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Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER this week is one right out of the customary catalogue of tourist advertising. Pictures like this are used to sell Ceylon to the foreign tourist. Such pictures also enliven the pictorials published by newspaper and tourist organisations. But we have published this picture for a totally different reason. These two young people belong to a generation that will soon disappear as products of an era in education, an era which, with its many defects, has served the country well for a number of years. That era is best described by the term GCE—OL and AL—Examinations. This examination system succeeded the colonial educational system based on the Cambridge Junior and Senior and London Matriculation Examinations. The GCE examination of Sri Lanka was recognised with approval by all the Universities of the world. It was recognised in practically all countries. With GCE certificates Ceylonese were able to get admission to universities abroad for higher education; and they were also able to obtain lucrative employment abroad even without additional qualifications. Now, we have entered the new era of the NCGE which we have repeatedly stressed is a speculative experiment in education—making guinea pigs of the present and coming generations of the young in this country. Apologists—all of them responsible in one way or other in drafting this scheme which will get on the dustheap of history—have sought to convince people that the NCGE would help to emancipate our youth from "imperialist education and culture." Even persons, who should know better, have been persuaded to believe this catchy slogan. Long standing educationists and responsible members of the teaching fraternity, however have pointed a number of reasons why the NCGE system will not work. The *Daily Mirror* recently published an exclusive interview given to one of its correspondents, Mr. B. C. Perera, by Mrs. Clara Motwani who is one of the best known educationists in this country. She has tried to see the best in the NCGE system and has stressed that the aims and objectives were worthwhile. This is what Mrs. Motwani told the *Daily Mirror*. "Mrs. Motwani said that Grade 9 is the springboard to higher education in addition to being the base for employment etc. As such a certain high standard has to be maintained at this level. This was a national need. She would be surprised to hear of any school which has completed the prescribed syllabus for Grade Nine fully. In her opinion the educational reforms were excellent mainly because 1. The whole structure was not oriented for university admission; 2. It was broad-based; 3. It catered to the emotional, physical, mental and spiritual needs of the child; and 4. It met the needs of the country at various levels and would help form well-adjusted students. There was a time when manual work was scored. The emphasis on pre-vocational subjects for all students was welcome. The scheme however was not the ideal thing. The Ministry of Education had recognised drawbacks and was trying to rectify them. Mrs. Motwani felt that the curriculum at the NCGE level was too vast and far too ambitious leaving little time for leisure and other normal activities of the children of that age. She knew of schools which had afternoon classes in addition to the normal school hours as well as Saturday classes, but still they could not cover the syllabus. While this was the situation in well-equipped urban schools, the situation in some rural schools ill-equipped and without adequate teachers, was far from satisfactory. "We do not pretend to do it. We just can't do it," these teachers have said. Commenting on the HNCE syllabus Mrs. Motwani said that if this syllabus was followed fully, the children would end up as nervous wrecks. It was impossible to achieve the GCE Advanced Level standard in the subjects prescribed for the examination. She suggested cutting down the extensive syllabus and getting the students to do what was cut down at the school level, in the University. Among other important comments that Mrs. Motwani made are:— (1) Allow private candidates to take up the NCGE Examination. If private candidates can be allowed for HNCE it is only logical that they should be allowed to take up NCGE; (2) Establish, vocational training schools all over the island to take in those students who pass the NCGE but fail to gain admission to higher education. These schools can be made fee-levying except for scholarship holders; and (3) Establish an exclusive Women's University College, on the lines of those found in India. Mrs. Motwani seems to think that with a little tinkering the NCGE system can be made to work (better). It will soon be found, in our view, that the system will not work even with extensive tinkering. And if the Government persists with the NCGE mess we will produce a generation of unclassifiable educational "guinea pigs"—neither fish nor fowl. Before tragedy overtakes this country something must be done to devise a realistic system of education which will work.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Current Trends:
Canada

THE FIRM AND PROMPT ACTION taken by the Prime Minister to bring the law and order situation in the Puttalam and adjoining regions under control must be applauded and welcomed. From all accounts normality has, at least, been seemingly restored, but what is important is that an endeavour should be made to find out the root causes which sparked off the events which had been seized upon by mischief-makers to disrupt law and order. Even more urgent is the need to identify, and thereafter eliminate all anti-national and disruptive elements intent on destroying the peace and harmony which prevails in the country.

There are a number of significant trends in the country which indicate that political ferment has begun to increase. The continued strike at the Government Press had prompted the authorities to take a tough line: a deadline was set at 8 a.m. on Friday, February 6, for the strikers to return and, on their failure to do so, the Government has taken the position that all strikers had vacated their posts and has taken steps to recruit new workers to the vacancies. Press reports indicate that nearly 4000 had applied for the vacancies in this prestigious and highly remunerative government undertaking—and this is not surprising in a country where there are nearly one million unemployed and under-employed persons. After the deadline had expired—several days later—the SLFP trade union centre had appealed to the Minister concerned to extend the deadline but the Minister was adamant that he would not, and the plea for the extension has ostensibly been rejected. There have been press reports that the Government was hoping to bring the Press to normality with the new recruits, but whether this could be done is problematic. Anyway, it is a situation that must be watched for the different repercussions possible under the circumstances.

The No-Confidence motion against Minister Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike is scheduled to be debated

on February 19. According to reports the sponsors want at least two days set aside for the debate, but governmental intentions seem to show that they want the debate concluded in one day. If it is to be a two-day affair, the debate may be put off to a further date. There is no doubt that the Government Whip has enough parliamentary votes at his command to defeat the motion. But, unlike the No-Confidence motion against the PM over certain land transactions, the charges against Minister Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike cover much more ground and if the sponsors are able to make a *prima facie* case it will prove to be the most formidable political hurdle faced by the Government since the assumption of power in 1970. No immediate parliamentary upsets are likely because the Government has the strength to defeat the motion. But, with a General Election around the corner in 1977, and the world-prestigious Non-Aligned Conference and Summit on the immediate agenda, a no-confidence motion of this kind can be un-nerving for any Government. The NSA and the nation will have an opportunity to know, during the debate, what the charges set out in the No-Confidence motion amount to and also evaluate the reply to the charges which an able lawyer like Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike can advance to convince his audience that the No-Confidence motion was one without substance—and that it had been prompted by political malice and personal animosity.

WHILST THIS PARLIAMENTARY GAME has begun to divert public attention from the serious problems of food and employment, the Government has wisely decided to import extra rice and flour for 1976. The Maha harvest will not be anywhere what had been fondly proclaimed. *Tribune* has pointed several times recently that the rains had failed completely in some of the largest paddy producing areas—Anuradhapura, Kala Oya, Mannar and Vavuniya, and it has been partial in areas like Polonnaruwa. The excess and unseasonal rain in the Batticaloa region at harvest time has adversely affected the crop. The net result is that the Maha crop will not be anything like what the dreams of the Government have been—if one is to judge by the thinking aloud indulged in the

newspaper by Ministers and other bigwigs in regard to rice production. The Yala is not likely to be any better because the tanks that should be full after the Maha crop are empty. The rains which normally fall in January have not come—for the sixth year running. Mahaweli waters may prove to be nothing more than a mere propaganda mirage. In the circumstances, the Government was wise to arrange for an emergency purchase of rice (is it 50,000 or 80,000 tons?) from Pakistan, in addition to what the planners (dreaming of big maha and even bigger yala) had thought was necessary to meet the food requirements of this country for 1976. If a realistic view is taken, it is apparent that government bureaucracy continues to take, even now, a far rosier picture in regard to rice and cereal production than is warranted by the realities of the situation. It will prudent on the part of the Government to take a pessimistic rather than an optimistic view of the prospects of paddy production targets and arrange for imports well ahead of time—in order to avoid periods of critical stress.

IN THE MEANTIME, the polemics about the controversial Foreign Investment Bill continue unabated. The central crux of the dispute seems to be whether the Foreign Investment Bill as it stands (drafted by the present Minister of Finance) will enable foreign vested interests to get a new grip on the island's economy and whether it will bolster up the free enterprise system which is considered the source of all evil by the left movement in this country.

In this connection, not many people in this country know that a critical analysis of the validity of the free enterprise system, in its pristine form, has begun to take place even in countries which have been considered bulwarks of capitalists free enterprise. Canada has always been considered the supreme acme of success which can be attained by free enterprise and capitalism. But today there is a very serious debate whether free enterprise will be able to resolve the problems of inflation and unemployment now plaguing the Canadian economy.

A report in the *International Herald Tribune* of January 20, 1976

under the heading TRUDEAU SAYS "IT ISN'T WORKING WELL" CANADA DEBATES THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM" stated that:

Double-digit inflation, Canada's first peacetime wage-price controls, public-service strikes and remarks by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau have ignited an anxious debate among Canadians about the future of the "free enterprise system" and whether the central government should wield more power over the economy. The bedrock problem is one that troubles both Canada and the United States: how to combat inflation without causing unemployment to soar. Canada began in October an experiment with wage-price controls patterned after but less comprehensive than the controls tried by Washington in 1971-74. The controls are expected to bring down soaring wage demands, especially by public-service unions, and help shrink last year's 10-per-cent rate of inflation, although perhaps only to 8 per cent in 1976, according to economic officials.

The experiment is to be for up to three years, but already Mr. Trudeau has warned that industries that fail to inhibit their appetites for higher wages and prices may be controlled longer. In broad philosophical language he has told Canada in recent television interviews that "the (free enterprise) system isn't working well." He has asserted a need "to develop new values and even change our institutions." Government officials have discussed with labor and business, largely behind close doors, how to modify Canada's collective bargaining patterns to make them less fragmented. Similarly, there has been talk of engaging labor and business in an annual "indicative planning" exercise that would involve economic forecasting and, presumably, a heightened sense on all sides of the relationship between economic decisions and the national good.

Labor, business and many citizens have been upset by these suggestions of sweeping change. Some of Mr. Trudeau's senior associates in the Liberal party believe he was maladroit in raising troublesome questions he was not prepared to answer. Also, some economic specialists have left the government essentially because of differences with Mr. Trudeau. The major issue emerging is whether the best remedy for inflation is a permanent transfer to government of more power over wage and price

setting, at least by big companies and big unions.

"Who can control them?" Mr. Trudeau asked rhetorically in one interview. "The government. That means the government is going to take a larger role in running institutions, as we're doing now with our anti-inflation controls but as we'll be presumably doing even after the controls are ended." The Prime Minister also said the extent of government involvement would depend on whether Canadian gave up their "old ways", by which he meant too much acquisitiveness, including aggressive wage demands, and too little "self-discipline" and "sharing."

These comments and others have rekindled old charges that Mr. Trudeau, Prime Minister now for nearly eight years and showing no signs of retiring, seeks to expand the powers of government. "There is no master plan in my mind or in some little elite group in the Prime Minister's office," he protested in an interview in which he also said:

"The state is important. The government is important. It means there is going to be not less authority in our lives but perhaps more."

Charges that Mr. Trudeau is authoritarian have reverberated before, notably when he used emergency powers and soldiers in 1970 after two Quebec kidnappings by separatist terrorists. Senior officials and associates of the Prime Minister, such as Jean-Luc Pepin, chairman of the Anti-Inflation Board, insist that Mr. Trudeau is not power hungry. They say he has sought to strengthen the powers of the provinces and was virtually the last minister in the Liberal government to accept controls. To calm furor and try to stop the erosion of business support for controls, Mr. Trudeau was to seek to clarify his ideas in a speech to day.

What he said in an apparent attempt to pour oil on the ruffled waters of Canadian politics is not available to us, but what will surprise many in Sri Lanka is that the big trade unions and their bosses are opposed to any attempts to bring a degree of governmental control over the private enterprise system. The trade unions in these rich capitalist countries have been made privileged partners in the free enterprise system, but this kind of "partnership" possible in

affluence has begun to wear thin when inflation and unemployment has begun to erode the system. What the labour bosses have to say on the situation will be most revealing to trade union leaders in Sri Lanka (we must bless our stars that they have not become partners in the virtually non-existent free enterprise system—non-existent under colonialism and under the thinly disguised guided and controlled system of democracy under the Donoughmore and Soulbury constitutions).

