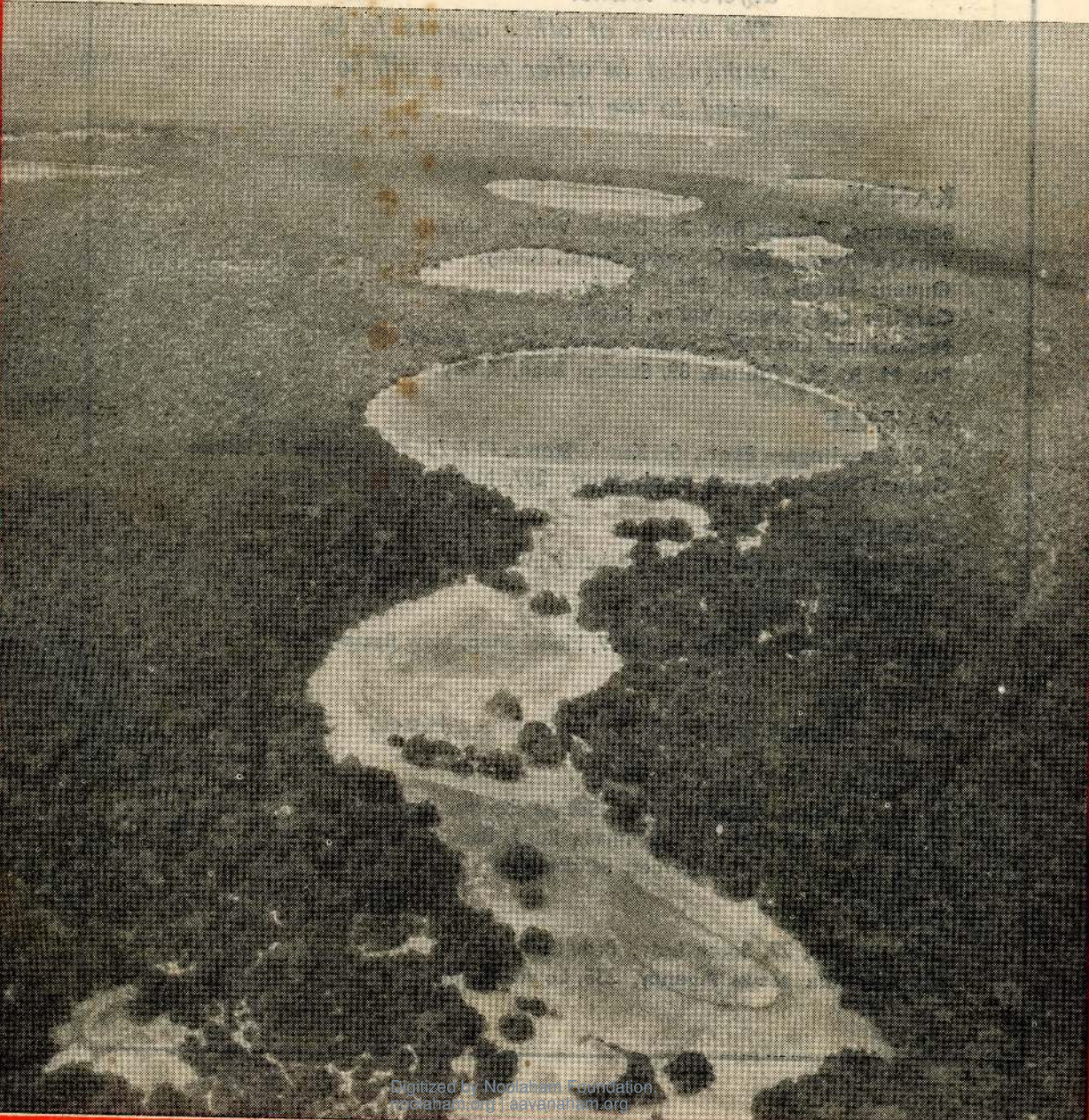


# TRIBUNE





REVIEW

NEW

CEYLON

## In The Hill Country

### TRIBUNE

*can be bought in the Hill Country  
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different towns.*

*The names of other agents to be  
appointed in other towns will be  
added to the list soon.*

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Sameems, Tourist Box, 38, Dalada Vidiya, Kandy.

Vimala Stores, 208, Colombo Street, Kandy.

Queens Hotel, Book Shop, Kandy.

Cargills Ltd., Dalada Vidiya, Kandy.

McCallums Ltd., 27, 29, Yatinuwara Vidiya, Kandy.

Mr. M. R. M. Yoonus, 89, Station Road, Kandy.

#### MATALE

S. S. Annalingam Esqr., Sri Kantha Stores, 63 & 73, Trincomalee St. Matale.

Gamini Record Bar & Book Shop, 297, Maha Vidiya, Matale.

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S. P. Sellamuttu Pillai, 25, Ambegamuwa Road, Gampola.

#### NUWARA ELIYA

Najma Hardware Stores, No. 7, Model Shop, New Bazaar, Nuwara Eliya.

#### HATTON

Central Medical Stores, No. 74, Main Street, Hatton.

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Sivarajan & Co., No. 4, Welimada Road, Bandarawela.

Ideal Press, 143, Main Street, Bandarawela.

#### BADULLA

Crowns No. 27, South Lane, Badulla.

Meenambika News Agency, 235, Lower Street, Badulla.



## Letter From The Editor

EVERY GOVERNMENT, from the time this country was granted Independence, has proclaimed that it would make the country self-sufficient in rice and other foodstuffs. Some of them have even boasted that the country would be in a position to "export" rice before they went out of office. These boasts have never been fulfilled. The best achieved so far is to grow about two-thirds of the rice consumed—but this must be taken together with the yearly increasing quantities of wheat imports. Self-sufficiency will be a practical reality only when Sri Lanka can produce enough rice and other cereals that can be grown here to meet all requirements. Wheat flour and bread have now become a part of staple food of the people and it will be extremely difficult to wean the consuming public away from the wheat habit. The best that can be hoped for is that we produce enough rice to stop all rice imports and thereafter help to reduce wheat imports to the barest minimum. In this interdependent world, no country can be cent per cent self-sufficient in everything especially in an era when consumerist tastes and requirements over-ride narrow national considerations. It will be difficult to foresee a time when this country will stop importing wheat completely but it is within the limits of practical possibilities to make the country self-sufficient in food to the extent that whatever imports that may be necessary will not be an intolerable burden on the exchequer. This Government, like every other government in the past, has adherents who seem to rush into predictions (which even angels will fear to make) and boast that self-sufficiency in rice was round the corner. To cite only one instance (many others can be cited): the *Daily News* of October 14, 1977 under the heading RICE: SELF-SUFFICIENCY BY NEXT YEAR, stated: "Sri Lanka can reach self-sufficiency in rice before the end of 1978, as a 'pure line' variety of seed paddy now being cultivated yields 100 bushels of paddy sown. This had been revealed in surveys conducted by the Peoples Bank, said Mr. J. A. Kottegoda, Chairman of the Bank, at a Press conference yesterday convened to announce the loan facilities being made available by the Bank to provide the necessary storage and milling requirements for the expected increase in paddy yield." The press conference was convened to announce a loan scheme for old and new rice millers, but the People's Bank's "experts" seem to have gone beyond the limits of their expertise to predict self-sufficiency in rice next year. What exactly do these bank "experts" mean by "self-sufficiency"? Do they expect a substantial reduction in the 200,000 to 500,000 tons of wheat that has been imported in recent times in addition to the elimination of all imports of rice? It was not so very long ago that the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, had bragged (even before Mahaweli waters started flowing into the Raja Rata) that Sri Lanka would export rice (to the Maldives, for instance) by 1976. It was ironic that in 1976 and 1977, this country had to import more rice and more wheat than ever before—and the Sirimavo government overdid this importing so much (because of the 1977 elections) that over-stocks of rice and wheat went bad in our warehouses and other (unsuitable) buildings hastily requisitioned for the purpose. To dwell on this sordid story is a waste of time, but it is necessary to utter a warning to the new prophets of cheer who say that rice "self-sufficiency" will overwhelm this country by "next year". Elsewhere in this issue we have published a note from the *Newsletter* issued by the Department of Agriculture in which some of the "technical" difficulties which have stood in the way of increased rice production are set out. As far as we know the difficulties referred to have not yet been overcome. On the other hand many more which stem from governmental mistakes and bureaucratic misdeeds in recent years have added to the difficulties. *Tribune* has over the years stressed that adequate "self-sufficiency" in many items of food was a realistic possibility, and we had urged the adoption of several measures to achieve this. But, unfortunately, we were only just a voice (of many) in the wilderness of sophisticated political adventurism and self-deluded bureaucratic exhibitionism. A great deal can be achieved, no doubt, by the end of 1978 to reduce the quantum of imports of rice if proper steps are taken immediately and the weather does not play false, but we cannot see the silver lining to predict "self-sufficiency" in a year. The "inter-monsoonal" rains for the current Maha have come. All the signs of the N.E. Monsoon setting in have also manifested themselves. And now, excessive rains threaten to ruin all cultivation. ON THE COVER THIS WEEK, we have an aerial view of a number of tanks mainly in what is still jungle to remind us that there are still large areas of cultivable land for development. Agriculture, more than most economic undertakings, is "capital-intensive", under any circumstance, and this is something that our "experts", who are being fooled by "labour-intensive" panaceas, should remember.

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43, DAWSON STREET,  
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**EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK**

- **Ronnie de Mel**
- **World Realities And The IMF**

Colombo, October 22,

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, returned to the island on Monday 17th. The *Observer*, of 18.10.77 under the heading **RONNIE BACK WITH BAGS FULL OF AID** reported: "When people like Dr. N. M. Perera and Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike know the amount of aid that I have been able to negotiate, they will see stars," Finance Minister Mr. Ronnie de Mel told the Press early this morning on his return to the island.

The *Daily News*, 19.10.77, had a more detailed report: "The level of aid Sri Lanka would receive from all international aid giving organisations and from friendly countries would be on a much higher level than ever before, Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel told the *Daily News* on arrival at the Katunayake airport at 1.30 yesterday morning. The amount of hard currency aid, he had received would give his two immediate predecessors, Dr. N. M. Perera and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, 'the shock of their lives', Mr. de Mel said. he had visited several developed countries during his one-month and ten-day tour. "The world's political leaders are convinced that the J. R. Jayawardene Government comprise of a set of serious-minded and responsible persons who are capable of delivering the goods. They have therefore, pledged an unprecedented amount of financial aid to help us develop and bring about a socio-economic resurgence in Sri Lanka." He pointed out that he would first have to make his report to the Prime Minister and to the Cabinet before telling the people of Sri Lanka that they can now look forward with confidence to an era when they can lead reasonably comfortable lives. Mr. de Mel said he had met on his tour the political heads of Britain, the USA, Canada, West Germany and Japan. At the Commonwealth Finance Minister's Conference at Barbados he was

able to establish friendly personal relations with the Finance Ministers of other Commonwealth countries and arrive at a consensus on matters of economic and financial policy. The Minister said he had also discussed Sri Lanka's financial and technical needs with Mr. Robert Mc Namara, Head of the World Bank and the Secretary-General of the IMF. All of them are convinced that the period when reckless and irresponsible policies ranked supreme in this country are over and that a set of serious-minded and responsible people were in power who can and will deliver the goods and cause a resurgence of socio-economic progress. The world's leaders are, therefore, more than willing to help us now as never before, the Minister said. He said in London, New York, Washington and Tokyo he had met and explained Sri Lanka's economic policies to international investors, bankers and other big business men. Mr. de Mel said he had to explain to everyone he met including the world's political leaders the new Government's policies and the new thinking of the UNP Government. This was necessary because of the reckless and irresponsible policy of the past. For example when I met Britain's Overseas Development Minister, Mrs. Judith Hart, she said: 'You are asking for more aid. Please tell me what you have done with the aid already given. Half of this has not been spent.' Mr. de Mel said the past Government had not utilised British aid for the setting up of a fertilizer and tractor manufacturing project. The same opinion was expressed by officials of the World Bank. They feel we are irresponsible people. When aid is offered it is not taken or proposals for aid received are not complete. Another bad habit of the past is that when we invite World Bank officials here for discussions the project papers and documentation are not even ready. They feel naturally that we are very irresponsible. I had to convince them that this will not happen again and that the seven-year era of irresponsibility was over. They accepted this, Mr. de Mel said.

Subsequent press reports indicated that he had reported to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet on the outcome of his visit. Beyond this there are yet no indications of what the "bagful of aid" amounted

to in concrete terms. In the course of his journey he had re-iterated in every capital that there would be no more take-over of business undertakings and the programme of nationalisation had been stopped. Mr. Ronnie de Mel gave assurances to foreign investors that they could co-operate with the Sri Lanka Government without fear in the Free Trade Zone.

As we have said earlier, the Government's economic recovery programme seems to be based on (a) a controlled capitalist plan to generate production on the basis of private enterprise; (b) the fullest co-operation with the most affluent capitalist countries; and (c) unlimited co-operation with the IMF and the World Bank on the basis of fixing a "realistic" value for the rupee and adopting labour-intensive undertakings especially in rural development.

In the Budget, the details of the plan will be outlined, but it is not difficult to envisage the shape and scope of the budgetary proposals judging from what the IMF, IBRD and the rich affluent nations have insisted that developing countries, similarly placed like Sri Lanka, should do to rehabilitate and rejuvenate their economy. It is likely that the IMF-IBRD plans for Sri Lanka will have modifications to suit conditions in Sri Lanka and that they will try to avoid the mistakes they had made in other countries. But, until the new scheme is fully revealed in the Budget it will be difficult to discuss or comment on it.

*However, it may be useful to point out certain realities that are relevant to the present situation in the capitalist world to draw attention to our planners and our Government that it would be foolish to be over-optimistic about the possible outcome of these programmes. It is necessary to remind ourselves, as often as possible, that we have to rely on ourselves more than anyone else and diversify our monetary and trade relations between the capitalist, socialist, and developing world.*

The world of capitalism today has many acute problems of its own: that many leading capitalist countries, as we have recently pointed out, are in the throes of economic crisis themselves; and that some of them are trying to resolve their own crisis by passing their burdens on to the developing countries.



