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Letter From The Editor

EVEN A CHILD CAN CHARM A SNAKE, EVEN A VICIOUS COBRA, as the picture on the cover will testify. But human passions are worse, infinitely worse, as the events of the last fortnight in this island have demonstrated. Sad and unfortunate events have taken place in many parts of the island. Some lives have been lost and many persons have been injured. Several hundreds have been subject to assault. Very great damage has been done to property. Many thousands have been humiliated and have been forced to run away from their homes. All this has meant a serious dislocation in the ordinary course of life and an even more serious disruption in production. But, the outbreak of violence and lawlessness is undoubtedly a serious setback to the plans of the Government to step up production immediately. And the Government also had plans to resolve the most important political problem confronting the nation, namely the problem of the Tamil minority, without any delay. Though the eruption of violence was motivated (we use the word "motivated" deliberately) to destroy the chances of a political settlement of the Sinhala-Tamil problem for all time, yet as we had anticipated in our last issue in this Editor's Notebook (written before it was known that designing persons had exploited communal passions to trigger a mini-holocaust in many parts of the island) we had stated that the Government could use the "civilian-police" clash in Jaffna "if it was so inclined..... to win over the Tamils and the TULF for a Sinhala-Tamil friendship on a new basis." With the realistic, humane and statesmanlike statements and actions of the Prime Minister we believe that the chances of a reasonable settlement are even greater now than before although the fears and passions that have been stirred up will complicate matters in a number of ways. This is not the time to have interim post-mortems as to how it all began as a "police-civilian clash" in Jaffna and had escalated into a anti-Tamil communal conflagration all over the island worse than the 1958 communal riots. The devastation caused in some of the plantation districts will disrupt tea and rubber production for a long time. The humiliation, suffering, loss and deaths suffered by the Tamil community—the Jaffna Tamils, Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils—have created scars that will not be easy to remove. Apart from the anti-social and criminal elements which went on the rampage to loot and rob under the smokescreen of communal passions, it must be recognised that false rumours based on the "clash" in Jaffna in the context of TULF bombast, braggadocio and rhetoric about a "separate state" aroused large numbers of unthinking sections of the Sinhalese masses (especially those still smarting under the defeat suffered by the SLFP and the ULF) to wreak vengeance on the Tamils for the victory scored by the UNP. Reports indicate that the rowdy elements which had indulged in these acts of violence (including the looters and freebooters) had told the Tamil victims that they were being punished for helping the UNP to win the elections. The anti-UNP political motivation was made amply clear although the excuse for Sinhala fury was the alleged torture and killing of Sinhalese in Jaffna. It is not proper to anticipate what the Commission of Inquiry will discover about the cause of the "clash" in Jaffna—who took the law into their hands in the first instance, the police or the organisers of the carnival? And, in any case, the whole thing has become only a matter of academic interest. The Prime Minister in his statement in the NSA on August 18 gave the TULF leaders some very salutary advice that it was foolish to make inflammatory and provocative statements in Sinhalese areas. (It is time that they stopped such rhetoric in the Tamil areas as well). The PM told them that if they wanted "war" they should make it a war, but that it was foolish to play with words that brought suffering and hardship to thousands of innocent people who were not ready for war or anything even close to war. The TULF will be well-advised to launch its campaign for a separate state only when it is ready for a war of separation and not let electioneering rhetoric get the better of discretion and prudence. It is one thing to talk about the pressure of ultra-extremist youthful slogan-shouters but it is another thing to enter a war to divide the country. Some of the TULF slogan-shouters may raise bloodthirsty slogans that has happened recently demonstrated that the two "nations" had to separate, but they will now find that there are fewer Tamils today who are prepared to join a war for separation under the simple-minded amateurish, and rhetoric-obsessed TULF leadership than a short while ago. Small children, who know the art, can charm snakes, but children who don't should not play with cobras or vipers. Politics is a more dangerous game than charming snakes, and the TULF, as we have often said, has a great deal to learn about the kind of politics it seeks to play.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

● Communal ● Way Out?

Colombo, August 24,

When we referred to the police-civilian clash in Jaffna in this column last week we did not know that the flames of a communal carnage had been lit a few hours before we had completed our note. By the time the last issue of *Tribune* was out—the paper was out in time but the entire system of postal and news-agents' distribution has been disrupted and many readers have still not got their copies—the country was in the throes of an anti-Tamil communal violence of a magnitude not seen or known before. (It can well be that the number of dead may be less than in 1958 but the destruction of property and the displacement of persons—temporary and permanent refugees—is far greater than it was 19 years ago. Vast quantities of the loot have been recovered, it is reported, but this is of little consequence so far as the overall national perspectives are concerned.)

Before critically examining the anatomy of this communal violence—we discussed the anatomy of the post-election violence in our issue of July 30—we must mention a few inescapable conclusions that must be taken for granted as basic assumptions in making political decisions as well as mapping out political strategy in the immediate and foreseeable future.

First, every "clash" in Jaffna in which Sinhalese are involved will set in motion a chain reaction of communal violence against Tamils—Ceylon and Indian—living in all parts of the country. It is not necessary to enter into a detailed examination of the reasons why this is so or who has been responsible for this state of affairs—future historians can look after this part of research—but it is necessary that Tamil leaders (especially the TULF leaders) and Sinhala leaders (of all parties including the Left) should have this assumption in their minds until the situation is radically changed by the combined efforts of all political parties and socio-cultural-cum-religious organisations and leaders.

Secondly, that the right of free speech and the democratic right of free expression are not absolutes that exist in a vacuum but rights that must be exercised in the context of realities. Even according to the classical concept of the right of free speech in a world where the rule of law prevails (also as an absolute concept), the right can be exercised only so far as it does not violate any other law. One basic law is that anything likely to cause a breach of the peace is taboo. The TULF can explain, until the heavens drop, that they were only exercising the democratic right of free speech in asking for a separate state, but it is well to remind them that according to the law "separatism" is "sedition". The fact that the Government permitted this youthful exhibitionism of "sedition" is no reason to argue that the demand for separation is only the exercise of the democratic right of free speech.

By normal standards obtaining in other parts of the world, parties and groups that have launched a real fight for separation and liberation go outside the pale of parliamentary politics and play the game according to the rules that presently govern wars of national liberation. The TULF's attempt to have the best of both worlds—and to eat the cake as well as have it—can create complications such as we have witnessed in the last fortnight. If it is to be a war of liberation, the logistics have to be worked out and one of the most important matters to be resolved is about the fate of the Tamils gainfully employed outside the Jaffna peninsula. To enter into a war of liberation with so many hostages in vulnerable areas is romantic day-dreaming. Another consideration that must weigh heavily with those who want to fight a war of liberation is whether the support among the Tamils outside the Jaffna peninsula is adequate to launch such a war.

A correspondent in this issue argues, with customary Tamil causticity, that even the votes scored by the TULF outside the peninsula gives the TULF a "plebiscite" right to plead for Eelam. It is all very nice and sweet to juggle with figures and propound untenable conclusions but in this instance, whilst the TULF got a 70% mandate in the Jaffna peninsula they did not get such a mandate

in Tamil speaking areas outside the peninsula. And, there is no doubt that the mere thought of separation or the creation of an Eelam is anathema to the Sinhalese and the overwhelming majority of the Tamil-speaking Muslims and Indian (Tamil) plantation workers.

In such a situation, for the TULF to make a melodramatic show of moving an Amendment to the "Throne Speech" (now described as the Statement of Government Policy) wanting the Government to concede Eelam is an attempt to exercise the democratic right of free speech only having a eye on the demagogic need to keep youthful fanatics in Jaffna happy without taking into consideration the realities of the position of the Tamils in the rest of the island. The TULF leaders must also realise that, as of today, the economy of the Jaffna peninsula is very much dependent on the gainful and lucrative employment of Jaffna Tamils outside—a large number in Sri Lanka and a very much smaller number outside the country. Do TULF leaders know that 58% of the Ceylon Tamils live outside the Northern and Eastern provinces and that less than 2% of Sinhalese live in the North and the East. If they don't, it is time they did.

The TULF (and before them, the FP) have talked for years in the vacuum about "federation" and "separation" without taking even the first steps to develop economically—in agriculture and industry—through private enterprise the areas in the North and the East which the TULF regards as the traditional homelands of the Tamils. Instead, TULF and some Tamils have argued vociferously for Tamil Eelam on public platforms, in parliaments, in newspapers and in Colombo drawing rooms whilst those of them who could invest private capital for development did so only in the developed parts of Sinhala South Ceylon and not in the future Eelam. This makes the exercise of the right of free speech to plead for Eelam a mockery.

Without merely talking about Eelam as a conceptual absolute in a remote vacuum, the TULF will be well advised to resolve the problems of the Tamils and other minorities within the framework of the "just and fair" offer being made for the first time by any ruling party. In the *Tribune*, we have carried

Tamil Minority Problem

a full page advertisement for several months now about the creation of a united Sri Lanka on the basis of democratic rights and freedoms. This space has been paid for by group of Ceylonese (we don't like the word Sri Lankans) from different communities (Sinhala as well as Tamil) who are anxious that country should avoid communal halocausts such as the one we have just witnessed. We carry the advertisement this week also.

It is not for us to preach to the TULF, or the UNP, or the ULF or anybody, else but we have the right to point to the two conclusions we have so far made as being something which must be cogitated upon by all interested in the future of the country.

There are also other conclusions which are inescapable.

The third conclusion is that the majority community, the Sinhalese, cannot run away with the idea that with a 1958 or a 1977, the Tamils can be subdued and subjugated into accepting a subordinate role as second class citizens in this country. Such attempts to keep a national minority in permanent communal subjection will boomerang on the majority community because it will make national economic development a mirage—as it has been ever since independence (the Tamil minority problem stands unsolved from that time). Without resolving the Tamil minority problem it is futile to talk about the rule of law, democratic rights and a just and fair society.

The fourth conclusion which must taken into consideration is the new attitude the UNP has taken in regard to the demands of the Tamils, including the emotional demand for the still-romantic concept of Eelam. Elsewhere in this issue we have published the statement made by the PM, J. R. Jayewardene, in reply to the adjournment motion moved by TULF leader Amirthalingham. We also cite below the statement made by the Leader of the House, R. Premadasa, in winding up the debate on Tuesday, August 23.

"There are no second class citizens in any community. We have had no choice in the selection of our nationality. These have been mere accidents of birth. So we should all live as equals," he said. Disclosing that there is a tragic situation in the country, Mr. Prema-

dasa said: "If we handled the problem in the manner the last Government did, by now half the country would be in jail." Explaining the reasons why the Government did not enforce Emergency Regulations, Mr. Premadasa pointed out that there were members in the Government ranks who have known the horrors of incarceration. Mr. Premadasa said that there was a complete breakdown in discipline in this country. Family bandyism had invaded even the armed forces and the judiciary. "Why was the Emergency used so long" he asked "was it not used to harass the people?"..... "There are three factions who are directly involved in the present situation: Criminal elements, Communal elements and Defeated Political elements. We have a common duty to see that these factions are not allowed to carry on. We may have our own poli-

tical attitudes. But this type of behaviour cannot be tolerated. I would invite the Leader of the Opposition to read the policy we have outlined for the Tamil-speaking people. I must tell him that we have also been given a mandate and we will never betray this mandate in any circumstance. The Leader of the Opposition related past history. But times change and so do the representatives of the people. We have a new environment. We must march forward and create new history. The member for Gampaha is prepared to follow our leader to usher in a righteous society. That proves he is a progressive. His speech is a slap in the face of the leader of the SLFP.

Sir, there has been a complete breakdown of discipline in this country. We had to live with this type of thing for some time. The ex-PM is not here. Why is he

AN APPEAL

BY

TAMIL RESIDENTS IN COLOMBO

For over a hundred years the Sinhala and Tamil peoples have lived together as brothers; their leaders have worked together to win freedom from colonial rule. A united Ceylon was their concept, and a division of the country never crossed their minds. In more recent years certain discriminatory Government measures have affected the Tamil speaking citizens adversely, causing resentment, frustration and despair; no endeavour was made to resolve this. Out of this was born the desire to separate.

