAL SERVICES: Mr. Asoka Karunaratne

POST AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS: Mr. Shelton Jayasinghe

FOOD AND CO-OPERATIVES: Mr. S. B. Herat

PLANTATION INDUSTRIES: Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardene

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES: Mr. A. T. Wijepala Mendis

DEPUTY MINISTERS

DEFENCE: Mr. T. B. Werapitiya

PLANNING AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS: Mr. M. H. M. Naina Marikar

PLAN IMPLEMENTATION: Mr. D. B. Welagedera

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe

IRRIGATION, POWER AND HIGHWAYS: Mr. A. M. S. Adikari

TRADE: Mr. M. S. Amarasiri

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND HOME AFFAIRS: Mr. Percy Samaraweera

SHIPPING, AVIATION AND TOURISM: Mr. C. Nanda Mathew

EDUCATION: Mr. Lionel Jayatilke

JUSTICE: Mr. Shelton Ranarajah

FINANCE: Mr. Festus Perera

LABOUR: Mr. Joseph Michael

INDUSTRIES AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS: Mr. Denzil Fernando

LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION: Mr. P. C. Imbulana

CULTURAL AFFAIRS: Mr. W. M. G. T. Banda

FISHERIES: Mr. Sunil Abeysundera

HEALTH: Mr. D. Attygalle

INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING: Mr. Chandra Karunaratne

TRANSPORT: Mr. H. Kularatne

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SPORT: Mr. Edwin Tillekeratne

AGRICULTURE AND LANDS: Mr. M. A. Abdul Majeed

SOCIAL SERVICES: Mr. J. L. Sirisena

POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATION: Mr. A. Pilapitiya

FOOD AND CO-OPERATIVES: Mr. S. Rajakaruna

PLANTATION INDUSTRIES: Mr. Alick Aluwihare

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES: Mr. R. A. Dharmadasa Banda

IMPROPER IMPLEMENTATION

Land Reform Law

No. 1 of 1972 (Operative Date 26. 8 1972)

by R. Victor Perera, Kurunegala.

The Preamble to this law indicates clearly the entire background and the purpose and the mode of giving effect to the provisions therein: (1) To fix a ceiling on the extent of Agricultural Land that may be owned by persons; (2) To provide for the vesting of lands owned in excess of such ceiling in the Land Reform Commission; (3) For such land (the land in excess) to be held by the former owners on a statutory lease from the Commission.

Section (2) of the Law states clearly that the purpose of this Law shall be to establish a Land Reform Commission with the following objects:— (a) to ensure that no person shall own agricultural land in excess of the ceiling, and (b) to take over agricultural land owned in excess of the ceiling etc.

Section 3 (2) states that any agricultural land owned by any person in excess of the ceiling on the date of the commencement of this land shall as from that date:— (a) be deemed to vest in the Commission; (b) be deemed to be held by such person under a statutory lease from the Commission.

These provisions of the Law, if clearly understood, mean that only the excess land is deemed to have vested and such excess land is deemed to be held by the owner as a statutory lessee. The word "deemed" is notional and has been used to enable the Commission during the transitional stage to proceed expeditiously to make the actual determination of ownership of the ceiling extent and thereafter to proceed with the determination of the extent declared to be held by the former owner on a statutory lease and to enter into such a statutory lease.

THE FIRST STEP. It is therefore clear that the first exercise that was contemplated under the Land Reform Law was to fix the ceiling and to make the necessary Statutory determination by a physical demarcation thereof and following it up with the Gazette notification. This had to be done after a survey and the exact extent with clear metes and bounds was defined.

It is for that reason that Section 19 required that the Commission shall as soon as practicable make a determination, in this law referred to as a statutory determination specifying the portion or portions of the agricultural land owned by the statutory lessee which he shall be allowed to retain. In making such a determination the Commission shall take into consideration the preference or preferences if any expressed by such lessee as the portions of such land he may be allowed to retain.

Then comes the next step having ascertained the extent and corpus vested in the Land Reform Commission to create the statutory lease which is specifically provided for.

Arbitrary, Unjust And Unfair

But the Land Reform Commission proceeded to implement the law by starting on two erroneous assumptions:—

(1) that whenever a person owned land in excess of the ceiling all land vested in the Commission.

(2) that the statutory determination was the final stage in the operation.

and therefore took forcible possession of lands before the Statutory Determination was made and gazetted.

It is clear to any person who called upon to implement this Law unless he allowed himself to be subjected to Ministerial pressures, that it was the first duty of the Commission to fix the ceiling extent of agricultural land that may be owned by a person according to the owner's preference. In making this statutory determination the owner's preferences were in the majority of instances ignored. In some case even the proposed determinations were altered at the instance of politicians.

The Law provided for an actual statutory lease which was to run for one year after the commencement of the law and could be renewed for a further year. But not a single statutory lease was entered into and no lease rent was recovered by the Commission. The non compliance with this, caused hardships to persons who could ask for inter family transfers in terms of section 14. As the date before which an application could be made was within 3 months of the date a person actually became a statutory lessee and not the date of the commencement of the Law.

But what did the Land Reform Commission do?

It did not try to understand the meaning of the term "deemed" and give it the meaning that land had actually vested. By fictitious notices that the statutory leases had been terminated the Commission took forcible possession of lands (were taken) in the most arbitrary fashion, even before the statutory determination was duly Gazetted.

It is clear that where no statutory lease was entered into there could be no determination of a statutory lease. Therefore the entire exercise

was illegal and should be revived as by the exercise the local Member of Parliament of ruling party or the defeated candidate of the ruling party took over possession of these lands and either took the income for himself or distributed the lands according to his wishes and fancies.

In regard to declarations made under Section 13 in regard to certain transfers made after 29th May 1971 if the Commission finds that such alterations had been calculated to defeat the purpose of this law, the Commission may by order made under it and declare such alienation is null and void. This is almost a judicial finding which presupposed that the declarant will be given an opportunity to establish his bona fides. But no declarant was given such an opportunity and according to the whims of the Chairman or officer dealing with such declarations such alienations were declared null and void. Even the Supreme Court recently held that the declarants should have been afforded such an opportunity before a finding was made under Sections 13 (2). It is therefore necessary that this exercise on the part of the Land Reform Commission should also be reviewed.

AGRICULTURAL LAND HELD BY CORPORATE BODIES.

Section 8 of the Law dealt with property owned by private companies or co-operative societies. It declared that the shareholders shall be deemed to own such land for the purpose of Section 3 in proportion to the shares held by each shareholder, in such Company or Society. Section 3 declared the ceiling as 50 acres. There was no provision to liquidate companies or societies but the Commission had to declare the extent of land the Company or Society could hold. In the first instance one had to examine the title deed or deeds in favour of the company or society and the shares held by the respective shareholders in the Company or Society before determining the extent of land such company or Society could be declared entitled to by way of a Statutory Determination in favour of the company or society. The significance of the word "deemed" had to be given the correct interpretation. It could

not be understood to mean that individual shareholders who did not own the land as the land was legally held by the Company or Society were to be vested with the land.

But the Land Reform Commission in acting under this Section arbitrarily made Statutory Determination in favour of individual shareholders in the most ridiculous fashion. For instance where a shareholder had 10 shares in a company which owned 300 shares, and where the company owned a land say of 300 acres, such a shareholder was given a portion of land with the factory and 50 acres, or the bungalow and 50 acres or the central office and 50 acres.

The legal effect of Section 20 of the Law is clear.

"Every Statutory Determination published in the Gazette shall come into operation on the date of such publication and the Commission shall have no right title interest in the agricultural land specified in the Statutory Determination from the date of such publication."

The Land Reform Commission did not vest title like the Settlement Officer under the Land Settlement Ordinance. Thus the determinations made in favour of individual shareholders are illegal. No notary drawing up a deed in respect of such land could connect up the title in a given company or society with the so-called determination made in favour of a shareholder. There is no nexus in the chain of title.

The assets held by the company have been decimated causing a virtual liquidation of the company illegally and the subsequent dealings with the land by the rest while shareholders were illegal.

THE FOURTH STEP.

The Fourth stage for consideration was the purpose for which agricultural land vested in the Commission may be used, and how such land should be disposed of. Section 22 deals with this aspect and inter alia provided that (a) alienation by way of sale to persons who were minors at the time of the imposition of the ceiling and whose parents were dispossessed of such land in excess of the ceiling by reason of such excess land having vested in the Commission.

It is necessary at this stage to consider whether the Land Reform Commission had acted in accordance with the provisions of this Section.

it has not done so it is necessary that the necessary directives be issued so that the purpose of the Law is given effect to without heartburning and without adversely affecting the economy of this country.