## Neutron Bomb President

Among the problems that afflict the capitalist countries are rising unemployment, the dominance of monopolies, and the uncertainties of the market fluctuations of their floating currencies. In many of these leading countries race discrimination and racial conflicts, the unbelievably fast spreading use of narcotics, the growth of terrorism, air traffic piracy—hijacking—and political murders. Furthermore in most capitalist countries, the State has penetrated into the privacy of ordinary citizens and the extra-constitutional measures adopted by the authorities to maintain their rule. Common morality and ethical values have disappeared, and anarchy, indiscipline and crime have begun to dominate the scene.

In this situation, President Carter has very correctly sought to bring back the element of morality into the conduct of government. Among other matters, he has emphasised the need to uphold human rights, but, instead of trying to enforce it in the USA first to set an example to the rest of the world he has tried to enforce it in the rest of the world. With the result, Carter has fallen foul not only with a large numbers of countries in the capitalist camp, (some like the Latin American Republics, South Korea and the Philippines are in the American sphere of influence), but also in the socialist world as well. These countries have taken up the position that the way in which Carter has tried to evangelise the world with his credo of human rights was nothing more than crude interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Further, the fact that the Carter Administration has concentrated the main thrust of its campaign for human rights at the socialist countries in Eastern Europe (he has so far not mentioned or made critical remarks about human rights in China) has been interpreted as a cold war onslaught against detente.

The Carter administration has also picked on the "dissidents" in the USSR and Eastern European countries as weapons to fire propaganda darts at Brezhnev and other socialist leaders, but it is clear that with all the help these dissidents have got from the USA and the West they have no support among the people in the socialist countries. It has been pointed out that Carter has not shown similar

concern for dissidents in South Korea, Iran, Singapore, Thailand, Chile and a large number of other countries.

For a time, there was a propaganda build-up about the Soviet threat to the world and with this as justification the American military-industrial complex induced a new round of an enlarged arms' race. New and horrible weapons of war were proposed and if this trend goes on unchecked President Carter, in spite of all his Christian talk, might go down to history as the "Neutron Bomb President."

Fortunately, in recent weeks, Carter seems to have taken a more realistic view of the world situation. In his notable address to the UN General Assembly, on October 4, he had taken a new and hopeful stance. (More about his speech next week)

But, Carter is not having an easy time not only inside the USA (he has threatened to cancel his eight-nation global trip if the Legislature does not endorse his energy proposals) but also in Europe, South America and Japan. A similar picture of disarray is apparent on the economic sector and the IMF and IBRD are in the throes of a crisis that might blow up in spite of the best efforts of the capitalist countries to bring a temporary truce among the warring factions in the rich nations.

Tribune in the coming weeks will devote space to show that the IMF and the IBRD are not all that many apologists for the West would like us to believe—that they are stable institutions which can help to bail out Sri Lanka from its economic mess. A Washington report dated September 30, in the New York Labour paper *New Solidarity*, 4.10.77, by David Goldman stated: "If the political forces in Congress, Western Europe and the oil-producing countries who scuttled last week's meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank operated with the right kind of co-ordination, the monetarist danger to the world economy would crumble. This is the conclusion drawn from background discussions with top Western European officials attending the IMF's annual meeting here. Judgement is unanimous among participants here that the refusal of the US Congress to dish out money to the IMF, of the oil-producing countries to turn over their

surplus revenues, and of Western Europe to turn on its printing presses, have made the IMF meeting a total washout. The losers are outgoing Managing Director of the IMF Johannes Witteveen, who demanded that the big industrial countries adopt 'reflation' policies, and World Bank President Robert McNamara, who wants to apply the 'body count-principles' he used during the Vietnam War to the economies of the developing countries. As matters stand now, all that the Witteveen-McNamara group has is an agreement to pick up the discussion again next March, when the group of 20 Finance Ministers who belong to the IMF's Interim Committee meets in Mexico. The IMF still does not have any political authority at a moment when the world—by the admission of Witteveen and every finance minister in attendance has entered into a new downturn of the absolute levels of output and world trade. The Javits-Church subcommittee of Senate International Relations has publicly warned that the deficits of poor countries will collapse the international monetary system, and the IMF has virtually no lendable resources. The 33-year history of the world's international debt-collection agency came to a standstill this week in Washington, but that still begs the question of what is going to replace it. What the hated little cabal composed of Witteveen, McNamara, US Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, and British Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey wanted, and did not get, includes: (1) the \$ 10 billion "Witteveen Facility" for bailing out bankrupt countries' bankers, which the Wall Street Journal has dubbed. "The Bankers Relief Act of 1977". This \$ 10 billion kitty, one sixth of the funds of the IMF officially estimates are required for bailouts, came onto the agenda six months ago, as an emergency compromise for a quick fix. All government's agree to the facility in principle—but the Europeans and Arabs are grinning while Congressional conservatives delay passage of the \$ 1.6 billion US contribution. This appropriation does not even come up on the Senate schedule until next year. (2) Doubling of IMF quotas, or total lending power, to \$ 64 billion, the proposal of the IMF staff, British monetarist Healey admitted in a press conference. 'It was clear from the word go that we were not going to get a consen-



sus on this.' In an interview, West German central bank President Dr. Otmar Emminger told NSIPS, 'we are not even going to discuss the size of quota increases until we sit down to negotiate. And negotiations begin in March.' Asked what he thought of the Javits-Church demand for a massive IMF bailout of the world debt structure, Emminger asked rhetorically, 'Name me one person who takes Javits seriously—name me one!' (3) McNamara's labour-intensive genocide program for the Third World, was the most appalling aspect of the entire discussion. The former US Secretary of Defence that LBJ called "Slickum" set out his vision of the world: Jobs in India at \$ 225 a head per year, health care in Columbia at \$ 4 a head, water, projects in Indonesia at \$ 60 a head with the object of 'bringing the rate of births more closely in line with the rate of deaths'. But no one is willing to give Slickum the funds or power to turn the world into an Auschwitz, not yet in any case. Congress is fighting a painful guerilla war against World Bank appropriations. The oil-rich Saudis—whom the Healey cabal has targeted for the pinch—are sabotaging even routine contributions to the World Bank Group e.g., paying a recent \$ 250 million contribution in unusable Saudi Arabian currency. That's too had, a top World Bank official said privately, because 'we've done studies to show that McNamara's plan is the best way to pay debt service—countries won't import anything, so all their funds go to pay debt'. (4) "Reflation" of the advanced sector. Witteveen's demand for the West Germans, Japanese, and US to turn on their printing presses has several objectives. One is to create additional dollars, deutschmarks and yen for the banking system to paper over the debt repayments schedules coming due at the end of this year. The second is to get the industrial countries to buy more from the indebted Third World countries, to enable them to pay more."

Sri Lanka papers have reported that whilst the price of gold was rising the value of the dollar was dropping. Extracts from another article in the *New Solidarity* by K. Brown throws revealing light on the currency war in the capitalist world: "The overblown US dollar and the British pound sterling are

sailing for sharp rocks, and no one is launching the lifeboats for rescue. This was the loud and clear message of the French. West German, Japanese, Swiss, Soviet, Belgian and South African governments and banking communities as the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank broke up yesterday with a failure by the Mondale-linked Wall Street and London banking houses to impose their monetarist final solution on the world economy. As a direct result of the bankers fiasco in Washington the international price of gold soared to its high for the year, \$ 154.50 the ounce, yesterday. The dollar and the pound declined to new all time lows against the West German mark (2,3062 marks to dollar), the Japanese yen (264.525 yen to dollar), and the Swiss franc (2,3352 francs to dollar) a downslide broken only temporarily by US Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns' jacking up of short-term interest rates to a two year high. This carnage is being closely monitored by West European proponents of a new, gold-backed monetary system, who see in the collapse of the pound and the dollar the creation of significant opportunities to break from these bankrupt currencies in favour of fresh financial alternatives.....

"...Top European officials at the IMF meeting this week have indicated that preparations for a break with the dollar and the establishment of a gold-backed monetary system are underway with the support of a spectrum of government and banking community officials from Europe, Japan, and significantly, South Africa. Paribas, Societe General, and Banque de Suez, three of France's largest banks, confirmed this week that the new international monetary arrangements French Prime Minister Barre is negotiating in Moscow with their support are characterized by a gold backed monetary policy. Although South African Finance Minister Owen Horwood declined to discuss details in Washington this week, all indications are that South Africa and West Germany are jointly preparing for a switch into gold with the creation of a new gold market in Luxemburg, outside of London's control. Horwood, and his associates in South African and West German banking circles are sup-

porters of the plan of slain Dresdner Bank President Jurgen Ponto to establish gold-based trade and development relations between Europe and the African continent." There may be a slant in the way in which the report is written but there is truth in what it states. The idiom and jargon may be unfamiliar to Sri Lanka readers but the message is clear: the international almonetary system is in turmoil and that Sri Lanka should step through it only with a "light fantastic too".

In this situation, Sri Lanka should tread warily where the IMF and IBRD are concerned. That is why *Tribune* had said sometime ago that Sri Lanka should not place all its eggs in the IMF-IBRD basket or the IMF Consortium. Arrangements with the different financial centres in the capitalist world—there are many today—must be made on a bi-lateral basis fully conscious of the intricacies of the internecine war in the international capitalist monetary system. It is true that our Finance Minister has been to Bonn, London, Washington and Tokyo. He should also go to Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels. It is also essential that he goes to Moscow and the Comecon countries, and he should study the growing trend to bring the T-Ruble into the European monetary system. Peking and Hanoi have still not begun to have a major impact on the monetary system of the world, but they soon will.

But more than all this, it is essential to develop our economy relying on our own resources in materials and manpower. Sri Lanka must also strengthen its economic ties with all its neighbours in South Asia and South-East Asia. China is as important a factor as the money-rich Gulf States and the OPEC countries. In fact, the OPEC countries and the Gulf States are more important than the old guard at the IMF not only for monetary co-operation but also trade.

**STOP PRESS:** As we go to press the NSA has adopted the Bills to repeal the Criminal Justice Commission Law and the Exchange Control Act. The Prime Minister, in another historic fire-side chat style speech, introduced the repeal Bills which were adopted unanimously after a short debate. *Tribune* will examine the PM's speech and the implications of the repeal of the two most hated pieces of



## Robbing A Bank

legislation, which has be fouled our Statute Book, in the coming weeks.

But there is really nothing very much to "discuss", as such, except to recall and re-iterate the horrors perpetrated under these laws. If the Communist Party, which did not like these Laws and had abstained in the voting, had quit the Government, at that time, its credibility would not have sunk as low as it did. It will be interesting to see which political parties will now genuinely welcome the repeal of these laws.

\* \* \*

## BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

### ● Robbers ● Police

### ● Army

**\*THE STRANGER:** A report in a daily paper read: "Police have requested passengers who travel by night trains to refrain from accepting short-eats, coffee, and cigarettes from strangers. Recently, a youth who boarded the Badulla-bound mail train at Fort accepted a toffee and a cigarette from a stranger and fell asleep after eating the toffee and smoking the cigarette. At Nawalapitiya he was sent to hospital. The stranger had vanished with his wrist-watch and his bags." This is not the first time this warning has been given, as this is not the first time that this type of gag has been used to rob train passengers. Ever since the old Railway Security System was disbanded by the LSSP administration in the CGR in 1970, crime, robbery, theft and thuggery has increased. The LSSP version of the Security Service now employs only sissies who cannot say "boo" to a goose—and, in any case, they don't seem to care if passengers are thrashed or robbed. Every long distance passenger knows how hazardous it is to travel on the CGR—but that there is no alternative mode of travel. The perpetually over-crowded CTB is worse!

**\*YOUTHS ROB BANKS:** Every week there are reports in the newspapers about bank robberies. The following is an example: "A gang of six armed youths are alleged to have robbed Rs. 10,080/- from the

Bank of Ceylon branch situated at the Agrarian Services Centre at Gorakanda in Karadeniya. Before they left they had locked the manager and workers in the bank. The keys had been left in the locks outside." There has recently also been a sudden increase in the bank robberies by "armed youths" in the Jaffna area, but in every district in the country such robberies seem to take place with unflinching regularity. Certain police circles seem to think that many of these bank robberies have a political flavour: that insurgents, ex-insurgents, political militants and the like were behind most of these robberies—to collect funds for the "cause". The police grudgingly admit that some of the robberies may be committed by criminal elements. It is easier to blame such lawlessness on "politicals" because the Police are expected to keep a tab on "criminals".

One aspect of this matter that does not seem to have been examined carefully is whether it is necessary to continue with the hundreds upon hundreds of rural banks (and similar banks) opened in remote areas without properly trained staff, without adequate security and without good reason. It is known that such banks were opened because MPs wanted jobs for youths. In many places, or in most places, these banks perform no useful function except supply cash to "armed youths". It is also a fact that Administration of the Bank of Ceylon and the Peoples Bank under the old regime (of two different brands in the seven years) wanted centres of political influence and these mushroom banks were opened with reckless abandon. Most of the staff appointed to these banks are incapable of doing rural banking. What is important is that they belong to some genre as the "armed youths" who rob these banks. Ask any villager in an area where a bank is robbed and he will tell you that one or more of the staff (tied up or allegedly held up at gun point) were part of the gang. We live in an era of easy money—CRA, Gem Non Traditional Export, Smuggling etc.—and our many youth seem to think that robbing a bank or a traveller in the CTB or the CGR is as good a way of making quick money as any.

In this connection a report in the Sun under the heading BANK VACANCIES WERE FILLED WITH

MP's CHITS is most revealing: "A total of 193 persons who were recruited by the Peoples Bank to fill in 380 vacancies in the clerical grades did not possess the requisite qualifications. They have been recruited on MP's chits, letters from VIPs and others, the Bank's Chairman, Mr. S. H. Kottegoda said yesterday. Addressing a Press conference Mr. Kottegoda said that investigations had revealed that only 187 of these persons had the qualifications specified for the post. These persons have been asked to submit applications for re-appointment. Their antecedents and other matters relating to their career, while in the Bank services will be further looked into, before they are re-appointed. This was a Cabinet decision, Mr. Kottegoda said, over which he had no authority".

The situation was no different where the Bank of Ceylon is concerned. But, what is worse is that even most of the "qualified" who were selected were of a peculiar political flavour.

**\*REJUVENATING THE POLICE:** The daily papers re-

### Foul Rumour

Rumour has been the biggest villain of the recent disturbances. The following lines are dedicated to TRUTH and the complete destruction of "RUMOUR"

According to -Dame Rumour  
Eight bakers in the North  
Were needed into flour  
And baked with their cloth.

Koneswaram temple in Trinco  
And Nagadipa in the North  
Were razed to the Ground  
And the incumbents drowned.