The present government in its policy statement, and in the speeches of the Prime Minister, and the Leader of the House in the National State Assembly has recognized that these grievances are real and just, and have shown a sincere desire to resolve them so that National unity and harmony may not be impaired. The Leader of the Opposition in the National State Assembly has stated that the Tamil People desire to live in peace and with self-respect, and that a negotiated settlement is feasible.

We are greatly encouraged by these statements.

We urge the Sinhala and the Tamil speaking peoples to support these initiatives to resolve these problems through negotiation. We call upon the people of all communities to completely and permanently eschew violence which has been responsible for the tragic loss of lives and property of innocent persons, and to work towards a political consensus based on mutual understanding and respect for human rights,

Rev. James Mather, Dr. R. Pararajegaram,
Dr. W. D. Ratnavale, P. Navaratnarajah,
P. Karalasingam, V. Sivasupramaniam, P. Na-
gendran, Anton Muttucumaru, V. Manica-
vasagar, James T. Rutnam, J. K. Ratnapadan,
A. C. Nadarajah, M. Rajendra, M. Rajanaya-
gam, S. Sellamuttu

A very large number of Tamil residents in Colombo have initiated and endorsed this statement. Their names are not included for lack of space.

not here? I would have liked her to be here to listen to what we are saying. At Attanagalle and Veyangoda we remember how she treated us. She wanted to make Attanagalla a pool of blood while here and abroad she was talking of peace zones. What is the situation in the armed forces? Family bandyism extended to this place too. It invaded even the judiciary...."

Students of political history know that statements such as these have not come from political leaders of the Sinhalese community at any time before, and these statements are being made regularly and consistently by all UNP Ministers and MPs now (with a few understandable exceptions) in spite of the undoubtedly indiscreet, imprudent, abrasive, provocative and even inflammatory speeches by Amirthalingam and certain other TULF leaders. One has only to read the Hansard of the period (1956-59), 1961 and 1965 when the language question and the communal question were debated to know the difference. There is now a new, healthy and welcome tone, consistent with the new JR programme of the UNP, running through the speeches of all UNP speakers. To the credit of J. R. Jayewardene, it must be said, that he has brought a new spirit into the UNP parliamentary group on the communal question. The TULF and the Tamils will be well advised to make the best use of this mood in the UNP before it is exhausted by TULF intransigence or is lost in frustrated inaction caused by the sectarian machinations of parties opposed to the UNP.

The fifth conclusion which must be taken note of is there is growing and increasing trend among the Tamil community to bring pressure on the TULF leadership to adopt Tamils and pursue policies which are pragmatic and realistic. In the face of earlier Sinhala refusal to pay any head to Tamil demands for equality, at least equality of opportunity—in language, in university education, in employment and a host of other "little matters"—youthful fanatics had been driven to ask for separation and to talk in terms of terrorism to achieve "national liberation". The blank wall that the SLFP and the UF had presented to the TULF (on the ground that the FP, TULF, the CWC and all Tamils were "reactionaries") had driven even conservatives and

moderates like Chelvanayakam to endorse formally the demand for a separate state. This endorsement had been made without working out the details of the viability of such a state, the logistics of how separation could be achieved in the realities where 58% (at least) of the Ceylon Tamils live, work and earn their livelihood outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces. In view of the total unpreparedness of the TULF in regard to the mechanics of establishing or running a separate state, it is obvious that for the leadership of the TULF and the vast majority of its supporters the separate state was not a concrete or serious proposition—it is was no more than a bargaining lever. And the TULF has now been foisted on its own petard.

The time has, therefore, now come for the TULF to reconsider and review the whole question—in the light of the present position of the UNP, in the context of the "advice" given to the Prime Minister by the Buddhist Hierarchy to accord "equality" to all languages and religions in the island and the compelling impact of the common sense inferences to be drawn from the events of the last fortnight.

This trend within the Tamils was reflected in Amirthalingam's speech in winding up the debate for the Opposition on Tuesday, August 23 in which he stated:

"...Not only are we denied our normal right. Even our right to live has been denied us..if good intentions cannot be translated into action, then there is no purpose in good intentions. That is why the Tamil people have given us a clear mandate to seek a separate and independent life which had been denied them since 1619. We tried our very best to live in a united Sri Lanka like brothers but we have failed. All our efforts have been turned away. We are still prepared. We are trying to explore a peaceful solution. If we cannot find such a solution do you expect us to accept bondage to accept second class status in this country, and take it with our heads bowed. It cannot be so. Hence our request to separate and live our own lives and settle our problems in our own ways. That Sir, is our case....."

It is to be hoped that the TULF leadership will review the situation. In a recent article, (vide *Tribune*,

20-8-77) our regular contributor on Tamil affairs, James T. Rutnam, had made a fervent plea that in view of the change of attitude in the UNP, the TULF should review and reconsider its demand for an immediate Eelam. Before, such a reappraisal could take place, the biggest communal holocaust of all time erupted making matters more complicated. But, out of evil, good often emerges, and there is no reason why it should not be so in this case too.

Sixth, it must also be stressed as an important conclusion that it is foolish and futile to hark back to old history to justify current policies or explain present demands. There is no use arguing about the ethnic origins of Vijaya or his wives, or about the the Chola incursions into Ceylon. To talk about the three kingdoms at the time the Portuguese came to this island to justify Eelam today is as unrealistic as to wax indignant over the policies since Independence which had reduced the Tamil community to a second class status. What is important is to take realities as they are—untainted by wishful thinking

Left Debaacle

Two Statements

— ULF and CPSL —

The United Left Front (ULF) published a somewhat lengthy statements about August 10 and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL) issued an even lengthier statement in the form of a small booklet on August 14, 1977. Both documents will be published in the *Tribune*. Comments, criticisms, and constructive (and concrete) suggestions on the basis of these two statements will be welcome from our readers. We ourselves will offer our comments mainly to provoke thinking to help promote the growth of a new, resurgent, dynamic and dedicated Left Movement with a born-again leadership, that will avoid all the pitfalls and fleshpots that brought disrepute and electoral defeat to a Left that had played a dazzling part in the politics of this country from 1936 to 1970.

Communal Conflagration

or electoral demagogy—and work out solutions on that basis.

The Tamils must look for possible allies among the Sinhalese and avoid the stupid strategy so far used of lumping all Sinhalese as "enemies". There are many such allies and their help must be obtained to get just and fair solutions to the immediate problems. The Sinhalese, on their part, must make it possible for those Tamils who believe that Sinhalese and Tamils can live in this country as equals in brotherly partnership to make their presence felt in Tamil areas. (This cannot be done through the kind of patronage politics indulged in by the United Front and the SLFP after 1970 but by conceding democratic rights, granting Tamils equal rights *de facto* and *de jure* guaranteed in the Constitution.

A great deal of history has been recently twisted and slanted to support hair-splitting legalistic arguments for and against a separate state. History cannot be part of an advocate's brief. Amirthalingam's history is as cock-eyed, fallacious and lopsided as E. L. Senanayake's strange intrusions into history. It is time that we left this kind of ancient history behind and got down to finding solutions to the problems as they exist. The past must be allowed to look after itself. It is the present, as it exists, that is relevant.

Finally, even post-mortems about how it all began should not be allowed to come in the way of resolving major problems of immediate urgency. The trouble in Jaffna may have started as a civilian-police clash without communal overtones. But there are differences of opinion as to how the little "clash" in Jaffna exploded into a big conflagration there. Some feel that the police were boorishly impatient and that they felt that their self-respect was at stake. Others say that the abrasive and ill-tempered shouting Amirthalingam indulged in, when speaking to a senior police officer, led to the much talked-about assault by the constable. The Commission of Inquiry which the Government will appoint can go into this and more, but the TULF, the UNP, the SLFP and the ULF must sit down and work out a just and fair solution that will make a communal holocaust impossible again. If this is not

done, the economic development of the island will not be possible.

For the Government, there are certain important lessons it cannot overlook. It is clear that the Government was caught napping. It did not know the magnitude of the events that had overtaken the country. At first, it was thought that the events could be contained to the peninsula. The first news about any "trouble outside came late in the evening of Tuesday, August 16. Within two days, even before the NSA met on August 18, the police-civilian in Jaffna clash had become the most serious communal conflagration of all time in many parts of the island in Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, Dambulla, the whole of the NCP, Kandy, Colombo—and soon it spread to the whole country. Even if looting, arson, beating, assault and killing were committed only in "some parts of the country", as the official communiques state, panic had spread and led to the total displacement of over 30,000 or more Tamils, persons now virtually reduced to the position of "refugees".* In certain planta-

tion districts, workers from estates were driven out and they had to seek refuge in safe asylums in towns. It is a sad and sordid story, and it must told, some day, soon. It cannot be termed as EMERGENCY 1977 because the government, very wisely, did not declare a State of Emergency (and give unlimited powers to some people who would undoubtedly have misused them).

Another factor of great significance is that planned and organised reports of Tamil attacks on Sinhalese were spread through the length and breadth of the country by means of whisper and rumour within a matter of 48 hours. Before the Government was even aware of what was happening every nook and corner of the Sinhala areas in the country was informed that Sinhalese constables, civilians, and monks had been massacred in Jaffna (and in the Tamil areas) and that they had been mutilated and chopped up butcher-fashion: that little Sinhala children had been murdered: and that all this was being done to clear the North and East for a pure Tamil

***EIGHT POUNDS OF CEREALS.** The Government's decision to issue 8 lbs of cereals on the ration card is a feather in the UNP Government's cap. Whilst the first pound of rice will be free for the non-income-tax payers, the other 3 lbs will be at Rs. 1 a lb. Thus a non-income-taxpayer will be able to get his 8 lbs of cereals for Rs. 5.40 cts every week. There is no limit, at the moment to the quantity of flour a person can buy at 0.60 cts per lb. This has brought down the price of off-ration rice. Income tax payers can buy the ration-book guaranteed 8 lbs of cereals for Rs. 6.40 cts every week.

***BLACKMARKET ENDED.** The blackmarket has ended, in some items sold by the CWE and the Co-operatives as sole monopolies. Textiles, which were being doled out at a few yards per ration book in spite of the large stocks of imported and locally produced textiles, could be obtained only in the blackmarket which was obviously being kept supplied through leakages from the State agencies. Today, there is no blackmarket as textiles can be bought freely at the old ration-price in any quantity the consumer may want. The same is true of imported canned fish and a number of other items. Bureaucrats and racketeers in the old regime had developed the technique of pretending to "building buffer stocks against a "rainy day"—and hand out insufficient quantities on the ration—in order to create and feed the blackmarket which was operated in a big way by the new class political traders.

***SLFP'S S. D. BANDARANAIKE.** A bouquet must be handed out to S. D. Bandaranaike for having cut a cross party sectarianism and praised the Government for the steps it has taken to bring down the prices of essential items. The MP for Gampaha has rightly pointed out that the previous government had failed to take steps it could have taken to bring down prices and end other malpractices. The sooner politicians are able to get a consensus of approval (or disapproval) on matters of national consequence over-riding sectarian party considerations, the better it will be for the country. Whilst some matters must be judged strictly by the yardstick of party programme and its manifesto, there are others which must be considered on merits, individually, on the basis of national interest.

state. By the time the Government woke up, the damage had been done and elemental passions roused. Counter government propaganda came late and it was so heavy handed that many Sinhalese felt the PM and the Government were telling lies by hiding the facts in order to protect the Tamils.

The Government has to learn two important lessons. First, that its Intelligence Units have to be streamlined and updated to ensure that the Government is kept informed about any crisis. It is likely that the Intelligence inflows were slow and may have been even distorted. Any Government must know that one of its most important arms is the Intelligence Outfit. The Intelligence Community today more over cannot be confined to the Police or even the Army exclusively.