There are a number of persons who had completed their full term of Seventeen (17) years and were in their eighteenth (18) year when the Land Reform Law came into operation on the 26th August 1972. Such persons who were below 21 years but married and had reached majority thereby were not allowed to own the extent of 50 acres prescribed as the land ceiling. In defining a "person" the law laid down that it means the surviving spouses or children under the age of eighteen years. It did not require that a child should have completed eighteen years to be entitled to hold property. It is therefore a matter of importance whether a person who had completed his seventeenth year and was at the tail end of his eighteenth year could have been deprived of his right to hold property.

It is now up to the New Minister of Agriculture and Lands to cause a complete and thorough investigation of the entire implementation of the Land Reform Law and see that the injustices perpetrated and the illegal transfers made in defiance of the law are reviewed.

FREE FERTILISER FOR FARMERS ?

Crash Programme For Maha

by R. Kahawita

It is reported in the *SUN* of 29th July that "the Government is now examining a proposal to issue fertilizer free of charge to cultivators." Before the Government takes steps to implement this, it may be pointed out that this is a wrong step to take.

In 1939-40, immediately after declaration of World War II, the then Government also decided to issue free fertilizer to Paddy Cultivators to increase production. The fertilizer was distributed to cultivators under Kalawewa Yoda Ela

and for want of storage facilities the fertilizer was stacked along the road at the rate of two cwt. per acre at about one mile intervals. This was because of lack of transport.

Strangely, enough, the fertilizer was not used; it went to waste where it was dumped. There were many reasons for this.

The Cultivator did not have faith in the fertilizer given free; they were not ready to commence cultivation operations; they did not have suitable seed paddy; there were no fertilizer-responsive seed varieties and most of all, there was no effective field organization to get together the farmers and coax them to work. There was one Cultivation Officer designated C.O., K.Y.E., to man 20,000 Acs. including issue of water, etc. in a 54-mile long channel, all on a "Push bike". With the result the scheme never took off, the free fertilizer was left where they were dumped till the rains came and got dissolved and absorbed into the soil.

Why I narrate this incident is not to despise the idea, not to condemn it. But because paddy cultivators require a lot of preliminary preparations to produce results; work season is short, crop season is short, and for a successful cultivation, full use of the weather must be made use of at every stage.

Under the new Government that has just come into power, the coming cultivation season is the first. It starts around mid-September and goes on to Feb/March 1978. This will be the first Maha Season for the Government to make a start to fulfil the pledges given: "to increase production to bring down the Cost of Living". The efforts of what can be done to achieve this will be known in Jan/February/March next year.

It can be done, but not with an ad hoc decision to give free Fertilizer to the Cultivators. There are several other things to be done before the cultivators can use the free fertilizer. Whether these can be done now and whether they are available at the farmer levels must be looked into and arrangements made to provide all of them before the cultivator gets down to the field.

The Maha cultivation season will start in the first week of August after the Kandy Perahera. And whatever the type of cultivation, dry, wet or highland, it must be organized and intensified for production of any kind of food that will help to bring down the Cost of any item of food. This should be the aim of the Government, for it has pledged to reduce the Cost of Living. I repeat this to emphasize the importance of organizing the first cultivation season under the new regime to increase production.

There are several administrative adjustments to be made after the destruction and frustration created in the Departments that must be put together to re-vitalize the cultivation. This is some thing that must be done by the Minister and his secretariat, which I understand is in chaos after some of the key men had left. The Department of Agriculture must get together a band of officers to be deployed in the field to get directly involved, may be even participate in the cultivations.

The programme must cover the whole island to get 800,000 acres. out of the 1.4 million acres cultivated in paddy during the Maha Season, i.e., from September to March. If the Department deploys one senior officer to 1000 acres, there must be 800 such officers in the field and as many other grades of officers. To deploy this number of officers entirely on production, the Department may have to suspend some of its other activities for a period of six months from now on.

Immediately, the Department must organise and assist in "Chena Cultivation"; wherever possible the lands should be cleared and burnt, stockades built, weeding and the final preparation completed by the end of August so that, with the early September rains sowing and ploughing can be done.

Admitted, this is not a scientific method of land use, nor a form of cultivation to be encouraged. However, it is an expediency to meet the current shortage of food as well as to fulfil a promise of the Government to bring down the Cost of Living by increased production. Therefore, the Department must go all out to provide good seed normally put down in chenas,

What Must Be Done?

like Kurakkan, Maize, Sorghum, Green Gram, Groundnuts, Chena Chillies, Chena Vegetables, minor millets, etc. The chena cultivator knows what to grow and he must be assisted and persuaded to cultivate. To improve his crop and crop returns, the cultivator may be issued with free fertilizer for these crops. He never uses fertilizer in his chena; so if given free and seen that it is used, he will appreciate.

Wherever possible, Chena cultivation should be confined to areas to be opened up in due course under various irrigation projects like the Mahaweli Diversion. In this, the Survey Department will have to deploy some surveyors to peg out the areas earmarked for future development. This will save the forest reserves, etc.

In the meantime, a system of marketing should be set up to help the cultivator to get a fair price for his produce from the time he begins to harvest, that is, late December onwards.

By end of September, the farmers should be ready to get into their paddy fields with a target date to complete sowing or transplanting by mid-October. This is a very tight schedule; that is why a very active and efficient technical and advisory service should be deployed by the Department of Agriculture.

The country cannot depend on the so-called Cultivation Committees, Productivity Committees, etc., set up by the Sirimavo Government; more to harass and rob the cultivators than to help them. These organisations should be disbanded or even destroyed. (I know of a case where the village rogue was appointed as the Chairman of a Productivity Committee—it may be to rehabilitate a Criminal, but a Government got thrown out in that process.) Let the officers of the Agricultural Department steer this first cultivation season to a success. It will satisfy the producer and consumer alike. This is what the New Government have promised to do.

Management and control of water resources is their most important operation for the success of a cultivation. There is not much time left to do this, before the

Maha Paddy Cultivation season commences. When the fields are ready to take the first issue of water, Head works, control structures, main irrigation channels, distributories, field channels, etc. must be ready for issue and conveyance of water to the fields.

Once the cultivations start, issue of water cannot be interrupted. After seven years of neglect and in some cases wilful destruction of irrigation structures, there is a massive task ahead for the Irrigation Department, or what is now termed the Territorial Engineering Division which has wrought havoc on the competency and efficiency of the Irrigation Department.

The cause of neglect—almost abandonment of irrigation works is land-wide is this so-called reorganisation of the Engineering Departments. There is no time to think of putting these matters right. The need of the moment is to marshal all man-power resources of the Department to repair, clean and put all irrigation works to working condition to conserve, control and issue the water with the minimum of wastage.

We cannot depend too much on the Mahaweli waters; first depend on the water resources available in the area. Let Mahaweli be a standby. I am aware that the time interval available to the Irrigation Department to put things right is very short, but we cannot face a crop failure in the first crop season of the new Government.

The Department of Agriculture will have to procure, at least 50% of the seed paddy—four to three months age, highly-yielding and Fertilizer responsive varieties. This quantity amounts to a million bushels and the cultivators should secure an equal quantity. The process of ascertaining the varieties available, quantity available, and at what points to procure, must be set in motion now, so that the cultivators can be issued with the seed paddy mid-September or end of September. This is no easy task. With the procurement, testing, acceptance and transport of almost 40,000 tons of seed throughout the country must be organised by the Department.

Even if the fertilizer programme is to supply only 50% of the acreage, 65,000 tons of fertilizer will have

to be handled during September and October, provided that quantity of fertilizer is available in the country.

Now, going back to the heading of this article this is the quantity of fertilizer suggested to be issued free. Even if this gift can be made, transport of the fertilizer to the field-points have to be organised—may be 13,000 lorry loads. Even if all this could be done, without the foregoing prerequisites, the effort is not worth the while. It would fail before it took off.

To this list must be added agro-chemicals to control weeds and pests, applicators for chemicals. Then before this can be done, implements for land preparations, tractors (four-wheelers and two-wheelers), buffaloes or neat cattle with ploughs, levelling boards, harrows, etc., are essential and the cultivators must have these at the commencement of the season, that is, the latest by the 15th of September just six weeks from today. Without these being available to the cultivator in time and in keeping with the work-cycle, free fertilizer for farmers would be a waste as experienced in 1939/40. It may be a popular suggestion, but popular suggestions do not produce results.

I have explained as clearly as I could the magnitude of the Paddy Cultivation Programme and this is what an unimaginative Minister of Agriculture and his staff under the Sirimavo Government attempted to do through Productivity, Agricultural and Development Committees. They tried till they were chased out by the people, angered during seven years of bungling the economy of the country.

It has now become the responsibility of the new Government under the leadership of JR to rebuild and resuscitate the cultivator to produce a bumper harvest by Sinhala-Hindu New Year April 1978. To do all this, all the Government Department and Corporations that have to contribute in the food production effort must sit up and think, and think quickly. The Ministries of Agriculture and Irrigation must give the necessary drive and maintain the pressure till the harvest. There is no relaxing, for after April, the process must be repeated for Yala 1978.

THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT

Of Karl Marx

by— P. Chandrasegaram

Dept. of Education Humanities,
Faculty of Education, University
of Sri Lanka, Colombo Campus.

Educational thinkers have articulated contemporary and universal ideas about man, society and the universe. They study and react to prevalent ideas and practices related to, as to how man organises his life as a citizen, as a parent and as an educator. Education is intellectual and rational pedagogic ferment. The educational thinkers seek to lay the foundation of society where man lives as man. Education is conceived as the vitalization of the vision of man and society.

The philosophical outlook of these thinkers, can best be understood if we understand their ideas about education. Educational thinkers represent greatness, in the evolution of man's thought and greatness as educators, whose ideas are a source of inspiration and means of intellectual development. They are people, who have given serious attention to the general theory of education; who realise the impact of values upon culture, initiate new trends, make significant advances in the art and science of teaching. They have appealed to every age with aspirations and ideals. They should be people with ideological integrity with the task of moulding the rising generation.

Historical knowledge is fruitful for the study of education. It generates dialogues within us, between the self and others. It may not positively change the course of action of people, but it helps us to think. It compels us to test the validity of the reasons for our educational choices. We can make conscious decisions. Every educational thinker will have to be placed within the historical context of his ideas. But it should be considered in relation to the past, to the contemporary society and to the future society. Educational thought for the sake of clarity, may be classified as Hellenistic thought, Eastern thought, Classical Christian thought, Inductive and experimental thought and as Scientific Humanism. But education is total. It could also be classified as intellectual, moral, ideal and real.

Karl Marx, who has changed the course of human history emerges as a thinker of eminence. The study of Marx is the study of modern life and education. His period is as from 1818 to 1883. Law, history philosophy, economics and creative writing attracted him. The concept of man and the concept of society, are the central themes of his thought. Education and the development of man is according to him, human history.

Man fails to be what he ought to be; his existence and education, do not correspond to his true humanity. Existing man contradicts the essence of man. His educational message is found in this assertion—'Education is the manifestation of the perfection already in man'. Perfection is total essence. Manifestation of the total essence is an answer to this contradiction of existence and Essence of man.

One may note that there is absolute commonality between Indian Vedantic thinkers and Karl Marx in this regard.

Man does not grasp his own reality; he de-humanises himself; he does not realize his essential attributes. Man can best express himself, if he knows himself as Socrates would have it. He can express himself in a classless society through the change of society in economic and social terms, as Marx declares. Man should completely identify with the Collective Character of society. His sense of dignity and social justice should be realized. He should immerse himself in the totality of human existence, thereby his inter-personal interaction develops and he develops his own self. The society gets re-organised by him; he becomes community man. The society becomes an enterprising social unity.

For Marx, education should form new values, cultivate the selfhood of man and make the whole man. Crisis in human culture, during his period became a challenge to Marx, it became a challenge to human complacency.

Philosophy which is wisdom, must become positive. Interpretation of philosophy in social terms, must transform society. Marx sought a synthesis, in the struggle between thesis and anti-thesis through education and development of man.

For him, a socialist society is historically inevitable. It is the

result of the national development of society. It is the realization of historical experience. Inert ideas about the concept of society should become living, thought and philosophy. His concept of education developed itself within the structures of economic and social development. Education is the study of economic and social development and it's interpretation of this development. It should further this development, to maximise an egalitarian and scientific society.

Historically and philosophically, the concept of materialism, has had a variety of meanings. The pre-Socratic Greeks, interpreted the universe in terms of materials—in terms of the nature of the physical world. Indian thought emphasised spiritual materialism, but the later interpreters of Indian thought, tended to emphasise the religious spiritual aspect. Spiritualism, by definition contains the tenet of materialism. Another meaning of materialism points, to a moral attitude affirming the acquisition of material goods, as a way of satisfying personal desires.

For Karl Marx, metaphysical materialism or materialism in the capitalist sense did not appeal. Materialism, for him meant, that the act of production for physical existence, is the basis for all other activities and expressions of the world. He was particularly sensitive to the economic and technical development of society.

Materialism of Marx was not opposed to Idealism. But it should be viewed as a living Gestalt,—as an integrated configuration. It should be the stimulus for development; it should not be associated with the aspects of ideals alone, nor in the economic material development alone, but in the continuous interdependence of both.

History, when viewed as a unified process becomes the stimulus that determines, social development, and in Marx's view, human being is not to be found in some pre-ordained concept of reality, but in the meaningful experiences that man is an EXISTENT and INTERPRETIVE being.

Marx, interpreted the material factors of history but history is not material factors only; but he emphasised the material factors only; because he experienced intensely the negative economic impact of

a changing culture and as a thinker of Existent Reality; he emphasised the economic factor, and thereby involved himself in the intellectual movement concerned with the philosophy of material life.

The concerned thinker, was disturbed about actual existence, economic inequalities and human predicament in general.

Education, should therefore change the negative social process, and should change the course of unreal history. It is the task of educational philosophers, not only to interpret the world, but also to change it.

Marx stressed the reality of social forces—the organization and utilisation of such forces to actualise the collective will of the society in the new order. Nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity. But each can become accomplished, in any branch he wishes because, society regulates the general production.

Philosophers like Rousseau, would say that, man need not surrender completely to the sovereign rule, but each man should give himself to all. A good society is a political community, that would overcome the contradiction, between the interest of the individual, and that of the community. Marx, without challenging such thinking, maintained that, man should be educated to reconcile his real being, by which he becomes the whole man. There should be reconciliation between the essence and existence of man, the selfhood and social development of man, man and nature, and man and man.

(To be Concluded)

IN RETROSPECT

Police And The Elections

By A Citizen

The 21st of July, 1977 has, like the Ides of March, come and gone. Events preceding that date and some of them that followed after the 21st were most unfortunate and unpalatable. Feelings ran high in spite of the preventive measures so carefully conceived and cleverly executed by the Police. Some citizens lost their lives in the insane heat and fury of the contest for

power. That this is a serious blotch on the escutcheon of our Nation with so much of religious influence would be a trite under-statement. After the lees and effervescence of jubilation have settled and the evanescent euphoria of triumph have waned, a fact which is likely to be lost sight of, is that the Police, in spite of various odds ranged against them, did an excellent job. I will make bold to say that, had it not been for their vigilance and the dedicated manner in which every member of the Police Service performed his duty, there might have been more violence and mayhem of the worst type.

Although the Superintendent's in the various Divisions were in charge of Election arrangements and responsible for the issuing of appropriate orders, the entire planning for the maximum efficiency of Police arrangements devolved on the Officers of the Elections Office housed in the Times of Ceylon Building. Operational instructions, orders in regard to administration, Communications, Logistics, Legal instructions, Accounting instructions, Statistical data, movements of the Riot Squads both in the City of Colombo and in the outstations were meticulously drafted, checked, re-checked and disseminated to the various Police Divisions in the most intelligent manner to ensure proper dialogue. An essential pre-requisite which is the sure-fire recipe for success in operations of this nature is not the mere drafting of orders and instructions. The 'sine-qua-non' is the finality of ensuring that the orders are understood and complied with most efficiently.

Mr. Frank Silva, Senior Superintendent in charge of Elections, was most modest about the role played by him obviously in acceptance of the philosophy behind the dictum that there is no limit to what a man can do as long as he does not care who gets the credit. He worked long hours in the commitment entrusted to him and was chiefly responsible for the fruition of what may rightly be termed a 'Magnum Opus'. Though young in years, Mr. Frank Silva has the maturity of a seasoned campaigner, patience, intelligence and capacity for hard work. He is a graduate of the University of Sri Lanka and has received specialised training in the United Kingdom

where he underwent a Senior Command Course.

In over-all command was Mr. Rudra Rajasingham, the most Senior Deputy Inspector General of Police. His perspicacity, equanimity, qualities of leadership as Officer and Gentleman, ability to make quick and correct decisions and, above all, his forte in getting the best out of every man under his command commend themselves to young officers and are worthy of emulation. Having acquitted himself most creditably in the monumental task of organising Police arrangements for the Non-Aligned Conference, he took the enormous job of the Elections, '77 in his stride. Both the country and the Authorities owe a very big Thank You to this most capable officer.

It has been said that "Contemporaries appreciate the man rather than the merit but Posterity will regard the merit rather than the man." In the proper analysis, in the case of Mr. Rudra Rajasingham it cannot be denied that, by his merit, he has indubitably proved himself to be a "Man for All Seasons". Certainly, in the context of significant and far-reaching changes expected by the People from this Government, I would add that "A time like this demands not grovelling eunuchs and fawning sycophants EUT

Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy.