\* A police constable in the North,  
Was chopped to pieces  
And his oozing flesh sold  
As beef by the pound.

Three pretty Menikes  
From the Jaffna Campus  
Were taken by force  
For real integration Talks.

There were many more Tales  
Of foul Hearsay,  
Which were all sure cures  
For the sick of Angodai.

The sane turned insane overnight  
And the events which followed  
Swept all reason away  
From this our land most hallowed

D. J. Thamotheram

9, Vivekananda Avenue,  
Colombo 6.  
6. 10. 77.



cently had headlines: **FURTHER TRAINING FOR POLICEMEN: WERAPITIYA PLAN, NEW POLICE IMAGE: REORGANISATION OF FORCE TO COMBAT CRIME: COMPLETE REVAMP OF THE POLICE:** etc., etc., The reports and assurances (of an efficient police force in six months) were many. Below are a few excerpts: "The first of a series of refresher courses for 4,000 policemen will commence at the police Training School, Katukurunda, on November 1. A police spokesman said yesterday that these recruits had been given insufficient training when they first joined the Police Force and had as a result been found wanting in their duties during the recent disturbances. The spokesman said the refresher courses would cover all aspects of police work and a comprehensive training would be subjects ranging from combat to public relations."

Then, "A complete re-orientation of the Sri Lanka Police service has got under way with the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, summoning highly placed officers in division throughout the country for a top level conference next week. He will personally tell them of the measures that have been decided on by the Government to put the Police service on a proper footing. They include a re-orientation course for all recent recruits, the setting up of new patrolling divisions in all Police Stations, a new crime prevention offensive, the decentralisation of the CID's Technical Branch and the setting up of divisional units in headquarter Police Stations. Mr. Werapitiya will first confer with Assistant Superintendents of Police in charge of divisions throughout Sri Lanka on October 19. He will thereafter meet Superintendents on October 21. These new changes in the Police Service come at the instance of the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene. It was only two weeks ago Mr. Werapitiya told a conference of HQ's that there had been a breakdown in the law and order situation in the country during recent disturbances. He announced at this meeting that the Police service is to be streamlined. Mr. Werapitiya yesterday discussed with heads of Police divisions in the City and the suburbs the immediate changes that are to be effected in their areas. It has been decided to set up five Divisional Crime Detective Bureaus in Police divisions in Mount Lavinia, Peliyagoda, Nugegoda, Gampaha and

Negombo. Each CDB unit will be under the personal charge of an ASP and will have specially trained Crime Investigative Squads. The collection of criminal intelligence and surveillance of subversive activities will also come under the purview of these units. The new ASP appointments are to be made effective from January 1, next year. It was also decided at yesterday's conference that all City and suburban Police stations should follow the Daily Line up system. This system is now being operated by the Crime Detective Bureau which conducts every morning a line up of criminals arrested by them. Their finger prints are taken and all other records compiled. Mr. Werapitiya has also directed that two senior SPs in Colombo should lecture at next week's conference. Mr. A. C. Lawrence is to speak on Police patrolling, while Detective Superintendent R. Sunderalingam is to speak on criminal intelligence. Mr. Werapitiya told the conference yesterday that in view of the present criticism of the Police Force, officers should discipline their men in order that they regain—five fold—the confidence of the people. This he stressed should be brought about not by resorting to third degree but rather through the utilising of more scientific methods. In order, to achieve this, a complete simple thinking-reorientation was called for. While the setting up of finger-print units in every Headquarter station was a step towards this, the Police would also be training 'scene of crime' officers. These persons who would undergo a course of specialised training would be called upon to visit the scene of the crime and ensure that no clue or scientific evidence was destroyed. It was also hoped that Government Analyst offices would be set up in all parts of the island. The importance of the rejuvenation of patrolling divisions too was discussed. And Police units which over the last few months concentrated on mobile and armed patrols were called upon to revert to a systematic normal peace time patrolling system. However, this could be modified in the case of rural stations where there was a necessity to cover a fairly larger area than in Colombo or the suburbs."

All the other reports were in a similar strain. There is no doubt that Mr. Werapitiya and the government are on the right track. And it is to be hoped that the constabulary and officers of the Police Force would respond suitably. The greatest attention must

be paid to the 5,000 new men most of whom were recruited on MP'schits.

**\*SANDHURST TRAINED:** A great deal is being expected from the new Army Commander Major-General Denis Perera. Headlines have stressed. **FIRST SANDHURST TRAINED ARMY COMMANDER.** Up to now, all our Army Commanders, Anton Muttucumaru, Wijekoon, Heyn, Udugama and Attygalle grew out of and from the British Army and British-trained Ceylon Army during the Second World War. Subsequently, they received training at Staff Colleges in India, UK, USA and other countries.

It was after Independence, in the so-called Vaithianathan era, that our officers went to Sandhurst for training. India had sent its officers for training to Sandhurst from even before the First World War. Sandhurst training is no doubt excellent, but Sandhurst also produced the proverbial Colonel Blimp. Ceylon had a few Blimps in the days of Planters' Raj, but the Sri Lanka Army has been singularly free from Blimpism, even if some army types had sported moncles.

With (and after) Major General Denis Perera come a new generation of Sandhurst trained Army officers. There are apprehensions in responsible quarters whether this emphasis on Sandhurst will not bring into the higher echelon of our army an invisible creeping Blimpism that might open an undesirable chapter in the Armed services in Sri Lanka. It is hoped that the Sandhurst-trained breed will not discard the *polsambol* Sri Lankan vintage our Army units have acquired over the years.

#### TRIBUNE INCREASE OF PRICE

From the issue of Tribune dated November 5—Vol. 22 No. 20—the price of each copy of the paper will be Re. 1/50. This increase in the price was delayed as long as we could, but we cannot resist it any longer. Many readers have wanted us to increase our pages to 28—to extend the scope and range of our articles and features—and if, and when we do this, the price of each copy will be Rs. 2.00.

All existing subscriptions will be valid at the old rates until expiry, but all new subscriptions will be at the new rates.



Oct. 14 — Oct. 17

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror;  
CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dina-  
mina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;  
SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadipa;  
DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Da-wasa; CM—Chintha-  
mani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;  
IDPR—Information Department Press Release

**FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14:** The first clear sign that the super powers do not wish to escalate their naval rivalry in the politically sensitive Indian Ocean has come from Washington where the US and the Soviet Union have agreed to limit their military activities in the Ocean to their present level. In a farewell address to his troops Gen. Attygalle said the first duty of the soldier was loyalty to the government. The eight member committee on Legal Reforms has finished its deliberations in regard to civil procedure and testamentary and partition procedure. Frauds running into millions of rupees in certain instances have been uncovered by co-operative department investigators looking into the transactions of co-operative unions during the past few years. A youth Agricultural Scheme on the lines of the National Military Service in other countries is being contemplated by the government said the Minister of Irrigation etc. Sri Lanka can reach self sufficiency in rice before the end of 1978, as a 'pure line' variety of seed paddy now being cultivated yields 100 bushels of paddy sown; this has been revealed by a survey conducted by the People's Bank. The first of a series of refresher courses for 4,000 policemen will commence at the Police Training School, Katukurunda, on November 1—CDN. The Minister of Social Services yesterday directed GA's to refuse new admissions to refugee camps in various parts of the island; he has also asked them to obtain the assistance of the army and the police to evict persons who had gained admission recently; this was because refugees still keep 'pouring in daily' and so he decided to stop it. The 'race-course campus' with the former grandstand as its chief lecture hall is to be revived to accommodate the 350 Sinhala students from the Jaffna Campus. The West German government yesterday gifted 22 paddy threshers to Sri Lanka. Out of 236 lorries that are available for the transport of food at the Chalmers Granaries only 78 are in running condition—CDM. Seven ex-MP's are alleged to be involved in frauds in co-operative societies running into several lakhs of rupees. Mrs. Sunethra Rupasinghe, daughter of the late S. de S. Jayasinghe, will be the UNP candidate at the coming by-election in Dehiwela. JP's who were appointed by the last government will hold office only till December 31 this year. The 35,000 strong membership of the Ceylon Mercantile Union will come out on a token strike at 10 a.m. on October 18, in protest against the government's proposed trade union policy—SU. At noon yesterday, four youths came on bicycles and robbed the Kathaday branch of the

Bank of Ceylon—and got away with 10000 Rs.—EN. The government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has decided to appoint Mr. John Olantunji Omolodun as High Commissioner for the Federal Republic of Nigeria to Sri Lanka with residence at New Delhi—IDPR no. 787/77. The Ministry of Health is taking steps to implement an all island immunizing scheme as a preliminary step for safeguarding the health of the children; it will be implemented in three stages and the WHO and UNICEF have given aid IDPR no. 34. In reply to a news item appearing in the *Sin*, the Minister of labour wishes to state that it is not the intention of the government to bring about legal restriction on the existing Trade Union rights of the working class or compel workers to cease to be members of any existing items—IDPR no. 36. Fifteen guns have been discovered in the house of a former Minister; investigations regarding another 30,000 guns issued before the present government came to power are going on—DW. Since the production of oil has decreased, the OPEC has decided to increase the price of oil—LD.

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15:** The Deputy Minister of Defence yesterday said that, Crime Detection Bureau Surveillance and Patrolling Units would be established at each of the island's 250 police stations from January 1 next year; in addition CID technical branches with fully trained scenes of Crime Officers and police dogs would be set up at 11 key points; he said that this was based on the decentralisation of the police. The International White Cane Day, dedicated to the blind, will be held in Sri Lanka today. The Galle Face Night Bazaar with facilities for people to shop on Saturdays will be opened by the wife of the Minister of Local Government this evening. Joseph Karl-Ulrich the 23 year old Swiss postal employee suspected of having stolen four million Swiss francs from the Zurich post office earlier this month was produced by the CID last Thursday before the Chief Magistrate, Colombo; he was arrested at a private residence in Colombo. The Commander of the SL Air Force, Air Commodore Harry Goonetilleke was yesterday promoted Air Force Vice Marshal. The new Commander of the SL Army Maj Gen. Dennis Perera assumed duties yesterday morning; he is the first Sandhurst trained officer to become Army Chief. The SLFP Trade Union has written to the PM saying that they have proof that the disruptors of the meeting were pro-UNP's should the PM initiate action to hold investigations into the incident—CDN. The PM, when he met the directors of Air Ceylon told them that unless Air Ceylon could maintain standards set by other airlines it should close down. The Additional District Judge, Colombo yesterday made order that the interim injunction issued against the Ceylon Bank Employees Union should stand. The Jaffna Campus Unit in Colombo for the Sinhala students and the Colombo Campus of the University of Sri Lanka will re-open only on November 7 as alterations have to be made to the grandstand at the former Race Course; all other campuses and the Jaffna Campus, temporarily only for Tamil students will re-open on October 17 as scheduled—CDM. All employees who wish to appear before the committee appointed to inquire into complaints of political victimisation should be given duty leave together with the usual facilities says a directive issued to all Heads of Departments, Boards and Secretaries to ministries by the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs—SU. The Minister of Fisheries has instructed the Chairman of the Fisheries Corpora-



tion to sell all the boats belonging to the Corporation as the work was to distribute and not catch fish—LD. The Food Department is to import 500 lorry chassis to enable better distribution—DW.

**SUNDAY, OCTOBER 16:** Two international tractor manufacturers, one from Europe and the other from Japan have agreed to assist Sri Lanka's Tractor Corporation to set up its own assembly lines here. The NCGE certificate will be on par with the GCE 'O' level and SSC certificate an official of the Education Ministry said yesterday—SO. The government has decided to scrap the Administration of Justice Law in stages; in the first instance, the sections relating to civil procedure will be repealed by way of a bill which the Minister of Justice will introduce in the NSA before the first budget of the government. The Customs last week seized goods worth over Rs. 5,000,000 believed to have been illegally imported, in four separate raids on business establishments and houses in the city of Colombo. Sri Lanka's Finance Minister said yesterday that the Japanese PM had assured him that Japan would do its best to extend economic aid to his country. The PM in a letter to the Commissioner of Elections expressed his own appreciation and that of the government at the 'exemplary manner' in which the July general election was organised and conducted. Eight constituent unions of the JCTUO will not respond to the Ceylon Mercantile Union's call to stop work for one hour on Tuesday; this work stoppage is apparently to manifest worker opposition to compulsion by law—ST. An anti monopoly law to prevent what is considered unhealthy concentration of economic power in one individual or single organisation, the growth of monopolies and check restrictive business practices will be introduced in the NSA shortly—WK. The third amendment to the constitution, which will solve the problems of the Tamils will be presented in the NSA soon after the debate on the budget is over; this will free the Tamils from being second class citizens and grant their reasonable demands in addition to granting all citizens human rights—DP. The Minister of Transport will appoint a committee in the CTB to investigate the malpractices that have taken place during the last seven years—RR. In the proposed Free Trade Zone encouragement will not be given to industries with heavy mechanisation, but to manpower, so that many will be employed—SM.