It is essential in the modern state to have proper "Intelligence" even about the Police and Army from independent sources. That is why in every modern state a comprehensive Intelligence Community has grown up with political scientists, sociologists and other trained personnel at a high level. The old cloak and dagger concepts of Intelligence with stool pigwons and agents provocateurs—they still constitute a small but not so significant section—have disappeared in the complexities and realities of the modern state.

If the Government was properly informed of what was going on—from post-election violence to the Jaffna episode and thereafter to the lawlessness directed the in first instance against the Tamils—it would have known that the whole operation was an anti-government exercise to de-stabilise the Government and bring disruption. It must be admitted that the Government did not have enough time to re-organise its Intelligence Units, but there cannot be any further delay. An Intelligence Community in any country is not a repressive group to operate a dictatorship. It is a necessary part of society to keep the government and the people informed about current development and trends in a country within the perspectives of the policies of the government in power. Governments fall either when the Intelligence Community fails them or if the Government fails to respond cor-

rectly to Intelligence reports which are truthful (as Indira Gandhi is now known to have done).

The second lesson for the Government is that its Information Services failed to cope with the situation. The SLBC and the government-controlled media, like *Lake House* and the *Times*, were no match for the purveyors of the 'whisper cum rumour' propaganda organised by the forces which were out to de-stabilise the Government. Governmental counter-propaganda late is no propaganda at all—even if the government space the truth. Mere denials is not counter propaganda. The main thrust of the rumour-cum-gossip propaganda was to persuade the Sinhala masses that the UNP was "pro-Tamil" and that the Tamils were out to divide Sinhala land into two. This is inflammatory propaganda and even to this day the Government does not seem to have woken to the finer nuances of this propaganda. In the coming weeks *Tribune* will advert often to the question of propaganda and counter propaganda in matters of public importance and national interest.

It is also necessary to draw attention to the fact that up to the time of writing that the SLFP has not issued any statement on the outbreak of racialist and communalist violence. The ULF, though a little belatedly, has issued a statement. Other political groups like the New Left of Vasudeva Nanayakkara, (of MDP, JVP and others) have also issued statements condemning racialism and pleading for sanity. The ULF and the New Left have their own explanations as to why it happened, but they did not go fully into it. Religious dignitaries, citizens' committees, religious and other organisations have appealed for an end to racial violence and for communal amity.

But the silence of the SLFP has been a matter of comment in political circles. Even in the NSA during the debate on the Government's Statement of Policy no SLFP speaker said anything about the communal carnage. This is all the more surprising because many government spokesmen had openly alleged that certain SLFP elements were directly responsible for the communal violence against the Tamils. It was also known that many SLFP and certain "left" SLFP elements had been arrested because they

were involved in the troubles. And even before the NSA session ended the Government had issued a communique that .

"It appears that some people who were in power and have now lost that power have attempted to obstruct the endeavours of the Government to provide speedy relief to the mass of people. These defeated saboteurs are well aware that when the proposed development programmes of Government are launched several lakhs of our people will find employment. Therefore it is the duty of us all not to be misled by such people and act with restraint and careful thought. The Prime Minister proposes to appoint a Commission very early to report on the situation that has arisen in the country, the causes of this conflict and to identify persons who encouraged such a conflict. Further details regarding this Commission of Inquiry will be announced later. The Government solicits information from all those who have knowledge of these acts of violence and looting so that a full investigation can be made.

In spite of all this, the SLFP have been silent. Why?

As we go to press—this issue will be late because of the delays caused by curfew and the disturbances—the situation has begun to calm down. The peak of the emo-

Silver Lining

Prominent Buddhist monks in Colombo are endeavouring to open up buddhists temples in the city as places of sanctuary for those displaced by the current spate of violence. Rev. Narada, Rev. Maddihe Pannaseeha, Rev. Kosgoda Dhammavansa, assisted by the Sarvodaya Movement, have been responsible for arrangements. Sarath Amunugama, Secretary to the Ministry of information, and also the Department of Social Services have also been active on this project for the last few days. Yesterday the Vajirarama Temple began accepting refugees. Emergency facilities including food, bedding, medical care and security are being made available. It is expected that other buddhist temples will follow suit in a few days.

tional passions among some sections of the Sinhala masses seem to be dying down but tensions continue to linger. The fact that the Government has finally seen fit to point to the political motivation behind the disturbances has made many people to sit up and think.

But the counter-propaganda from the opponents of the UNP has already come along the gossip and rumour grapevine—it had been released even before the Government tumbled on to the truth. In an anticipatory propaganda release by word of mouth these mischievous elements have made it out that the UNP had wanted to "punish" the Tamils "a little" with a "little violence" to make them forget Eelam; and that this attempt had got out of hand. How the UNP and the Government will meet this line of propaganda is yet to be seen.

Whilst Commissions of Inquiry sit, the feelings that have been aroused will keep mounting. Human distress and misery among the Tamil victims have reached unbearable proportions. How the damage done to the fabric of the multi-ra-

cial, multi religious people in Ceylon is to be repaired is yet to be seen.

All those who have brought reports about the violence against the Tamils are unanimous that the Police in many places were not only silent spectators of looting, arson and assault but in some instances active participants in the violence. Many observers feel that it was a deliberate and pre-planned. Apologists for the Police say that without an Emergency they did not have the power or the authority to stop such lawlessness. It may be true that the Police had become accustomed to acting only within the Emergency Law that they are incapable of doing anything without unlimited powers. But this excuse seems flimsy and untenable. The Commission of Inquiry must go into all this. But it must be placed on record that in many places the Police have done splendid work.

Tributes must be paid to the Armed Services. But for the units of the three services the economic and socio-political fabric of this country would have been completely destroyed. The clock would have

been set back or two decades at least. (Even now the clock has been set back for many years—unless the Government is able to repair the damage done to human relations and communal sentiments quickly). Army Commander Sepala Attygalle and his men have done a splendid job of work. The Air Force Chief and the Navy Chief and their men have also done equally splendid work in checking the spread of lawlessness. The Tamils were the initial scapegoats but the main target was the Government.

Whatever's one views about the Government, there cannot be two opinions about sustaining a Government elected by the people against such lawless elements whatever their political affiliations. The leader of the House, Mr. Premadasa, in his speech winding up the debate appealed for national unity. (We will publish extracts from his brilliant speech in our next issue—for the record).

Without national unity there is no Ceylon, no Sri Lanka. Without Sinhala and Tamil unity and amity, there is no future for the country.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Aug. 8 — Aug. 12

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;

MONDAY, AUGUST 8: A high-level government probe is being conducted by a team of experts into the oil exploration activities of the last government; preliminary investigations have revealed that the country has spent nearly Rs. 100 million to conduct drilling expeditions at Pesalai and off shore exploration in the Gulf of Mannar. Some of the first measures the government will take to bring down the cost of living according to the Finance Minister are to increase the production of tea, rubber and coconut and liberalise the import of certain essential consumer items, the corrupt monopoly of the CWE and the Salu Sala will be ended and state monopolies will be put in competition with the private trade, he said the present distribution system would be completely re-organised to end corruption; the term 'co-operative' would be scrapped and there will be 'government reatail shops' in its place;

he also said that the government had placed an immediate order to import 500 lorries to increase the transport fleet. The Student's Council of the Peradeniya Campus has said the decision to postpone the opening day of the campus would be an injustice to the students as they had already suffered much. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs has instructed the Deputy Minister to inquire into instances of political victimisation of public servants by the previous government. The powers and functions hitherto enjoyed by over 3,000 People's Committees set up by the previous government have been transferred to the respective local authorities with immediate effect; this follows a decision made by the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction; following this nearly 30,000 members of the People's Committees a majority of whom have been selected on the recommendations of government MP's and their political organisations. A wrong fiscal and economic policy pursued by the last government which caused an unprecedentedly high increase in the money supply of the country contributed in a large measure to the stunning rise in the cost of living of the people according to the Minister of Finance. The Colombo Municipality's city cleaning Program has been put into high gear, on the orders of the Minister of Local Government—CDN. Justices of Peace will in future be appointed purely on merit; political pressure will not be allowed to influence such appointments; a decision to this effect has been taken by the Minister of Justice. The Finance Minister described the work ahead in tackling the financial and economic problems that the government is beset with as a Himalayan task. 'Like Caesar's wife be above suspicion' was the advice given during the weekend to

senior police inspectors in charge of stations by the Police Commissioner. In the last ten years the slum and shanty population in Colombo increased by 40% and today about 57% of the population live in shanties or slums, according to a survey of the city of Colombo in the April 1977 issue of the *Economic Review*—CDM. The government will shortly announce a new package deal for farmers with the objective of stepping up production; the new deal which is being prepared by the Minister of Agriculture will incorporate among other matters, the easy availability of credit facilities, fertilizer, seed material, agro chemicals and a variety of incentive measures. Pakistan has announced the opening of a diplomatic mission at Male, capital of the Maldives Islands. The sittings of the Agricultural Tribunals throughout the country have been suspended until further notice; the previous government set these up to inquire into and settle problems among farmers; informed sources say that the Ministry is reviewing the position of these tribunals and will have to decide whether to continue with this system or scrap it. The Export Promotion and Development Division of the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs has earned Rs. 405.6 million for the first, half of 1977, according to statistics released by the Ministry. A re-allocation of Departments, Corporations and Boards under various Ministries is in the offing—SU. We will not be able to win freedom through parliamentary proceedings, therefore I will use my position as the Leader of the Opposition to achieve freedom for our race. The TULF has not yet decided whether they will accept the position of District Ministers that are going to be created by this government—VK. The TULF is thinking of putting up a Muslim candidate in addition to the Tamil candidate that they have already put up for the by election in Pottuvil and there is a great deal of support for this in the constituency it reliably understood. An additional 3345 persons will be given admission to the university this year—DP. Investigations have revealed that the shortage of fertilizer in the country is due to the fact that about 30,000 tons of fertilizer worth millions of rupees which was imported 4 years ago has been rotting in a warehouse in Hunupitiya. The Deputy Minister of Trade has said that in order to bring down the cost of transport the sale of spare parts will be given to co-ops—DW.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9: A preliminary case-by-case review of all those convicted in connexion with the 1971 insurrection has been undertaken by the government the Justice Minister revealed yesterday. The CMU said yesterday that it feels that unions should be truly democratic and free of control by outsiders as declared by the government, not only in a socialist society of the future but in a capitalist society which prevails in Sri Lanka today. The Minister of Information and Broadcasting has directed that all Sinhala vannams, folk songs, pel kavi and devotional songs be recorded by the SLBC and preserved for posterity. The Ministry of Plantation Industries is negotiating a five-million-dollar loan from the Asian Development Bank to improve the transport facilities of the Plantation sector. Several traditional cures practised by villagers in the Anuradhapura District are now being studied by the Health Education and Publicity Bureau of the Health Department. Representatives of the GMOA and the AMS will meet the Minister of Health for consultation regarding the channelled consultation scheme. A countrywide program to control malaria, which has made a come back in re-