Men with opinions,

MEN WHO WILL NOT LIE"

Yes—it was a very difficult job but it was done extremely well.

MORE TREES—2

Re-Afforestation And Employment

By R. Kahawita

In my article on "Trees" a scheme to develop 10,000 acres annually was suggested. This acreage is to be distributed in three zones—The wet zone, dry zone and the hill country. The land resources available for re-afforestation have been fully discussed and earmarked in a very comprehensive report on Land Utilization under the

chairmanship of Dr. A. W. R. Joachim. This report should be the basis of planning the development of forestry.

The three zones of forestry development will need three specialists in Sylviculture—the country has them vegetating in some cubicle or other of a Government Department. To support them there is the need for three forestry officers and ten Assistant Forestry officers, all these officers should have the qualifications and training in the subject necessary to develop and maintain 10,000 acres of forest annually. Twenty Agricultural graduates should be trained annually in Forestry to man the field operations. A contingent of 50 diploma holders from practical farm schools also should be trained in the forestry sciences, more the practical aspects than the theoretical aspects of forestry. In addition 100 recruits in "the ranger grade" should also be trained. For training, the Forestry school that was started some years back should be re-established with the necessary staff, buildings and land for training. There should be, attached to the school, a forest tree nursery where nursery men could be trained and sent out to the zone nurseries to supply the planting materials of each zone. The staff for the Forestry school should be available from Department itself.

In addition to the requirement of technical men above, there will be the need for "white-collar" employees like clerks, book-keepers, stone-typists, supply and store-clerk etc. The requirement of these grades of employees will be in the region of 150 and as the project gains momentum there will be employment opportunities for trained artisans and skilled workmen of different classes of specialisation. The number of employees in the skilled and unskilled workers will total up to around 2000, to be drawn from the village level in the three zones. Wherever possible the recruits to these job vacancies from the development areas.

To finance the employment programme in the Forestry development scheme, funds must come from statutory Bodies which exist on forestry resources. They are: Plywood Corporation, Timber Corporation, Paper Corporation, Building Material Corporation, Plantation Corporation. These

are commercial statutory Bodies who must provide at least fifty per cent of the operating expenses. The balance to be from the general revenue. The requirements and Foreign exchange to be from project aids of International financial organisation.

This is a long-term development programme that will have to be carried through over the years to come. Therefore some form of legal machinery must be evolved to guarantee its continuity irrespective of Political vicissitudes. This is a national venture and therefore placed above Politics. The employment Potential, as I see it is in the region of 3000 of all categories of employment—to be financed by the corporations who depend on the Forest wealth of the country for their corporations,

LESSON FROM INDIA

The Rule of Law

by Frank Moraes

This article was written by Frank Moraes before his death, and before the declaration of the Emergency by Indira Gandhi in June 1975. There is much in it very relevant to Sri Lanka at this juncture when there is an overwhelming desire to re-establish the independence of the judiciary on a new footing.

ONE of the most disquieting and dangerous development in recent days is the increasing tendency among certain politicians to erode the authority of the judiciary, particularly of the Supreme Court. Standing as it does at the apex of the judiciary, the Supreme Court is as much the guardian of individual rights as it is the custodian of social needs. Both these objectives were very much in the minds of the founding fathers of our Constitution. The framers of India's Constitution were particularly concerned to keep the Supreme Court and the judicial system pure and independent. They regarded the judiciary as the guardian of the Constitution, a symbol of the new independence of India and a tangible expression of the new law created by Indians

for Indians. In this complex the Supreme Court, as the highest judicial tribunal of the land, became the final authority on the interpretation of the Constitution. It had also a special responsibility for safeguarding the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution. From these duties and responsibilities flowed its power of judicial review.

This power is by no means absolute. Principally in cases concerning property and personal liberty the Constituent Assembly placed some restraints on the review power of the courts. Its aim was to strike a balance between the rights of the individuals and the needs of society. In democratic law, best expressed in the fifth amendment of the American Constitution, no person may be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

TWIN PROBLEMS. The issue of due process, as the Constituent Assembly soon discovered, is closely tied up with these two important problems—with the expropriation of property and compensation for it, and with preventive detention. In its attempt to reconcile the concepts of individual rights and social needs the Assembly was compelled to qualify the exercise of the basic freedoms of speech, assembly etc. with certain provisions. The protection of due process was removed from the right of property. The power of judicial review was thereby qualified. The emergency provisions have made further inroads into the judiciary's power of review.

It was never intended that the judges would replace the legislatures. Within their defined ambit the judiciary remains independent. But the judiciary cannot function properly without the co-operation of the legislature and executive. A clash with either strikes at the roots of democracy and democratic institutions. Though constitutional amendments since 1950 have further circumscribed the authority of the courts in property matters their power to scrutinise executive action in preventive detention cases has to a degree been enlarged. The judges are there to interpret the laws made under the provisions of the Constitution.

Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar put it succinctly. "While there can be no two opinions" he said "on the need for the maintenance of judicial independence, both for the safeguarding of individual liberty and the proper working of the Constitution, it is also necessary to keep in view one important principle. The doctrine of independence is not to be raised to the level of a dogma so as to enable the judiciary to function as a kind of super-legislature or super-executive."

VICE VERSA. This the judiciary cannot be accused of doing or wanting to do. The boot is on the other leg. The Constituent Assembly way careful to keep the judiciary out of politics. The question today is, how are politics and politicians to be kept out of the courts? The Assembly seems to have been conscious of this danger for it spent considerable time over the mechanism of choosing judges, their tenure, retirement and impeachment. As a result the Constitution provides that the Justices of both the Supreme Court and the High Courts should be appointed by the President, the former in consultation with Justices of the Supreme Court and the High Courts, and the latter in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, of the High Court and the Governor of the State. Judges held office during good behaviour until reaching the retirement age laid down in the Constitution. But they can be removed by Parliament. The grounds for doing this are incapacity or proved misbehaviour. Judges are removable by the President on receipt of an address by both Houses of Parliament.

Interestingly, the judges were the first to react to the judicial provisions of the draft Constitution. In a letter to Nehru, the Chief Justice of the then Federal Court, H. J. Kania, focussed his observations on the independence of the judiciary. Kania urged that the Provisional Home Ministry should at no stage be allowed to intervene in the appointment of a High Court judge. When recommending to the President the appointment of a judge to the High Court, the Governor and the High Court Chief Justice should be in direct contact. There should be no political intermediary or interference. Later, a meeting of the Justices of the Federal Court

along with the Chief Justices of the High Courts endorsed Kania's stand. They deplored "the growing tendency to treat the High Court as a part of the Home Department of the Province."

India's Constitution, though federal, has been described as having some strong unitary features. The framers of the Constitution were unanimous in insisting that India's judicial system should be unitary in the sense of a uniform interpretation of the laws by the Supreme Court and with no separate chain of courts to administer Union laws. The voice of the Supreme Court should be paramount. K. M. Munshi believed that "the unconscious process of consolidation which a uniformity of laws and interpretation involves makes the unifying unconscious and therefore more stable." Ambedkar was even more emphatic. He visualised "one single integrated judiciary having jurisdiction and providing remedies in all cases arising under the constitutional law, the civil law or the criminal law." He felt such a judicial system, plus uniformity of law, "were essential to maintain the unity of the country."

OBJECTIVE. Today the tugs and pulls are the other way. Those judges who conform to the views of certain politicians should be elevated above the rest of their kind. The judicial sheep must be separated from the wayward goats. Not unity but calculated disunity is the objective. A calm, dispassionate assessment and dispensation of the law is anachronistic and out of date. What some politicians now demand from the judges is conformity with their political notions. Dissent is heresy to be condemned and punished. Impeachment is the latest political blunderbuss.

NEXT WEEK

- ✱ WHITHER AGRICULTURE!
—Whither UNP!
- ✱ TULSI'S ELECTORAL VICTORY
—Significance
- ✱ BOQUETS AND BRICKBATS
—A Fortnightly Feature
- ✱ LEFT DEBACLE—5
—The Nondescripts

SHORT SHORT

Fate—3

This story is written in the first person singular. That is a literary convention which is as old as the hills. It was used by Petronius Arbiter in the 'Satyricon' and by many other storeytellers in the 'Thousand and One Nights', and more recently by Somerset Maugham from whom we have adopted this style. It's object is of course to achieve credibility for when someone tells you what he states happened to himself you are more likely to believe that he is telling the truth than when he tells you what happened to someone else. The 'I' in the story is just as much a character in the story as the other persons with whom it is concerned.