**MONDAY, OCTOBER 17:** The Swiss government has requested the extradition or deportation of Joseph Karl Ulrich, the 23 year old Swiss national, who is suspected of having stolen foreign currencies amounting to over three million (Rs 10 m approx) earlier this month from the Zurich Post Office; official sources said that this request was likely to be granted, although he could be charged here on entering the island on a false passport and having a large sum of undeclared foreign currency in his possession at the time he was arrested. Visiting the Sirimavopura co-operative youth farm, the Minister of Irrigation saw the colossal failure of the project with an estimated loss of about 14 million Rs; he gave instructions for the allocation of 2 acres each to the youth and ordered the RVDB to give immediate financial assistance. The National Service Regiment with its headquarters in Kandy will be disbanded by the end of this month; it was formed during the height of the April 1971 insurgency and the soldiers attached to it used to guard prisoners. 28 persons were

rescued when the Panamanian registered freighter 'Chryssopigi Cross' sank off the coast of Galle at one o'clock yesterday morning. Five of the six campuses of the University of Sri Lanka will re-open today; the Jaffna Campus will re-open on November 7. The University will set up two more campuses in the Matara and Batticaloa districts; the preliminary details will be worked out by the two committees appointed by the Vice Chancellor. China has approved the preliminary designs for the sheet glass factory to be set up in Dankotuwa—CDN. The Swiss banking system of numbered accounts should be adopted in this country in order to induce Sri Lankans and foreigners to bank with local banks; this proposal has been made to the government by the Chairman of the People's Bank. Neither the working committee nor the Parliamentary group had addressed their minds to the question of accepting the position of District Ministers offered by the government, according to the Leader of the Opposition. The government will shortly announce incentives to Sri Lankan engineers abroad to return home and assist in the national economic development programme. A number of foreign firms have indicated their interest in the canning and export of fish from the proposed Trincomalee Free Trade Zone—CDM. The PM has appointed a high powered task force to oversee the implementation of the government's top priority project—the completion of the Mahaweli Scheme in five years instead of thirty years as planned earlier. The Leader of the House has advised MP's to involve themselves directly and deeply with the problems of the people and thereby earn their respect and confidence. The government expects to complete research within an year on the possibility of generating electricity from sunlight according to the Minister of Irrigation etc—SU. The Leader of the Opposition advised the Tamil youths of Jaffna not to lose their reason, be misguided and indulge in unlawful activities; by doing this they would only be ruining their lives and the future of the Tamil race itself; he said this in view of the fact that there have been a large number of murders, hold ups and robberies in the peninsula recently—DP. The doctors who were affected by the recent disturbances and who have not yet been transferred from Kandy, Kurunegala and Anuradhapura have decided to write to the PM asking him to give them permission to retire. The well known Communist Party member in the North, Mr. Ponnambalam is likely to resign from the CP (Moscow wing) along with few others and establish a new CP in Jaffna—EN. Three major suppliers of tea to the London auctions—Sri Lanka, India and Kenya—have agreed to regulate supplies to this important trading centre which is considered a point where prices are depressed. The Price Control Department will launch an all out assault on co-operatives to rid it of corruption and malpractices in the distribution of essential consumer goods—CO. The Minister of Irrigation etc has said that he was determined to electrify all parts of the island even with aid from the World Bank—DW. The Minister of Fisheries has decided to open stalls of the Fisheries Corporation in every electorate in the island—IDPR no. 38. Mr. L. A. A. Peries, Motive Power Superintendent of Railways has been appointed as Acting General Manager of Railways since October 13—IDPR. no 43.

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*To Commemorate The  
Sixtieth Anniversary  
Of The Founding Of  
The U.S.S.R.*

## AN EXHIBITION

### OF SOVIET BOOKS, PERIODICALS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

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will be opened at the  
JUBILEE HALL, UNION PLACE,  
at 4.30 p.m. on  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1977  
by the Speaker,  
The Hon. Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis.

The Exhibition will be open thereafter  
everyday from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m.  
until Sunday November 6, 1977.

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**People's Publishing House,**

124, Kumaran Ratnam Road, Colombo-2.

Phone: 36111



FROM THE C.W.C.

## Thondaman And The Second Amendment

FROM THE C.W.C.

Sir,

We read with interest your comments on Mr. Thondaman's participation in the debate on the Second Amendment to the Constitution and your posers in the 'Confidentially' column in the October 15th issue of *Tribune*. In this connection, we are enclosing a copy of a letter sent by us to the Editor of the *Sunday Times* as an answer to their Political Commentator *Makara* also on the same topic, which presents a correct picture of Mr. Thondaman's stance, in parliament in its proper perspective. To show how unfortunate your assumption that Mr. Thondaman had 'executed a neat turn around' is, we could do no better than to quote a paragraph from the same letter, which reads:—"The Second Amendment to the Constitution is not something exclusive to the Tamils affecting only that community. It is a national issue and Mr. Thondaman voting for the Second Amendment is fully in line with the independent policy that the C.W.C. has followed in such matters and is not inconsistent with the relationship that exists with the TULF."

Another point that merits a reply is an equally incorrect assumption that the "TULF now, at best, represents only the Ceylon Tamils in the North and the East". The Ceylon Workers Congress, representing as it does the entity of the people of Indian origin, is a constitution party of the TULF and by virtue of this fact, the TULF in addition to the Tamils in the Northern and Eastern Province also represents the Tamils of Indian Origin. Under the circumstances, we shall be grateful if you will kindly reproduce the letter we have addressed to the *Sunday Times* and also relevant extracts from this letter in the next issue of your journal so as to correct the erroneous impression that the piece may have created among your readers on this subject.

P. Krishnaswamy  
Director of Publications.

Ceylon Workers Congress,  
72, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha,  
Colombo 7.  
17.10.77

14th October, 1977

The Editor,  
"Sunday Times",  
Colombo.

Dear Sir,

Your Commentator *Makara* in his "Political Notes" published in the *Sunday Times* of 9th October 1977 under the caption 'Mr. Thondaman's Second (Amendment) thoughts' apparently in his anxiety to justify the pun on the word 'second' has embarked on a speculative exercise regarding Mr. Thondaman and the TULF, that he has distorted the factual position to grotesque proportions.

Perhaps 'Makara' is not aware of the full facts of the matter he comments on, namely the relationship between the TULF and the Ceylon Workers' Congress. The unity of the various groups of

Tamils in this country was achieved on the basis of a six point common programme. When this Programme was to be altered and the basis changed, the CWC not only discussed the whole issue with the leaders of the constituent parties of the TULF, but also communicated to them the views of the CWC in advance. It also refrained from participating at the Vaddukoddai Convention. The TULF at this Convention, not only recognised the stand taken by the CWC but also incorporated the CWC reservation in the body of the main resolution. The Convention elected Mr. Thondaman—head of the CWC as one of the three co-presidents, on its own initiative, in absentia.

In this background the leadership of the CWC and the TULF developed a new relationship in

which Tamil unity is being maintained while at the same time each of them pursuing independently their own line of approach and solution to the problems confronting the interests they represent.

During the last general elections, the CWC put forward its own manifesto and fielded candidates on its own ticket. In parliament the TULF and the CWC are recognised as two different and distinct parties and they function as such. It was in this context that the office of Leader of Opposition was filled. Further both parties presented amendments to the Government's Statement of Policy independent of each other.

The CWC also had and continues to have its relationship with the United National Party. When the UNP, while in the Opposition organised a series of Satyagraha campaigns to save democracy in the country, the CWC actively participated in such campaigns. In point of fact, Mr. Thondaman and other leaders of the CWC at grave personal risk to themselves participated in the Attangalla Satyagraha.

The CWC was invited for Opposition Parliamentary Group meetings, under the Chairmanship of the present Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene at a time when the CWC had no representatives in Parliament. During the last General Elections, the CWC supported the UNP in all electorates, except those contested by the TULF or CWC.

The above facts would present a clear picture of the relations that exist between the TULF and the CWC on the one hand and the UNP and the CWC on the other.

The Second Amendment to the Constitution is not something exclusive to the Tamils affecting only that community. It is a national issue and Mr. Thondaman voting for the Second Amendment is fully in line with the independent policy that CWC has followed in such matters and is not inconsistent with the relationship that exists with the TULF.

We shall be grateful if this rejoinder is given equal prominence in your journal as that given to the commentary by 'Makara.'

P. Krishnaswamy  
Director of Publications



SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN RICE

## Why Have We Failed?

—Despite The Adoption of High-Yielding Varieties—

The sub-optimal performance of high-yielding varieties of rice HYV may be attributed to the use of poor seed, combined with poor management practices which include inadequate fertilizer application, unsatisfactory weed control, deep transplanting and indifferent plant protection. Until these deficiencies are corrected we cannot close the gap that now exists between the potential yield of 120-140 bushels of paddy per acre that may be expected from HYV and what is actually achieved today.

That there is a desperate need to produce more rice goes without saying, because this staple accounts for 50 percent of the calorie and protein requirements of the people. But despite the fact that production has expanded at the annual rate of 6 percent, we still continue to import 30 percent of our rice requirements. Per-acre yield-increases have been mainly associated with the adoption of the high-yielding varieties (HYV). Surveys reveal that the rate of adoption is as high as 70 percent, yet the average yields at the national level are still disappointing.

Our farmers obtain only one-third to one-half the achievable potential of these HYV. Why?

One reason is that farmers do not use the best seed material available. In the adoption of HYV it is important to obtain seed of good quality, since the genetic viability of the seed is known to last only a few seasons. Many farmers however do not renew their seed paddy every 2-3 years—as they are expected to do—from certified institutional sources like the Department of Agriculture. Instead they go on using their own stocks, and in recent times because of recurrent droughts they have been compelled to purchase seed from other non-certified sources.

Clearly therefore, the use of seed material of doubtful quality has been the root cause of poor performances.

There are other reasons too. In the adoption of HYV it is necessary that fertilizers should be used appropriately to obtain the desired results. But although use of fertilizers continues to expand and is far more widespread today than before, it is rarely used in the recommended amounts. The main reason is financial. In the circumstances, farmers very often neglect to apply the basal mixtures, and use only sub-optimal quantities of the top-dressings as these show immediate and visible results. In the long run, however, the crop loses vigour and produces smaller earheads when denied regular basal applications of fertilizer. *There is much scope, therefore, for improvement in fertilizer practices.*

Control of weeds is another essential cultural practice since yields could be very adversely affected in the new varieties which are short and erect. Because of their stiff-strawed growth habit weeds are not shaded-out naturally as they are by the tall traditional types which tend to flop over. There is no doubt that the majority of farmers weed their fields manually. But the weeding they do is rather sketchy, and while this might have been sufficient for the tall traditional types it is obviously inadequate for the HYV.

The main reasons adduced by farmers for not weeding as intensively as they should are financial constraints and labour scarcity. While financial constraint is an acceptable excuse it is difficult to accept the plea for labour scarcity. Perhaps the reason is not so much scarce labour as a lack of understanding that the new varieties are more prone to weed infestation than the traditional types. *There is room here for more farmer education along these lines.*

Chemical and mechanical methods of weed control are not so popular. This is not surprising in respect of chemical methods, which are relatively expensive. But the same reason cannot be attributed to mechanical means. After all, a hand operated rotary weeder can be turned out quite cheaply and used quite conveniently.

A pre-requisite to the use of such a weeder however, is row-sowing or row-transplanting. But

for some reason seed dibblers are not commonly used. And even when transplanting is done the plants are usually planted at random and not in rows. Under these conditions the rotary weeder cannot be used.

*It is necessary, therefore, to promote the use of seed-dibblers or encourage row-transplanting as a prerequisite to rotary weeding, at least in those areas where labour is scarce or too expensive to be used effectively for the manual control of weeds.*

In the establishment of a rice crop it is generally accepted that transplanting gives better yields than broadcast-sowing mainly because the weeds are better controlled this way. But most farmers who transplant do so because it is a traditional community practice with no real thought of its advantages as a cultural practice. This is one reason why they transplant at random and not in rows. Similarly, without thinking, they often make the mistake of planting too deep. This precludes tillering and reduces crop yields. *There is room for more farmer education in this respect too.*

Plant protection is another integral facet of modern rice technology. As in the case of fertilizer it is imperative to use the appropriate agro-chemicals at the appropriate times. But it is clear that most farmers adopt protection measures only when their crops are seriously threatened. Otherwise, they are prepared to suffer a certain amount of pest damage rather than incur further expenditure on crop inputs.

In regard to the effectiveness of crop protection measures, the location of different plots in a single "yaya" makes it necessary to synchroise spraying and dusting operations to achieve the best results. But farmers obviously do not act together in this respect. If they act at all, they do so individually and at different times. And this makes one wonder—considering that most agro-chemicals aim at 50% kill at the recommended rates—whether these sporadic applications of pesticides are not really a waste of scarce financial resources. *Indeed! the scope for improving the efficacy of plant protection methods is very wide—specially in regard to group action.*



Until these deficiencies are corrected—that is, the use of poor seed combined with poor management practices—We cannot expect to close the gap that now exists between the potential yield of 120-140 bushel of paddy per acre from HYV and what is actually achieved at present.

Courtesy: *Agricultural Newsletter* No. 10, 1977, of the Agricultural Information Division.

## EDUCATIONAL IDEAS

### Of Maria Montessori

by P. Chandrasegaram  
Dept. of Humanities Education  
Faculty of Education  
University of Sri Lanka  
Colombo Campus

'We must prepare man, who is one among the living creatures and therefore belongs to nature, for social life, because social life being his own peculiar work, must also correspond to the manifestation of his natural activity', so declared Madame Maria Montessori, the great Italian educator, who in course of time became an internationalist, not only as a childhood philosopher but also as a political thinker with a world vision.

In 1947, approximately two years after the second world war great interest was awakened in Chiarvalle, Rome Maria Montessori's birth place, when it was announced that she was to give a talk on 'Education and peace'. Her experiences as a doctor, her involvement in the study of biology, philosophy, education and her research in the psychological development of children stood in good stead for her in her educational and social activities. She pursued her philanthropic work in the continent, the United States, Britain, India and Sri Lanka, with a very high sense of dedication.

There was no need to unite the world, for it was united already, was her assertion. In order to develop a peaceable disposition in young children we must give them their place in this united, unified world where everyone works for the benefit of his neighbour comrad, Man must work to bring nature to us. Nature's gifts will have to be tended.

Nothing was more easier than to make little children aware of the human kindness which is constantly being expressed in work, for every child meets with such kindness in everyday life. People should realize that they have this kindness within them.

Montessori, had begun to take an interest in young children in the early years of the century when she was working at the psychiatric clinic of the University of Rome and studied the behaviour of a group of 'feeble minded' children. After having involved herself in the study of experimental and criminal psychology she gradually deepened her insight into the physical and psychical stratum underlying 'abnormality', and her understanding of the educational methods by which behaviour could be improved.

To acquaint herself with what was being done elsewhere in the field of remedial education she spent some years in Britain and France.

She continued her study of 'mentally defective children', improved her methods of training, and invented the teaching materials which bear her name, a set of objects like interlocking puzzles, cubes, cylinder, laces and coloured implements, designed to stimulate dormant sensory perception. Finally she opened a school to teach teachers for the task of preparing 'feeble minded' children to play their part in normal life.

In the meantime however she had become increasingly absorbed by another educational question; as she found that there was marked improvement in the 'mentally deficient children', through the application of the findings of scientific research and new educational methods, if these are applied to the 'Normal children' results would be more impressive, and it would be in the interest of the entire human race.

An opportunity to translate this plan into action occurred when the city of Rome began to build large blocks of low-rent flats in the so-called slum areas of the city each provided with a kind of creche, and Madame Montessori was asked to organize and manage these. There were nursery schools where the children were given the Montessori teaching materials to stimulate their sense of touch,

hearing and observation; they had teachers who though always were on the watch, left the children the freedom to behave as they wished.