cent years, is to be launched this month; the superintendent of the Anti-Malaria campaign has sought the assistance of many government departments—CDN. The Minister of Fisheries has discovered that a whole fleet of motor vehicles were being used by the Fisheries ministry; he is of the opinion that the shortage and high price of fish was due the fact that the Ministry had more vehicles than boats for fishing. The Minister of Plantation Industries has decided to bring under the control of the State Plantations Corporation and the Janawasama 116,000 acres of tea land which was managed by the Land Reforms Commission Electoral Co-operatives. After many months, milk foods including infant's milk foods are available in the North; numerous complaints about discriminatory treatment meted out to the Tamils living in the North by the previous government fell on deaf ears. A Plan for the production of the island's requirements of twine and hessian bags out of vegetable fibres growing wild in Sri Lanka is being studied by the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs; when implemented the project is expected to provide employment for a minimum of 17,000 persons with lower IQ—CDM. The government has asked the Chairman and all Directors of state corporations and statutory bodies to immediately submit their resignations. Due to indiscriminate political transfers, many schools with facilities are unable to avail themselves if them. The Minister of Finance yesterday re-iterated that it would not do anything to take revenge from 'businessmen close to the last government'. The Minister of Textile Industries has finalised a plan to reduce the price of handloom textiles by 20%. Bribery cases will be conducted against 31 former MPs—DP. The Minister of Telecommunications is making plans to bring the direct dialing system throughout the island soon; it is understood that they will undertake this project at first for the connections to the North of the island. The leader of the LSSP in a statement made about the all party conference to solve the Tamil problem stated that it was too vague and needs much more clarification—VK. The government has decided to allow free passes in CTB buses for all MPs—EN. The government will give top priority to the amendment of the present constitution to enable the appointment of District Ministers, according to high ranking political circles. In accordance with the government pledge to provide better job opportunities, steps are now being taken to decentralise the factories system; this move to transfer functions to local centres would create wider scope for youth who would not be governed under EPF payment schemes and not restricted to manpower hours of work—CO. In a textile warehouse in Moratuwa, millions of yards of cloth has been stored for a long period and most of the cloth has become rotten; the Minister of Industries has said that he had seen this when he visited the place—DW.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10: The Minister of Labour has decided that employment agencies which recruited Sri Lankans for jobs in Arab countries and other foreign lands should ensure that a certain percentage of the foreign exchange earnings of such persons would be sent back to Sri Lanka. Mr. Elanga D. Wickremaranyake, Additional Deputy Solicitor General has been appointed Solicitor General. The Minister of Fisheries, has decided to permit the private sector to import fishing gear on CRA. The Bribery Commissioner has ordered 12 former MPs to show how they had acquired their assets. Galle and Kandy will soon have wholesale vegetable markets; this is one of the

many steps the Minister of Trade will take to bring down the cost of consumer items. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has appointed a six member committee to inquire into the functioning of the Food Department specially with regard to the stocks of food held at present and purchases made during the year 76-77. The Minister of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism has ordered the immediate suspension of the purchase of rice from the PMB for kitchens in the Colombo Port because of the high sand content in it. The government of India will present Sri Lanka with two tube well drilling rigs worth one million Indian rupees this morning at a ceremony to be held at the Department of Irrigation. At a press conference a citizen's task force said that the task confronting the government was one of reconciling developments with environmental protection. In an effort to make the Shipping Corporation the major arm of the proposed Free Trade zone, a comprehensive fleet, of ships will be in operation soon, the new Chairman of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation said yesterday—CDN. The Minister of Education has decided to appoint two high powered committees—one to probe the malpractices in appointments, transfers and promotions for the past seven years and the other to examine university education, school going age and curriculum relating to NCGE & ANCE. The Minister of Health has requested the Minister of Education to increase the intake of students to the medical faculty because of the shortage of doctors in the service; apparently 8000 doctors have left the service in the last six years. The Staff Officer's Association and the Joint Committee of Trade Unions of the Ceylon Fertilizer Corporation have in a joint memorandum to the Minister of Agriculture and Lands urged the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the 'management and corruption' in the corporation since 1970. The Excise Inspector's Union wants the government to hand back the work of the State Distilleries Corporation to the Department. The Minister of Transport will streamline the restaurant car services on the trains, which train travellers consider long overdue—CDM. The Administration of Justice Law is to be repealed; a policy decision on this matter is expected to be made by the government this week. A number of tea export firms in the country are faced with grave problems of liquidity; the inadequacy of credit facilities made available by commercial banks is said to be one of the main reasons for this. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has initiated a scheme whereby the ministry will undertake the cultivation of farmer plots to replace the subsidy scheme which, he feels has been a total failure. The issue of Sri Lanka joining the ASEAN deeply divided the five nation grouping as the Kualalumpur summit ended—SU. The Minister of Plantation Industries is devising a scheme whereby estate workers will be given facilities to start various cottage industries weaving and to engage some of them in paddy cultivation—VK. It is understood that people other than MP's will be given the post of District Ministers; the bill to implement this will soon be introduced in the NSA it is reliably learnt—DP. An urgent supplementary estimate will have to be passed by Parliament to enable continuing pension payments to former MP's. The Salu Sala will release immediately over two and a half million yards of slightly damaged cambric at cost to all welfare societies of corporations and the private sector as well as to school children. The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications has assured the public that he

will reduce the rate for telephone and provides better telecommunication facilities. Haphazard ordering of food cargoes following the short age of flour experienced in December 1st var, without consideration for the unloading and warehousing facilities, had resulted in large stocks of rice and flour deteriorating both in ships holds and the warehouses, according to Food Commissioner's Department. The export of coconut products brought in Rs 412.1 million in February bringing the total amount from exports for the first two months of this year to Rs 82.4 million. All arrangements have been finalised for the annual Essala perahera which will begin this year in Kandy on August 20—CO. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has said that he is devising a scheme by which the price of chillies will remain constant throughout the year; if during the harvest time of chillies dried chillies are properly stored consumers will get chillies at reasonable prices throughout the year he added—EN

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11: Concrete decisions to help the consumer to obtain cheaper food easily, definite steps to democratise the existing political structure and steps to eliminate the abuses of bureaucratic power were taken at the meeting of Cabinet Ministers yesterday; these decisions will be finalised soon; among the decisions taken were; liberalisation of the import and distribution of essential items of food and other consumer goods so that they would be available at fair prices; the position of the Leader of the Opposition in a democratic government to be recognised and that the Leader of the Opposition be provided with an official residence in Colombo and an official car; Municipal and Urban Councils election be held as early as possible; enforcement of rules that the misuse of vehicles by state and corporation employees be brought to a halt; government departments and corporations be authorised to advertise in all national newspapers without exception and also in newspapers of political parties. The 17,000—strong police force is to be streamlined with a view to improving the standards for the prevention and detection of crime. District Intelligence Bureau throughout the island are now keeping a close watch on the activities of extreme left youth movements who were known to be involved in the 1971 insurrection or supported it. The forty eighth and final ship in the queue of food ships outside Colombo Harbour with a cargo of 10,000 tons of flour were cleared yesterday. The half-millions voters who despite the 'popular swing to the UNP voted for candidates of the ULF are a strong base for it's efforts; they are evidence that despite it's electoral set back, the Left is a powerful fighting force which can rally round it all progressive sections of the people, says a statement issued yesterday by the ULF. Over 2500 lbs of garlic which had been spoilt due to it's not being cleared from the CWE stores in time were buried in a marshy land near the Jathika Pola yesterday—CDN. Some records of teachers who were appointed after the dissolution of the NSA are untraceable at the Ministry, officials of the Education Ministry said yesterday. The CMU (Times Branch) has urged the competent authority of the Times of Ceylon Ltd. to appoint a commission to go into the matters that have arisen from the investigations conducted by the Probe Committee. The government of Sri Lanka had received approximately 20,000 tons of rice from the USA under the PL 480 Agreement this year. Tea industry circles are concerned over the drop in the

prices of tea, particularly the low grown at the Colombo Auctions at the last two sales. Priority would be given for the imports of motor spares, raw materials for export-oriented industries and cycle spares said the Chairman of the State Trading Corporation. The promise given by the Minister of Trade in his election campaign that railway workers who had lost their jobs due to the recent strike would be re-instated has now been fulfilled—CDM. The government has taken diplomatic initiatives to summon a meeting of the Non-Aligned Co-ordinating Bureau in New York before the commencement of the next sessions of the UN General Assembly on September 20. It is reliably understood that Air Ceylon is in the red to the tune of about Rs. 50 million in both Foreign Exchange and local liabilities through the years. The LSSP and the CP may merge into what is called a 'single political identity'. The Bribery Commissioner's Department is to submit a comprehensive dossier to the government on the alleged acts of misconduct by highly-played officials during the past few years—SU. Action will not be taken against the CP Secretary in the North, Mr. V. Ponnambalam according to sources in the CPSL. A long distance short wave communication link connecting Colombo with Madurai, S. India will be in operation in December next year said the engineer in short wave communication in this country; once this is established, television through radio can be exchanged by way of cultural programmes between India and Sri Lanka—VK. The Minister of Justice has said that in the new Justice Law, basic human rights embodied in the Charter of the UN. The Deputy Minister of Trade has said that when there is a shortage of onions in the country the Ministry will import Bombay onions—DP. The largest ever consignment of palletised cargo to be shipped from Sri Lanka will be moved later this month when the Ceylon Shipping Corporation freighter m.v. 'Lanka Kirchi' carries a cargo of 6,000 tons of general cargo to Jeddah. A 'one man' Committee will be appointed soon to investigate whether any irregularities had taken place at the Ayurvedic Drugs Corporation and the College of Ayurveda in the recent past. Rubber exports brought in Rs. 231.2 million in the first two months of this year according to Central Bank sources. CO.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12: Employees in the public service have been asked by the Minister of Public Administration to keep clear of politics in their day-to-day dealings with members of the public. The first working committee meeting of the SLFP since the polls debacle is scheduled for Sunday, August 14 at the SLFP Headquarters. The Minister of Public Administration has cancelled transfers of certain officials of the Government Clerical Service Union after the union alleged that these officers had been transferred on political grounds, says a communique issued by the union. Amendments to the statement of government policy will be moved by the TULF, the SLFP and the Political wing of the CWC when the NSA meets on August 18 to debate the policy statement. A second flour mill will be established in an 'undeveloped water front area'. Chairman of the Sri Lanka Flour Milling Corporation told a press conference yesterday; the likely place is Trincomalee—CDN. The nine members of the SLFP-parliamentary group in the NSA will move two amendments to the Policy Statement of the government. The Minister of Trade disclosed yesterday that the Lanka Salu Sala had made huge profits on the sale of imported synthetic textiles; however the profits earned were

not accounted for; a preliminary investigation made has revealed that the moneys amounting to nearly Rs. 4 million had been unjustly misused. The Minister of Local Government has filed three actions in the District Court of Colombo against the 'Times of Ceylon' and certain other defendants; these damages are claimed by him for publishing in newspapers at the Times Building certain defamatory statements allegedly made by Mr. Anura Bandaranaike in 1976 during a by-election campaign. The Tamil People's Movement headed by Mr. Y. Duraisamy, has welcomed the Government's Statement of Policy in respect of the Tamil speaking people and their problems—CDM. Several consumer items, including flour, sugar and textiles, are to come down in price this week; a special session of the Cabinet has been summoned by the PM to decide on this as well as variety of other measures intended to bring down the cost of living. The process of reversing politically-motivated land acquisitions was begun yesterday when a 28 acre plot in Galle was officially handed back to its former owner by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. The TULF Parliamentary Group will meet on August 18 to decide whether the Leader of the Opposition should accept the offer of the Government of an official bungalow and an official car made to him. The PM is likely to move into his official residence, 'Temple Trees' next week. The Minister of Labour has proposed the introduction of a series of new measures labour-wise. A Maldivian sailing craft, with a group of famished and emancipated Maldivian traders was washed ashore on the Beruwela coast on Monday. State Engineers who have not obtained professional qualifications and wish to take advantage of facilities afforded by government to proceed abroad for this purpose, will in future have to enter into a bond to serve the government for at least five years after having obtained such qualifications—SU. The leader of the TULF has sent a letter to all the TULF MP's instructing them not to attend any receptions or functions which MP's usually attend—DP. The Colombo share market which died after the 1970 General Elections has vigorously revived after the July 21 elections share brokers said that a large number of transactions were completed in the days following the election and prices of some commercial shares had been driven to rather unrealistic levels at which buyers were not operating; hence a certain lull in the market had set in after the initial frenzy of the post election period. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has ordered inquiries into the finances and the working of all co-operative societies throughout the country following a spate of allegations made to him of frauds and other malpractices against a large majority of them. The Paddy Marketing Board collected 12,241,785 bushels of paddy in the first five months of this year, according to a board official. The Handloom industry has come to a halt in anticipation of price reductions by buyers; the President of the All Ceylon Textile Weavers Association said that if this state of affairs continued, nearly 250,000 persons who depended on the handloom industry for their livelihood, would be jobless—CO.