The cold breeze of the hills made me shiver, and I pulled the shawl closer about my shoulders as I walked along the mountain path. It was afternoon, but there was no sun in the sky, only an incessant drizzle typical of the hills. Everything was dark and gloomy but I revelled in it—yes, I loved the darkness and the gloom and the drizzle. It gave me a sense of exhilaration. Being a little weary of the long climb, I sat down on a rock to rest my limbs and think. My thoughts were with the fascinating old man I was about to meet—but reaching his abode was no mean task, for it was situated in an almost inaccessible place. Having heard that a queer old man lived all alone high up in the hills, I had decided to meet him, but when I reached there, I did not find him queer at all, but merely wanting isolation.

It took more than five or six visits to penetrate beneath his armour, but penetrate I did, and what a lot I learnt! He was not one of those voluble souls who goes on at length about anything, but a man of few words, and those words were well chosen. He was an intellectual there was no doubt about it, and was akin to a walking encyclopaedia.

Why had he chosen this life? Why had he become such a recluse? Though these questions were

always at the tip of my tongue I managed to desist from asking for fear of a rebuff. I rose from the rock when I had rested sufficiently, and started on the steep path once more. Though the climb was tedious, each time I made the pilgrimage I was filled with pleasure at the panorama stretching out before my eyes. The green carpeted slopes dotted with sparkling waterfalls and roads meandering in between was enough to soothe anybody's soul.

As I turned the last bend I saw the old man sitting on a cane chair in the garden, reading and smoking his pipe, the most adorable pair of St. Bernards at his feet. It somehow looked so timeless—the man, the dogs, the secluded little picture book cottage with its red tiled roof nestling among the green hills and creepers entwining its grey walls. The garden was a riot of colour. Flowers grew in profusion—wild and free, not in orderly beds. This gave it a charm of its own which can rarely be achieved in a well planned out garden. At the back of the cottage was an orchard, full of tall, old trees.

I always marvel at the way the hills manage to preserve human beings. They live for much longer than in any other place, I've noticed. Or is it that more old people live in the hills, for it is probably too quiet and slow-moving for the younger folk. I'm still not sure which it is, but this I know that every hill station I have visited is full of gray-headed people.

So absorbed was the old man in his book that he didn't notice my arrival, nor did the dogs announce it, bring my friends now, acknowledging my presence lying down, with a lazy thumping of tails. He only looked up when I greeted him. His skin was like old parchment, there were crow's feet around his still lively eyes when he smiled and the smile lit up his whole face. This was a welcome change from the mere grunts my greetings had evoked in the first few days. Finding myself a chair, I sat down near him, but he continued reading. This was what I liked—being able to sit in companionable silence without having to talk. It is with very few people one can achieve it, for usually there is at least some discomfure when people sit around in silence. Nothing to disturb the peace except the

occasional chirping of a bird. As I sat there I felt the peace and tranquility seep into my very soul.

Presently we went indoors and were soon sharing a bottle of whiskey. There is nothing like it to loosen the tongue and bring on a bout of nostalgia. Besides when you have drunk with someone he becomes your friend. It is a special kind of link that only another who has shared a bottle can understand. "Do you know it's years since I drank with someone? It feels good for a change," he said.

It was on this memorable day that I learnt the story of his life, and I think it was memorable for him too, for it was as though he was finishing something he had wanted to for a long time. When something troubles someone the panacea that most people suggest is to talk about it. But only a few can do this, others find it extremely difficult to expose their soul, so they keep it deep within them. Years may roll and the pain may pass, but there will be that feeling deep down within unable to die. Maybe one day relief may come, but in many cases it remains dormant throughout life. But for a persons who can talk it over life itself is much simpler because they themselves are much less complex. I may be wrong, but I don't think so.

In a way I found it strange that what had happened to him had affected him so deeply, for he seemed to me like a person who was flexible. Tragedy had struck when he was still quite young. Youth they say, is more resilient than age, but one can never generalise I suppose.

"I was young and idealistic then and believed in the goodness of human beings. But now, after living for years, I have seen much and accept each man for what he is and not be disappointed if someone falls short of my expectations. But in those days it was very difficult to do that.

I had just returned from Oxford, full of optimism and 'joie de vivre.' I was barely twenty five then. My parents thought it necessary for me to marry, and as I had no objection, they arranged a suitable alliance for me. The girl would have fitted any of the usual matrimonial advertisements to perfection. She came from a good family

and was accomplished in many ways. The wedding was celebrated in all the pomp and splendour of those days, with celebrations going on for almost a week. I had just started practising the law, and so my wife and I set up home separately. I soon discovered that she looked like a perfect little angel, but was hell to live with. She had apparently been spoilt by her parents, added to which she had a terrific temper. She was a veritable virago when aroused, and also a compulsive nagger and needed only the last provocation!

I had always been used to peace at home, but now my life became sheer hell. Besides, I enjoyed reading and study, while she liked to go out very much and this too was a constant bone of contention. Ours was a very good example of incompatibility. Was it any wonder that I began to seek more and more refuge in my books? The time I may have utilised for relaxation before, was now directed toward the library. Books were my only source of consolation.

But we put up pretences before the world—at least I did. My family never suspected that anything was amiss, not did I enlighten them at any time. A divorce in those days was out of the question because it was unthinkable to tarnish the good name of the family and so I carried on amidst great mental torture. Fortunately, we had no children, else it would have complicated matters further. I began to withdraw more and more into my shell and shut out the world.

One cannot blame her or blame me, for we were poles apart and what little understanding we may have built up was not, by her temper and my stubbornness. As the years went by, the situation grew worse. Our ability to communicate with each other came down to nil. I sought refuge in my work, but she could not. I had also schooled myself never to lose grip of myself, for I had built up a rigid wall of self control and nothing my wife said or did could break through, and this exasperated her more than anything else. Looking back I cannot actually blame her for what happened, for circumstances make people do things which they normally would not do. But at that time I could not accept or understand it. Even though things were difficult I expected her

to behave with dignity and respect as I had forced myself to do. It would have been easy to let myself go, but I kept control of myself and I expected her to do the same. Some friends had told me that she had been unfaithful to me. The matter was never discussed between the two of us and I decided to let things ride if what I had heard was true.

But one night something that shook the very foundations of my being happened. I knew my wife had many faults and was extremely difficult to live with, but I did not expect treachery of that kind. On the other hand I suppose I did not know her well enough to fathom what she was or was not capable of. It was usual for me to have a nightcap before bed—a glass of milk laced with brandy. On that particular night the servant had just entered my study with it, when my dog jumped up from under my feet and began dancing around. He usually had a way of expressing himself with yelps or whines which I understood, but that day I could not comprehend what he was trying to say and he was too well behaved to beg for food, especially in my study. But, there was no doubt that he was behaving peculiarly that night. He kept running towards the table where the milk was placed and then towards me trying to say something. I asked the servant to give him some milk, but he refused to drink it and was soon back jumping around like before. Thinking he had a kink I told the servant to take my glass of milk with the brandy and give it to him. He took it and went out, but was back shortly, greatly agitated, saying that the dog had fallen down and was struggling for breath. I rushed to the kitchen just in time to see him giving one last convulsive shudder and breathing his last. To say I was shaken was an understatement, for it could only mean that someone in the house had been trying to poison me, and my faithful friend with uncanny intuition had saved me. I felt hot and cold all over. On making enquiries, I found that the servant had left the glass of milk and gone inside to get the brandy. So during that time someone had done that thing. I discovered also that my wife had been in the kitchen that night. This was rather unusual as she was rarely, if ever, in the

habit of visiting the kitchen, and certainly not for as long as she had spent that night. There seemed to be only one explanation and it was so shocking! I didn't pause to think anymore, just dropped every thing and left home that very night. For years I was a wanderer and had no contact with anyone who would remind me of home. I wandered through all the five continents taking up jobs for short durations, from washing dishes to lecturing at universities. Met various kinds of people and had all sorts of experiences. Forgot all about having to do the right and accepted thing. Somewhere along the way there was a woman with whom if circumstances had been different I may have made my life. We moved on the same wavelength, spoke the same sort of language and could probably have built up a lifetime of understanding, only she was married and had children and for their sakes did not want to break up her marriage. So I moved on again, never stopping long in one place.

About twenty years ago I decided to give up my wanderings and settle down somewhere and I chose this place. I know people consider me queer but that doesn't bother me, for now I am at peace with myself and the world. You know, I went back home just before I came here and found out that there was nothing left to call home, or rather the home I had known, anymore. It reminded me of something I had read, I am not sure where "You cannot go back home, for home exists only in the mothballs of your memory."