To the amazement of the teachers and the child educator Montessori, this led to the gradual emergence of a new type of child, who could concentrate on one occupation for a long time, who was thoughtful, pursuing its psychological development and building up its own personality in the quiet and peacefully experimental atmosphere, who was placid and naturally polite—a completely un-aggressive child.

It was her discovery of the un-aggressive child that led her to the conclusion that man was really intended for work and peace and not for hostility and destruction. It was also her wish to guide mankind along the paths of peace that prompted her to search for the methods and surroundings which would produce peaceful men.

She devoted herself mainly to the search for the 'better man', who is to be found in every child that is born into the world.

Montessori stressed the fact that the child's unsatisfied demands leave their mark on the grown man in the form of a conflict, a perpetual struggle that awaits man at birth and continues throughout his development, the conflict between the adult and the child, between the 'strong' and the 'weak', and even the 'blind' and the 'sighted'. The adult gets the better of the child, with the result that the grown man always carries the scar of these battles; something has been destroyed in him, and the price of his victory has been a painful adjustment. And it grieved her deeply to realise that during the process the finest psychic qualities of the individual are lost for ever.

When Maria Montessori, gave her first public lecture on the theme of education for peace as early as 1932, at Nice at the Congress of the International Bureau of education, she chose an imaginative and persuasive approach to the subject.

She went back through history of twenty centuries and spoke at length on the mysteriously securing 'plague' which took over the years, a toll of millions and millions of life. Men of learning later after scrutinising the invisible universe, discovered the microbe that was



responsible for the scourge and halted its reproductive process by drawing up certain vital rules of hygiene and inducing society to adopt them. As a result modern man is physically healthier than his ancestor.

Having built up this thesis, Maria Montessori carried her argument further 'War is like plague', she said and it leaves us bewildered. But just as a new physical constitution was needed to defeat plague, so we need a new spiritual constitution to help us to put an end to war.'

A child is required to be obedient, both at home and at school, as this demand for obedience is not based on any inner conviction, and makes no appeal to reason or justice, it merely produces men who are submissive to negative forces. The form of punishment, so frequent in schools, which consists in holding up the offender to public obloquy, putting her as it were in the pillory, gives children a senseless irrational fear of public opinion, even when that opinion is manifestly unjust and mistaken. Adjustment to these circumstances, and to many others of a similar nature, which foster a permanent inferiority complex, breeds and encourages, a spirit of devotion, almost of 'idolatry' directed towards the 'leaders' the authorities who for such sepressed personalities are a re-incarnation of parents and teachers, the figure the child was taught to regard as perfect and infallible. In this way discipline becomes almost a form of slavery.'

The concept of discipline in schools to a large degree has been re-oriented within the last ten years, due to the development of child psychology and the revitalisation of teacher education programmes, from the days Montessori uttered these words. Discipline to day is characterised as positive school order.

To Montessori's mind schools were the breeding grounds of war, in as much as instead of developing the child's sociability they discouraged it. Education develops a sense of isolation and pursuit of selfish interests. Children are not taught to help one another and are trained to think of only their advancement. They are cut off from their neighbours.

By 1937, Montessori's educational ideas were permeating world

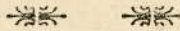
educational thought. When addressing the sixth International Montessori Congress at Copenhagen, she declared that the noble principle of 'Educate for peace', should ring out like a command. This was a period of distress but also she was comforted by the fact that a number of countries embracing different kinds of political ideologies had participated in the congress, which was a recognition of the fact that the world needed peace and peace could be taught by education. She spoke of education for peace, of peaceful children, of peace as the true testing of mankind.

Her clientele were mainly students and teachers of the world.

The child is basically good, but governed by negative forces is the principle she enunciated by precise, scientific study of the hundreds of young children she had the opportunity to observe, and worked with.

She was guided by the fact that the vision of mankind should be transformed; she pointed out that nothing but an educational system which instead of stifling the child, fostered his psychical energies, could produce men with the moral qualities required to control the tremendous scientific advances they themselves had brought about.

Montessori's views are still extremely contemporary.



FROM KATTANKUDI

## The Interested Neutral Speaks

The writer came to this Eastern Province of Ceylon 31 years ago. The American Jesuits of the New Orleans Province were asked by the Pope to develop the Trincomalee Diocese. The two schools, St. Michael's of Batticaloa and St. Joseph's of Trincomalee were separated by 84 miles of coastal road. It took us 12 hours of travel by car to cover that distance because of the many ferries. Before settling down to build up the Eastern Province both spiritually and materially, we thought of building a midway house, where on week-ends the two communities could meet and fraternize. But to us Americans, to whom distance means

nothing, these ferries were an unsurmountable obstacle.

Accordingly I personally went to Colombo and approached the American Vice-Consul, a certain Mr. Murphy, in the fall of 1946, and requested him to give us a bridge a year to shorten those 84 miles. What was his answer? "We will readily give you the bridge as requested; but will the Government build them?" That scheme fell through.....

The flood of 1957 rendered the Eastern Coastal Road still more impassable. The generous West Germany Government in pity gave us 10 bridges, and our hopes soared. But alas, not a single bridge was constructed on the Batti-Trinco coast road. Instead, we now have to travel 143 miles instead 84. So, after 31 years here, travel in the Eastern Province is more crippled than before.

As a neutral onlooker, and as one, who has been trying by mental, physical and monetary means to improve this territory, it is hard to convince myself, that the Government is interested in benefiting the Tamils. To me: **THE BATTI-TRINCO COASTAL ROAD IS THE CRITERION.**

**THE ELECTIONS:** As an avid reader of your esteemed journal *Tribune* I appreciate the Editor's analysis of the July 21 election. I would, however, call attention to one phase of that analysis: that **VOTING UNP IS NECESSARILY ANTI-TAMIL EELAM.** Let us not forget that for 7 long years the United Front Government was definitely left-leaning, to put it mildly. Such a Government in my opinion could scarcely sit down quietly, and at a round-table discussion, give them tardy justice. So, here at Navatkudah, we established two UNP branches, and thereby helped put in Mr. Fareed Mira Lebbe as Batticaloa's 2nd member. Now that the electorate of Ceylon has rejected the Leftists "root and branch," we can proceed orderly to the solution of another problem of equal or even more greater importance, namely, Tamil Separatists. **TAMIL EELAM:** Travelling from Batticaloa to Colombo by either train or car, with jungle and more jungle and non-habitation looming up almost endlessly, one would think that there is plenty of room for two nations; with "plenty of room for expansion", as one of the *Tribune*



writers lately expressed it. After all, the history of Ceylon is witness to the fact that there was virtual separation even before Christianity under three distant foreign Governments brought us together as children of One God.

**THE SCARS OF HISTORY:** The driving out of the Sinhalese by the Tamils ca. 800 A.D. from Anuradhapura and later ca. 1200 A.D. from Polonnaruwa, has rankled in the heart of every Sinhalese. Both were flourishing kingdoms, and the Sinhalese were mighty proud of them. Whatever their motives were in private cases, the Tamils would as a whole resent the proximity of Sinhalese settlements. But the records prove that even then the frequent intermarriage between Sinhalese and South Indian royalty, mellowed their animosity.

I was at Akarapattu and Ampara during the communal troubles when its local eruptions were at their height. Believe it or not, people shot one another in cold blood burnt houses, and hunted each other down like wild animals. And they buried the bloody victims with tearful and vengeful hearts. These are not pleasant experiences, and they leave deep scars behind.

Then to climax it all, the aftermath of our recent July 21 elections cries to the high heaven with its tale of woe. Though there was no war raging, the almost spontaneous manner in which violence erupted, a concatenation of murders' woundings, burnings, rapings, whole-sale evacuations, columns and shiploads of refugees, and other recorded and discreetly unrecorded outrages, speak only too eloquently that there is a deep, abiding antipathy. The probability of other eruptions of similar and even worse nature, would advise a status of friendly neighbours, instead of a union.

**VIABILITY:** So much has been written pro and con viability, it seems to me, if we look around the nations with so many in irredeemable debts, there remains the question of what degree of non-viability. Both India and Ceylon have achieved their independence without the shedding of blood, but at the conference table. Those were eminent examples, and we should be proud of it, of how to solve problems, even national, by talking it over. After all, bullets are poor arguments. I witnessed the bloodbath

of Spain, when 20,000 helpless Religious of both sexes were killed in cold blood, and the civil war, of brother against brother, had 1,000,000 victims. Even after one generation, that rift has not been healed

**PLEBISCITE:** On the international stage the Tamils have pulled a fast one. How many minority groups are not granted a plebiscite, and eke out a slave-like existence. Without such a permit, the Tamils solved their problems by simply conditioning their MP seat with the Tamil Eelam.

**CONCLUSION:** So, as a neutral, and keeping in view the fundamental principle, that as God's children our primary right as well as duty is to be happy, I would suggest the delegates of our two noble races Sinhalese and Tamils meet in cheerful and loving deliberation, and carve out for each other a proud and happy land.

Rev. Godfrey J. Cook S.J.

Little Lourdes  
Navatkudah  
Kattankudi  
11.10.77.

#### FROM OUR READERS

### One Country

Sir,

I thank you for publishing my second letter, also under the pseudonym 'Regular' (recently) *Tribune* Reader—a Jaffna Tamil. I am afraid I must be taxing your patience with such a long pseudonym. Hence in future I shall merely be 'NAD'—I am sure your printing department will not substitute 'M' for 'N'.

I am heartily in agreement with Mr. S. Sivanayagam when he places the *Tribune* "in the upper shelf of journalism in this country". I rather prefer to call our country as our Nation. My failure, over the years, to read the *Tribune* was not due to any particular antipathy to it because of the alleged "fixations" towards the left nor on account of any cause that I am able to identify. It was simply that I never saw a copy! Indeed when I saw one quite recently I thought I might as well read it to while away my time. It was then that I realised what I had missed over the years. It is not because of your, according to Mr. Sivanayagam, "inability of ridding yourself of..

some blind spots has been the Federal Party, now the TULF" nor of your obviously honest view that Eelam is a bad dream. Your policy has been to discuss each public issue on its merits and I am with you there.

The Fourth Estate in this country reached its most degrading depths prior to the General Election of 1970 when the United Front trounced the UNP unceremoniously in no uncertain fashion. In particular I refer to the Lake House Group which took it upon itself to print the pictures and trace the genealogy of the candidates and their relationship to the Leader of that Front who became Prime Minister as Head of the Government—Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. In this environment, it is refreshing to read the *Tribune*,

What is this blind spot that Mr. Sivanayagam is talking about? Surely a newspaper or magazine is entitled to its views? Was it wrong for the entire mass media to gang up to get rid of President Richard Nixon from White House, when he was the only President to obtain the highest plurality of votes in the United States? Was that fixation? Whether it was such a heinous crime—Watergate—is not for me discuss in this letter, but when the people of the USA decided that Watergate was indeed bad, the mass media maintained such a pressure that a great President, in my view, left White House in anguish. Can anyone deny that President Nixon did not change the future course of world history by opening the doors to China? A nation of 800 million people were denied an identity in the UN. A world politician had once referred to China as a "mere geographical expression", but did not have the foresight so see that one day that this very "geographical expression" was going to challenge the World as indeed it has done. Now, was that fixation? Well if all that was not fixation, then certainly your stand on Eelam is not fixation either. I agree that statistics can be manipulated to prove any point. Let us leave statistics aside and simply consider the realities of the situation as far as Eelam is concerned.

The Prime Minister, according to an interview reported in the *Sun* newspaper, had declared in unambiguous terms that Eelam is OUT. It is not even a matter for negotiations whether Mr. Amirtha-



lingam or Mr. Kasi Ananthan who is stated to be "several shades fiercer than Mr. Amirthalingam" like it or not. It has been rejected by Mr. Thondaman the "sole surviving titular President of the TULF". Every other political party has rejected the idea. The voting pattern, despite statistical jugglery of every description, points to a vote against Eelam. It is only a Tamil who is not prepared to accept the truth who will continue to talk of Eelam as if it were even a remote possibility. Let the TULF or whatever is left of it, or will be left of it in a few years, stop fooling itself and others and negotiate from a position of reality and not drag this Nation into another holocaust. It was a great speech of the Bishop of Kurunegala, the Rt. Rev. Lakshman Wickremasinghe at a meeting recently in Jaffna. Was it not good enough for the SLBC to ask the Bishop for a script and broadcast it to the Nation? He was a brave man to say such brave words. That speech should be read and re-read by every politician in this country, and in particular by the TULF leadership.

Mr. Sivanayagam takes issue with you on the viability and talks of tea, rubber, onions and potatoes. He wants to export honey. He talks of Parakrama Bahu the Great and says that there was no Tea or Rubber. Kenya is reported to export camels to Saudi Arabia. Is it suggested that Sri Lanka should export donkeys? We also have a fair supply of monkeys which Mr. Sivanayagam points out, with some filppancy, India exports to the US. Now does all this add up to make Eelam viable?

I wish to ask a simple question, Mr. Editor. Is there any reason why a Tamil from Jaffna should not enjoy the beautiful beaches of Uswetakiyawa or the placid waters of Pasikuda cove? Is there any reason why a Sinhalese from the South should not enjoy the casuarina beaches in Karaikalgar or the enchanting beauty of the Mari-chukaddi-Arippu shoreline and the Jaffna toddy? We have now for the first time since independence a Prime Minister who has had the courage to say that everyone in this country should learn Sinhala, Tamil and English. This was also reported in the Sun of 12.9.77. I am in entire agreement with Mr. Sivanayagam that when he says that the broadcast of the Prime

Minister Jayawardene's speech in the NSA, that even "the BBC could not have organised a better fire-side chat with one of their Prime Ministers for the air." I listened to the broadcast myself. JR did not look only 10 feet tall. He made one feel that he was Prime Minister of the entire NATION—a fact he declared from the Paddiruppu in the Octagon at Kandy. And, did Mr. Sivanayagam listen to the broadcast of JR's speech at the Prize Day at Zahira College? That was another watershed in history when he ended his speech by referring to the audience as "my friends and brothers". There was obvious sincerity when he said those words. I am a Tamil and he has called me "brother". To my knowledge, no other Prime Minister in this country, or other politician has used those words. Prime Minister Jayawardene is no longer a politician. He has matured into a STATESMAN.

Herbert Morrison has indicated in one of his books that politicians must maintain a continuing dialogue with the people who elect them. I do indeed wish very much that Mr. J. R. Jayawardene would consider the initiation of regular "Fire side Chats" every month. His voice is pre-eminently media-genic and I am sure the nation will like to listen to him. And for some time, it may be a good idea if some others keep quite.