FOR THE RECORD

Prime Minister's Statement

- In The NSA On August 18 -

Commission On Jaffna Incidents

PM Tells Tamil Leaders -

- REFRAIN FROM INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS
- 12 MILLION SRI LANKANS ABHOR VIOLENCE
- MORE LAWS TO CURB UNTOWARD INCIDENTS

The Government will appoint a Commission to probe the cause that led to the recent events in the Jaffna peninsula and elsewhere, Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, told the National State Assembly last night. He said the Commission would probe all aspects and also ascertain whether there were sinister forces unfriendly to the Government behind the many acts of arson, looting violence and murder. Mr. Jayewardene declared that the Government would introduce more laws if necessary to curb the present spate of violence. He appealed to all MPs to go back to their electorate and protect the Tamils. He said he had already asked his party branches in Colombo West to go round and do so. Mr. Jayewardene was speaking on the incidents in Jaffna at a special debate following the adjournment of the National State Assembly. At the beginning of sittings Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Leader of the Opposition, said he was moving for an adjournment so that the House could debate the events. The Leader of the House, Mr. R. Premadasa, welcomed the Opposition request and agreed to an adjournment at 6 pm. The Prime Minister said he was happy the Leader of the Opposition had informed Parliament of the events as he too, believed that Parliament was the forum that should be first informed of what was happening in the country. Pointing out that the people should be taken into confidence, Mr. Jayewardene said 12 million people of this country did not approve of what was happening. Only small

groups of miscreants were involved in the looting, murder and arson. This had been a tendency during recent times.

Mr. Jayewardene said: "We are one nation and I am the leader of a Government for the whole country, even the part which the Tamil United Liberation Front wants as Eelam. Though I do not wish to deal with their claim for a separate state at this moment. I declare this Government has been elected to protect all citizens to whichever race or religion they belong. I may ask the Leader of the Opposition and his colleague to be careful about statements they make in the Sinhala areas. I understand that speeches were made in Colombo which under normal law would be considered seditious and inflammatory. The vast majority of the people in this country have not got the restraint and the reserve that Members of Parliament, particularly those in the front ranks, have been used to."

Quoting a recent *Newsweek* interview given by Mr. Amirthalingam the Prime Minister said: "People become restive when they hear that a separate State is to be formed, that Trincomalee is to be the capital of that State that Napoleon said that Trincomalee was the key to the Indian Ocean and that it is going to be the capital of the State. "I do not think that Napoleon ever said that, because Napoleon was an Army Commander. His knowledge of naval strategy was completely blasted by Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1803, and thereafter the French Navy ceased to exist even to this day. I do not think Napoleon made a foolish remark like that. Whatever it is when statements of that type are made and the newspapers carry them throughout the island, and when you say that you are not violent but that violence may be used in time to come, what do you think the other people in Sri Lanka will do? How will they react? If you want to fight, let there be a fight; if it is peace, let there be peace. That is what they will say. It is not what I am saying. The people of Sri Lanka say that." The Prime Minister said he was not blaming the TULF for the incidents in Jaffna nor was he demanding that it drops the plea for a separate state. That could be dealt with in the course of time. But as respon-

sible people they should refrain from making statements that could inflame other communities.

Sun, 19/8/77

I am Prime Minister of the whole nation: J R Be Careful Not To Incite, PM Appeals To MPs, TULF

'Govt. Will Protect All Citizens Whatever Their Race'

The Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene speaking in the National State Assembly yesterday appealed to the TULF leaders and all Members of Parliament not to state anything that would inflame communal feelings but help bring the disturbing situation in many parts of the country under control. He stressed that he was the Prime Minister not of just one section but of the whole country.

He said that 14 persons in various parts of the island were killed up to yesterday as a result of the disturbances. Eight of the dead were Tamils and six Sinhalese. A curfew had been declared in the entire North Central Province from 4 pm yesterday. A similar curfew had been imposed in the Kurunegala and the Matale districts and the town of Panadura. It is not what caused the troubles that matter at the moment. What we had to do now is to take steps to stop this conflagration. Innocent lives are lost not only in Jaffna but in various parts of the country. We should be careful of the words we use" said Mr. Jayewardene. Mr. Jayewardene also disclosed that the Government had decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to ascertain what caused the disturbances. The Prime Minister was replying to the remarks made by the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. A. Amirthalingam who, during the adjournment gave details of the incidents in Jaffna and the circumstances leading to them. The adjournment of the House was moved early at the request of the Opposition in order to discuss the situation in Jaffna. Mr. Amirthalingam stressed that the dis-

turbances in Jaffna were not communal at all though there were attempts made by certain sections to give that impression. It was a police-civilian clash which went out of hand due to the lethargy of the Jaffna Police.

Mr. Jayewardene said that apart from imposing a curfew in many areas the Government had also called out the military. Instructions had been given to them to arrest any person who broke the law. The Government would also do everything within the jurisdiction of the laws to bring the miscreants to book. The proposed Commission of Inquiry would be headed by an impartial person. The person whom the Government had in mind would no doubt be acceptable to all if that person accepted. The Government did not know yet the reasons for the disturbances. They would find out whether there was any sinister force behind the incidents—a force which was not friendly towards the Government and wished to create difficulties to hamper its work. Referring to the demand made by Mr. Amirthalingam that the police personnel in Jaffna be transferred out immediately, Mr. Jayewardene said that the matter was receiving the attention of the Government. He said that he would take action after the reports of the Deputy Minister of Defence Mr. T. B. Werapitiya and the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle whom he had despatched earlier to Jaffna and other areas were received. The Prime Minister said he was glad Mr. Amirthalingam raised the question about the incidents. The Government always believed that the Parliament should be kept informed of what was happening. He said that the people of Sri Lanka should be taken into confidence as there were 12 million people who did not approve of the violence. There were however several miscreants who were waiting for a chance to create violence and indulge in looting by cashing in on situations like this—a tendency which grew over the years. "If we don't check it now, it would be difficult to deal with the situation" he said. Arson or robbery, whether it was done by Tamils or Sinhalese, supporters of TULF, UNP or SLFP were offences and the Government would take the necessary action against them.

Mr. Jayewardene gave detailed statistics of the incidents. In Jaffna the situation was quiet. However, the CTB buses were still not running and the strike at the Kachcheri continued. The curfew had not been imposed in Jaffna at the request of the TULF. However, incidents of Tamil boutiques being attacked and looted had been reported from Matale, Dimbulla, Anuradhapura, Galgamuwa, Narammala Polgahawela, Peliyagoda, Dehiwela, Mirigama and Panadura. He said one Sinhalese person was killed in Anuradhapura and at Galgamuwa three Sinhalese people were killed when a Tamil boutique keeper had opened fire. At Anuradhapura, 12 shops were burnt and 40 shops looted. It is not a happy situation, at all where innocent people are killed," he said.

He did not know whether this was a set plan. This also could be the work of criminal-minded people who took advantage of the situation. They felt that if they attacked a boutique, they would get the sympathy of the people of the area. He said that he would not tell the TULF to give up their demand for a Tamil Eelam. But he would make an appeal to them to be careful of the words used which under the normal law could be construed as inflammatory. "We are still one nation and the Government that was elected should serve all the people. All citizens of the country, whatever the race or religion would be protected by the Government and I intend doing that" said Mr. Jayewardene. Mr. Jayewardene referring to Mr. Amirthalingam's speech said that when statements were made that they would not start a particular campaign just yet but later on to achieve their objectives they should consider how the other people would react. There were instances of Sinhalese boutiques attacked in Jaffna and innocent Tamil passengers attacked on the trains. "Do be careful about the words you use," he appealed. He said that there were Tamil-speaking people living in various parts of the island and he would request all MPs to ensure that they were protected. Mr. Jayewardene said that there were several Tamil-speaking people in his electorate too, who were his supporters and friends and even relatives of Sinhalese people. Many do not want to leave

to a Tamil Eelam. "And I am trying my best to keep them", he said.

He appealed to the TULF: "Let us keep our agitation to non-violent methods and maintain peace."

—Ceylon Daily Mirror, 19/8/77

UTILISING MAHAWELI — I

Priorities, Targets, Personnel, Farming

by R. Kahawita

Mahaweli project is once again in the news. This time its implementation, programming of development and development schedules are being investigated by the Minister for Irrigation and Power as reported in the *Sun* paper of 3rd and 4th August. The whole history of the project from the initial concept to the present stage of development was discussed by me in a series of articles published in the *Tribune* from January 1976.

In the course of my comments, I suggested certain modifications to the priorities decided upon at the time Stage-I was taken up for construction. According to the discussions in the Ministry office, as reported in the *Sun* of 4th instant, those modifications seemed to have been accepted.

They are: delaying the construction of Kothmale Reservoir, a lower Priority to Victoria Falls dam, a higher Priority to Randenigala and the completion of Bowatenne Hydro plant. In this revision of Priorities storage in Ambanganga seemed to have been overlooked; or the Secretary to the Minister who was giving an account of the Progress of works to the Minister may not be aware of the urgency of this storage to take full advantage of the capital expenditure on the Polgolla Diversion. The Secretary cannot be blamed for he has no idea of project planning.

STORAGE IN AMBANGANGA—MORAGAHAKANDE RESERVOIR is very urgent to conserve the

diverted water so that the low level flow of Mahaweli water can be spared for irrigation of Minipe Scheme lower down. As far as I can recollect the designs for this Dam are complete. And there was a French Consortium who offered a loan of 12 million dollars as well as undertake the constructions. If the country is to benefit from the money spent so far it is imperative that this project must be started forthwith. A design unit must be set up immediately to complete and supplement the designs already available, prepare specifications, undertake a materials survey and testing. Collect the necessary machinery and equipment and prepare a construction schedule with a target date to commission the reservoir by 1979. There is no reason why this should not be undertaken by the local Engineers, through one of the State construction corporations. This is within their capacity and competency. It will save foreign exchange for "overseas exporters". Also it will provide plenty of employment to our youths.

There is water now available for 75,000 Acs. of new lands commanded by the channel systems already constructed. It is in the development of these lands that the project is 10 years behind schedule as discovered by the Minister for Irrigation and Power. That is one thing, but we have lost the earnings of 75,000 Acs. for 10 years.

This is a very serious matter because, the expenditure of almost 1,000 million rupees during the last seven years has not given any return on the capital expenditure—This is one cause of inflation in the country. With irrigation water available to irrigate 75,000 Acs. of new land, national priorities must be reviewed immediately and new programmes worked out to fall in line with the Policy Statement of the new Government.

To achieve this, I suggest the following as guidelines, to settle future Priorities and programmes.

TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT:

(A) It is prudent to suspend all new construction works for a period of two years. During this period, studies, investigations and designs for the next stage of development should be completed and got ready for construction in 1979; (B) Complete all the engineering works in hand, concentrating on

such works that are necessary to convey and conserve the irrigation water (a) to the new 75,000 Acs. and (b) to supply water to those areas now cultivated and coming within the command area—These should be completed by mid 1978; (C) Construct the Bowatenne Power Station, if tender documents etc. are ready to award on an international tender basis to be completed in 36 months from the date of award; (D) Set up development units to undertake the complete development of 75,000 Acs. in 1,000 Acs. or tract units each Yala/season, starting in 1978. The minimum target should be 5,000 Acs. per season. Development items to be completed per season are (i) Jungle clearing (ii) stumping (iii) Levelling and ridging (iv) Internal distribution of water and drainage of each unit (v) Ploughing and final land preparation to cultivate each tract unit for the following Maha—Target 5,000 Acs. from Maha 1977/78; (E) Start recruiting the future farmers from September 1977 and send them for training camps—(a) (a) Mahaweli Board Lands, (b) Polwehera Station (c) Maha Illuppalama Research Centre. The training period to be 18 months so that the first batch can be introduced (d) Farmer recruits to be from two groups (1) Educated youth—20 to 25 years of age to be trained as farmers (ii) Peasants from the command area who do not own land of their own and from those who own but below the accepted economic unit under the project. (iii) Take steps to consolidate the old holdings in economic units and resettle those rendered landless in this process in new areas (iv) In selecting the "youth farmers" a process of National Integration must be worked out and implemented (v) the ratio of (i) above to (ii) above should be worked out in detail (F) The farms should be classified into three categories (i) Irrigated (lift) dry farming or Subsidiary food crops (ii) Irrigated wet farming with homesteads part-time subsidiary food crops (iii) Mainly animal husbandry.