Big labor, opposed to controls from the beginning, feels that its position has been validated by the Prime Minister's own statements. In 1975, Canada's economy turned in its weakest performance in 21 years—no growth in output of goods and services and a 10 per cent rate of inflation. At 7.3 per cent, the national unemployment rate is high, but a full point lower than in the United States, where the recession was more severe. Business and labor leaders and senior officials are worried about rising social tensions, the prospect of bitter labor unrest in 1976 and rising costs, which are expected to hurt Canadian exports to the United States in 1976-77. They are worried also about the future of free collective bargaining in this country.

"We have taken a position of opposition to and non-cooperation with the Anti-Inflation Board," says Joseph Morris, president of the Canadian Labor Congress. Asked about the outlook for strikes, rotating work stoppages and slowdowns in 1976, Mr. Morris replies guardedly, "I think that we're in for a lot of problems because of the Anti-inflation Board."

In his view, there was no need to impose controls. The root of Canada's inflation Mr. Morris, contends, was excessively expansionist fiscal and monetary policies. In this he agrees with many conservative business executives and bankers. Indeed, sentiment may be growing to cut back on unemployment compensation, old-age pensions and other so-called "social welfare" outlays. "We've set up social pressures you wouldn't believe, bitter hostility between classes," said Robert MacIntosh, executive vice president of the Bank of Nova Scotia. "The resentment against other people getting a step ahead is bad, really divisive."

There are other signs of malaise rooted in inflation. In the middle 1960s parliament gave, federal em-

ployees the right to strike—postal workers and airtraffic controllers, for example. Provincial legislatures have permitted strikes by teacher's hospital workers, garbage collectors.

These public-sector workers, especially the postal employees and provincial and municipal unions, have been demanding contracts that would give them first-year increases of 20 to 30 per cent. Signs in September that this trend was intensifying were pivotal in the decision to impose controls, according to officials involved. After a six-week autumn shut-down of the post office and a two-month teachers' strike that closed Toronto's high schools and has just been ended by special provincial legislation, Canadians are reappraising their experiment in democratic labor rela-

tions between governments and their employees.

Last week's scaling back by 50 per cent of the Air Traffic Controller's initial demands for pay increases of up to 28 per cent in one year is cited as a hopeful but inconclusive sign that the public-service unions are lowering their sights. Mr. Morris called suggestions by labor Minister John Munro of national bargaining units a step toward "centralized national bargaining" and "the pursuit of power at the center," that is, in Ottawa.

We do not know the groups and classes Trudeau relies on for support to bring about dents in the free enterprise system to stave off growing unemployment and

check inflation, but there is no doubt that there is a new ferment in Canada.

And it is also significant that Prime Minister Trudeau went recently to socialist Cuba—he had gone to China to blaze the trail for Kissinger and Nixon. Cuba is a much more sensitive place for the USA than China and it would be interesting to know how Trudeau's visit is regarded in Washington. Has he gone with the silent approval of the USA or was it an act of defiance especially at a time when US attitudes against Cuba had hardened after Cuba's role in Angola and the fierce support given by Cuba to the ultra-nationalist groups in Puerto Rico?

CHRONICLE

Jan. 23 — Jan. 28

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; TOCSL—Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Achtha; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 23: Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, speaking in the NSA yesterday, said that the strike by the employees of the Railway Department was launched despite an assurance by him that the loans in question would be granted to them without any deductions—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the CID has commenced investigations into the activities of Mr. N. U. Jayawardene, former Governor of the Central Bank, in order to ascertain whether he had indulged in any violation of the country's foreign exchange laws. The Ministry of Education yesterday decided to put off all examinations at the Peradeniya Campus of the University and to ask the students to quit the halls of residence—CDM. Replying to questions asked on the strike at the Government Press, Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, said that the cause of the strike was not trade unionism but politics—CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, speaking at a banquet given in her honour by the President of Indonesia, Suharto said that Indonesia and Sri Lanka have stood together as founder members of the Non-Aligned Movement in opposition to colonialism and imperialism—CDN. Mr. Ian Wickremanayake, Bribery Commissioner and Competent Authority for the distribution of CRA textiles, said that in future the issue of all textiles imported to the country on CRA will be issued only through the co-operatives—CDN. Eight trade unions in the Port Cargo Corporation have planned for strike action in the event of their demands being not met—

LD. The *Janadina* editorially said that most of the members of the present UF Cabinet are not experienced enough to settle a strike and as such the best thing for them was to win the hearts of the working class by taking careful decisions. The CID has been called in to investigate a burglary of gems, gold jewellery and other valuable items worth nearly a lakh of rupees which were kept as productions in the stores of the Magistrates Court, Mount Lavinia—ATH. A gunman in Velani in the Kayts electorate shot at all eleven members of a family out of which seven died and the remaining are warded in the hospital in a serious condition—CDM. According to Beirut Rad'o the first ceasefire with direct backing from Syria will go into effect in Lebanon. The Soviet Union pledged to honour its arms agreement with the United States and urged Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, to resist American charges that it was cheating.

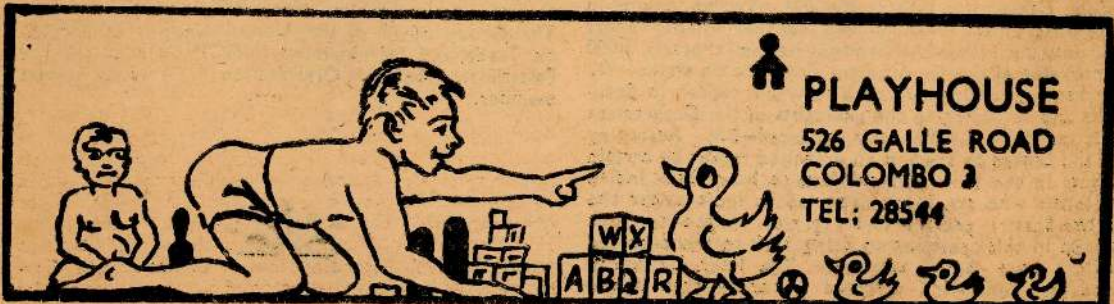
SATURDAY, JANUARY 24: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will leave for Thailand today from Indonesia on the second leg of her visit to South East Asian countries—CDN. Following a decision by the Ministry of Education to close down the Campus at Peradeniya and postpone all examinations undergraduates started to move out of the Campus—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, replying to questions by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, MP for Agalawatte, said when the latter was in the Cabinet he cautioned the Government of financial hijacking by principals of the Agency Houses; he further said at that time the Prime Minister was in agreement with Dr. de Silva's views and necessary emergency regulations were framed accordingly—CDM. After discussions with Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, leader of all trade unions in the Railway which were on strike have decided to call off the strike—CDM. According to the *Dinamina*, the Ministry of Finance decided that in future not to grant liquor licences to tourist hotels owned by foreign nationals. West Germany has agreed to donate 5298 metric tons of flour to Sri Lanka for the year 1976: the first consignment of this stock, 2398 metric tons of flour arrived in the port of Colombo yesterday—DM. According to the *Lankadipa* the Government has drawn the attention of its intelligence service to ascertain whether there is any organised sabotage

in the recent events in the country namely boycott by students of the Peradeniya Campus, strike at the Government Press, Railway etc and the lightning strike by employees of the Kurunegala Depot of the C.T.B. LD. Referring to the strike at the Government Press, the JCTUO said that the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. R. S. Perera, should take the full responsibility—ATH. The Employees of the Post and Telecommunications Department who belong to the Union of P & T too have decided on trade union action in the event of their demands turned down—ATH. In answer to recent emergency measures taken by the Government of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, said that the Indian Constitution would not allow her to be a dictator. Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat said yesterday the warring parties in Lebanon had reached the point of no return, that anything was possible, including partition.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 25: The Committee on mass media headed by the Minister of Housing and Construction, Mr. Pieter Keunman, has recommended the creation of a National News Agency; according to the committee such an agency can play a vital part in centralising efforts at projecting a correct image of Sri Lanka abroad and ensuring regular supply of correct news to newspapers abroad about events in Sri Lanka—CO. A communique issued at the end of the talks between the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and the President of Indonesia, Mr. Suharto, expressed concern over the growing big power activity in the Indian Ocean and declared the countries' full support for a proposal to make it a peace zone—CO. Mrs. Bandaranaike arrived in Thailand yesterday from Indonesia and will hold official talks with Mr. Kukri Pramcuj, Prime Minister of Thailand, tomorrow—CO. Nearly 5,000 employees of the CTB in Kurunegala who staged a lightning strike paralysing the services in that district returned to work yesterday—CO. Dr. Nath Amarakone, Secretary Ministry of Housing and Construction and Chief Organiser of the Sri Lanka Buddha Peramuna, presiding over a meeting of Buddhist Associations said that it is high time for Buddhist organisations in this island to urge the Government and heads of various mercantile and industrial establishments to ensure that 75 per cent of the jobs in those sectors would be given to Buddhists and that students be admitted to the various campuses of the University in proportion to the ethnic composition of the population—ST. The Tamil Research Conference will be held from March 19 to 21 in Batticaloa and not in February as earlier decided—VK. The Ministry of Health decided to entrust the import and distribution of Ayurvedic drugs entirely to the State Ayurvedic Corporation: this followed

detection by the Health Ministry that the private sector which now import ayurvedic drugs resort to various other malpractices on the guise of importing these drugs—SM. Americans yesterday mourned the death of Paul Robeson, the great but politically controversial actor and singer who died at the age of 77. Several observers agreed that Beirut had its quietest night for over two weeks when the ceasefire agreement was respected yesterday.

MONDAY, JANUARY 26: The Foreign Investment Authority which will approve applications from foreign nationals to invest in Sri Lanka will be constituted by nine secretaries of ministries and, the Governor of the Central Bank; the Secretary to the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs will be its chairman—CDN. The advisory board of the governors of the University will hold an emergency meeting to discuss the situation of the Peradeniya Campus of the University—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, addressing a meeting at Malwana said that the Government was not afraid to hold elections as claimed by some critics; he also said that if the general election are held even at the present juncture, the present government will be returned to power with a comfortable majority—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike will today inaugurate a training course for legal draftsmen from six nations: this course is sponsored by the Commonwealth Secretariat; draftsmen from Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh, Mauritius, Papua New Guinea and Seychelles will train here—CDN. According to the Daily Mirror the LSSP, SLFP and the two UNPs are expected to contest the Ja-ela by elections. The Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs which allocates foreign exchange for imports has estimated that Sri Lanka will have to spend nearly Rs. 2,550 million on this year on food items, fuel and fertilizer—CDM. According to the Virakesari the Demarcation Commission will submit its report in April this year and it is likely that 16 additional electorates will be established. The Tamil United Front's private members motion for a separate Tamil State will be taken up in the NSA on February 4, and on this day the TUF has organised hoisting of the flag of the rising sun in all Tamil speaking electorates in the island: school children will be given badges of the rising sun to be pinned on the school uniforms—VK. Official talks between the Prime Minister of Thailand and Sri Lanka commenced yesterday in Bangkok—DM. Several trade unions in the island requested Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Acting Prime Minister, to settle the strike at the Government Press—DM. Several cultivation committees all over the island have started prosecutions against farmers who failed to insure crops under the Government's Crop Insurance Scheme during the