Nobody knew who I was as it was all of fifty years since I left. Two generations had been born since I was there last. I went around pretending to be an old friend of the family. My brother's son's family lived in the ancestral house where I had been born and lived during my childhood. I discovered that there were innumerable grand nieces and nephews scattered all over the world. I also learnt that my wife had married very soon after I had left the place, but she had died the very next year giving birth to a child. They spoke of the oldest uncle leaving suddenly and never being seen or heard of again. They said it was grief and loneliness that had made the aunt marry again. I was sorely tempted to tell them the truth

and to reveal my identity, but on second thoughts I decided that I would let things remain as they were. In any case, that could not change matters for I could never make my last home where my first had been. I was like a ripple in the lake of their lives and I didn't want to cause turbulence. I saw the man who could very well have been my own son—but as an outsider, a stranger who could never be part of the whole set up. I had lived a different kind of life for too long to want to change it now. I did not want to become part of a family which I had left. If I had wished they would have accepted me, for my brother was the old patriarch who gathered the whole clan around him on special occasions and they would have welcomed another old and distinguished (I hope!) addition to the clan.

None of the bitterness I had when I left remained with me anymore. The years had driven it all away and mellowed my emotions. But I was glad I had come back, for when one is far away one builds images in one's mind of what may once have been true. And the images are generally, far rosier than the reality. One forgets that time changes everything.

Well, coming back to this place—I've always had a fondness for the hills and in my travels particularly liked this place. So I have settled down and that is that.

You know, you are the third person I have spoken to about the incident that changed my life. But now, much more has happened since I last did. The first was an old Professor, soon after I left home, the second was the lady I told you about earlier and now you. I don't think it will happen again, and you being a writer I give you permission to write about it if you wish. But please don't reveal my name until I am dead. For I do not want my privacy disturbed."

I liked the way he spoke. The ramblings of his mind were stimulating. Besides, we shared many ideas in common. I also discovered that he was a well known writer whose works I had read. Thinking back, I could glimpse a lot of him in his writings. He still kept in touch with a friend of his, a publisher who guarded his secret.

I knew I had glimpsed something rare and beautiful and was happy

that at least for a fleeting moment I could have experienced it. I also knew that I was dismissed. He had said without so many words that I should also leave him alone. Nor did I wish to intrude on his seclusion any longer, for had he not been generous enough to share a wealth of knowledge and experience with me?

It was well nigh midnight when I left. But I hardly felt the biting cold as I walked along that mountain path. The countryside was bathed in silvery moonlight and my heart was full—enriched to capacity and brimming over with the meeting of such a personality. I often wonder if he is still alive. Genius is often shrouded in obscurity and his existence reminds me of these lines from Pope's "Ode to Solitude":

*'Thus let me live, unseen, unknown,
Thus unlamented let me die;
Steal from the world and not a stone
Tell where I lie.'*

VINODINI

SCIENTISTS STUDY

New Geothermal Energy Source

by William Gorishek

Los Alamos, New Mexico,

High in the Jemez mountains of the Western State of New Mexico, U.S., scientists seeking alternative energy sources are sharing a significant breakthrough in geothermal heat studies with colleagues throughout the world. Here, in the "Atomic City" where man first unleashed the devastating force of nuclear weapons, scientists at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory (LASL) earlier this month created a **MAN-MADE GEOTHERMAL WELL** by producing a fracture system in hot dry granite.

During the week of June 28-30, U.S. scientists and energy specialists met with associates from ten countries for an exchange-of-information seminar and the chance to witness the Dry Hot Rock Project at Fenton Hill, 32 miles west of here. Countries represented included Indonesia, Italy, France, West Germany, Sweden, England, Switzerland, Egypt, and Turkey.

The meeting was the second sponsored jointly by LASL and The North Atlantic Treaty Organization Committee on challenges to modern society. That Committee is conducting a study with teams from the United States, Italy and Turkey. Its aim is to step up the development of geothermal resources available in many countries.

Dr. Allen G. Blair, alternate head of LASL's Geosciences Division, compares the Fenton Hill Project to the workings of an automobile radiator. In the auto, he says water cooled by air through the radiator flows into the engine, absorbing its heat, then back through the radiator where it again cools in a continuous cycle. The Fenton Hill Project works essentially in reverse. Los Alamos scientists selected an area of relatively recent volcanic activity in a valley of the Jemez mountains. One bore hole was drilled with conventional oil-drilling rigs into the West flank of the valley at a depth of three kilometers. Cold water was pumped in, fracturing a pancake-shaped area at the bottom of the hole. More cold water was pumped in, enlarging the fracture zone and creating more rock surfaces to act as heat conduits for water flowing through. Another bore was drilled some 75 meters from the primary hole and angled into the fractured granite, producing what in cross section resembles two drinking straws—each about the diameter of a small dinner plate—connected to the fracture zone, forming a loop.

When both holes were connected in the fracture zone, cold water pumped into the first flashed to steam as it was diverted to a holding stream near the second, an event hailed as "a major step in the program" by Dr. Harold M. Agnew, Director of the Los Alamos Laboratory. "We have proven that we can create a geothermal well (in essentially dry, hard hot rock) using adaptations of oil field-drilling techniques without the use of explosives...that we can recover the water in order to ultimately create a pressurized hot water system suitable for generation of electricity and other industrial and domestic uses...and that we are ready for the next step in the study." Springs are rare throughout the world and are difficult to convert into sources of heat and power. They are, however,

used commercially on a small scale in some places, such as Finland and Iceland and in the geyser area of Northern California. But their conversion to sources of electrical power or heat beneficial to mankind is difficult. The water normally contains large quantities of chemicals, and other pollutants, and even when filtered tends to clog the equipment used to convert the heat energy into useable forms.

The largest reservoir of untapped energy that may be available is the hot, dry rock that composes most of the earth's crust. Fenton Hill Project leaders here—and many of their colleagues abroad—feel that such energy could potentially meet the world's energy needs for thousands of years. Lasl Geoscientist Morton C. Smith, who has been involved with the project since its inception seven years ago and was its leader for most of that time, said, "We have had a lot to overcome in terms of skepticism, but now we can get fluid through it (the Fenton Hill Project) and I am optimistic." "I am one of the inventors of the thing and have a parental optimism. I think the kid is going to grow up all right. I have put seven years of my life into it."

An obvious major drawback to extracting energy from hot dry rocks for most countries is the cost. Twenty million dollars have been invested in the Fenton Hill Pilot Project since its inception, and most delegates attending this seminar focused their discussions and presentations on the high cost of drilling through hard rock and on ways to economize. Drilling to the depth necessary to encounter rock (conditions) suitable for conversion to electricity, for example, is expensive and slow. The energy conversion process itself is relatively inexpensive, however. Several nations have been exploring the possibilities of the concept.

Swedish scientists here report geothermal studies underway in their country are promising. Professor Gustaf Lind of Goteborg delivered a talk on "The Nature of Subsurface Strata" in likely geothermal areas of Sweden and the relationship between various tests, bore holes and heat factors at various depths. Dr. Uve Landstrom, also of Goteborg's Chalmers University of Technology, said "We are extremely interested in the LASL project since our country

Letters

has few natural geothermal resources." One reason, he added, is because Sweden—like the United States—is strongly divided on the question of Nuclear Energy.

Dr. Richard Neumann, Deputy Director of the organization which operates all of West Germany's non-nuclear energy programs, maintains interest, too, because his country is "poor in natural geothermal energy... Our interest," he said, "is because the Los Alamos Project is the first to extract terrestrial energy from dry hot rocks... from rocks where no natural permeability is available. We are optimistic," he added. "But this phase now must be developed technologically. If there is a feasible method of extracting energy (from dry hot rocks) then we must look into the economics of the technology. The main problem, I think, is whether the heat can be extracted cheaply so that it can be competitive with other energy sources." Dr. Neumann said West Germany has a project under way similar to the Fenton Hill Program. He said a bore hole will be started soon Southeast of Stuttgart. The plan is to study geothermal conditions in rocks at depths of from 500-3,000 meters.

Swiss delegate L. Rybach said international interests focused on the Los Alamos Project because it could be applied "to many situations in many countries." Dr. Rybach chairs a panel of the International Energy Agency concerning man-made geothermal energy systems. "We were very glad that the United States assumed the role of lead country in the NATO-C.C.M.S. Geothermal Project," Dr. Rybach said.

"A lead country," explained Dr. Jack Vanderryn of the Energy Research and Development Administration, "organizes a particular task—a pilot study—under the framework of the NATO Committee. The projects are not usually long term. Mostly they are focused on informational exchange. The purpose is to finish a Project then make some recommendations as to what a followup might be in a given forum." Both Dr. Vanderryn and Dr. Rybach called for an international effort on geothermal energy sources, an effort to be coordinated by the International Energy Agency (IEA), and the OECD (organization for economic co-operation and development), so

the world might "better deal with the energy," Dr. Vanderryn said. "We are very interested in co-operative activities with other countries on the assumption that those co-operative activities are of mutual benefit and that there are reasonably equal flows of information and benefits," Dr. Vanderryn added.

—IPS

LETTERS

• Nuwara Eliya

Sir,

Of late I have been reading your journal very avidly because one benefactor has graciously subscribed for it, on my behalf.