EXECUTION Construction of infra structure should be the responsibility of the Board's construction organisation. Development work as indicated in (D) above can be given to private enterprise on the basis of a Turn-key job i.e. to say from the first felling of the

jungle to establishing a crop on the land, including the development of the homestead—the highland and the house. Each entrepreneur may be given about 1,000 Acs.—(an all inclusive guess estimate is about 3 million rupees). This method will involve several contracting organisations, creating many job opportunities to those who wish to have salaried jobs.

UNIT OF HOLDING The unit of holding must be worked out carefully based on the recommendations of the UN agency studies. The main objects of development are to create "a Farming class as indicated in the Policy Statement of the President on the 4th. The income from farming should be adequate to keep the "Farmer" on the land, improve the farm and increase production. The only way the farmer can increase his income is by increased production under the present Land Policies. There is a limit to this—an optimum output. The farmer cannot expand his farm area by acquiring additional acreage. With the limitations placed on his future well-being, the holding must be adequate to give him a minimum spendable income of Rs. 300/- per month on himself and his family, from whatever the farming enterprise he undertakes.

There is another important factor to be considered in fixing the Unit. The new farmer is settled on a working unit, developed and put into production at State expense. The farmer is brought in to reap the harvest. Therefore the farmer should pay back the cost of development of the farm unit and a service charge for the operation, maintenance and management of the irrigation works etc. This should be the first call on his gross income. On a preliminary estimate based on the UN Agency recommendations a complete farm unit with a standing crop on it may cost the State 30,000/-. If it is to be paid back in 20 years, annual capital levy will be 1,500/- or 125/- per month for five acres and a house. In addition a service charge of 5/- per month. This brings his first call on his gross income to 13/- per month—it may be that his gross income may work around Rs. 6,000/- to 7,000/- a year. This should be the financial target to be aimed at when working out the mechanics of farm units.

FINANCING FARM DEVELOPMENT. If the principle of settling the young farmers on a working farm unit is accepted a new scheme of financing the development work may be devised so that State funds will not be used for development. State funds should be used only for "Public Works" only.

One way of financing the development is for the Board to invite the Banks to finance development work, through private organisations to whom the Bank will advance the money as work progresses and on the recommendation or certification of the Mahaveli Board. Once the work is completed and a farmer is put into possession the Bank will enter into a loan agreement with the farmer to repay the loan in fifteen or twenty equal instalments plus interest if any to be charged. The service charge also may be included in the scheme of financing, so that there will be one agency with whom the farmer will be dealing with to settle his liability.

Or in the alternative, create an Agricultural Development Bank, with Private and Public capital, solely for the purpose of financing small scale Agricultural Development. A Banking institution geared to finance agricultural activities can expand its service, apart from the control of loans, and monitoring the use of the loans to actual agricultural work, to provide a very effective advisory and demonstration service to the farmer. This service in operation will become obligatory to the Bank to secure and service the loans to the farmer. One way of seeing that the farmer uses the funds in production rather than on consumption as it happens in most cases now. This will give the farmer's management of his finances a new twist under the advice and guidance of the Bank officials.

The average farmer has no idea of income management, and tailoring his needs to the income he gets for his labour. Unless this aspect is handled by a competent organisation, our farmers will be always subsistence cultivators, ever ready to give his way of life, the first opportunity he gets for a change.

With vast expenditure committed to develop the Resources of Mahaweli, there must be a completely new outlook in farm units,

quality and ability of the new settlers, financing of farm development, types of crops to be grown in the region, agro-based industries to enable the farmers to get fair prices for his crops, and a very aggressive marketing organisation to get the best price for farm produce. The target is a prosperous, satis-

fied farmer, free from indebtedness and independent to remain a farmer and lead a satisfying democratic way of life. This is the security any democratic Government must seek to give the people to justify to be re-elected to power.

(To be Continued)

PLEBISCITE VERDICT?

For TULF

by S. Srikantha

Sir,

Thank you for your letter dated 12th August 1977, regarding the receipt of my article entitled 'An Analysis of Tamil Eelam Verdict.' I have sent this article exclusively to *Tribune*, as I know only your esteemed journal has the courage to publish it and not any other dailies or weeklies published in this island. As I have to be true to the journalistic ethics, I like to point out to you, that the analysis of mine, originated actually, when perusing an article on 'Elections and Eelam' (*The Independent*, Aug. 5, 1977) written by M. Paskaradevan. In contradicting his views, I wrote a reply and sent it to '*The Independent*'. But, up to this date, I haven't received any communication from its Editor, whether he is accepting it or not.

Later, I elaborated my analysis, adding many facts for presentation, and sent it to you. Sir, being an avid reader of your journal, I can feel your difficulty in finding space for assignments pouring in, at your editorial desk. But, you have a bounden duty as a true journalist, to publish the facts, the aspirations of down-trodden 'Second-class citizens' which were revealed in the last General Election. Even, the latest issue of *Tribune* (Aug. 13, 1977) contained a journalistic piece by R. Kahawita, who claims that "TULF stand for a separate Tamil-speaking state—absurd and impractical. Though they have 17 seats out of 22 seats contested, all the Tamil-speaking people are not with them to have a separate Tamil-Speaking State." I feel that, mere statements like this will create a false impression in lot of minds. I have analysed an Opposite point of view to that of Kahawita's one. Now, its up for you sir, to balance the scales, so that your vast reading population, can have a good look on both sides of the problem. You are free to publish this letter along with the article.

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14-8-1977

"One of the major criticisms levelled at parliamentary institutions in Asian countries is that more often than is desirable, a candidate is elected on a plurality of votes which is less than the absolute majority of votes cast" noted Weerawardana in his *Ceylon General Election 1956*.

The reason of course is simple enough. In almost all the constituencies, except that of Kankeesan thurai, more than two candidates

contested the 1977 General Election and many of the M.P.s were elected on a plurality which was less than half the votes cast.

Of the 154 single-member seats, the UNP was victorious in 132. The UNP could muster only 4 seats, with a thumping majority of above 15,000. These are,

Colombo West	—17,938
Moratuwa	—16,874
Ja-ela	—16,252
Colombo North	—15,142

Tamil Eelam?

The irony of the situation is that, Colombo West and Colombo North have a commandable population of Tamil-speaking people. Moratuwa and Ja-ela are urban industrial electorates close to the Capital, and having a large population of Catholics.

The 'so-called' landslide UNP victory, could not bring a single seat (with more than 80% Sinhala Buddhist population), to boast of, with an above 15,000 majority. The party which polled 51% of the total votes polled, had to depend on the minorities (race-wise and religion-wise) to register thumping victories in only 4 seats.

Let us have a look into the situation in the Eelam part, of the island. Five seats of Jaffna district showed their outright support of plebiscite to TULF by returning their candidates with massive majorities, even exceeding the UNP's achievement in other seven provinces. They are,

Nallur	—28,137
Kankesanthurai	—25,833
Manipay	—24,250
Kopay	—22,353
Vaddukoddai	—18,208

In two of these five seats, UNP also contested, but had to suffer the fate of losing the deposits resoundingly.

Altogether, in 15 of the single-member seats they contested, TULF winning candidates polled an absolute majority of the votes. The details of electorate, and the votes polled are as follows:

Electorate	Votes of TULF	Total Votes against TULF
Kayts	17,640	9,137
Vaddukoddai	23,384	9,387
Kankesanthurai	31,155	5,322
Manipay	27,550	5,252
Kopay	25,840	7,630
Udupiddy	18,768	10,815
Point Pedro	12,989	10,302
Chavakachcheri	20,028	11,629
Nallur	29,858	3,584
Jaffna	16,251	12,450
Killingochchi	15,607	5,651
Mannar	15,141	13,211
Mullaitivu	10,261	9,335
Vavuniya	13,821	9,595
Trincomalee	15,144	14,116

These 15 electorates had shown absolute faith in 'Tamil Eelam'.

Only Paddiruppu was the exceptional single member seat, where TULF won, polling 15,877 votes, whereas the total votes polled against TULF were 16,412—meagre

number*of 535 votes going against TULF to tilt the scale of above 50% faith.

In the Northern Province, 'Tamil Eelam' wave swept away all the 14 seats, and majority of the Independents have to forfeit their deposits clearly..

(1) In Kopay, Nallur and Manipay, all the candidates who opposed the TULF nominees were unable to save their deposits.

(2) The contest in Udupiddy was a prestigious one for TULF. Mr. Sivasithamparam, one of the leaders of TULF had campaigned, "Even if we win all the other seats, and lose the Udupiddy seat, it will be the hardest blow for our Front." Of the eight who opposed the TULF, only one was able to save his deposit.

(3) Even the two stalwarts who supported the SLFP in the last Assembly (Messrs Arulampalam and Martyn) paid the penalty for their association and lost their deposits.

Two of the seasoned Tamil politicians of yester year, Messrs V. Navaratnam and V. Kumaraswamy, who pitted against TULF (but claiming, they are also for 'Tamil Eelam'), also lost the battle to TULF stalwarts Messrs K. P. Ratnam and V. N. Navaratnam respectively.

There were some 'rebel' candidates in Northern Province, who came forward as Independents, when they were rejected by the TULF Nomination board. They were, Veeravagu (Point Pedro), G. G. Kumar Ponnambalam (Jaffna), Sandrasegari (Mullaitivu) and John Mark (Mannar). They also campaigned and asked the mandate from the people for 'Tamil Eelam' but they failed to get the mass support.

TULF regained the Mannar seat, which it had lost previously to UNP, in a by-election, after the demise of Mr. Alegacone. Incidentally, Mr. Raheem was the only sitting UNP MP, who had to suffer the defeat at the General Election.

Some cynics may point out that the majorities of TULF in Vavuniya and Trincomalee are not that of commandable proportions. But, we have to accept the fact, these two electorates have a sizeable proportion of Sinhala voters—Vavuniya having 21.10% and Trincomalee (even after the demarcation of Seruwavila) having 23.28%. This shows the potential danger faced

by these two Tamil electorates in the future hustings, due to Sinhala encroachment policy of the past Governments.

Let us look into the seats, TULF contested and lost, in the Eastern Province.

Electorate Votes polled by UNP Total votes cast against UNP (figs. in brackets indicate votes polled by TULF)

Muttur	12,530	15,320 (7,520)
Kalkudah	13,140	16,102 (12,595)
Sammanthurai	13,642	11,220 (8,615)
Kalmunai	12,635	13,015 (7,093)

This shows that, only in Sammanthurai, UNP had gained an absolute victory. The other three electorates have not shown absolute faith in the UNP.

Of the 4 seats, TULF came 2nd in three, excluding Muttur, where it came third; but it should be noted that in Muttur, the margin between the losing SLFP candidate and the TULF man was only 280 votes.

In Kalkudah, the only Tamil candidate to win a seat from UNP ticket, Mr. Devanayagam, narrowly made it by a slender margin of 545 votes. This number might have been the marginal Sinhala votes definitely going against TULF. And J. R. Jayawardene had to campaign vehemently in support of Devanayagam, and even, exactly before one month of the election date, he had to categorically play the card "If you elect Mr. Devanayagam, I'll make him a Minister." Only in Kalkudah, J. R. J. was forced to let the cat out of the bag to enable to register a win for his friend and to save the 'United National' part of his party's label.

Actually, Mr. Devanayagam had a tough time. This can be verified by comparing the number of votes he had polled in 1960 and 1977 respectively. In 1970 Devanayagam polled 11,205 compared to FP opponent's 8,420 and won by a majority of 2,785. In 1977, his majority was slashed to 545, as he was able to increase his strength by 1,935 votes only, polling 13,140. Whereas, the 'fresher' TULF candidate polled a close 12,595. TULF increased its votes by 4,157. Devanayagam was able to scrape through with the help of 545, possible Sinhala votes.