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Yala cultivation season last year—DM. The *Janadina* editorially referring to a statement by Mr. R. S. Perera Minister of Information and Broadcasting on the strike at the Government Press, where he said that under no circumstances he would re-employ workers whom he dismissed, said that such statements confirmed the firm conviction of several that he is a 'joker' in the political field. *Aththa* editorially referred to a speech by Dr. Nath Amarakoone, Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Construction, where he said that seventyfive per cent of jobs in the public and private sector should be given to Buddhists in the country: the paper said that if the economic needs of the country are fulfilled the religious needs will automatically follow: the paper also said that Nath Amarakoone and a few others who have come forward to speak for the Buddhists are just figure heads instigated by a powerful set of men behind whose ambition will be to incite communal disharmony in the country: *Aththa* further said that the country has experienced what communal disharmony, during the regime of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and there need not be a repetition of such fierce events. According to the New China News Agency, China has successfully exploded the 18th nuclear device yesterday. Bangladesh and Pakistan agreed in principle to establish telelinks between the two countries. President of the ruling Indian Congress Party, D. K. Barooah, warned that the independent government of Tamil Nadu might be dissolved and the Jan-Sangh Party banned for their policies which is a danger to the unity of the country.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27: According to the *Daily News*, a significant breakthrough is in sight in the negotiations between Sri Lanka and British teams in regard to the payment of compensation to owners of sterling estates that were taken over by the Government in October last year—CDN. A spokesman for the Department of Labour told the *Daily Mirror* the Emergency Regulations had been promulgated to enforce the Budget proposal to grant Rs. 15 per month to private sector employees who draw less than Rs. 800 per month: plantation workers will get a 6 per cent increase up to a maximum of Rs. 15 per month. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice addressing the Commonwealth Asian Drafting Course which he inaugurated yesterday at the Ministry of Justice said that Sri Lanka had roots deeply planted in the democratic form of Government and the present Government will keep it that way—CDM. The Kandy Magistrate released on bail the President of the Student's Council of the Peradeniya Campus and two other senior students who were on remand in connexion with an incident stated to have taken place in the office of the President of the Campus on January 8—CDM. Twelve unions in the Government Press resolved that they will not report for duty until their four demands were met: nearly 3,000 employees of the Government Press are on strike—VK. Archaeological Department discovered copper in Seruwila and according to the geologists of the Department this could be commercially exploited—DM. According to the *Lankadipa* there is an organised racket by certain agents in the Northern province to bring back Indian nationals who are being deported to India under the Sirima-Shastri pact: several agents alleged to have helped in this operation to bring back to the deported Indians have been arrested. The Inter University Students' Federation resolved yesterday that if the problems of the university students at the Peradeniya

Campus is not solved before the 29th of this month students of all campuses in the island launch a joint action—LD. The Auditor General in his report for the year 1974 said that the Salusala was in a position to make a profit of Rs. 50 million in that year solely because it increased the price of textiles much above the cost of production—ATH. According to the *Janadina* the team headed by Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, which had discussions with a British team over the payment of compensation to estates taken over has decided that the payment should be in sterling currency. Indian President Fakrudin Ali Ahmed in his traditional address to the nation yesterday, said that the seven-month old state of emergency in India has achieved "significant gains" on the economic front and national discipline. President Ford of America has planned a tour of the Middle East in late April.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28: At a press conference summoned by Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, it was told that some school text books prescribed for students this year have not even written yet: the Minister posed the question as to how the books could be printed even before they are written: he criticised the Educational Publications Board for this state of affairs—CDN. In an interim report the National Planning Council's Sectoral committee on mass media advised the government to commission the writing and publication of books of general and specialised information on Sri Lanka for distribution abroad: the committee was headed by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction—CDN. Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Prime Minister, told that it was very necessary for the countries of Asia to speak with one voice not only in regard to the problems of the region but also on matters of common global interest: she told this at the state banquet given in her honour by the Prime Minister of Thailand, Mr. Kukrit Pramoj, in Bangkok on Monday—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* though no final agreement has been reached on the talks for the compensation for the sterling company estates taken over by the Government last October, the wide differences that existed at the outset of the talks had been narrowed down. Professor P. W. Vithanage, President of the Peradeniya Campus of the University, at a meeting of the Senate of the University explained the situation in the Campus: no decision was taken at this meeting to solve the boycott of lectures by the students—DM. The *Aththa* editorially referring to several strikes in the island said that these strikes can never be settled by using intimidation and thuggery. According to reports Lebanon is slowly returning to normalcy with gunmen withdrawn from the streets after a fairly successful ceasefire agreement. The Group of 77 of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) admitted the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) as its newest member.



FOR THE RECORD

ON PUTTALAM

February 3, 1976,

CURFEW IN PUTTALAM

The Government yesterday imposed a curfew in certain parts of the Puttalam district effective from 5 p.m. yesterday till 7 a.m. today. Following is the text of the announcement made by the Government yesterday afternoon: "There has been an outbreak of lawlessness in certain areas of the Puttalam district during the last few days.

"Steps are being taken to bring the situation under control and as a precautionary measure Government has to impose a curfew from 5 p.m. yesterday till 7 a.m. today in the following DRO's divisions: Puttalamattu and Gravets, Kalpitiya, Wanathavillu, Kumaravannipalatha, Rajawannipalatha and Kirimetiya."

—Ceylon Daily News

OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE SAYS GOVT. CURFEW IN PUTTALAM

A curfew was imposed in six DRO's divisions in the Puttalam District in view of "an outbreak of lawlessness and violence" in these areas, according to a government communique.

The curfew was effective from 5 p.m. yesterday till 7 a.m. today.

The six areas are Puttalam Pattu and Gravets, Kalpitiya, Vanathavillu, Kumaravannipalatha, Rajawannipalatha and Kirimetiya.

A Government communique issued yesterday stated that steps were being taken to bring the situation under control and as a precautionary measure the Government had decided to impose a curfew from 5 p.m. yesterday till 7 a.m. today in the six DRO's divisions.

—Ceylon Daily Mirror

February 4, 1976,

COMMUNAL VIOLENCE WON'T BE TOLERATED: PM

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike making a statement in the National State Assembly yesterday on the communal clashes in Puttalam said that she would not tolerate communal violence in any form in any part of the island. She said that she would not hesi-

tate to use all the resources at her command to prevent communal violence from raising its ugly head and deal with the situation firmly, if the necessity arises. Mrs. Bandaranaike made the statement during the adjournment after the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and Dr. N. M. Perera asked for a statement on the clashes that were alleged to have taken place between certain Muslim and Sinhalese people in the area.

When the Assembly commenced sittings yesterday Mr. Jayewardene said that he was worried about his colleague the MP for Puttalam, Mr. Naina Marikkar. "We cannot contact him. The last we heard was that he called at the Police station", said Mr. Jayewardene. Mrs. Bandaranaike said that as soon as she returned from Burma and came to know of the incident she immediately directed her Secretary, the Army Commander and the IGP to proceed to Puttalam to find out what happened and see what action was necessary to bring the situation under control. On their report she immediately imposed a curfew in six DRO's divisions in Puttalam on Monday night and again last night. "I am relieved to say that the situation is now under control" she said. She also said that as the Appointed MP, Mr. A. Aziz, pointed out she was not unaware that those communal tensions could be the result of politically motivated mischief makers seeking to damage Sri Lanka's image on the eve of the Non Aligned Conference. She had directed that intelligence be gathered on this aspect of the matter. She said: "I take this opportunity to appeal to all members to do everything possible to see that the spectre of communal violence does not raise its ugly head and to give all assistance in their power to the Police and the Services in dealing with any situation that may arise in this connection.

She said that for sometime communal tension had been building up between the Muslims and Sinhalese in Puttalam. In early January a CTB conductor was assaulted by the Muslims at the bus stand and the entire CTB at Puttalam threatened to go on strike unless the bus stand was removed from its existing site. To avoid inconvenience to the public especially the students sitting the NCGE examination at the

time the bus stand was shifted temporarily to near the railway station.

Muslim business interest had apparently been perturbed with this move and on January 14th some had set fire to a CTB bus. There were a series of incidents between the two communities thereafter.

On Tuesday morning there were attacks on buses and lorries plying through the town. The SP in charge Mr. L. M. P. de Silva and the ASP Mr. Gafoor went with a police party to bring the situation under control and found a large crowd gathered in the bazaar near the turn off to the Mannar Road and the Mosque. Later ugly incidents followed.

The Prime Minister said that the situation had been brought under control and appealed to the people to be calm.

CURFEW EXTENDED

The Government extended the curfew in certain areas of the Puttalam district from 6 p.m. yesterday to 6 a.m. today.

The curfew was operative in the following DRO's Divisions: Puttalam Pattu, Kalpitiya, Vanathavillu, Kumaravanni palatha, Rajawannipalatha and Kirimetiya.

—Ceylon Daily Mirror

PM ON PUTTALAM INCIDENTS

"I want to assure the Members of this House that I do not propose to tolerate communal violence in any form in any part of the Island", said Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike at the adjournment when recent incidents in Puttalam were raised by Mr. Abdul Aziz (Appointed) in the National State Assembly yesterday.

The Prime Minister said:

"I take this opportunity to appeal to all Members to do everything possible to give all assistance in their power to the Police and the Services in dealing with any situation that may arise in this connection".

Referring to the curfew imposed in six DRO's Divisions in Puttalam District the Prime Minister said: "I am relieved to say that the situation is now under control."

—Ceylon Daily News

February 5, 1976,

CURFEW CONTINUES

The curfew introduced in certain areas at Puttalam on February

2 has been imposed for an indefinite period from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. This was announced yesterday in a gazette extraordinary by the Prime Minister, acting under the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations, No. 1 of 1976.

The following areas are affected:—Puttalam Pattu and Gravets; Kalpitiya; Vanathavillu; Kumaravanni palatha; Rajawanni Palatha and Kiri-metiyyawa.

—Ceylon Daily News

GOODWILL MISSION

At the request of the Prime Minister a goodwill team will leave for Puttalam today to make an on-the-spot survey of the law and order situation in the area where a curfew is in force. The team will meet religious and community leaders for discussions a Government source, said yesterday. The team comprises; Mr. S. K. Suriarachchi, Minister of Food, Co-operatives and Small Industries; Mr. I. A. Cader, MP and Deputy Speaker, National State Assembly; Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport and Minister of Sports and Parliamentary Affairs and Mr. A. L. Abdul Majeed MP of Information Deputy Minister and Broadcasting.

—Ceylon Daily Mirror

February 6, 1976.

LAWS AGAINST SPREADING FALSE RUMOURS GAZETTED: STATEMENT BY LEADER OF THE HOUSE

The Government has taken stern measures under the Emergency laws to deal severely with any person found guilty of spreading false rumours calculated to worsen the situation in Puttalam, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, the Leader of the House, told the National State Assembly yesterday.

Mr. Senanayake replying to a question raised by Dr. N. M. Perera (LSSP-Yuliyantota), at the adjournment said the laws would also cover the transportation of people in vehicles without proper authority and the publication of news items which were factually incorrect.

(These laws were enforced under the Emergency Regulations, by the President's gazette notification last night).

He said the situation in Puttalam had not worsened.

He had had discussions with the Prime Minister on the matter

and the Premier had yesterday sent Messrs K. B. Ratnayake, S. K. K. Suriarachchi, I. A. Cader and Abdul Majeed to Puttalam to meet various parties and bring about a settlement.

Mr. Senanayake said it was not a political issue but an issue of national importance. There been communal clashes earlier, too. But as the Prime Minister herself announced earlier, the Government will not permit communal violence. It was not a trivial matter since some seven persons had lost their lives. He appealed to all political parties, to ask their trade unions to assist the Government in the matter.

Mr. Senanayake also requested the Opposition to co-operate with the Government to settle the issue.

Already Army personnel had been deployed to provide security for the people since the opportunity might be used by some elements to resort to looting. The situation was better than before, he said.

Replying to a question raised by Mr. M. G. Mendis (CP-Ragama regarding the strike at the Government Press Mr. Senanayake asked the strikers to get back to work and said the Government would consider any appeal by the dismissed apprentice thereafter.