I propose to end this at this point Sir. My next letter will be on the proposal of the Minister of Education to make the Peradeniya Campus a rully residential University for Post Graduate Studies.

Colombo.  
15.10.77

'NAD'

### Tri-lingual

Sir,

The Prime Minister's recent proposal to make Sinhala, Tamil and English Languages subjects of compulsory study in all schools, is a pronouncement deserving serious consideration. Language is a medium for the communication of thought. The number of languages that each person should learn must depend on his calling and communicational needs. While anybody should be free to learn as many languages as he wishes voluntarily,

nobody need be compelled to learn three languages when two will serve equally well.

It is advisable to introduce a vertical bilingualism into our education system: the mother language for the Arts subjects, and English for Science and Commerce, right through the Primary to University stage. It is also desirable that every student should take some courses in each of the three branches, Arts, Science and Commerce. Every pupil would learn the Arts subjects in his mother tongue right up to the Ph.D., and Science

### Revolutionary Marxist Party (Ceylon Section of the Fourth International)

Sir,

We have noted references in your journal to our Party as the Marxist Revolutionary Party (MRP), and have to inform you that our correct name is as set out above.

We have also noted with interest that your journal has been publishing material that is relevant to the development of a new Left movement, as distinct from the traditional Left movement that was built by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party. You may not be aware that our Party and the Ceylon Mercantile Union jointly resolved on May Day 1973, that the rebuilding of the Left movement was essential to the defence of the interests of our people. Thereafter, on March 9, 1977, the Ceylon Mercantile Union and our Party made a joint call for the establishment of an Anti-Capitalist United Front of the Working Class and all the Oppressed. We enclose copies of statements made by the Ceylon Mercantile Union and our Party in that regard, together with the 28-point programme of demands on which the Front we envisage may be based. We trust that it will be of interest to you.

**B. Tampoe**  
Secretary

No. 3, 22nd Lane,  
Colombo 3.  
9th September 1977

—We will publish the statements of R.M.P. as and when possible depending on the exigencies of space—Ed.



and Commerce in the English Language. Every student would, thus, have a rounded education and be familiar with the two media; mother language and English.

We therefore should seriously consider intensifying the study of English in schools. The benefits of this Vertical-bilingualism policy are: (1) The student would have to learn only two languages throughout, (2) The various troubles that have arisen since the passage of the Official Languages Bills like the languages to be used in Courts of Law etc., can be avoided. These in turn will help us to achieve, (1) the right of every citizen to study his mother-tongue, (2) the elimination of the fear of discrimination by treating all our languages alike.

Lionel Wijesiri

46, Madinnagoda,  
Rajagiriya.  
14, October 1977

## Clarification Of Race

Sir,

I have been a regular reader of *Tribune* and have been very much interested in the recent articles in the past numbers of *Tribune* on the articles relating to RACE.

You will observe that every application form be it for a Rice Ration Book, Voters List of Parliamentary Elections, Birth Certificate, Death Certificate or Complaint to a Police Station the question of filling up a person's race is asked for. I presume that it has been a statutory requirement to make such an inquiry. This question is absolutely unwanted and I am sure that the earlier Government by administrative directions stops these inquiries the better it is for good race relationships.

Until that matter is put right I seek your kind assistance to clarify the race of a person who has been born to parents of mixed marriages. Should the child's race be described as that of his father only? Is it an offence to take the race of the mother and insert the race of the mother in the documents?

Is the agnatic principle legal in Sri Lanka and if so what extent? Should not the proper "race" des-

cription be 'Mixed Parentage' in respect of children born to parents of a mixed marriage? What are the guide-lines applicable at present. I shall think you to favour me with a reply and also find some space for this inquiry in your popular Weekly.

D. Mathews

16, Lilly Avenue,  
Jayanthipura,  
Battaramulla.  
14th Oct. 1977

## A Reply

Sir,

Thank you very much for promptly publishing my letter. Herewith I am sending a letter as a reply to some of your comments made in the same issue. In fairness to me, I think, you will publish it. Swami Vivekananda called this world as a "moral gymnasium." Hence it is our duty to try to grow in moral and spiritual stature. In this struggle whether you and I happen to be Tamils or Sinhalese is immaterial. We are human beings and therefore brothers. In this endeavour for making ourselves better human beings we have to co-operate with Dharma and non-Co-operate with Adharma. It is in this spirit I have been writing and hope to continue it in the future also. We have our difference of opinions even then I have great respect for you. When compared with our "National Newspapers", you are struggling to keep a commonwealth standard. I greatly appreciate that. I hope to write to you again.

S. Mahalingam

7, Pirapankulam Road,  
Jaffna.

Sir,

Thanks for publishing and commenting on my letter in your October 1 issue. While making your comments you have attributed to me things which I have never meant to express. I refer to the sentence: "What he suggests is that fairness and objectivity can be maintained only by criticising and scolding the Sinhala Government and the Sinhala chauvinists (to him all Sinhalese seem to be communal ex-

tremists) all the time and at every turn and at the same time tolerate and approve antics, gimmicks and demagogic rhetoric of the TULF as the acceptable politicking of a discriminated minority". To make my position clear I want to state the following:

1. Immediately after a communal holocaust, among all political parties, you have singled out the TULF which alone represents the affected Tamil minority and preaching sermons to them. You have been doing this from your September 10 issue. In my view this is neither fairness nor objectivity. As stated in my letter I am always for a balanced and fair criticism."

2. To me all Sinhalese are NOT communal extremists. I have great admiration for and treasured memories of noble souls like Wilmot A. Perera, and S. A. Wijeyatilake (a former Principal of Ananda College). They are true Buddhists and men of goodwill among the Sinhalese but unfortunately they are not able to make their presence felt.

3. I want to criticise "the Sinhala leaders and their communal-minded policies." But that does not mean that I have ill-feeling or hatred for them. I want to raise my voice against injustice and Adharma. With all humility, I am trying my best to do that. Let us trust in God and do the right.

S. Mahalingam

7, Pirapankulam Road,  
Jaffna.  
10.10.77

## In Jaffna

Sir,

May I take the liberty of questioning some of the things you say in your LETTER FROM THE EDITOR in *Tribune* of 24th September? Is there any evidence about the existence of a "militant youth wing" of the TULF, or their terrorising anybody into submission? How is that persons like me have not heard of such a self-styled military wing of the TULF except in the pages of your esteemed weekly, in another Colombo daily newspaper and in some reported police communiques?

No doubt there have been some bank robberies, and from the



usual style of these proceedings one may suspect that the motives go beyond common theft.

It is certainly an unhappy state of affairs that in recent months private citizens and their homes have been robbed in Jaffna. To say the least, I believe the police have been unequal to their responsibilities. Please do not find other scapegoats for them.

K. Nesiah

Chundikuli,  
9, Oct. 1977

## Dowbiggin

Sir,

Please permit me to reply briefly to Mr. C. E. J. Alles's letter of 3.10.77 published in the *Tribune* of 15.10.77.

The same Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, who soon after the 1915 riots urged in the Legislative Council the removal of (then Mr.) H. L. Dowbiggin, I.G.P. subsequently paid tribute to him and described Sir Herbert as the finest ornament in the Ceylon Public Service. Sir Herbert retired in or about the year 1932.

I am personally aware of what happened in 1915 during World War I. I was then about 9 years of age.

I have personal experience also of the 1958 riots and the atrocities committed by my own race and also the valour displayed by certain Sinhala agricultural scientists and farm managers in protecting their brother officers belonging to a minority community in agricultural stations in the NCP and Polonnaruwa districts which I visited on the fifth day since the commencement of the riots in order to see for myself and assess the situation.

I have seen and heard of what happened in 1971 too.

Not being chauvinist I can appreciate the good done by even the British when they ruled Ceylon in the same way as Mahatma Gandhi did when he referred to General O'Dyer who "put down" most sternly a communal disturbance in Amritsar and whom Gandhi acknowledged was a very brave man.

Rather than condemn them I feel sorry and ashamed that the preponderant majority community to which I belong should act so

inhumanly towards the defenceless and helpless minority communities whenever one or a few of them have committed a fancied or real minor lapse or indiscretion.

As Mr. Alles does not know me personally it is immaterial whether I subscribe my name or initials. It should suffice to say that I am a pure Sinhala of Ruhuna whose families date back to the dawn of Sinhala civilization and perhaps its earliest kingdom at Lankapura (later Tissamaharama).

R. W. W.

5, De Alwis Avenue,  
Mount Lavinia.  
15.10.77

## Fr. Tissa Balasuriya's Eelam Analysis

Sir,

It is with deep interest, I read Mr. S. Sivanayagam's communication to the Editor on 'Tribune and Eelam', which appeared in the Oct. 15th issue of *Tribune*. I would be very much pleased, if you'll permit

me to make a few relevant observations in regard to Fr. Tissa Balasuriya's approach on the Eelam verdict.

I am in total agreement with Mr. Sivanayagam, in pointing out that "resting heavily on Fr. Tissa Balasuriya's research does not help, in gaining an insight into contemporary Tamil thinking". It is with deep regret I have to convey you, Mr. Editor that the learned Father T.B. shows lack of insight and perspective, of an objective student of current political affairs, which may be characterised as the *natural weakness of contemporary historians (as well as political scientists) in Sri Lanka, observed by what is known as partisan spirit.*

How else can I come to a conclusion, when observing the sort of inference he puts forward like "The TULF would have lost in Padiruppu if not for the division of votes amount the LSSP, SLFP and UNP which together got 16,412 votes as against 15,877 for the TULF". This sort of 'shabby-slanting' doesn't reflect his intellectual calibre. We have to infer for an *impartial analysis, from the realities which had occurred, and not from mere illusions.*

### LETTER

Sir,

### WHY?

As one who has visited Sri Lanka several times and has a deep love for your island and its people, it is naturally distressing to read of the tension and disturbances between Sinhalese and Tamils. Not, mind you, that this is anything unusual in these modern times. Here in Canada we face a somewhat similar situation as regards the French and English-speaking communities.

It seems to me that there is evidence of a massive change at work in all parts of our world. The "status quo" is breaking down, whether we like it or not. The question is, of course, what replaces the old state. If everyone simply tries to cling to their old traditions or culture, then I think it is pretty obvious that we are in for increasingly serious conflict. Isn't there another alternative, though? If we were to be more concerned with expressing a stable and upright quality of character, in which is included an understanding and appreciation of others, than with upholding our own rather narrow traditions and heritage, then I suggest we would immediately see a change for the better. As we sow, so do we reap. If we cling to what separates and divides us, we will be separated and divided. If we love that which has power to bring us together—the qualities of respect, love, compassion, to name but a few—we will be brought together.

I am a weekly newspaper editor in western Canada. I would be very pleased to hear from any of your readers on this matter.

Chris Foster

P. O. Box 9  
100 Mile House,  
British Columbia,  
Canada.  
Wednesday, Oct. 5/77



By using the same yard-stick the learned Father T. B. had used, I also can infer the following: that UNP would have lost four of the seats (Kalmunai, Kalkudah, Muttur and Batticaloa (2)), in the EP if not for the division of votes among the TULF, SLFP and LSSP. Most significant example is the two-member Batticaloa seat, where SLFP nominated two candidates, and both of them polled a total of 16,536: UNP candidate could attract only 12,672 voters. By virtue of votes being splitted between its candidates, SLFP 'missed the bus' and UNP gained by it.

Coming again to the TULF victory in Padiruppu, two points make interesting observation, which I submit to Fr. TB to take a note of it.

- (1) It is in Padiruppu, the highest majority in the EP (10,244) and the only one above 10,000 mark had been recorded.
- (2) TULF regained this seat from UNP, after losing it in 1970. The gentlemen who won this seat for UNP then, contested this time on the SLFP label and came 3rd; the UNP candidate was placed last in a four-cornered contest.

S. Sri Kantha

Colombo.  
15.10.77

## SHORT STORY

### Devotion

by Vinodini

The sea beckons me like few other things do and that particular day was no exception. There was I sitting on the beach flinging pebbles into the sea and thinking. Each man has his peculiarities and this was one of mine—sitting on the beach with the waves washing my feet, and throwing pebbles or shells or driftwood periodically into the sea, in accordance with my thoughts. Nothing is more relaxing. The sea has a soothing effect on me as well—just sitting there on a calm day with eyes closed, listening only to the sound of the waves breaking on the shore. I had haunted this part of the coast for months now, living in a tiny cottage near the beach trying to write a book, and anyone

who has tried writing one will know what an arduous task it is. The tribulations one has to undergo are many—mainly mental. The long spells of unproductiveness when not a word can be put on paper, the inability to express anything—the frustration, the despair, the hopelessness could go on for weeks. Then one day, a glimmer of hope or it may even be a flash of inspiration which appears like lightning—suddenly, unexpectedly, only to disappear again. A writer's inspiration is as unpredictable and as erratic as the proverbial weather. There are moments when one wonders whether it is worthwhile going on, whether it would not be better to give it all up and do something safe—for instance like working in an office, where you do your work and get paid regularly. But those sudden moments of inspiration are worth the weeks of disappointment and disillusionment. When they appear one wonders how one could ever have entertained thoughts of giving up.

I had been going through a bad patch for months, had wandered far and wide and become more frustrated than when I had started out. That particular morning frustration was slowly giving way to resignation, when my attention was caught by something, or rather by someone. It was the first time I had seen him, for I had been pre-occupied, unmindful of my surroundings all this while, and I wondered if it was the first time he had seen me, for if he had, he probably thought me queer or eccentric as many others did. I decided to let the book take a rest for awhile (in any case I had been stuck at this particular chapter for goodness knew how long) and talk to someone for a change, that is if he was inclined to talk.

I got up and walked towards him. These people of the sea always held a special place in my heart. I am drawn to them, in fact, I am a little in awe of them for the life I lived was so tame compared to the many hazards they had to face. He was seated under a coconut tree mending nets and I wondered why such a stalwart was doing that at this time of day when he should be out at sea? It was only when I got closer that I saw that he had only one leg. That explained his being there then. I sat down near him but did not say anything.

Nor did he. Through experience I had found that a man who is too eager to smile or talk cannot be trusted as much as one who is slow to speak. Over anxiety to please I have often found, is followed by a request for something—this is generally the rule rather than the exception. So we sat there without exchanging a word for quite a while. He was a fine specimen of a man—with powerful shoulders and rippling muscles bronzed by exposure to the sun. My estimation of his height when he was seated was around six feet, which is a rare height in our country. He wasn't old, somewhere in his thirties I think. When he looked up, I could sense hostility in his glance and suspicion—whether he had a complex about his disability or he considered me an idler who was trying to amuse myself at his expense, I am not sure. In any case I thought it prudent to be silent.