Even in Sammanthurai and Kalmunai, the showing of TULF was not that bad, because it managed to come 2nd, pushing the other national party SLFP, to the poor 3rd placing. Mind you, in Kalmunai, the 3rd placed SLFP candidate was the Member of that seat in the last Assembly. Sammanthurai was a newly carved seat, and here also the SLFP candidate came a poor 3rd, trailing behind TULF nominee by over 6,000 votes.

Regarding the two-member Batticaloa seat, there were two candidates (Mr. Rajadurai and Mr. Kasi Anandan) and both obtained a combined 26,648 plus 22,443, equivalent to 49,091 votes for 'Eelam', out of the total number polled 107,893. The proportion is approximately a little less than 1/2. Ex-Education Minister, Dr. Badjuddin Mahmud, the self-claimed undisputed leader of the Muslims, who contested a seat for the first time in his so-called 50-year span of political career, was pushed to 4th place, and suffered a humiliating defeat. Even the 'young turk' Kasi Anandan got ahead of him. Rajan Selvanayagam, another Tamil MP of the last Assembly who supported SLFP, paid the penalty for his fault and was placed a poor 5th.

The total number of registered voters in Batticaloa were 63,039. i.e. the expected number of votes were 126,078, whereas only 107,893 were registered on the day of decision. Violence erupted during the vigorous campaign, a close relative who was working for the UNP candidate was killed. This incident in fact, would, have diverted sufficient amount of sympathy votes in favour of the UNP Muslim candidate. Another lady, said to be a sympathiser of Kasi Anandan, was also killed. Nearly 9,000-odd voters had not performed their civic rights in fear of intimidation and violence.

It can be seen from the above comprehensive analysis, that 'Thamil Eelam' part of the island, had given their outright verdict in support of TULF. Now we have to wait for the verdict of another two-member constituency Pottuvil, and we will see how it responds to the call of 'Thamil Eelam'.

THOUGHT PROVOKING

Whither Agriculture! Whither UNP!

by A Farmer

In post-Independent Ceylon the emphasis changed from the export oriented plantation agriculture to import substitution food agriculture. In fact, the beginning was made in this direction as early as 1935 when men like D. S. Senanayake launched the restoration of our pristine irrigation system and started to resettle farmers in the Dry Zone. Over the years more and more of our national wealth was transferred to this development.

But despite the phenomenal development over the last three decades the larger percentage of peasants and rural folk still live no better than at subsistence level and the largest percentage of unemployed youth are from the rural sector.

WHY?

The New Government will have to find the answer to this question.

Then the remedies will have to be found and implemented. If the new Government succeeds they would be able to keep most of the pledges they gave the nation. The manifestation of this achievement would be doubling the income of the rural masses and almost full employment in the rural sector. The means to achieve this is undoubtedly via significant and continuous increase in production at the primary level coupled with first, second and third degree processing of the agricultural products at the point of production itself. To support primary and secondary development in the rural sector the third essential component is the rapid development of rural townships which would provide the necessary infrastructure and social amenities to an emancipated population which has moved out of the traditional subsistence economy into a market economy.

In the early years, successive Governments and successive Ministers of Agriculture amongst whom

are illustrious names such as D. S. Senanayake, Oliver Goonetilleke, J. R. Jayawardene, Philip Gunawardene and C. P. de Silva put the accent on production norms apart from settlement schemes with and without irrigation. **The farmers' needs were cared for with provision of housing, subsidised consumables and agricultural services.**

The next major Agricultural era was Dudley Senanayake's Food Drive which was started in 1966. For the first time agricultural programming was decentralised with nine chosen senior Government Agents given this task. Fortunately in the previous regime Felix Dias Bandaranaike as Minister of Agriculture broke the stranglehold of Peradeniya on the Agricultural Sector when he moved the head office to Colombo with Mahinda Silva as Director. Thus Dudley Senanayake's decentralised programme for agriculture was easily effected.

Historically we now know that although the Food Drive was a success in terms of the ideology of going for production targets it failed in raising farmers' incomes substantially. Marketing continued to be a major bottleneck. The middlemen reaped the benefits. The Minister of Agriculture lost his seat and the UNP was also routed in 1970. Then came the darkest era for agriculture, the Hector Kobbekaduwa/Mahinda Silva era. Agriculture was taken back into the fortress at Peradeniya and was laid to rest. The farmer ceased to matter at all. The time and energies of the Agricultural Administrations was spent in taking over estates, in some cases even grabbing land in the name of socialism while in fact the underlying motive was political victimisation and enhancing state capitalism. The rest of the time was spent in institutional empire building, like the APC's.

Many of the APC buildings are still empty although two years old. These two activities were ideally suited to give positions of authority and handsome remuneration to the bandwagon of kith and kin, political stooges and sycophants during the period of the

last Government. Despite what the Director of Land Reform, (Miss Chandrika Bandaranaike) has said in her letter of resignation which appeared in the Newspapers, the fact of the matter is that while she was experimenting with very old practises established in this country and elsewhere, which were tried out in Janawasa and Electoral Co-operative farms, the Political Authorities and their handwagon in the districts ravished and destroyed productive lands which they took over, for personal gain.

Minister Kobbekaduwa was sent packing into oblivion. No doubt his Ministry together with the Ministries of Food and Trade went a long way in contributing to the complete rout of the SLFP.

Surely the Minister must now realise that bureaucrats who hovered around him like blue bottle flies lulled him into the belief that Agriculture was going great guns. Or is it that they played up to his ego? When one looks back at the publicity of the State propaganda machine, the press and radio, and the Minister's own statements from time to time, apart from those of his men in the Milk Board, Livestock Board and Department of Agriculture to the effect of achieving self-sufficiency in so many essential items of food including rice and milk, he must see that he was taken for a ride.

The UNP has inherited these purveyors of Kobbekaduwa/Mahinda Silva ideologies, state capitalists and false propagandists. Agriculture is also firmly esconced in the anti-farmer and anti-decentralisation fortress at Peradeniya. The new Minister is surrounded with these same men who have suddenly taken on various shades of green.

Men who rose to top posts through seniority or political patronage but have no achievements to show are still there. Those responsible for the total breakdown of the Livestock sector continue firmly in their positions of authority. The man who nurtured Farm Grove and Hy-line poultry farms with special livestock feeds while the rest of the livestock sector broke down for the lack of feed is still there and is said to be trying to get a higher post in the Ministry.

Veterinarians are handling crops and agriculture at the highest level of decision making and policy formulation. Tea and Coconut Planters and Surveyors are running the Livestock Board. Those trained abroad work in other fields than those they received training in. How many qualified in Agriculture, Agricultural Economics & Animal Husbandry are at policy and decision making levels in the Ministry of Agriculture.

There are over a 120 research officers reading foreign journals and writing erudite research articles in the pleasant security of the Peradeniya fortress and shielded from the farmers' problems and those of the country at the production frontier. They spend the years in patient pursuit of annual increments, foreign trips, post-graduate qualifications and promotions. The Agricultural Service minute was specially designed to maximise benefits for this type of officer in Peradeniya.

The state farms as a group continue to burden the economy. The directorate spends several days each week on the road attending meetings in Colombo at the Ministry, at other Ministries and Board Meetings of Corporations. The other staff officers travel around the rest of the country on circuit whenever it is convenient to do so such as during school holidays.

The farmers' woes continue. The rains come and irrigation water is released but tractors, tractor spares and buffaloes for ploughing are scarce when most needed. He decides to cultivate a particular crop and then cannot get the seed. He follows the instructions and cultivates improved varieties using better techniques but cannot get the fertiliser or agro-chemicals at the appropriate time. Cattle are imported and sold with a Government subsidy of about Rs. 5000 but the farmer cannot buy the necessary feed. The farmer insures his crop but when it fails he gets into debt because of delay in paying indemnities.

In today's context can a resurgent agriculture and the problems of a million farmers be tackled from a central head office of the Dept. of Agriculture in Peradeniya or from the Ministry in Colombo?

Is this the agricultural set up which is going to usher in a new era of self sufficiency, higher incomes for farmers and more jobs?

WHITHER AGRICULTURE!
WHITHER UNP!

THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT

Of Karl Marx

by— P. Chandrasegaram

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The educator should not be conditioned by negative circumstances; the educator should change circumstances. The truth of society is opened up only for people who are truly alive. In knowing the truth one knows what ought and must be done. Therefore the method of approach in education should not be in fantastic isolation and abstract definition, but in empirical process of development. In other words, education should be the representation of the practical process of the development of man. Children ought to be educated for the present, but also at the same time for a possibly informed and improved condition of man in the future.

The inadequacy of the present society should be recognised, and something better for future society should be foreseen. Human action is necessary to change human events. An active, a conscious and deliberate human effort is necessary to progress the tide of history, the best instrumental strategy to intervene in the process of development in education. The concept of pre-ordained harmony of man should be met by conscious action through education. Man is fully conscious of a new social order; he needs a society in which he could fully participate and involve himself. The world society, inspite of inadequacies is becoming one, where the dignity of man is being realised.

'Act so as to treat man, in your own person as well, as in that of anyone else.'

The struggle of man, the education of man, should create a body-politic, which should free man from the fetters of bondage and class conflict, so that man might

develop as man. The emancipation of man personalises him; it develops his personality; this is done best through education.

For Marx, in action and by participation, in the world of society and history is alone knowledge. All the sciences, education, economics, sociology, history, philosophy, politics and anthropology should be employed in such a way, as to offer an imaginative integrated society and not a segmented and abstracted view of society.

Industrial science should explain life and existence; economic should examine social and human phenomena. This implies that there should be planned intervention, of society in education; the character of the intervention should be scientific to rescue education from intervention of the Establishment. In the new society, education would be for all children and for all. Schools should impart knowledge, which would generate intimacy.

Religion, should not be camouflage of thought, covering up social injustice, human degradation and ideological deception. Marx contended, that in capitalist societies the political structure is determined by the social, educational and religious thought of the period and the functioning of the economic order. Normally, these thoughts distort the dignity and humanity of man, but it is the task of educators who are multi-functional leaders, to consciously create a political, educational, social and economic order, reflecting the peoples thought in totality.

For Marx, aesthetic education, is a pre-requisite for national awakening. Aesthetic activity has psychological basis. Art is produced not by an abstract striving towards beauty—the ideal of beauty, but by a combination of all man's efforts and abilities. Art, has a far reaching effect on different aspects of man's psychological content—imagination, the senses, thought and volition; hence it is of enormous significance to the development of man in moral education, and the formation of general culture. Aesthetic education, is one of the most essential potentials, to a full and harmonious development of personality. Artistic pursuit pre-supposes the corresponding abilities in the sphere of sensation, and perception—musical

hearing, sense of rhythm, discrimination in emotional response and expression.

Marx, urged that, aesthetic ability is not altogether pre-supposed; if it is so, it's educational significance would not be great. All abilities are more formed and more developed primarily in the process of activity. The abilities needed for the pursuit of art are therefore performed and developed in the process of artistic activity. Different children, undergoing the same form of education, manifest widely varying abilities. Aesthetic education has the most immediate influence on aspects of psychic development, which are primarily the effects of the forms and emotional nature of art. Aesthetic pursuits are therefore primarily a school for perception, imagination and feeling. In aesthetic perception, the significance of the sensory form of things, sight and hearing differs from other aspects of perception. What is necessary and important, in everyday perception, is not so much the sight and sound of things as their meaning.

Creative writing pre-supposes, the development of various aspects of perception. Maxim Gorky, one of the best creative writers would say that, perception in totality is necessary and important for creative writing. To describe in words imply portraying, seeing and hearing along with other aspects of sensation. The continuous cultivation of perception, is an essential link in the work of the creative writer. All forms of artistic activity call for both cultivation of senses, and development of such perceptual abilities, as for instance powers of observation.