He said while he was acting Prime Minister three trade union federation had had talks with him. He had asked the strikers to resume work and then make their representations to the Government. There seemed to be a disagreement. The trade unions argued that the apprentice concerned was entitled to trade union rights but the Minister said 'No.'

Dr. Perera had earlier said that in a situation like the present one the people must be taken into confidence. There were ugly rumours floating around. Interested parties could take advantage. To prevent that the people must be taken into confidence and continuously asked not to panic. Yesterday, they had some rumour about Negombo. He could not vouch for it but some people might believe it. It was furthest from their mind to treat it as a political issue. There should be no trouble on account of communal issues.

—Ceylon Daily News

PUTTALAM SITUATION —UNDER CONTROL

The Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake replying a question raised by Dr. N. M. Perera during the adjournment said that the situation in Puttalam had not deteriorated and was under control.

The Peace mission consisting of three Ministers and a Deputy Minister which flew to Puttalam will have discussion with all parties and try to bring about peace.

Further the emergency regulation had been promulgated to deal with rumour mongers and rabble rousers.

Army guards are posted all over Puttalam.

Mr. Senanayake appealed to all political parties to inform their branch offices to make an effort to bring about peace without allowing tensions to spread.

Dr. Perera said that the Government should inform the country of the exact position about the disturbances and say definitely whether the situation is under control or not as there are wild rumours spread of other incidents by those who try to cash in on such disturbances.

Ceylon Daily Mirror

CURFEW CONTINUES

The curfew introduced in certain areas at Puttalam on February 2 has been imposed for an indefinite period from 7 p.m. to 5 a.m. This was announced on Wednesday in a gazette extraordinary by the Prime Minister, acting under the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations, No. 1 of 1976.

The following areas are affected:—Puttalam Pattu and Gravets; Kalpitiya; Vanathavillu; Kumaravanni Palatha; Rajawanni Palatha and Kiri-metiyyawa.

—Ceylon Daily News

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

Two Emergency regulations were promulgated yesterday.

Here is the full text of the regulations:—

No person shall in any newspaper, journal, magazine, pamphlet or other publication, publish any photograph, pictorial representation or other matter—(a) recording describing, giving information or

commenting about —(1) any proposal or recommendation for the withdrawal or curtailment of the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by Section 18 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka.

(ii) any agitation or movement for the secession of any part of Sri Lanka or the disruption of the territorial integrity thereof; or

(b) which is likely to cause communal or religious discord or to promote or foster feelings of hatred or hostility between sections or groups of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka, unless the publication of such matter has the prior approval of the competent authority and except in the form in which it was so approved.

No person shall, by word of mouth or by any other means whatsoever, communicate or spread any rumour or false statement which is likely to cause communal or religious discord or hatred or hostility between different sections or groups of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka.

—Ceylon Observer

ONLY TWO IN LORRY

Emergency Regulations prohibiting the transport of more than two persons in a lorry were gazetted last night.

These regulations read as follows:—

(1) No person shall transport more than two persons in any lorry into, out of, or within any area specified by the order made by the Prime Minister except on the authority of a permit issued by a Police officer not below the rank of an Assistant Superintendent of Police, or in the case of a lorry belonging to a Government Department or a public corporation, by an officer authorised in that behalf by the Head of that Department or by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of that Corporation as the case may be.

(2) Any Police officer or any member of the Sri Lanka Army, Sri Lanka Navy or Sri Lanka Air Force may search, detain for the purpose of search or arrest without warrant any person who is committing or has committed or whom he has reasonable ground for suspecting to be concerned in or to have committed an offence under this regulation and may search, seize, remove and detain any lorry used in or in connection with the commission of the offence.

(3) Where any person is convicted of an offence under this regulation the Magistrate may in addition to any other penalty that he may impose, order the confiscation of the lorry used in or in connection with the Commission of the offence.

(4) The owner of the lorry used in or in connection with the commission of an offence under this regulation shall also be deemed to be guilty of the offence unless he proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or that he exercised all due diligence to prevent the commission of the offence.

(5) No person suspected or accused of having committed any offence under these regulations shall, except with the consent of the Attorney-General be released on bail.

—Ceylon Observer

RABBLE ROUSERS WARNED

Emergency Regulations were promulgated last night to prevent the rousing of religious and communal discord.

These regulations cited as the Emergency (Prevention of Communal and Religious Discord) Regulations No. 1 of 1976 stipulates that no person suspected or accused of having committed any offence under these regulations shall, except with the consent of the Attorney General, be released on bail.

Here is the full text of the regulations:—

No person shall in any newspaper, journal, magazine, pamphlet or other publications, publish any photograph, pictorial, representation or other matter—

(a) recording, describing, giving information or commenting about—

(i) any proposal or recommendation for the withdrawal or curtailment of the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by Section 18 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka;

(ii) any agitation or movement for the secession of any part of Sri Lanka or the disruption of the territorial integrity thereof; or

(iii) any incident of communal or religious discord; or

(b) which is likely to cause communal or religious discord or to promote or foster feelings of hatred or hostility between sections or groups of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka.

unless the publication of such matter has the prior approval of the competent authority and except in the form in which it was so approved.

No person shall, by word of mouth or by any other means whatsoever, communicate or spread any rumour or false statement which is likely to cause communal or religious discord or hatred or hostility between different sections or groups of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka.

—Ceylon Daily Mirror

GAZETTES EXTRAORDINARY ISSUED

NEW LAWS TO DEAL WITH RUMOUR MONGERS

The government has taken immediate steps to deal severely with any person found guilty of spreading false rumours calculated to worsen the situation in Puttalam. This was announced on Thursday by the Leader of the House, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake.

Shortly after the Minister addressed the House, two gazettes extraordinary were issued under the authority of the President.

The regulations refer (i) To prevention of communal and Religious discord and (ii) Emergency (Transport of Persons by (Lorry) not more than two persons can be transported in a lorry.

The Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs is the Competent Authority under the regulations.

The Emergency (Prevention of Communal and Religious Discord) Regulations No. 1 of 1976 read as follows:

"No person shall in any newspaper, journal, magazines, pamphlet or other publication, publish any photograph, pictorial representation or other matter:—

(a) recording, describing giving information or commenting about:—

(i) any proposal or recommendation for the withdrawal or curtailment of the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by section 18 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka.

(ii) any agitation or movement for the secession of any part of Sri Lanka or the disruption of the territorial integrity thereof; or

(iii) any incident of communal or religious discord, or

"(b) which is likely to cause communal or religious discord or to promote or foster feelings of hatred or hostility between sections or groups of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka, unless the publication of such matter has the prior approval of the competent authority and except in the form in which it was so approved

"No person shall, by word of mouth or by any other means whatsoever, communicate or spread any rumour or false statement which is likely to cause communal or religious discord or hatred or hostility between different sections or groups of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka.

"No person suspected or accused of having committed any offence under the regulations shall, except with the consent of the Attorney-General, be released on bail.

—Ceylon Daily News

February 7, 1976.

REPORT FROM PUTTALAM INCITERS AT WORK: PM TAKES TIMELY ACTION

It is clear that a certain organised group has deliberately spread false rumours in order to loot property belonging to the citizens. We have also learnt that pictures were taken by a certain group in order to incite the people to violence and disorder. From all this it is evident that a situation that arose from a private incident has been exploited by looters and political spies."

This is stated by the four member Parliamentary team which visited Puttalam, Nochchiyagama and Nikaweratiya to investigate incidents of lawlessness and violence in those places.

The team consisted of Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, Sports and Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. S. K. Suriyachchi, Minister of Food Co-operatives and Small Industries, Mr. I. A. Cader, Deputy Speaker of the National State Assembly and Mr. A. L. Abdul Majeed, Deputy Minister of Broadcasting and Information.

Their report states that full security measures have been taken to protect the people of the area and their property. They also noted that the people were attending to their work in the normal manner. Work was going on as usual in the Cement Factory and the salt-terns. Everything was returning to normal because of the timely

steps taken by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

The team report states that they met at Puttalam religious leaders, chairman of local bodies Members of Parliament, trade union leaders, the Government Agent and high ranking officers of the security services.

The report adds that a certain unfortunate incident had taken place as a result of a controversy over the Puttalam bus stand. Taking advantage of this incident some selfish people had spread false rumours to create fear among the public.

While inspecting places where incidents had occurred the team also met groups of people and explained the situation to them. The representatives of the people expressed their desire to forget the earlier incidents and to live in peace.

The team also reported that they were able to settle the controversy over the Puttalam bus stand in a manner acceptable to all concerned. In Nochchiyagama, the team reported that people had fled their homes in fear due to the spread of false rumours. After the people had fled some of their homes had been looted and some cadjan houses had been set on fire.

The team said that except for these incidents, there was no panic or illwill among the people. Some people who had gone to Nikaweratiya from outside the area had set fire to some buildings in order to create trouble.

One of the villagers reported to the team that while the elders of the family were away, two persons wearing masks, had frightened the children and set fire to his house.

—Ceylon Daily News

FACT-FINDING TEAM IN PUTTALAM 'PETTY DISPUTE EXPLOITED BY POLITICAL SPIES'

The fact-finding team which visited Puttalam and other places where disturbances were reported said that the evidence gathered by them indicated that an incident originating from a personal dispute had been exploited by looters and political spies. The team comprised Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, Mr. S. K. K. Suriyachchi, Minister

of Food Co-operative Development, Mr. I. A. Cader, Deputy Speaker, and Mr. A. L. Abdul Majeed, Deputy Minister of Information and Broadcasting who flew to the trouble spots by helicopter on Thursday at the request of the Prime Minister. In a statement issued yesterday the team stated that they met religious dignitaries of Puttalam as well as heads of local bodies, the MP for Puttalam, trade union representatives, representatives of political parties, the Government Agent and the security personnel. It was evident that a dispute over a bus-halt had led to a series of unfortunate incidents and that certain unpatriotic citizens had used this to scare the people by spreading rumours. The team also visited certain places where incidents are said to have occurred and explained matters to persons here. All agreed to forget the incidents and live peacefully. The dispute regarding the bus halt too was resolved amicably. The team visited Nochchiyagama and noted that several persons had abandoned their homes and that goods had been stolen from those places in the absence of the occupants. The cadjan roofs of the houses had been set on fire. At Nikaweratiya a group of persons who had come from outside the area had set fire to certain buildings to create disturbances. One villager told the team that certain masked persons had scared the children while the elders were away and set fire to the cadjan roofs of their houses.

It was evident that an organised group of persons were looting premises by creating disturbances and spreading rumours. The team was also informed of a group which was collecting pictures which would easily incite the people.

Security in these areas has been strengthened and the people are settling about their normal business without any fear. Work at the Cement Corporation and the salt-terns is going on.

—Ceylon Daily Mirror

February 10, 1976.

CURFEW LIFTED

The Government has rescinded, with effect from yesterday, the Emergency (curfew) order made on February 5 in respect of certain areas in the Puttalam district, states a Press release from the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs.

ALSO FOR THE RECORD

No-Confidence Motion Against FRDB

The following is the full text of the No-Confidence motion:

"Whereas Mr. Felix R. D. Bandaranaike presently Minister of Finance and Minister of Justice and earlier Minister of Public Administration, Local Government and Home Affairs, and Minister of Justice, did abuse his position and power as Minister of Justice in that—

"(1) (a) He sought to fabricate false evidence against Mr. J. R. Jayewardene a candidate at the Colombo South by-election, in order to deprive him of his civic rights, by attempting to induce Mr. Rukman Senanayake a Member of Parliament to make an untrue statement implicating the said, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene in an alleged election offence.

(b) He did cause the police to institute and conduct an inquiry into the said alleged election offence whilst the by-election in question was pending and thereby enabling the illegal influencing of the voters.

(2) He did contrary to his powers as Minister of Justice call for the record in DC Colombo Case No. 2883/Z and thereby improperly interfere in proceedings pending in court at the said time.