At length, I thought I would go. But he seemed to have other ideas. He had apparently decided I was not so bad after all, for he asked me if I would like some fish. Seeing no boats returning I wondered what fish he was talking about. Sensing my doubts he pointed a little distance away from where he was sitting. I could only see a pile of ash, and some hemp lying nearby. He moved towards it and started pushing the ash aside and unearthed something from the sand. The most mouth-watering smell assailed my nostrils—the smell of baked fish! He soon had it clean and presented it to me on a leaf and began doing the same for himself. I have tasted fish cooked in many ways, but this surpassed them all! As I ate, which was rather unusual for me—not eating, but accepting the offer of a stranger, I thought of all the kitchens with ladies gloating over their electric cookers and this! It was better than anything they could produce. In fact it had a distinctive flavour which would be difficult to achieve in any kitchen. I asked him how it was done and he promised to show me the next time. I finished every little morsel, licked my fingers and wished there was more. He grinned when he saw the wistful look on my face, a grin of pure amusement and pleasure. I liked his face, it was an open, honest face and he looked one straight in the eye when he spoke. I had



trusted him on sight and would be pleased to further our acquaintance. And so it was. I spent the rest of the day and many other days chatting to him. He taught me many things—to bake fish, to mend nets, to cast a net from shore, catch prawns—and oh, so many other little things. Despite his handicap, he moved around fast with the aid of two sticks. Never for a moment did he brood or give way to despair. This was another big lesson for me.

As he came to know me better, he took me home and I met his little daughter. She was a delightful child—so full of mischief and bursting with energy and seemed to adore her father. There did not seem to be a mother around. Though shy at first, she soon became friendly and for the rest my stay was a constant companion and confidante. So much so that when the time came for me to move on, I found it as difficult as she did to part company. She was a real little monkey at times though! Many were the occasions I looked frantically around the beach for her, only to find her impishly grinning from a top the tallest coconut tree! We did share some good times together and I re-lived many of my childhood memories. I tried generally, for my life was such, not to form too many attachments. But in this case I didn't succeed too well.

The weather which had been sunny for some time now, changed suddenly. From being blue or green, the sea turned grey. The skies were constantly overcast and it rained. Oh! how it rained. It rained without ceasing for days. Everything was bleak and cold, and perversely enough my inspiration which had been lying dormant for weeks, suddenly burst forth in a stream. This I noticed, was another of my peculiarities, that when it was raining I could work best. Bright sunshine somehow dampens my creativity. Now, within a short time I got through threefull chapters of my book, locked up in a room without getting out while the rain was beating relentlessly on the roof and thunder and lightening rent the air, and the wind howled and wailed outside. Suddenly, one evening I was sick, sick of writing. I did not want to put down one more word, just felt like getting out and walking along the beach and being dren-

ched in the rain. So I did and ended up in Phillipu's house. From the look on his face, I gathered that if he had thought me eccentric before, now he was convinced that I was stark, raving, mad. Yet, he greeted me warmly, which I found heartening for he had the capacity to accept another person for what he was instead of passing judgement—which is the practice among most men.

I spent the whole evening with him and was contemplating my return when he said: "Do you know that it was for the love of a woman that I lost my leg, and a worthless woman at that? I will never trust another woman in my life!" This stormy outburst from my usually placid friend took me quite by surprise, but I didn't say a word.

(To be Concluded)



## A MYSTERY

### The Pocket Watch

(as this tale was related  
to Titus Handuna)

Let me start by saying that I hope I am not betraying the Editor's secret when he asked me to get this down on paper, that I think he had some idea that it might help portray a small part of contemporary Ceylon, as my late master still calls this island, saying that it is the English for Sri Lanka much as *Espagnol* and *Spain* are two names for one country. I must start by introducing myself. My late master acquired me when he was working in an iron ore mine at Haverigg in Cumberland or Cumbria, as the enlarged country is called now. He went down the mine to work as he was reluctant to go and work in another place, a town or country. The mine was all but cheek to jowl with the tannery where he had worked a year, and he was to spend two years in the mines, years which he used to say were the happiest in his working life.

All the workers in the mine used to have a fortnight's holiday a year, and when at the end of that fortnight they had sweated out all the iron ore dust that was in them, so that the vests they

wore were no longer red when they took them off, they started the process of inhaling a fresh lot of dust in. All the clothes that they wore down the mine soon became red, even to their underclothing which they changed once a week. Even their flask and their bait-box had a veneer of red. So you will appreciate that a mine was no place for a wrist watch, and yet every group of workers down below, and they worked in groups of three, had to have a watch, or they would never have known their lunch or tiffin-time, for which they had twenty minutes, but invariably took up to three quarters of an hour, for they had to have a snooze, those who did not talk all the time, who always had something to say. Without a watch to each group, they would never have known when to leave their place of work to get back to the shaft, for they aimed to get back to the shaft half an hour before the end of the shift.

My master wanted to be as independent as he could, so he acquired me, new and bright from a Pole in his shop for £ 2.00. I was wrapped in cotton wool and kept in a tin, and the tin, wrapped in its turn in cloth, was kept in a pocket of his working jacket. He took me home and did not leave me among his clothes in the changing room. My master lived alone and only once did he have a guest, except when members and his family visited him once a year and stayed a week. If he lived alone, he was constantly going out on his motor-bike, and so he by no means lived the life of a hermit. It was I who was the hermit, for I was always left behind. One day my master decided to leave the mine, but he continued to live where he was and taught for a term in a prep-school. He had to motor-cycle twenty miles to get there and for a short time when the weather was very cold he slept at the school and did not return home. Then my master went to Africa for six months, and to Ireland for another six months, and then he came out to Ceylon again. He brought me with him this time, and he stayed for fourteen years. He is still in Ceylon, and unless I have been smuggled away, I am still there. It came about like this.

For the most part I was in Colombo with my master. He went to Mihintale for a year and he took



me there for part of the time. He was at Kala Oya for two years, but I stayed in Colombo and as for the most part he was back every week, it made no difference. Then the time came when he began to stay on his estate, and that was where this story really begins.

There were three scamps who lived in his house. One was a watcher and his home was in the Wann. The other was a cattle-man, and he really had no home. The third looked after the bungalow, and there were two others who had done this job before him. The houseboy was the first to go, and the lad to whom this job was entrusted got roaring drunk in the middle of a day and that settled him. A Tamil lad took his place, but he also was too headstrong to last. All this time no one dreamt of removing me from the wall on which I hung from a nail and served as the one and only time piece on the estate. When the last of the three musketeers had gone, and the Tamil lad who had followed them, too, my late master was left with no one to look after him in the house, and he just about lived on bread and plantain, fortified first with the remains of some margarine, and then a tin of condensed milk and a bottle of marmite. He put on weight for the first time in a year, but he lost a lot of energy.

One day my master locked up the house and he and the woman who was doing for him in the house for just half a day at a time, left the place together. My master returned to let the milk-delivery man put the bicycle away in the house. The man was inside alone, while my master browsed through newspapers on the verandah. They too left the home together, my master having secured a window at his first departure as he thought. When the woman had returned from shopping, a watcher had asked for the bungalow key to give her. He followed not much later to be greeted on the doorstep with the news that the watch had been removed, that I was missing. I heard that he had said in Sinhalese. It cannot be so!

The two people who naturally came under suspicion for stealing me away were the milk-delivery man and the temporary char or cook. The woman had left the front door to go to the kitchen and had then come back to look at me.

She was sure I was in place before she had gone shopping. The delivery man had helped her unlock the door and he had then gone off he said. I am still away from my master.

Where am I?

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## COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA

# On The New Soviet Constitution

*(Statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.)*

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka heartily congratulates the Soviet people, their government, and their great Party of Lenin on the adoption of the new Constitution of their country by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The adoption of this Constitution is a fitting prelude to the forthcoming 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which brought the world's first socialist state into existence and began the great revolutionary transformations of the world in this century.

The new Soviet Constitution is a document of profound importance, both domestically and internationally. Domestically, it represents the summation of the 60 years of socialist development since The October Revolution. It demonstrates vividly how the noble aims of that revolution and the profound scientific perspectives and teachings of V. I. Lenin are being creatively and successfully translated into life by the Soviet people. The new Soviet Constitution sets out the essential features and goals of the mature and developed socialist society that exists in the USSR today. It will be a glorious banner under which they can continue their advance to Communist Society. The new fundamental law of the Soviet Union also records a further development and deepening of socialist democracy. The fundamental rights and freedoms that Soviet citizens enjoy under the socialist system are both more real and more extensive than those enjoyed by the

citizens of even the most "liberal" of capitalist democracies. The rights and freedoms of citizens under Soviet socialist democracy extend far beyond the right to choose their rulers periodically, or to have such liberties which are not restricted by law and which they can exercise only if they have the material wherewithal to do so.

Under socialist democracy, the rights and freedoms of citizens are not merely guaranteed by law, but the means through which these can be effectively exercised in practice are also ensured. Soviet citizens not only choose their representatives, but also exercise effective control over them, both by drawing up mandates which such representatives should carry out and, if need be, by recalling and removing them even before their prescribed term of office is over. Soviet Democracy also enables citizens to take part actively and continuously in the process of determining and executing national and regional policies. The rights they enjoy are also linked with their social obligations to each other, to their country and its socialist society, and to the world-wide struggles for peace, national liberation, and social progress. No Constitution of a capitalist country can, with truth, guarantee to its citizens, as the Soviet Constitution does, such rights as the right to work, to select their employment in keeping with qualifications and social needs; to housing; to free education (including universal compulsory secondary education) and vocational training; to medical care and health protection; and to assured care and maintenance in sickness, infirmity or old age.

The wide participation of the Soviet people and their organisations in the discussion and finalising of their new Constitution are a further expression of Soviet democracy. Over one and a half million meetings to discuss the constitutions took place and nearly 350,000 proposals and amendments were suggested. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has rightly observed, the whole Soviet people have in fact become the true creator of the fundamental law of their state. The new Soviet Constitution and the way of life it enshrines are an effective answer to those who, in their desperation



to prevent the policies of detente becoming irreversible in world affairs or for other reasons, are currently prattling about the alleged lack of "human rights" in the socialist countries.

The international importance of the new Soviet Constitution is as great as its domestic significance. The Constitution itself is permeated by the profound internationalism of the Soviet people, by their deep desire for peace, and by their great concern for the freedom, welfare and happiness of other peoples. This is shown in the special chapter on the purposes and principles of the foreign policy of the USSR that is now included in the new Constitution. The new Soviet Constitution will help greatly in strengthening the struggle for social progress and socialism throughout the world. It is yet another proof of the superiority of socialism over all other known social systems. For the working people of the capitalist countries, and for the progressive forces of the newly liberated countries who seek the quickest and most effective way of ridding themselves of the backwardness inherited from colonial bondage, the new Soviet Constitution and all it represents provide an example and bring new hope and encouragement in their struggles for a better life.

The role played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by its Leninist Central Committee, and by its General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in leading the activities of the Soviet people in the preparation, discussion and final adoption of the new Constitution has been considerable and should be specially acknowledged. In this matter, as in all the great successes of the Soviet people in building a mature socialist society over the past 60 years, the unflagging and correct leadership of Lenin's great party has been indispensable. On the occasion of the adoption of their new Constitution, we again congratulate the Soviet people, thank them for their valiant contribution to the great cause of mankind's liberation from war and all forms of exploitation, and heartily wish them renewed successes in the years ahead.

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FOR THE RECORD

## INDIAN VIEW

### MADRAS "HINDU" EDITORIAL ON OCTOBER 8, 1977 ON NEW CONSTITUTION FOR SRI LANKA

ENJOYING AS THE ruling United National Party does a massive majority in the National Assembly (Parliament), there was no doubt at all about a safe passage for the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene's bill to amend the Sri Lanka Constitution to usher in a Presidential form of government. There was no dissenting vote, though Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party staged a walk-out while the main Opposition party, the Tamil United Liberation Front, did not participate in the debate. The UNP in its election manifesto, had promised to adopt and operate a new republican Constitution under which the executive power will be vested in a President elected directly by the people, preserving at the same time the parliamentary system. But the first President under the new set-up is to be Mr. Jayawardene who justifies the amending of the Constitution by pointing to the requisite mandate given to his party by the voters. The change which will come into being on a day to be fixed by the Prime Minister will make the President the repository of all executive power, as in the United States. He will hold office for six years and his tenure does not depend on the fortunes of the National Assembly. But the American comparison ends there, for the Sri Lanka President will have to choose his cabinet from among the members of parliament who will continue to represent their constituencies even after their induction into the Council of Ministers. This is the way Parliament is made to keep control over the ministers who, including the Prime Minister, are "accountable to the House". How far Parliament's hold over the Ministers will really be effective has to be seen only from experience, considering the provision that it is the President who will determine the assignment of sub-

jects and functions to the Prime Minister and the Ministers. The President has also the right to decide what subjects he will himself deal with. Since the President is not accountable to the National Assembly, it is debatable whether or not parliamentary control over the executive as a whole could be real.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has seen in this exercise a possibility of the President becoming a dictator. Mr. Jayawardene has refuted this. It all depends on how the rules of the game are played. At this stage, one has to take Mr. Jayawardene's word for it. Looking into some of the other changes that are being proposed in the Constitution, the fear that the seeds of dictatorship are being sown may only be illusory. For instance, a provision is made for the first time to have district Ministers who are all members of the National Assembly. While their functions are yet to be fully spelt out, the proposal seems well conceived if the intention is to establish a proper rapport between the districts and the administration through Parliament. It is also proposed to appoint consultative committees of members of Parliament for each Ministry and bring in a system of proportional representation for parliamentary elections. A parliamentary select committee will go into these proposals (which are mainly intended to strengthen the legislature) along with some fundamental issues like the problem of minorities and parliamentary scrutiny of appointments to the public services and State corporations.