Aesthetic education, is of importance to general education; by educating the ability to see and hear, art creates the pre-requisites for deepening and extending knowledge of the world. Lenin, in one of his addresses to teachers, has said that, imagination is the creation of the forms, with the material of earlier perception. It plays a vital role in every kind of creative work. It is incorrect to deny the place of phantasy, in any scheme of education; even in the very structures of science, it is important. It is essential to mathematics. Even the integration of differential and integral calculus would have been impossible without phantasy and imagination. In fact the scienti-

sts' creative thought depends on imaginative thinking.

Arts serves life. The children's artistic activity must from the outset, be linked closely as possible with life. Love of art should not obscure life but this does not mean that, a limit must be set, to the love of art. Due to relation, established between art and life, the greatly loved art should be a path to the vista of the world; a window through which life may best be seen; a means of reflecting and expressing one's own impression of life. This, on the educational plane, implies that aesthetic education should form part of general education. Teachers of aesthetics, should primarily be teachers of general education; all teachers should see aesthetic education, as an essential, integral part of their teaching.

Karl Mannheim, says that, "man should have a true consciousness of being—man's historical being and essential being. He should have concrete reality of the present?"

For Plato, the philosophical aim of education, is to banish the shadowy illusion of the dark cave of existence; to establish the light of truth to shine upon life. Plato's ideal of the philosopher—king, the expression of education, stands critical examination. The philosopher—king alone can see the best, can know the best, and the higher vision can be seen by them only.

Marx, sought to erase the previous illusion, and perverted ideology which keeps man in bondage. All people should be aware of life as a whole, in terms of what is best. Knowledge, is of the people; it is reality; it is enlarged vision of the world; enlargement in quality of the mind and high ideals. This quality of mind should be trained.

Education, is an inter-related dialogue. It moves beyond the surface of life to the ultimate depth of man's being. It is the eternal return of man to himself; it is the eternal meeting between man and man. Education, should ground itself upon a dimension of eternal depth and mutual trust; a spirit of human responsibility and social justice. *Philosophers have interpreted his history; it is the task of education to change it. It is the task of educators to project history into the future. Human history is to be changed to its natural course.*

LETTERS

ACBC

Sir,

Many years ago, when I decided that it was time to sever connections with the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress (of which I am one of the oldest life members and one-time Organising Secretary for religious activities at the Gothattawa Vagrants' Home) I expressed the opinion to several of my friends that the Congress will display its true colours as a militant body some day. It has taken just a decade for my prediction to come true!

By adopting the resolution calling for Sri Lanka to be declared a Buddhist State at its annual sessions, the Congress has brought dishonour on Buddhists, who have throughout the ages earned a reputation for tolerance, of other religious and fairplay by them. Intolerance appears to be the keynote of this resolution, which is to be deplored.

What provoked these pseudo-Buddhists to act in a manner, which could only be described as stupid, Buddhists are entitled to know. Will the Congress issue a statement hereon? But, what is more distressing disconcerting and disgusting is the part played by Bhikkus, who would have "graced" the occasion by their presence in large numbers as usual, in lending their support to this ignoble resolution. Among them, there would undoubtedly have been several Maha Nayaka Theras of the three seats who are all (elected) Patrons of the Congress. It is, however, not known whether the Heads of the Malwate and Asgiriya chapters, who head the list of Patrons of the ACBC, were also present when this resolution was put to the vote—it is said to have been unanimously approved! But if they were not there would it be impertinent to ask them whether this resolution had their approval? It is improbable that a resolution of this nature would have been brought up at the annual sessions without prior reference to its Patrons particularly those of Malwate and Asgiriya. Presumably therefore, they had given their assent to it. In any case, Buddhists expect a joint statement from them without

delay. The position briefly so far as the Patrons are concerned is this. If this resolution was referred to them in the first instance and duly approved by them, they fully deserve the censure of right-thinking Buddhists; if it was referred to them and they disapproved it, or if it was not referred to them at any time, they should resign from the Congress forthwith in protest against its action, which has perturbed Buddhists.

C. E. J. Alles

113, Anagarika Dharmapala

Mawatha,

Dehiwala.

4.8.77

R. Wijaya Indra

Sir,

This communication is to, put forward the other side of the story regarding the items "On the Tamil Problem—A Maverick View" and the weekly 'Confidentially' column, which appeared in *Tribune* of July 16, 1977. Although it somewhat late, these facts have to be brought to the public to divulge the secrets of the so-called 'founder-leader' of a party who had decried the services rendered by our late lamented leaders.

Who is this Mr. R. Wijaya Indra? Let me quote two news items which appeared in the daily *Virakesari* (10th May 1977 and 12th May 1977). In the first news item, titled "Ready to fight for the Tamils Liberation—Wijayendras' letter to TULF Nomination Committee" Mr. W. had stated.

'I am a hundred percent Tamil. Hence, till I die I will fight for the Ceylon Tamils' Revolution, Liberation and Independence. I will fight for the fundamental rights of Tamils and for the equity of Tamils with Sinhalese, who are not only in Ceylon, but also in the World,' so says Mr. R. Wijaya Indra, Founder and General Secretary of Democratic Socialist Party, in a letter to the TULF Nomination Committee.

Mr. Wijaya Indra had sent this letter, stating that he is willing to contest in TULF ticket for the coming General Election.

He had mentioned in his letter that he is in politics from the

year 1930 and, in the 1970 General Election, he contested the Colombo South double member seat and obtained the third position, in an eight cornered fight coming behind UNP's Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and LSSP's Mr. Bernard Soysa, who secured the 1st and the 2nd places respectively.

Citing that he formed his party on 1960 January 1st, he had stated his willingness to contest the General Election in one of the four following seats: Nallur, Kayts, Colombo Central and Colombo East.

*In the second newsitem, which appeared in *Virakesari* (12th May 1977), Mr. W. had expressed his willingness to contest the Nallur seat as a TULF nominee, and he had also stated that, "if I am elected as an MP, I will support the TULF's righteous, justified, functionally applicable demands."*

When your application was rejected by the TULF nomination board, why this summersault Mr. W. now? A typical example which comes to my mind is that fox from Aesop's Fables, which shunned the 'sour' grapes, after trying in vain.

There was another newsitem in *Virakesari* (5th June 1977), that you had paid the deposit to contest the Colombo Central constituency. Why, then have you withdrawn from the contest, even without getting into the rings?

And you blame the leaders of the calibre of Messrs. G. G. Ponnambalam and S. J. V. Chelvanayakam. If you could have crossed swords with Mr. M. S. Sellasamy (CWC-TULF) nominee for Colombo Central) in the General Election, then the Tamil public of this country, would have been in a position to assess your accusations, depending on your performance in the hustings.

And what next Mr. W.?

S. Sri Kantha

10-L. Block,
Ground Floor,
Govt. Flats,
Colombo 4.
17.7.77

Confidentially

On The Left Debacle — 5

IS IT NOT A FACT that among the parties and groups classified as "LEFT" must be included the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) which was part of the United Left Front (ULF)? That the PDP was formed by SLFP breakaways led by Nanda Ellawela, Tennyson Edirisuriya and others? That this group had originally manifested their "leftism" as part of the pro-Maoist ("gang of four" variety) Janawegaya wing of the SLFP? That it was not long before this group of robust, energetic and forthright SLFP back-benchers quarrelled with the Janawegaya caucus which was part of the Establishment and the Palace? That when this group broke away from the Janawegaya the latter began to wither away? That this group, strangely enough did not attempt to coalesce either with Establishment Peking wing SLFP led by Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake and Karawita (famous for his articles in the *Sunday Observer* proclaiming the SLFP as the most revolutionary and anti-imperialist political party that has appeared in Sri Lanka so far) or the almost defunct old time Peking wing Ceylon Communist Party led by veteran Shanmugathasan (who now seems to see more hope in Tirana than in Peking)? That instead of moving towards the different Maoist groups still existing in this country, this ex-Janawegaya group in the SLFP started drifting towards the LSSP and CP? That this process was accelerated by the decision of longtime leftist T. B. Subasinghe to break away from the SLFP to make common cause with the LSSP and the CP? That in the process the PDP was formed with T. B. Subasinghe at its head? That the PDP issued statements and something which some people have had the temerity to call a "party programme and manifesto"? That these statements and manifesto did not invest the PDP with a separate political identity? That the PDP was only a weak echo of the LSSP-CP combine? That most political observers believed that it was only a lever to win over other disgruntled SLFP elements either before

or after the elections (if the ULF was able to muster enough strength to become a force to attract such SLFP "progressives")? That in the absence of any special political characteristics, the PDP easily submerged itself in the ULF? That the PDP now remains buried in the ULF? That it is yet to be seen whether ULF strategy will resurrect the PDP in a bid to win some of the thirty percent of the people who had voted for the SLFP? That the PDP has not issued any statement on the outcome of the elections? That even its chief, T. B. Subasinghe, has not said a word about the election results? That one of the stories going round at the moment is that the members of the PDP will join either the CP or the LSSP according to their fancy? That another story is that ex-Minister Kobbekaduwa will quit the SLFP at an appropriate time to lead the PDP and make it an integral part of a rejuvenated ULF —and maybe even become its titular head?

That of the others who had contested the elections under the ULF umbrella there were three one-man "parties"—Wijesekera's MVP, Dharmasekera's PJP and Vasudeva's (Left Resolution Group) —but only one of them issued a statement on the results of the elections? That Vasudeva Nanayakkara issued a statement that was published in the *Sunday Times* under the heading: CONFESS YOUR ERRORS: Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, ex-MP for Kiriella, leader of the Left Resolution Group of the LSSP and former President of the All-Ceylon Youth Leagues of the party, said: "Those who offer a quick analysis of the recent general election are ready to point out that the Left has been totally rejected. This is true only if one regards the Left as being those elements which constituted the ULF, so hastily got up to fight the general elections with unprincipled restrictions on membership. It is a fact that the ULF did not offer itself as a serious contender for power. The future of these elements, especially the LSSP is to think afresh the aims, policies and strategies of the Left in Sri Lanka. This is now an opportunity for a true Left-wing leadership to emerge and build a new vanguard of the masses which would charter a new course for the Left, as has been demanded by the Leftwing of the LSSP for several years. Such a vanguard will neces-

sarily have to include the Left organisations which were kept out of the defeated ULF. It is hoped that in this situation the JVP will stand up to reality and join in this vanguard. We who supported the Leftwing Resolution of the LSSP and demanded a break with the Rightwing Government led by Mrs. Bandaranaike as far back as 1972, are ready to fight for the fundamental rights of the masses and mass organisations in such matters as the trade unions in the period ahead. All organisations of the Left irrespective of ideology and differences and other working class organisations should come together to resist the threats to the masses inherent in the massive victory of the UNP. As we have always demanded, we will call in the first instance for the building of a broad working class organisation by expanding and strengthening the JCTUO. Unity of the LSSP and the CP of Sri Lanka, will lie in the direction of a definite break with their past. For the LSSP, in particular, it should be a departure from the policy of coalescing with the SLFP—within and outside Parliament—the policy followed since 1964. The leadership of the Left which blundered and led the Left forces of this country into a blind alley has now lost all credibility among the masses, both urban and rural. It should confess its error before the people and attempt to correct itself with the awareness of new realities. There is now a clean sheet on which to draw." That Vasudeva, like the SLVB, wants a total unity of the "Left" extending from the LSSP and CP to the MEP, JVP, and Vama Samajists (Kumar David, etc.) and his own Left Resolution "Socialists"? That Vasudeva has a particularly soft corner for the JVP which is detested by the old guard of the LSSP? That the CP, it would seem, is agreeable to the JVP coming into a new streamlined ULF and in the circumstances the LSSP objections are likely to fade away? That it is now a question as to whether the JVP would like to join a ULF with the LSSP and CP?

That in the meantime, the ULF has issued a lengthy statement on the Left debacle in the last elections? That this statement is the joint effort of the LSSP, CP and PDP? That it will be interesting to examine this statement in some detail?



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