"(3) He did improperly concern himself in the preparation of evidence implicating Mr. Gamini Dissanayake a Member of Parliament in a contempt of court proceedings in the Constitutional Court of Sri Lanka with reference to an alleged public utterance of the said Member of Parliament on 17.3.73.

"(4) He did so associate and conduct himself in public with Mr. R. Mahendra, Member of the Municipal Council (Colombo), Wellawatte North, an accused in bribery case No. B/123/73 pending at the time, as to place both himself and the Special Bribery Court under the suspicion that the acquittal of the said R. Mahendra, MMC on 20th March 1975 was influenced by the Minister because the said R. Mahendra joined the Minister's political party.

"Whereas the said Mr. Felix R. D. Bandaranaike did abuse his position and powers as Minister of Finance in that—

"(1) He did appoint Mr. G. B. Wickramanayake his brother-in-law as Secretary in charge of Administration in the Treasury, and empowered the said G. B. Wickramanayake to give directions to all corporations, departments and treasury divisions, although there was functioning at the time the Secretary to the Treasury duly appointed under the constitution and thereby acted in violation of the Constitution of Sri Lanka.

"(2) He did by thus empowering the said G. B. Wickramanayake to give directions to all corporations and departments under the Ministry of Finance and to all Treasury divisions while at the same time limiting the functions of the duly appointed Secretary to the Treasury to the economic work of the Treasury place the Secretary to the Treasury in the position of having to shoulder the responsibility for all official acts performed by the said G. B. Wickramanayake although the said G. B. Wickramanayake was freed from responsibility to the said Secretary to the Treasury.

"(3) He did appoint the said G. B. Wickramanayake as Secretary (Administration) and permit him to continue to function in that capacity with powers to give directions to the State Gem Corporation,

"(a) While a partnership consisting of the said G. B. Wickramanayake, Mrs. M. W. Wickramanayake (the Minister's wife's sister) and Mrs. Elizabeth Muttulakshmi Dias Bandaranaike (the Minister's wife) were registered as gem dealers in the State Gem Corporation and

"(b) while the said Mrs. Elizabeth Muttulakshmi Dias Bandaranaike was also functioning as the Minister's private secretary, and

"(c) while the said G. B. Wickramanayake for and on behalf of the said partnership or by himself engaged in business with the State Gem Corporation.

"(4) He utilised his knowledge of Cabinet decisions in respect of the import of two Peugeot 404 motor cars, to secure special benefits for a company, viz, Palm Grove Farm in which Mrs. Elizabeth Muttulakshmi Dias Bandara-

naike (his wife) Mrs. M. W. Wickramanayake (his wife's sister) and G. B. Wickramanayake (his brother-in-law), were partners.

"Whereas the said Mr. Felix R. D. Bandaranaike did seek to and in fact deliberately mislead this Assembly in that—

(1) While explaining his conduct in the said Assembly on 5.3.74 in regard to the matter of calling for the case record in DC Colombo No. 2883/Z, he stated that he called for the said record upon the written complaint to him dated 1.3.74, while in fact he had called for the record on 28.2.74.

"(2) During the debate in the Committee Stage of the Appropriation Bill on 8.12.75 he did deny that Mr. G. B. Wickramanayake was Secretary (Administration) Ministry of Finance at the time.

"(3) During the no-confidence debate on the Prime Minister on 23.12.75 while referring to Deed No. 1756 dated 17.2.72 executed by him, subsequent to 29th May 1971, the stipulated date under Section 13 (1) of the Land Reform Law No. 1 of 1972, whereby he purported to sell and transfer an undivided share of an agricultural land belonging to him to his mother-in-law Mrs. B. W. Jayasundere for a consideration of Rs. 100,000, did state that this sale was necessitated by the need for money in connection with medical expenses although the said expenses were in fact incurred very long after the said sale, and though this fact was not declared in his application to the Land Reform Commission made for the validation of the said deed, as required in the prescribed form.

"This Assembly therefore—

"(a) is of opinion that the said Felix R. D. Bandaranaike while holding the post of Minister acted in a manner as stated above which reveals him to be unfit to hold the office of Minister;

"(b) has lost confidence in the said Minister.

Sgd. J. R. Jayewardene

Sgd. N. M. Perera

Sgd. Prins Gunesekera

Sgd. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam".

—Ceylon Daily News, 6/2/76



INTRODUCTORY TALK TO
SEMINAR

Multinationals And Liberation In Sri Lanka

by Rev. Tissa Balasuriya, O.M.I.

Multinational enterprises or corporations are ones which operate in several countries. They are not necessarily multinational in ownership. Their owners are mainly in the U.S., Western Europe and Japan.

Liberation means being freed to be one's better self, to self-realization and fulfilment. Liberation implies freeing ourselves from the internal and external obstacles to our growth as a people. It requires the conditions for liberation to become a just society based on sharing, fellowship, freedom and truth. It is a process of making ourselves and the world more human, more just and sensitive to others—of realizing human solidarity; of humanization.

The religions stress liberation from selfishness in order to live for others. Marxism stresses liberation from alienations particularly due to exploitation of one person by another, and of weaker class by the dominant ones. In this seminar we have liberation as one pole of our search, for liberation indicates the aspirations of men and women of our country for a more decent human existence. It is a goal to be worked for and a criterion for evaluating our actions and policies.

Development has generally been used as a term referring to economic growth. Not all development is liberative. There can be the development of some at the expense of others. Development of the powerful has gone hand in hand with the under-development of the weak and the exploited. We must seek a path of economic growth that is really beneficial for all the people of this country. Our development can then be liberative, provided it respects human values in all persons here and else where.

Our question is do multinationals help in the integral liberation of our people? Are they developpers or underdeveloppers? Whom do they develop? Do they enslave others?

We can discuss this both theoretically and in relation to their past impact on our country. I shall confine myself here to their past in Sri Lanka.

MULTINATIONALS AS COLONIZERS.

Multinationals are not new to Sri Lanka. The whole of the 450 years of colonization are related to multinational operations by the traders of imperialist powers. When the Portuguese captured the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka they were conducting a multinational operation. The spoils of Western Colonial enterprise in Asia, Africa and Latin America were first taken to Portugal and Spain. With the Dutch, power came the Dutch East India Co. This too was a multinational enterprise in Asia.

The British, since 1796, were an even bigger multinational venture on which the sun never set. The British East India Co. underdeveloped India, which prior to their arrival had a superior technology in many lines such as textiles and ceramics. Systematically the British companies undermined the Indian economy and society. These are now common knowledge and hardly need detailed proof.

Ceylon as a colony helped in the building of some of the British multinationals. The British plantation and manufacturing companies expanded through their control over the colonies. They were able to determine the policies of the colonies countries to suit the requirements of the "mother country". Thus Brooke Bond Lleb'g which is a major controller of the world's tea trade has been subsidized by Sri Lanka for decades—with Liptons, now owned by Uni Levers, is another Multinationals which has had Sri Lanka as their tea garden. James Finlay's Harrison and Crossfield are other British firms which have world wide links in several lines. They have obtained large profits from Sri Lanka for many decades. The multinational corporations have had a controlling power in Sri Lanka in many other areas, e.g. Shipping, Banking, Insurance, oil distribution and fertilizers.

THE MYTHS OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS.

While we have thus subsidized these multinational corporations what has been their impact on us?

Did they fulfil the claims of multinational corporations to bring in capital, technical know how, employment and use of our raw materials? Our experience has been rather negative in these regards. The plantation companies hardly brought in any capital from outside during the past sixty years. Their capital grew from their profits here. On the contrary we have allowed them remit about £57 million between 1950-1970 capital from here. This is about Rs. 800,000 million. In addition to these straightforward remittances we gave them the even greater advantage of good tea at very low and declining prices.

During the period 1947-1972, according to a reply of the then Minister of Finance in the National State Assembly on 6.6.1973, Sri Lanka has sent out over Rs. 3,000 million as dividends on profits, interest and capital repayment. It will be worthwhile our inquiring how we have had to make such payments. Of these the remittance of dividends was Rs. 1,090 million. The total private investment in Sri Lanka between 1965-1972 is estimated to be about Rs. 141 million. These figures should make us delve further into this question of capital flows. Who aids Whom?

OUR INCREASING INDEBTEDNESS. Foreign investment in Sri Lanka means we contract a debt. Is the income from them commensurate with the debt servicing charges? Or are we increasingly becoming indebted and mortgaging the future in the process? The foreign investors recover their original capital in less than 10 years, sometimes in 3-5 years. But we continue to remit dividends in perpetuity.

Even the original investment is in the form of technical services payment plans drawn up in the foreign country or importation of machinery at monopoly prices.

The demand for compensation of the nationalized estates is a further instance of the burden Sri Lanka has of supporting the British companies which have reaped enormous profits over the decades.

Perhaps the same is true of the Banking, Insurance, Shipping and commercial services. A little capital was brought at the beginning. But thereafter it grew due to pro-

Multinationals

fits made here. We help foreign firms to build their capital here.

As yet we do not have enough information on these issues. It is hoped that during the three months of this Seminar much light would be shed on these. We invite the companies to make available whatever data they have so that our discussions may be as objective as possible.

Is our problem not one of preventing the flow out of funds, rather than the invitation of foreign capital? Is not Sri Lanka a net capital exporter?

JOBS. If we take the question of employment, the plantations provided some employment but for whom and at what a cost. Foreign labour was imported on semi-slave conditions and maintained in that situation. The Kandyan peasantry lost their land and have since been pauperized and landless in their own country. Food production was neglected. The economy was made dependent on Britain. Rural unemployment today is partly due to this socio-economic transformation carried out in the hill country to suit the profit hunger of the foreign companies. This is another aspect that must be researched further. To what extent and where do foreign enterprises create employment?

Multinationals do not increase employment in the rural areas. They prefer manufacturing industries which are located in Urban areas. The country's requirements of soap, toothpaste, shoes, drugs, radios, agro-chemicals, cigarettes etc. are all produced mainly in and around the city of Colombo. The rural hinterland is a market, but hardly a participant in production, and certainly not in profits. Thus the villages are deprived of even their local market. Even District Development Councils find there are few things they can produce for sale in their areas as large urban firms can flood the markets. Hence is not our unemployment partly due to the multinational corporations presently here?

TECHNOLOGY AND SKILLS. It is claimed that multinational corporations bring in technology and educate people in new skills. This is true in terms of certain types of complicated machinery—such as in computers. Even the original importation of machinery may be so. But if we take the main

multinational corporations in the plantations—what technology did they bring in the past 100 years? Our tea factories are rather outmoded. Further they did not develop the secondary processes of manufacturing—e.g. in packaging, and blending. Much less were the concerned about tea products: instant tea, lemon tea, dyes from tea. On the contrary they used their control over marketing to make Sri Lanka depend on their brands, advertising and influence in the world markets.

The case is even stronger in the case of rubber, which is an important raw material in the production of consumer goods. Rubber is still exported largely as a raw material. Hence over a century of foreign enterprise has not brought much skills to our land. On the contrary our scientists work in the research institutes mainly to increase primary productivity. The result has been a flight of scientists to other countries—especially to the "mother countries" of multinational corporations where research and development receive high priority. Is Sri Lanka not a net exporter of technicians?

The same is substantially true of the foreign commercial ventures. It is only now that we have our shipping lines and training of personnel for the higher level of navigation. It is our hunch that even the more recent investments in manufacturing lines does not lead to much development of local skills. First of all there is not much skill required in the production of some of the consumer goods which multinational corporations like Levers and Batas monopolize. Their success is largely due to their ability to kill local competitors by all the methods of "fair competition" such as price cutting, advertising etc. What research did the rubber companies encourage re tyre making, or the oil companies about by-products of oil? etc. Sometimes the skill was in merely assembling the parts of a machine or bottling imported drugs. This too is a field of inquiry for this seminar. What has been the effort of the multinational Corporations in manufacturing enterprises in training personnel, in developing new products, in relating research and development (R.&D.) mainly in the metropolitan countries?