I said that I have been reading the *Tribune* very carefully because of your very forthright editorials which touch on the core of many problems very boldly. A fortnight ago you pointed out the defect of a useless CRA earnings which drains away the country's wealth to a small group of people. Thus a trend counter to socialism (which as it seems to me is only in name) has given us new capitalists.

In today's *Tribune* you have dealt with the destruction of beautiful Nuwara Eliya. I have been to Naini Tal, the sanatorium of North India. It is artificially beautified together with its natural beauty. Its beauty cannot be compared with the beauty of Nuwara Eliya because Nuwara Eliya is far superior. I visited Nuwara Eliya after about 3 years. What degradation it has undergone. Is it because people who have no aesthetic taste have massacred this town? By the destruction of forest range for cultivation of potatoes, the very climatical environment has changed. Vegetable cultivation or potatoe cultivation etc. are necessary indeed, but there must be a limit to indiscriminate use of land. A money spinner will buy more land and dump on any ground his money to get more money. He is not bothered about the environment of tomorrow. The business man is bent on cultivating more and more for exporting vegetables unmindful of his destruction of virgin forests.

It is heart rending to see the sight of Pedro range, the source from where the town gets its supply of water. Can this small island afford to expand its vegetable exportation is another subject to inquire into?

During the days of the white "Sahibs", cultivation above a particular elevation was taboo in order to maintain environmental balance. But today only the golf links are preserved; thanks to the management of Turf-Club.

Fr. M. Mathew

Holy Rosary Church,
Slave Island.
2.7.77

• State Of Ruhuna

Sir,

The Tamils are aggrieved that since Independence they have been discriminated against and reduced to the status of second class citizens. They now feel that their salvation lies only in self determination and are campaigning for an independent Tamil State which would involve the partition of Sri Lanka. Their already embittered feelings have been further exacerbated by the atrocities recently perpetrated on their own flesh and blood who have been resident in the hill country plantations, which by their sweat and blood they have developed for the last 150 years or more, and the desecration of some of their places of worship in the Devon, Sanquar and Delta estates.

It is a sad commentary that not one of the leaders of political parties in Sri Lanka has yet publicly denounced or repudiated these barbaric acts, perhaps due to default on the part of our newspapers.

However it would be some consolation to the Tamils to know that they are not the only sufferers since Independence. As a matter of fact the Sinhala people outside the hill country are in the same boat in that since Independence they too have been reduced to the status of second-class citizens, particularly the Sinhala people of dismembered and attenuated Ruhuna which had not only enjoyed autonomy for over

1000 years but had also been overlords of Lanka from time to time. About one billion rupees have been expended since Independence on the so-called uplift of the hill country, peasantry exclusively and not a cent on the people outside the hill country although the latter too have undergone similar vicissitudes as the former in the past.

Furthermore with the enactment of the Citizenship Act of 1949 not only have the hill country Tamils been wrongfully denied the vote they have been entitled to under the Soulbury Constitution, but also political rights have been weighted so heavily in favour of the hill country Sinhala people only, that they appear to have gained hegemony over the rest of Sri Lanka.

One of the reasons, or the main reason for this disparity appears to be that the first Prime Minister since Independence had married a wife from the hill country and, like King Herod in or about the year 30 A.D. who went to any lengths to please his queen, was inclined to bestow largesse on the hill country Sinhala people. The second PM, his son, appears to have done likewise. In these circumstances it appears to be desirable that the history of Ruhuna, the cradle of Sinhala civilization and its gloried past, be reviewed briefly for the edification of the present and rising generations who appear to be unaware, or only dimly conscious of it.

The Tamils in particular should be conscious of and have a fellow feeling for the plight of these less fortunate Sinhala people, particularly of those of the now attenuated Rununa whose forbears accorded the highest honour to one of their famous kings unparalleled in the annals of world history.

It will be remembered that after the young Prince Dutugemunu vanquished the very much older Tamil King, Elara in single combat in order to avoid widespread bloodshed which the liberation of Anuradhapura involved, not only did Dutugemunu honour his vanquished foe but also decreed that whoever passed his tomb should alight from any palanquin or vehicle in which he may be travelling and pass that spot on foot only.

According to the earliest traditions Ruhuna extended further

southwards (than at present) to the rocky islets on which the Great and Little Basses lighthouses stand. Ravanna's fortress city of Lankapura is now represented by the great Basses still known as Ravana Kotta. The people of Ravana's realm were not a poor nomadic or pastoral race. According to the Ramayana they were as advanced as the contemporary civilization in North India.

Subsequently a Hindu prince ruled in Kataragama as King Mahasena who was after his death deified and acknowledged as the tutelary deity of the ancient kingdom of Kataragama. He and the primeval Mahagama dynasty made Ruhuna a land of plenty and glory. Nineteen centuries after the sacking of Ravana Kotta (Lankapura) Vijaya and his band of desperadoes from north India landed at Kirinda, and not on the north Western shore of Lanka as generally believed. The Mahavamsa states they landed at Tamrapanni on the most lovely bank of the river. The Rajavaliya gives another clue to its geographic location, "When the ship made for land in the direction of Lankadipa they saw the rock Samanalkande (Adam's Peak). This is visible at sea off Ambalantota and Kirinda.

In the thirteenth century came the revolt of Ruhuna against the hegemony of Parakrama Bahu, and after a 8 year struggle Ruhuna was ravaged, impoverished and devastated. Parakrama Bahu's supremacy in Lanka was established and he abolished the autonomy of Ruhuna. Thereafter the jungle tide engulfed the developed areas, the public works, and Tissamaharama, the royal city of Ruhuna, with malaria coming in its wake and there was a displacement of populations from the east to the west of the Walawe river. At the end of the 18th century Ruhuna was a sorry spectacle with the exception of the salubrious coastal region west of the Walawe which came under the Portuguese and after them the Dutch and British occupation.

Since the British occupation the restoration of ruined irrigation and agricultural projects were embarked upon, gradually pushing back the jungle tide, and since Independence these have continued, but on the other hand they are being reversed by the wanton denudation of

the premeval rain forest Sinharaja, in pursuance of wild cat schemes of Sri Lanka leaders from outside Ruhuna.

The promised campus in Ruhuna appears to have been consigned to limbo.

R.W.W.

Mt. Lavinia.
June 10, 1977

• Water And Bureaucracy

Sir,

The announcement broadcast by the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction last Monday morning (25/7) that water cuts (which the Minister quite rightly considers as unwarranted) are now a thing of the past, was hailed with delight by the residents in Dehiwela, who have had to put up with considerable inconvenience and consequent irritation on this score for years past. But, it was to be a short-lived satisfaction for, we find the same unsatisfactory state of affairs prevailing in the town, despite the Minister's well meant action.

The Minister must realise that it is one thing to issue orders, but quite another thing to ensure its implementation. The one is easy; the other is not. Until and unless Ministers take a serious view of disinclination or refusal on the part of those concerned to carry out their instructions (which is tantamount to flagrant disobedience of orders which, needless to state, is a serious offence that cannot be condoned) they might as well save themselves that trouble of issuing orders and becoming a laughing stock. Ministers must understand that they have to contend with an arrogant bureaucracy which resents being given orders by those who they consider are their inferior, intellectually and experience-wise. Until and unless this obsession of a category of public servants who take an almost sadistic delight in harassing the public, thereby setting an unwholesome example to their subordinates, is remorselessly extirpated once and for all, and they

Letters

are made to understand that they are paid to serve the public and not to give themselves airs, efficient public administration is quite out of the question. This is a matter to which the Cabinet should address its mind without procrastination. To say that it is a matter of paramount importance is no hyperbole.

These remarks apply with equal force to all categories of public servants who were not slow to take advantage of their superiors' attitude to the public, which was that of the master towards his servant.

C. E. J. Alles

113, Allan Avenue,
Dehiwela.
29.7.77.

• Separatist Nightmare

Sir,

At this juncture of the history of our country when the people had overwhelmingly elected a Government in a fair and free election, it is disconcerting to hear the clarion call for separation of the country from a responsible political party. It is more than ludicrous to envisage a painful partition of this peaceful space in the Indian Ocean.

The lessons of separation in the long history of human survival has been bitter. The separatist claim, even for "a moth eaten Pakistan" in British India led to a sorry trail of travail and tribulation resulting in a massive loss of life, limb and property. Indians who were inspired by the Apostle of non violence, plunged irretrievably into an orgy of untold brutality and bestiality. The post separation record too is not reassuring. Out of the fratricidal feud was born Bangla Desh and in the recent past its founding father has been ingloriously shunted from power and unceremoniously dispatched his earthly existence too.

The eerie experience of separatist movements is loud and clear. The war of attrition in Northern Ireland goes on relentlessly between the alleged adherents of

the Prince of Peace. In the Horn of Africa, the civil war in Ethiopia is steadily paving the way for superpower intervention which will be damaging to both sides.