\* The leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front has kept away from the debate. He has said it did not really matter to the Tamils whether there was a cabinet form of government or a presidential type. The show of such cynicism is understandable. Mr. Amirthalingam was no doubt expressing his feeling more in sorrow than in anger. Though the TULF won on the issue of a separate State for the Tamils, it is not as if its leaders have a closed mind on it. Mr. Amirthalingam has said that his party would formulate its position after the terms of reference to the proposed select committee are finalised. The Prime Minister has been forthright in declaring that the proposed committee should go into the problems of the Tamil-



speaking minority and that nobody should suffer in the country just because he does not know Sinhala. The TULF leaders should make the best use of the opportunity to put constructive suggestions before the committee for the express purpose of incorporating them in the Constitution suitably. Considering the fact that Mr. Jayawardene has fulfilled many of the election promises there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. The Tamils and the Sinhalese must decide to co-exist in a peaceful manner in the larger interests of the country.

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FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

## THE SUBCONTINENT

New York, Sept. 27. (NSIPS),

Recent events in the subcontinent of South Asia have raised the possibility that the region, where almost a quarter of the world's population lives, will soon descend into chaos, communal violence, ecological holocaust and even fullscale regional war. Foreign power centers—based in the U.S., Saudi Arabia, and China—are actively intervening into the region to create this horror. These plotters have deeply involved themselves in the internal affairs of the three major countries of the region—India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh—working to manipulate communal religious based national tensions.

In all three nations, commitments to secular politics, both internally and in relations with their neighbours, are being wiped away in favour of religious and communally based regimes. The largely Muslim populated nations of Pakistan and Bangladesh are being maneuvered against the Hindu-majority India, which itself has a large (70 million) Muslim population. With these developments, the basis for internal stability and national unity is being severely undermined and the potential for regional war heightened.

The establishment of the three ruling regimes in these countries is a clear result of the drive to

dismember the subcontinent. In Pakistan, the more secularly oriented and prodetente (with India) government of Prime Minister Bhutto was overthrown in July by a military junta that has rapidly thrown off its earlier "neutrality" to display a reactionary "Islamic" chauvinist orientation. In Bangladesh, the military junta installed after the 1975 murder of secular national independence leader Mujib Rahman has moved this year to make the country an official "Islamic" state. In India, the new government of Prime Minister Desai's Janata Party contains rightwing Hindu and caste chauvinist elements who are making a bid for increased power within the government and the Janata.

Pakistan is the probable trigger for the next level of escalation in the region. Informed sources from the region have put together a credible scenario: following the scheduled October elections in Pakistan, it is highly likely that a civilian-military Islamic regime will be set up, probably headed up by Asghar Khan, the former Air Force head, anti-Bhutto leader and a US National Security Council agent. Khan who has a "liberal democrat" image complete with pro-Peking leanings, has already indicated he wants to "investigate" the events which led to the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971 and the creation of the new state of Bangladesh out of the former East Pakistan. Such an investigation is calculated to lay blame for the events—still viewed as a "secession" in Pakistani circles—in Bhutto with the intent of clearing the way for a re-alignment of Pakistan and newly Islamized Bangladesh.

A Pakistan-Bangladesh re-alignment along Islamic ideological lines will have a predictable effect on India. The Hindu chauvinist elements in India—the paramilitary RSS organization and the Jan Sangh wing of the Janata Party—will immediately start organizing around the Islamic "threat" to India, fueling their own bid for power. The region has seen three major wars and several minor ones—involving India and Pakistan—and outstanding border disputes, refugee flows (from Bangladesh to India) and other flashpoints exist to be inflamed. At the least, the rise of these communalist elements will bring internal violence and the conditions for implementation

of the World Bank's genocidal austerity policies...policies already underway in all the countries.

The most overt new foreign role in the region is being played by elements of the Saudi Arabian monarchy, which is the main financial and political backer for the Islamic-based military juntas in Bangladesh and Pakistan. It is widely acknowledged that the Saudis—who were deeply involved in the long political dispute which preceded the July coup, gave the go ahead for the coup, and it is even rumored that they ordered the recent arrest of Bhutto. Pakistan junta head General Zia ul-Haq met with the Saudi Ambassador immediately after the coup and numerous times since. Recently he announced the renaming of the third largest city in Pakistan to Faisalabad, after the late Saudi King Faisal.

The Saudi role is equally strong in Bangladesh, where President Zia, the military junta head, has made recent pilgrimages to Saudi Arabia, and this week to Egypt. Saudi money has poured in and reliable sources report that purchases of US arms are being made with Saudi money. President Zia makes no attempt to cover this alliance—it is well known that a recent alteration of the constitution making Islam a principle of the state was made in exchange for a check from Saudi Arabia which Zia displayed on national television. President Zia, partly in response to strong internal opposition to his regime from secular nationalist forces, has openly embraced Islamic fanatic groups such as the Jamaati Islami and, incredibly, some groups that opposed Bangladesh independence and favored remaining part of Pakistan.

In both Pakistan and Bangladesh, the Peking regime pursuing, as always, their goal of anti-Sovietism, has provided the left cover for the regimes. The Chinese were openly displeased with Bhutto, their former friend, when he started making overtures to Moscow, and they greeted the coup with pleasure. In Bangladesh, the virulent Maoist organizations are among the strongest supporters of the regime, and some observers feel they are present to provide a "left" alternative should the regime weaken against the nationalist forces.

The final and crucial remaining piece of this operation is the



role of the monetarist financiers operating in the Carter Administration and the National Security Council. Besides US backing and direction to the coup in Pakistan and the support of the "stable" juntas in both Pakistan and Bangladesh (the "private" State Department view), the main US effort is now directed toward India, a new "friend" since the downfall of the Gandhi government last March. Throwing aside the previous US practice of playing off Pakistan against more Soviet-aligned India, the Carter Administration has made an official declaration of an "India-tilt" policy: that the US now recognizes India as the "pre-eminant power" in the region. This is calculated to send the Pakistanis crawling the walls in rage. The Carter visit to India in November, as part of his world tour, conspicuously snubs Pakistan which has always been part of past trips of US Presidents to South Asia.

Daniel Sneider  
New Solidarity

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## Grama Sastra-2

Scribblings On Uva Villages

## Human Rights And Kusavan

by Samiya

"Pomp-par-a-pom, Pomp-par-a-pom pom, para-pomp-pomp-pomp"—that sounded like a fanfare of trumpets. It was only the mental fiesta of the sociologist, economist and world-diplomat when he read out the Human Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property or birth or other status" (article 2).

Walking along a road in the hinterland of Monaragala, I came across a kusavan caste man and

his wife and romping children: they are potters by trade, by profession, and the Universal Declaration is not known to them, nor even to those around them and far away from them, who can read and write, write even to the papers, but the kusavan caste (or kumbal) caste people have the Right to take whatever the lorry-owner gives them when he brings them clay from afar, and takes it all away in unnumbered pots, a small payment for the forced smile. Patapat-pat, he keeps on beating the clay into shape, having sittings at the wheel, and firing them at a certain hour with fuel from uncertain places. Then the wife with her sad look comes close to the low-rafter, takes out a piece of marked paper and ticks off, 1,4. 20,80 pots and perhaps more. All for the last consignment of clay with the addition made by the driver "I couldn't get it from the place you said; it is from much further, and so...doncherknow". A small child tugging at her simple sari, the good woman turned aside and looked at the 80 made pots, and the 5 already in the garden and the three that were being made near the water-pot, beaten, beaten, beaten. No smile on that grim face. He did not know that the Universal Rights and the fanfare had made him a hero in the books!

Too difficult to think of, I know. Then see the Gallewela hunted people huddled in a place in Kandy. Listen to the more affluent ones who on hearing that saris and money

were in the offing for the poorest of the poor, said—one of them unthinkingly said: "What is the use of saris for them, or money. They don't need. We are the ones who need. They have no citizenship even. They are ordinary riff-raff." What can you make of such an approach to the minorities?

"Fanfare again!" — Resolution 1503 (48th session) approved "in 1970 by the United Nations Economic and Social Council...for the campaign against acts of discrimination and for protecting minorities to set up a work group to study reports of any violations of human rights according to certain criteria...etc" (Vatican City, Working Paper One of the Justice and Peace commission, p. 64, 1975)—it all sounded fanfare to the few scattered families in "Rodigama", close to St. Thomas College in Bandarawela as it looks down on those four-by-four insides of the mud-huts in which a two by four mat lines one side of the hut, and the woman is sick and the children have had no food, because no one will give them a job. What a lot of pious poppy-cock talk there is all over the world with regard to Human Rights and minorities. Part of Grama sastra is that: know that the book says one thing, real life is another: the urban spells out one thing, the rural suffers another; the majority and minority get together easily if it is on the money-carpet. The minority looks down on the "minority" within a minority, if they can feel a little major.

### DEHIWELA

IS IT NOT TRUE that the selection of S. de S. Jayasinghe's daughter as the UNP nominee for Dehiwela has generated widespread murmurs that the UNP has already begun to succumb to *dynastic mania* which party leader JR and the UNP had flung against the Bandaranaike-Ratwatte hierarchy in the SLFP? That the UNP had once been known as the *Uncle Nephew Party*? That if the trends that have begun to manifest themselves are not nipped in the bud, the "new UNP" will acquire a reputation far more worse than the old *Uncle Nephew Party*? That Dehiwela makes it a *Father-Daughter Party*? That the question is being asked whether Dehiwela is a pocket borough of the Jayasinghe family under the tutelage of the UNP? That, if in every future by-election, the UNP follows the Dehiwela precedent, it will establish the *dynastic principle* in the choice of electoral candidates? That this will give rise to a new UNP Brown Sahibry? That a new kind of UNP sahibry can already be detected in a large number of appointments made to Corporation Boards and other institutions? That even before the 100th day of the new UNP's coming to power, there is ominous writing on the wall about its future?



# Confidentially

## Ministerial Globe-Trotting

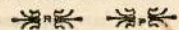
IS IT NOT TRUE that there is a growing upsurge of opinion in political circles—especially alert UNP circles—that several sectors of the UNP Administration have started going the old SLFP-UF way? That Ministers and MPs have already started to develop wings—in spite of Air Ceylon being virtually grounded in disgrace—and they are starting to reach out to all the capitals of the world? That, in the entourage of Ministers, a new (and often not so new) bunch of bureaucrats, election “catchers” (and now bureaucrats) and other hangers on have started making global trips? That some of them have been even presented with new air travel bags and clothes by vested interests who know how to make use of the boys when the time comes? That already the town is full of talk about the machinations of bureaucrats who smuggle themselves into the ministerial delegations whilst keeping their seats warm in key jobs even while they aspire to grab better jobs? That the trip of the Minister of Finance with the begging bowl was a necessary and understandable journey? That the Minister of Trade went as the special envoy of the Prime Minister to Peking which is the chief (import and export) trading partner of Sri Lanka? That the composition of the Trade Minister's delegation, however, has given rise to lot of speculative gossip?

That there is a great deal of adverse comment as to why the Minister of Transport should make a pilgrimage to New Delhi to obtain second-hand locomotives? That there is general consensus that he should really have done something about getting the locomotives, that are here already repaired, serviced and maintained before going on this trip? That bus and train commuters know that conditions in the CTB and CGR have become infinitely worse after Minister Mohamed took over? That it is an open secret that a few bureaucrats

really run the show and that nearly all technical officers are fed up with these bureaucrats? That some have quit and others are being slowly pushed out? That unless the Prime Minister (or soon, the President) brings about some drastic changes in the Transport Ministry, the worst must be expected in the CTB and CGR? That the accident rate has increased in the CTB, and in the CGR even the trains that had run on time and on schedule in the worst days of the LSSP and the SLFP now limp along a few hours late every day with great regularity? That the only thing “regular” about them is their lateness? That the popular gossip in knowledgeable political circles is that this trip to India—all the business could have been transacted on the diplomatic and technical level—was conceived (“engineered” is the word used by some) in order to enable one or more of the bureaucrats in the entourage to pay homage to Sai Baba? That bets have been placed as to the number of bureaucrats who will make the Sai Baba pilgrimage under cover of inspecting second-hand locomotives? That a further smokescreen has been laid by announcing that Minister Mohamed will contact Middle Eastern Ambassadors in New Delhi? That it is also rumoured that from Delhi he was likely to fly to a number of Arab capitals? That this is a job for the Foreign Minister and not for the Minister of Transport? That in the last SLFP government the (Muslim) Minister of Education and some Muslim bureaucrats had regularly gone on jaunts to Middle Eastern countries with the begging bowl all to no purpose? That Minister Mohamed is said to have good relations with the dominant ruling circles in Saudi Arabia? That, nevertheless, it would be better for this government to leave foreign affairs to the competent (and the Muslim) Minister of Foreign Affairs Hameed? That to mix foreign affairs with second-hand locomotives (and maybe even Sai Baba) may well be the kick-off point for the UNP election euphoria to start fading away?

That Minister Hameed had to make the trip to the UN and there is no dispute that he has done a good job in putting forward the policy of this government? That tongues are wagging (fast and furious) about the two (or three)

weeks, disappearance of Minister Nissanka Wijeratne to Draavidastan on a “religious pilgrimage” (was it also to pay homage to Sai Baba?) That nobody minded Minister Vincent Perera making the trip to Canada to attend the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference? That Minister Devanayagam's journey (also to Canada) to the Law Minister's Conference was the subject of adverse comment because he had gone when the country was in the throes of the communal holocaust? That many had expected the Law Minister to cancel his trip and stay behind because he was the only Tamil Minister in the Cabinet? That if he had done this it may have helped the UNP in its efforts to have a greater dialogue with the Tamils? That shortly after this issue of *Tribune* the Minister of Agriculture, E. L. Senanayake, will fly to Rome for the annual FAO get-together? That many remember that Minister Kobbekaduwa had made his “weightiest” pronouncements every year in Rome? That it is to be hoped that Minister Senanayake, (he shares with Minister Mohamed the distinction of appearing almost daily on the front pages of government controlled newspapers), will not go the Kobbekaduwa way; it does not matter whether one starts from the Right or the Left to go to Hell? That Minister Senanayake has offered so many jobs under his Ministry that many have been tempted to believe that the unemployment problem in this country has been very nearly solved? That it is to be hoped that the E. L. SENANAYAKE EDICTS on Agriculture—he does not seem to know that many producers, (chillies, onions, etc.) will go out of production next season—will not be writing on sand or on water? That the less he talks at fewer press conferences, the less he hits the headlines on the front pages of government papers and the more he gets technical officers to get down to brass tacks in the field, the better will it be for Agriculture and the UNP? That it is not known which Minister will next catapult himself on a foreign trip? That if this mania for ministerial globe trotting is not curbed or stopped completely by the Prime Minister (or soon President), the muchboosted “new UNP” will soon not be any different from the old SLFP or UF?





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