LOCAL RAW MATERIALS?

Another claim of multinational corporations is that they help in the use of local raw materials and create new export markets. The evidence seems to be that often the larger portion of the raw material is imported, sometimes about 85%—95%. It is only under heavy pressure from the Sri Lanka authorities that local raw materials are used. The soft drinks industry is a case in point. Our fruits still largely go waste due to neglect in their bottling and canning. Why is Coca Cola brought in from U.S.A. when excellent soft drinks can be made from mango, lime, orange, Jak(?) coconut, palmyrah pineapples etc? Where is the research on these by private foreign companies? What research do pharmaceutical firms do on native medicinal herbs? Or do they help kill the tradition of Ayurveda? Do they help increase final unemployment?

Export promotion may be an area where multinational corporations may come in as they have control over the markets, presuming that we are unable to enter them without the help of multinational corporations. But will they like to create new foreign markets for Sri Lanka goods if this interferes with the sales by their subsidiaries in those countries?

SOCIAL COSTS. All this is still without considering the social costs involved. The multinational corporations encourage a consumerism that is rather elitist. They are less concerned with real needs of the people than with creating wants to suit their products and increase their profits. They engender false values and leave the country open to all forms of corruption as the history of big companies reveals. Our own educational system, mass media, advertising, social life are all unduly and often undeniably affected by the multinational corporations. We shall discuss these in the subsequent sessions on the social and cultural impact of multinational corporations. The influence of tourism on the country is an instance which will be given specific attention in this seminar.

SRI LANKA—STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. Sri Lanka has carried out a significant campaign for liberation from Multinationals. After political indepen-

dence, economic self reliance and social justice have been some of our goals. During the past two decades successive governments have supported this policy, specially between 1960-64 and since 1970. Our policies of the take-over of the oil companies, of insurance, of a large portion of the export and import trade, of import restrictions, of exchange control, of restricting the area of private investment, of controls over foreign investment, of partnership with socialist governments in investment are all aspects of this liberative struggle.

The Estates' nationalization is a major step in this direction of liberation from foreign oppression. If however we pay handsome compensation even in rupees and guarantee their investment here, we might relieve the Multinational Corporations of the burden of plantations and ensure them a privileged position in lucrative manufacturing lines. Then plantation multinational corporations will be replaced by dominant foreign industrial and commercial giants.

Sri Lanka is at an important turning point in our modern history. What path of evolution will we take? We face a dilemma. We have about 900,000 unemployed, specially in the rural areas. The world inflationary process has hit us badly? Will we open our doors to foreign investment? With what guarantees to them and safeguards for this country? If we do so will we also apply these to the multinational corporations presently operating here? Will we be able to use this opportunity to bring them in line with national priorities?

If we give further guarantees to foreign enterprise and joint ventures, are we likely to induce local businessmen to tie up with foreign companies as an insurance against nationalization, or for the benefits of tax reliefs?

How are all these compatible with the goals of a socialist democracy?

How far is a link up with the socialist countries a feasible alternative? Do they help us balance off the impact of multinational corporations? Or do they too increase the dependence on foreign countries. What are their political and social consequences? Is the invitation to M.Ncs. to tie up with our state enterprises an answer

to our problem? Can we thus avoid the evils of competition, profit, maximization, corruption, etc? These too are approaches which need to be studied further.

On the other hand do we have the political will among the masses and the leadership to opt for an alternative approach of greater self-reliance even if it be considered wise in an election year? In any case will foreign investments flow in so fast and in such quantities as to generate employment on a large scale. Their past record has been that about Rs. 100,000/- of capital is required for the employment of one person; and it takes about 2-3 years before decisions to invest mature into working enterprises.

Sri Lanka is faced with a serious option. Within this situation we would like to urge that information be sought concerning these issues. There is a vast area of ignorance concerning the whole impact of Multinationals which are the main foreign investors. We recommend strongly that research institutes, universities, trade unions and other relevant public bodies including the mass media pay attention to these issues. This Seminar has been organized to help in the process. We hope it will help the country to take a satisfactory option in keeping with our needs and aspirations.



HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Mahaweli Ganga

Basin Development

by R. Kahawita

MUCH WATER has flowed down Mahaweli Ganga since we thought of using its waters to benefit the peasants. In the meantime incredible claims have been made for the development of its resources persons who conceived the many projects in its basin, politicians who started the project etc. These claims have built up a mountain of falsehoods, for what purpose, we all know. These claims have been highlighted in the press, over the national radio network, at public meetings, in song and dance all of which reached a peak momentum few days before and after the 8th of January, the auspicious

day the water was released more to boost the party in power than to moisten the parched fields of Rajarata.

What has been claimed and said is as ludicrous and incredulous as the "News In Brief" hourly broadcasts of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation. All these are a reflection on the fickleness of our national character, our insincerity, our transient loyalties and ability to utter falsehoods to gain personal or political prestige. Therefore it is good at a time like this to have our facts correct and pay tribute to those to whom that tribute is due, and honour them for their contribution to the development of the largest river basin in Sri Lanka.

The earliest interest in the use of Mahaweli water was mooted in the beginning of this century by a legislator, Hon. K. Balasingham. He, at some stage, represented his people in the Colonial legislature. When the suggestion was made, the then Colonial rulers and engineers alike grinned at the idea and even doubted his sanity. He was a visionary much before his time, as, at that time, hydraulic engineering and construction techniques and equipment had just begun to come to grips with problems of harnessing river water. Consequently the idea was relegated to the limbo of lost causes.

In the year 1932 a measure of controlled self-Government was granted to us with certain executive and administrative functions assigned to committees consisting of elected representatives of the people. The Committee of Lands, Agriculture and Irrigation was led by Mr. D. S. Senanayake—a veteran freedom fighter. As chairman of this committee, ipso facto, he became the first Minister for Lands, Agriculture and Irrigation. Within the year of his assuming office and as a true patriot and nationalist who had suffered in the cause of national independence, he spelled out his policies to bring back, the now legendary prosperity of Sri Lanka, by reclaiming the fast disappearing peasantry. He said, "If Sri Lanka was the granary of the East during the centuries gone by, the remnants of the peasants, scattered and now languishing in

the Dry Zone can be regenerated to regain that position once again by restoring the ancient irrigation schemes, now in ruins and in disuse. After all, it was their forefathers who laboured under the very same conditions and in the same areas to make this land the granary of the East." When he conceived this idea in 1932, the total population of Ceylon was 5.5 million of which less than 15,000 were living in the North Central Provinces. In 1932 this area was so backward that there was not a single Ceylonese to represent them in newly constituted State Council. It was this region he vowed to reclaim and rehabilitate its fast disappearing people. Today there are seven members of parliament to represent them. He also realised that once his policy of restoring the ancient irrigation schemes and the rehabilitation of the peasantry, there would be an inflow of other people into these areas and also there would be the natural increase of population, once good things in life are brought to them and their standard of living improved. To meet a contingency of this nature he initiated a scheme of study and investigation for the "systematic analysis of water and land resources of Sri Lanka" to develop these resources to meet the increase of population. These studies took shape in 1940.

IN ACCORDANCE with his policy of restoring ancient irrigation works, one of the restoration works was Minipe anicut near Weragantota across Mahaweli ganga. During its hey day it diverted the Mahaweli water to Rajarata via Prakrama Samudra. The work on Minipe anicut and the left Bank Channel was started in 1934, and it may also be recorded that in that year the first piece of heavy equipment was imported into Ceylon for construction of irrigation channels. This was the beginning of mechanization of construction to speed up development programmes. In the same year construction of another irrigation work in Mahaweli basin—Bathmed'la scheme—was also started. The Minipe left Bank channel was to be extended towards Angamed'la anicut and channel to feed Parakrama Samudra. Investigations to construct a right Bank channel to take Mahaweli waters to Maduru Oya Basin were started a year later and designs were completed around 1942.

For a fuller use of Mahaweli waters, there was not sufficient data, so an order went out from the Ministry office to set up a separate section in the Irrigation Department to collect stream flow data and Hydrology of the River Basins in Ceylon, in particular, the Mahaweli Basin. This was the beginning of the studies connected with the development of Mahaweli basin to its full scope.

To deal with the human aspect of resettling the people in new areas, Mr. D. S. Senanayake ordered the establishment of several Departments and administrative units to bring the administration closer to the peasants. These administrative innovations gave a flying start in rehabilitating the peasantry. It also gave a flying start to the present Minister for Irrigation and Power and also to his predecessor in office. These are facts, good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant that cannot be obliterated nor forgotten, however much we may say to the contrary or indoctrinate the people to forget them.

From that day, the investigation of Mahaweli basin continued; dam sites were selected for investigation and surveys. Diversion channels were surveyed, hydrological data were collected, estimates of river flow, floods, availability of water at different points in the river were studied. Hydro-power potentials were estimated etc. culminating in the formulation of a Master Plan, by the officers of the Irrigation and Survey Departments.

In 1951, this Master Plan was presented to the public in the form of a working scalar model at the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition in 1951/52 held at Victoria Park—now Vihara Maha Devi Park. Even a ballad set to music by one of our own and well known balladiers was cut in a gramophone record and distributed at the exhibition.

Since then much water has flowed down the river and also the political tide has changed. With the second instalment of Independence, Mr. D. S. Senanayake became the Prime Minister, and Dudley his son the Minister for Agriculture, Land and Irrigation. The distribution of portfolios was understandable. The father wanting his son to follow his policies in irrigation, agricultural development and rehabilitation of the peasantry, assi-

gned his former Ministry to Dudley. What we have achieved today in these fields of development justifies the wisdom of his choice.

After the death of Mr. D. S. Senanayake in 1952, there were eruptions in the political scene and finally Sir John Kotelawela emerged as the Prime Minister and Mr. P. B. Bulankulame as his Minister for Land, Agriculture and Irrigation. He, being a true son of N.C.P., continued to follow the earlier policies of the father and son. The development studies of Mahaweli Basin continued to the earlier pattern. The Master Plan prepared by the Irrigation Department in 1951/52 was taken up in later years for further studies. During the period 1952-1956 not much Ministerial or Government enthusiasm was shown in development activities. Political strategy became the pre-occupation of the Parliamentarians, with the consequence development programme had a setback.

THE MASTER PLAN was based on a concept enunciated by Mr. D. S. Senanayake that, as far as possible, all new development must be multi-purpose and on the principle that water rights of the population living in a river basin should first be honoured and all their requirements met in full, before any excess flow is to be used for transbasin diversion to supplement storage in these basins, or to provide year-round irrigation to those areas, or to minimise the incidence of crop failures, or to expand cultivation to field crops, orchards, etc. In this case, the water requirements of Mahaweli and Maduru Oya Basins were to be given a prior claim. Bulk of the irrigable lands are in the Eastern Province. As such, priorities became of political importance and all controversial priorities were left open in the reports accompanying the Master Plan. As it happened and to be expected, priorities were decided on political expedients. We will revert to this later.

The Irrigation Department plans were for the multiple development of water and land resources, using six million acre feet of water by the river basin as the territorial unit of development. In broad lines the plan was to utilize annually six million acre feet of water by the erection of 15 dams, some of them capable of generating

hydro-power. The irrigation estimated power potential was in the region of 2000 million kilo-watt hours per year. The irrigation potential was in the region of seven hundred thousand acres of virgin land to be irrigated by a series of channel systems and another two hundred thousand acres of already aswedumized land are to be given supplemental irrigation for year round irrigation. In all 900,000 acres which meant an increase of about 80% of cultivable land, over the existing area under paddy.