The claim for separation in our tiny island will inevitably usher in a prolonged and painful period terminating in utter desolation where the victors will envy the dead. Let saner counsel prevail recalling the words of the Late President John Kennedy, "Let us never fear to negotiate but let us never negotiate out of fear".

A. T. Joseph

11, St. Mary's Road,
Colombo 15.
5th Aug. 1977

• Left Debacle

Sir,

Your two articles of the 'Left Debacle' were indeed interesting.

Wishful thinking is never a rewarding pastime. Admittedly the electorates voted mainly against corruption and nepotism not only of the SLFP but also to the 'holier than thou' established Left. But is it also not possible that the people, especially the young people, who have now the education and therefore the means of examining the issues voted against the concept of Socialism itself? They have seen how the SLFP/LSSP/CP brand worked in Ceylon. They also know how the socialism works in other countries. They also see that the one socialist country where the individual means something, Yugoslavia, the trend is towards more Private Enterprise. This trend is even evident in China.

Why then the excuses? Socialism has been rejected in favour of Private Enterprise. Whether the people will look at it again 5 years hence depends on the performance of Private Enterprise guided and supervised by the present Government which hopfully will free itself of corruption and nepotism.

J. W. B. Perera

31, Gunasekera Gardens,
Nawala, Rajagiriya.
9th August 1977

• Christian Cremation

Sir,

Isn't it surprising that a simple objection like cremation should have "shaken the very foundation of the belief of some Christians in the resurrection of the body?" (Tribune, July 2, 1977, pg. 19) That foundation must have been built on very soft sand indeed! What would they say if one were to trot out the case of human beings devoured by wild animals, by sharks, or cannibals? It looks as if those Christians innocently believe that the dead bodies will remain intact in the graves and won't turn into dust till the day of final Judgement.

What does "Resurrection of the body" mean? That your body and mine and the bodies of all men—in whatever manner these bodies will be disposed of—will be restored to us renewed, endowed with spiritualizing characteristics unknown to us in this life.

There is no unsurmountable difficulty to it if we believe in an Almighty God. He who can create, can surely restore.

Is it more remarkable that I should be restored, body and soul, to a renewed existence than that I should have come into being at all from complete non-existence? Which is more difficult? Custom makes the second event appear easier, and lack of present experience makes the other appear impossible. But a moment of reflection will undeceive us.

So that the real question here is not: "Can the resurrection take place?" For the believer in God, the question is pointless. The real question is: "Will it take place?" To this God has deigned to reveal his positive, marvellous, consoling answer.

The difficulty with cremation, as with all other difficulties which seem to us, with our limited knowledge and intelligence, almost insuperable, are no difficulties to the omniscience and omnipotence of our Heavenly Father.

C. Iannaccone, S.J.

Deniyaya.



Confidentially

On The Left Debacle — 4

IS IT NOT A FACT that the Sri Lanka Vimukthi Balavegaya led by Prins Gunasekera was the first party of the Left which commented on the outcome of the election results? That the SLVB, readers will recall, had decided to keep out of the elections because of the absence of a "genuine" Left Front extending from the Old Left (the LSSP and CP) to the New Left (JVP)? That Tribune had referred to and commented on this statement of the SLVB? That immediately after the election results were known Mr. Prins Gunasekera had issued a new statement? That the Daily News report of the statement with the heading ULF DEFEAT: INDICTMENT AGAINST MARXIST HEADS read as follows:

"The total rejection of the Left at the polls was an indictment against the leaders of the Marxist parties, former MP for Habaraduwa and Secretary-General of the Sri Lanka Vimukthi Balavegaya, Mr. Prins Gunasekera, said yesterday referring to the debacle suffered by the LSSP, CP and the People's Democratic Party at the general elections. Mr. Gunasekera, who did not contest the Habaraduwa seat which he held for many years in Parliament, told the Daily News that the so-called United Left Front was got up just two days after the Communist Party left the SLFP government. What was the reason for the sudden decision on the part of the CP to join a United Left Front after it had covertly agreed to the perpetration of an emergency which had repressed all freedoms of thought, expression and behaviour? He said that both the LSSP and CP were confederates in a crime perpetrated against the people of Sri Lanka by the Sirimavo Dias Bandaranaike government. The crime which they were involved in was a crime that extended for six years under an emergency which lasted exactly 2156 days and for the maintenance of which the Sirimavo Government had to spend a minimum of Rs. 2,156 million and this vast sum of money was spent while the greater masses of this country were starving, languishing without shelter. Did the so-called United Left Front which included the Samasamajists and the

Communists make any protest? Mr. Gunasekera said the workers and peasants of the country—mainly the youth—had in no uncertain terms lodged their protest against the so-called United Left Front. They were not inspired by the leadership of those two parties which even took away from the workers the right to strike and the leadership of the LSSP and the CP in their own wild dreams sought for a mandate among the same youth and were totally rejected. The so-called United Left Front composed of its present leadership has Mr. Gunasekera in this country, sekeru said.

IS IT NOT TRUE that Mr. Gunasekera's statement indicting the Old Left did not come as a surprise to the politically knowledgeable as well as general public? That it was known that the "Old Guard" LSSP leadership had objected to any "unity" with the Rohana Wijeweera wing of the JVP? That it was only with great reluctance and tremendous pressure from the CPSL and PDP that the LSSP agreed to take Wijeyasekera (MVP) and Dharmasekera (PJP) under the ULF umbrella? That the SLVB issued a further statement to the Sunday Times as follows: Mr. Prins Gunasekera, ex-MP for Habaraduwa, said the excitement and carousal over the election victories might blur the true significance of the people's verdict, which might be misinterpreted and misunderstood. It was a total, categorical and unambiguous rejection of the power-crazy ruling clique of the SLFP, LSSP and CP—the so-called anti-UNP coalition. This verdict of the masses is not to be confused or branded as a rejection of the entire Left movement of this country. On the contrary, it is a massive protest, particularly by the socialist-oriented youth against the betrayal of their aspirations by the established leadership of these three parties—the negative vote against a tired and politically decadent leadership that had failed—failed to solve any of the basic problems of the day but succeeded only in coining slogans such as 'Pesalaji thel enava—Haththa Hathay Api Enava'. It is not that the Left movement has failed. It is only that the traditional leaders of the Left movement the same old faces of the so-called ULF have failed. As early as 1971 I foresaw it and appealed to these eminent line-men but they were too power-drunk to hear me. An honest, compassionate and truly humanistic leadership fully committed to the task of a socialist

transformation is the need of the hour. Let not the Left movement lose heart. The failure of the present Jayawardene regime to bring about this anticipated socialist transformation will be the occasion for the victorious emergence of a New Left with new young and an energetic leadership. Let the socialist forces of this country shed their sectarian, divisive tendencies and unite to shoulder this national responsibility. The vanquished leadership can draw their pensions under the hurriedly-passed Parliamentary Pensions Act.

That the SLVB analysis of the debacle of the Left refers only to the surface manifestations of more deep-seated maladies? That Mr. Gunasekera is not able to resist the temptation to resort to pseudo-populist arguments to buttress his contentions? That Mr. Gunasekera pleads for the New Left with romantic fervour? That he does not analyse what this New Left really is and whether it is a Left steeped in Marxism-Leninism or is merely inspired by idealistic emotionalism under the garb of "Lefism" and "Socialism"? That the time has come to examine the claims and pretensions of the parties and groups called the New Left? That it is necessary to have in-depth analysis to find out how much of their energetic enthusiasm stems from frustrated nationalism and how much (if any) from true socialist ideas? That it will be interesting to find out if the New Left has had opportunities to learn Marxism by studying Marx's works in the original? That the word "Socialism" has in recent times been applied to every kind of revolt and it is often difficult to know whether the New Left is "Left" at all? That it is easier to spot the betrayal of Socialism in the Old Left than "genuineness" of the Leftism of the New Left? That the SLVB (and many others) seem to take it for granted that everyone even remotely connected with 1971 is a sincere, genuine, honest and dedicated socialist revolutionary? That if history has one lesson it is that every insurrection, revolt and insurgency has genuine revolutionaries (and true socialists) mixed up with a jumble of rogues, scoundrels and police agents (and the latter group are usually able to get to the top of leadership hierarchy)? That Time alone will show how genuine or socialist are the different segments of the broad sweep known as the 1971 New Left?

Retain Your
Original Documents
And Submit

**EXTRA COPIES
OF**

LETTERS
CERTIFICATES
DEEDS
INVOICES
PLANS
SURVEY DRAWINGS
BOOKS

Rapid Service

with

Latest Photocopying Equipment

STUDIO TIMES

TIMES BUILDING

COLOMBO-1.

TEL: 21331

**Make
A United
Sri Lanka
Possible**

On the Basis of

EQUALITY

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

SPACE DONATED