Another aspect that was studied by I. D. Engineers was the flooding of urban settlements of Nawalapitiya, Gampola, Peradeniya, Botanical gardens, University campus. The river was to be controlled above these points by a series of high dams and a by-pass channel at Primrose hill. Hydro-power developed at the lower end of a by-pass channel was to be used to provide a water supply scheme to Kandy, Peradeniya and the University. The by-pass channel would meet the N.C.P. canal from Polgolla Division. Other key components of the Master plan were Kotmale reservoir with a high hydro-power potential, Reservoirs at Victoria, Randenigala, Moragahakande etc. These are massive storage reservoirs designed to gain full control of the river flow and to utilize the stored water during dry periods in the N.C.P. Without storage diversion will not render that measure of relief we expect to achieve by transbasin diversion of water from the parent river. This is the inherent defect in the accepted or implemented priority. It is here where some consideration should have been given to technical reasoning in decision making on priorities.

THE PLANS prepared by the Irrigation Department became the subject study of the U.S.O.M. Negotiations seeking their assistance was started in 1955/56—the last days of the ill-fated U.N.P. Government, during the stewardship of Mr. P. B. Bulankulama as Minister of Irrigation. While these negotiations were under way the political party in office was routed at the 1956 general elections and, the Ministry dealing with the subject came under late Mr. C. P. de Silva as Minister for Lands, Irrigation and Agriculture. On his taking over the Ministry, the development

of Mahaweli basin was given a new life and a credible momentum to move forward. The assignment or the contract for the studies given to U.S.O.M. was finalised. Their feasibility studies and recommendations were made available in 1961 which was followed by aerial surveys by the Canadian Hunting Survey Corporation in 1962 to supplement field surveys carried out by the Survey Department.

On the completion of the investigations, feasibility studies and recommendations they came to be analysed by the Minister late Mr. C. P. de Silva in 1963/65. He decided to over-rule the priorities recommended in the U.S.O.M. studies. His main objective was to take Mahaweli waters to the N.C.P. where he has been working since 1936 as an official and subsequently as a politician. He was aware of the hardships the peasants in the area endured, year in and year out, and he wanted to capitalize this for political gains by taking the Mahaweli water into this area—subsequent events proved different.

The question of revising the priorities recommended by the U.S.O.M. was debated in Parliament and it was vehemently opposed by the entire Opposition. However, the late Mr. C.P. de Silva was able to weather through the House. Having got the approval of the Parliament he initiated an application to the Special Fund of the U.N. for assistance to continue with the surveys, investigations and more detailed studies. The application was accepted in June 1964, and the plan of operation was implemented in October, 1964. We give the dates to highlight the vigour with which he pushed the preliminaries to get the project executed early.

In the following year, i.e., 1965, something "funny" happened politically and in the ensuing general elections a National Government under the leadership of Mr. Dudley Senanayake was formed and the late Mr. C. P. de Silva continued to hold the portfolio of Irrigation and Power. So the arrangements for the International Organisation to carry on and undertake the studies continued without interruption. His scheme was to take the water to N.C.P., and he pushed ahead brushing

off all technical, financial and political objections in his inimitable way.

Till January, 1966 assistance was given by the United Nations Special Fund, thereafter the new set up of United Nations Development Projects took over the funding of the studies etc. The U.S.O.M. recommendations—as said earlier—of Stage I was set aside by him and at his request the second stage was taken up as priority number one. These studies were undertaken in 1963/68 by F.A.O. as the executive agency of the UNDP. The Development programme of Mahaweli was lucky in that it had the continuous support and drive of a single Minister over the years until its construction.

With his single purpose objective, the final studies for diversion as priority. No I was completed and he rushed through a World Bank loan, invited world-wide tenders and laid the foundation stone just before the 1970 General Elections. The magic did not work, the voters were given other promises, much closer to the hearth, the National Government lost the election and the one man who served the N.C.P. since 1936, lost his parliamentary seat.

The first sod to commence the river diversion was cut in April, 1970 with a big Tamasha and the event was commemorated in Bronze Plates and Marble Pillars, and if these commemorative plates are still there, they will announce to posterity, briefly the man behind the project. We do not know how much of these are there, but from what one gathers from, what was said and done on the 8th January, 1976, and the false claims made that day, much of this must have been obliterated. If not what was said and claimed on the 8th would turn out to be false.

In a Cabinet form of Government, there is collective responsibility and all share that responsibility when the cabinet gives approval to a project or policy matter. But the Minister who places the particular matter before the cabinet is responsible for the accuracy, urgency and all the details presented to the cabinet or thereafter to the full House for a decision. In this case one cannot deny the part played by C.P., directly and indirectly giving form and shape

to a project he conceived and worked on so long. Also no one can deny or not give credit to the man who laid down a value for the development of water and land resources of Sri Lanka and his son who followed in his footsteps, and who between them initiated the investigations of Mahaweli. The son was able to participate in the commencement of the construction ceremonies together with his Minister C.P. All three are no more.

The vision of a resurrected peasantry was so dear to D. S. Senanayake, that there is no irrigations scheme, which has been taken up for development to date or to be taken up for development in the future, where he has had not expressed a view. Recently some people, who should know better, have said in press articles, that some of the schemes initiated by "the Senanayakes" have failed, in particular Gal Oya scheme and, in general some of the Colonisation schemes. What good was done at Gal Oya was destroyed during the years 1956 to 1965 as reported in the Farmer report published in 1968. If any scheme has failed then the politicians who followed must share the blame with the people for giving room to undermine our national assets or voting men to places of responsibility who are not able to represent us.

The driving force that gave concrete form to Mahaweli Diversion is the late Mr. C. P. de Silva. If not for his drive and energy this scheme would never have been undertaken. The people of Rajarata should erect a monument to him in every village that stands to benefit by the Mahaweli water. The decision he had to make was, is it that Rajarata where he spent a greater part of his life or Veddirata where development has yet to be taken. "People with whom I worked for decades are far more near and dear to me than those whom I have not seen nor see them." So it was, "Mahaweli water must be taken to Rajarata first." No one can blame him for reviewing the priorities. But his people failed him at the end. This is gratitude.

The early visions of taking Mahaweli to the North seemed possible

due to the topography of the Northern sector of Ceylon. Going forwards after passing the Matale hills, there is a dividing ridge running northwards separating the water sheds to the East and West. The rivers that flow to the eastern seaboard are Kantalai, Yan Oya and Ma Oya; those to the West are Deduru Oya, M'oya, Kala Oya, Modaragama and Aruvi Aru. Around Vavuniya the ridge flattens out. So if a channel could be taken along the ridge from Mahaweli, the water could be passed into the Eastern and Western water sheds. This is what has emerged out of the various technical studies and this is what was visualized at the beginning of this century by the Hon Mr. K. Basingham. This ends a great Irrigation project, claimed by many as its initiators, while the man who can claim it as his brain child Rests in Peace.

POSTSCRIPT: The officers of the Irrigation Department who worked on these projects since 1936 should have put the correct facts before the people. Perhaps, they are afraid to speak the truth, or it may be, of the few that are left in the Department are stunned to silence by the falsehoods uttered by the powers that are, and have no desire to enter into a controversy. There are several engineers who worked on this project in the Department: some are no more, or they have gone overseas to give the benefit of their knowledge and experience to other developing countries. For these reasons no name of officers of the Irrigation Department have been maintained here.

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IN VADDUKODDAI—I

The Not So Ugly American

by R. C. Thavarajah
Retd. Supdt. of Police

I TENDER, most unreservedly, my humble apologies to Bill Lederer and Eugene Burdick, co-authors of the most delectable book entitled "THE UGLY AMERICAN". I am doing so not only for borrowing their title but also for the slight alteration of it.

Quite often, my friends have condemned my eclectic tendency and my fondness to quote, some-

what expansively, from great writers of eminence of the yester years. Their stern indictment is that my weakness in this direction is due entirely to a pathetic dearth of originality on my part. All I can say in defence is that I seek consolation in the irrefutable fact that, in the strict sense, nothing is original and I am certainly not relying solely on the dictionary meaning of that word.

I would also suggest that my beloved critics give some thought to the highly elucidative dictum of the great Voltaire, (1694-1778), one of the greatest French authors who is still held in world-wide repute, the "courageous crusader against tyranny, bigotry, and cruelty and whose works vigorously propagate an ideal of progress to which men of all nations have remained responsive." Voltaire said in no uncertain terms "Originality is nothing but judicious imitation—the most original writers borrowed from one another. The instruction we find in books is like fire. We fetch it from our neighbour, kindle it at home, communicate it to others, and it becomes the property of all."

The title I have chosen is not calculated to convey the idea that my literary 'excursion' is focussed on beauty treatment for men on the norms prescribed by Elizabeth Arden or Max Factor. It is not even meant to emphasise the physiognomic effulgence of the American Malenor is it an obsequious overture to those concerned for the purpose of recognition or inclusion in the 'Blue Ribbon' of journalism—the prestigious "READERS DIGEST" under the caption 'The Most Unforgettable Character I have met'. My altruism in this connection is intended only to articulate what Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), Scottish Essayist, historian, one of the select group of sages whom the serious minded Victorian public read avidly, discussed endlessly and revered deeply referred to as "One of the God-like things of this world is the veneration done to human worth by hearts of men." It is also my purpose to re-iterate the obvious fact that some of us Asians can not only appreciate what is good but also express our appreciation in a fairly lucid manner EVEN in an alien tongue.

I AM WRITING about an American whom I knew well and of whom it could indubitably be said that

Beauty in every respect was that graceful figure—"the habitation of a virtuous soul". I refer to Rev. JOHN BICKNELL, M.A., D.Lit, one time Principal of Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai, an illustrious product of Harvard University who was every inch the Scholar described by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), Essayist Major Poet, " whose voice and rhetoric sustained the faith of thousands between 1834 and the U.S. Civil War. In 1837, he wrote:

"The scholar—is Man thinking. He and he only knows the world. The world of any moment is the merest appearance. Some great decorum, some fetish of a Government, some ephemeral trade, or war, or man is cried up by half mankind and cried down by the other half, as if all depended on their particular up or down. The odds are that the whole question is NOT worth the poorest thought which the Scholar has lost in listening to the controversy. Let him NOT quit his belief that a pop-gun is a pop-gun, though the ancient and honourable of the Earth affirm it to be the CRACK of DOOM. In silence, in steadiness, in severe abstraction, let him hold by himself; add observation to observation, patient of neglect, patient of reproach and bide his own time—happy enough, if he can satisfy himself alone, that this day he has seen something truly."

It was a bright morning at the Assembly—a ritual which the great man always attended. The palmyrah trees in the typical rural scene of a Jaffna village swayed as if in a dance to the vitality of the powerful "Solakam"—the South West Monsoon wind that sweeps across the torrid expanses of the Peninsula. There was pin-drop silence in the large Ottley Hall—named after His Lordship Sir Richard Ottley, Chief Justice of Ceylon (1828-1833) which now forms the main Lecture Hall of the Vaddukoddai Campus of the University of Sri Lanka, Jaffna Branch. I wonder whether the Batticaloa Seminary when it founded Jaffna College in 1872, they visualized that, over a hundred years later, the Government of Sri Lanka would consider the place suitable for the establishment of a University. Standing erect up to his full height of six feet-three inches, dressed impeccably in his tropical white suit complete with the College tie of crimson and gold, Rev. J. Bicknell was

addressing the staff and students of the College. His face, which seldom or never revealed his emotions, seemed to conceal a strange sadness. It was only the previous day that the "Faculty"—the term accepted by the nomenclature of the College administration at that time to mean the body of the tutorial staff which met to decide on important issues—had made a firm decision in regard to the conduct of one of the students and the punishment was 'advised to leave school'.

THE INCIDENT took place about forty years ago but I can still recapitulate the details. While we listened in awe, he went on to explain that, in stately Halls of Art and Learning, statuettes of those who had a right to be remembered for their achievements were placed in niches. These statuettes were removed only on account of any flaw or damage to be replaced by new ones. Referring to the expulsion of the erring student, he pronounced with an abstraction so characteristic of him. "Today, I see that one of the niches is empty". By this simple but profound analogy he stressed the notion of the intrinsic worth of that precious entity—the mind of the adolescent—so very relevant today in the context of controversial disputations in the field of education all over the world. I consider it relevant to quote what Nathan Comfort Starr of the University of Florida wrote in his esteemed book entitled "The Pursuit of Learning":—

"The past forty years have seen extraordinary complications: two world wars, the great depression, chronic international tensions and the onset of the Atomic Age. College students have been compelled over and over again to make wrenching re-adjustments, and teachers have been called on with increasing urgency to distinguishing between the permanent and the ephemeral. Every aspect of our contemporary civilization has put a high price on clear thinking—on the power of the mind in its dynamic and redemptive capacity."

Having left his home in the State of Carolina, U.S.A., young Bicknell settled down for a quiet life "far from the madd'ng crowd's ignoble strife" in the village of Vaddukoddai where the economy of the folk depended primarily

on paddy cultivation, fishing, and carpentry. The heat of the April days was unbearable, the food frugal and the monetary remuneration for his labour unattractive. What was it that motivated the young American to leave the congenial surroundings of his land of birth and the warmth and comfort of his home to dedicate his whole life for service in a foreign land?

To a casuist, the answer may the spirit of adventure. To a Religious Missionary, it may have been the manifestation of self-abnegation and selfless service but to those of us who knew his deep sincerity which transcended all petty parochial aspirations, it was that innate LOVE he had for his fellow men—a love that knew no barriers of race, caste, class or creed. To his past pupils who eagerly knelt at his feet and to whom he imparted knowledge, a sense of tolerance and the true spirit of independence Jaffna College was synonymous with JOHN BICKNELL, Mentor 'par-excellence'.

They will recall poignant memories which strangely delight old age past Alumni Day celebrations when the Garnd old man used to join them in singing lustily the College Anthem with particular emphasis on the last verse:—

We'll love Her name
We'll guard Her fame
While Life and memory last.
Our Loyalty shall be the same
Where'er our lot is cast."

(To be continued)

KAZI—40

Then And Now

—In Colombo—

BY ANATORY BUKOBA

November 6,

Two lives came where one was expected. At first you could tell them apart easily, but as the elder filled out, they became almost indistinguishable. They have now reached an age where they can pronounce their names, or at least the names of one of them, although it is doubtful if they are aware that these are their names. When they were exactly one year

old, the youngest climbed a whole staircase unaided. She used to be regarded as the strong one. Now her twin sister seems to have overhauled her. The difference in size between a new arrival and these two, makes it difficult to classify them all as babies. They do not talk yet, although they are vociferous. Their elder sister, not yet seven, used to carry them everywhere, as she does the new arrival. Their mother used to take one out while the other slept, and the postures they adopted asleep had to be seen to be believed. The new arrival seems to have more decorum. He is more the conventional babe, barely a fortnight old, but all there, alert, seemingly intelligent, personality written all over him.

The ancestors of the twins, if I may use the word to describe co-lateral ancestors as well, lived down a lane, with a pond at the bottom of it, and on island in the middle of the pond. Small though the pond was, it provided a little boating, and when the pond was dry, a hole used to be dug in it to conserve the fish. A house has been built now abutting as the pond, and the fine stonework, sticking out of the water, makes it look like a house built on the sea, as at San Sebastian in the Basque country of Spain, but there the waves are for ever chundering against the stonework, here it is calm, a perpetual vace. Ponies used to be ridden down the lane at break-neck speed, unsaddled, unbridled, ridden by as fine a horseman as you would find anywhere. This young rider now spends his time reading, and he is the possessor of one of the finest books that has been written, and he knows it, too. Silver fish had already played havoc with it before I had seen it, but miraculously they have spared the text. There is a large oval table in the old house, on which many a hysterically funny game of cards has been played.

When I was a boy in Colombo, parties at Christmas time used to be the craze. One year I averaged one every other day for the whole of the holidays. We used to have them in each other's houses, and the war was on. The larger parties we used to attend were some big functions in aid of war charities, and they used to run for a week. Money seemed to be no problem in those days although we were

schoolboys. Dancing was the chief attraction at these parties, but we used to have party games, such as Murder and Dusty Hockey. Murder was always hilarious and at the same time deadly serious, with corpse, murderer and detective to boot, and Dusty Hockey equally hilarious and very energetic. Adults were always the mainstay of a party and the most rowdy, and now I realize that the life went out of parties when the adults ceased to take an active part.

Does anybody have parties now?

Yet the lifeblood of parties in those days were our parents at the age at which we are now. When I remember now that the backbone of our dances was the old, seventy-eight records, which to my modern mind seems to have finished almost before it has started, you can gauge life then to the almost drab thing it has become now. We were more independent then, and in our very independence more united.

We got around Colombo in rickshaws. Now I walk or go by bus and I do not use taxis for I cannot afford them. You struck a bargain with your rickshaw cooly before you hired a rickshaw. Now you just do not know how much you may be called to spend by trusting the taxi meter. In those days I would not have dreamt of walking the length of Thimbirigasyaya: now I would think nothing of walking from there to Colpetty. Hats, or more correctly topees, went out with the second World War; walking, I would say, came in with taxi. In those days one got sunstroke; nobody gets it now. I did not even get sunstroke in the Sudan when I had come straight out from England. There was a racecourse in Ceylon, then, and I used to cycle to the grandstand every Saturday morning to get a fifty-cent race card with all previous results so as to test my skill picking a winner. I never laid a bet unless I was at the racecourse, which was very rarely. It is hard to visualize this and the insurrection in 1971 if there had still been racing. Racing I would say, especially popular horse racing, is the finest antidote to revolution. We used to go to the films then, and I kept this up till a few years ago; now I hardly go at all: all my life now seems to be a film.

The other day I met a man who looked like a Red Indian, both as regards himself and his dress. He asked me for some money and said he was hungry. As his eye was clear and merry, I said never mind your hunger, who are you? He emphasized his hunger by slapping his stomach, and he said something like Hunger is Hunger. I walked away when he said he was God, which struck me as downright blasphemy, but then I remembered that even the psalm say, *Ye are gods*. I met him again and said, what is your name? He was honest enough not to tell me. I have related here before how a Congolese used to beg his beer money, and when he had exactly the right change, he used to join his partners over a bottle of beer. That man was dressed like any other Congolese, but he put in a superb act of being a nitwit, shaken by the palsy. Well, I have a nephew who is a Red Indian, inducted about the age of six, and I suppose my Ceylon friend here, like my Congolese friend there, earned his money by his appearance, true Indian or not, as Red Indian are called now. Winston Churchill was supposed to have Red Indian blood in him, which if it was true, probably made the man.

All this is a long cry from twins. They are so fascinating, I would strongly recommend everyone having twins or even triplets whenever they have babies. It is far more fun. It is the finest puzzle, whenever you see them to scrutinize them and wonder who is who. They do not seem to know it themselves, and this can be doubly confusing. With the new arrival, we seem to have lost two babies, for the difference in their size is so vast, it would be as absurd as calling a stirk a calf, as to call them all-babies. After the third interruption in writing this, it is a wonder I can collect my thoughts. So here is a line or two of verse.

*Our lady of good Voyage,
Where your statue stands
The modern combines with the old.
That both past and present,
Whether under this name of that,
Your name, O Mary, stands
Immaculate.*



Confidentially

Milk Board And Its Bottles

IS IT NOT TRUE that the comments in this column about some of the current developments in the Milk Board especially in regard to Pasteurised, Powdered and Condensed Milk have created a small witch hunt in the higher echelons of the Milk Board as to how "confidential news" has leaked out? That, apart from this, other bigwigs have been assuring *Tribune* that some of the information in that column was "inaccurate"? That soya bean powder was not used etc etc? That *Tribune* requested these bigwigs to put down on paper the matters on which we were wrong and assured them that we would be pleased to publish the same with even greater prominence than the original column? That it is human to err and that if *Tribune* (or this column) had made a mistake we would be happy to make amends and publish all corrections? That we await these corrections? That in the meantime the Milk Board has invited tenders for several thousand tons (metric) of powdered milk and infant milk powder? That evidently these are for the packaging plants at Welisara? That our comments however had referred to the powdered milk factory at Ambawela? That last Sunday the *Times* published a learned article on the potential of the Ambawela factory and how it was equipped with the latest gadgets? That apart from hinting that there was a present daily intake of 140,000 pints (the plant is supposed to have a capacity for 440,000 pints a day) the article did not say anything about matters which has begun to agitate the public concerning certain shortcomings in the working of the factory at Ambawela? That the article however does not go into the actual mechanics of production but it talked in high academic style that all was well and hunky-dory at Ambawela? That *Tribune* is still awaiting corrections on the matters some Milk Board chieftains assert *Tribune* was wrong? That it is also

well to remember that the Milk Board recently advertised for sale an unspecified quantity of condensed milk fit only for "confectioners"? That these tins evidently contain the hardened mess turned out by the Milk Board condensed milk factory? That in spite of the attempt to separate the bad tins (for the confectioners) from the good tins (for the housewives) a large percentage of the tins supplied to ordinary consumers consist of the sticky mess which the Milk Board wants us to believe is condensed milk? That a housewife wrote in to *Tribune* last week that she had purchased six tins of condensed milk to make some special pudding for a dinner? That of the six tins five were unusable? That even when she had tried to dissolve the contents in water (cold first and then hot) the result was a curdled mess which had to be thrown away? That instead of talking big and making tall claims the top bureaucrats of the Milk Board should set about providing a product which was consumable?

IS IT ALSO NOT NECESSARY TO POINT OUT that the Milk Board has much to do to improve its image? That the question is being asked in knowledgeable circles as to why the Milk Board has always imported its pasteurised and sterilised milk bottles instead of purchasing and using locally made bottles? That a correspondent has brought to the notice of *Tribune* that whilst Elephant House (Ceylon Cold Stores Ltd) has always used locally made bottles for its pasteurised milk supplies, the Milk Board has imported its bottles from Singapore (strangely enough from the same contractor in Singapore)? That expert opinion is that the Ceylon Glass Company, with factories in Ratmalana and Nattandiya, is fully equipped and capable of supplying these bottles for the Milk Board and is also capable of making the necessary moulds for any variations that may be required? That though this had often been pointed out to the Milk Board, no attempt was made to purchase bottles from the local supplier for years? That in more recent times petitions were addressed to the Ministry of Planning as to why there should be a leak of foreign exchange owing to the import of bottles which could be manufactured locally? That directives had gone

forth from the Ministry and the Milk Board (apparently) took steps to get supplies from the local factory? That the Milk Board was gracious enough to import the necessary moulds (presumably from Singapore!) whereas the moulds could easily have been fabricated here? That the Milk Board made it out that it was a stickler for "quality"? That just before the order had been issued by the Ministry, the Milk Board had been in a panic that pasteurised milk bottles were needed urgently? That the order from the Ministry had stymied an effort to import more bottles? That after this the urgency seems to have disappeared and only small quantities were ordered from the local supplier? That whilst this drama was going on, there was a fresh hysteria that a million sterilised milk bottles were needed and that the Board could not wait for the local supplier to make the moulds and supply the quantity? (That this was no doubt because only sterilised milk would be available soon?) That an international tender was called for? That whippers indicate that the lowest tenderer (from abroad) will not get the tender? That rumours assert that the tender would finally be handed over to the same old contractor who had supplied bottles to the Milk Board all these years? That it will be argued that he was the only one capable of fulfilling the order in time? That these are bits of information which have filtered down to us? That in view of the current witch hunt for news leakage in the Milk Board, we have mixed up some of tid-bits to make the witch hunt more difficult? That if we have made any mistakes on the basic facts we invite the Milk Board to send us the full and complete story about the purchase of bottles over the years and we will be happy to publish the same? That such a statement from the Milk Board on the bottle matter will no doubt prompt others who are (and were) concerned in the bottle contracts (over the years) to reveal what they know? That it is a scandal that the Milk Board should have imported bottles when they could have been obtained here? That it is time that something is done about all this?





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