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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER, this week, we have a picture of a group of tea pluckers of recent Indian origin. We have used this picture not only to draw attention to the many disadvantages that is the fate of these unfortunate workers but also to pay homage to a man who has dedicated his life for the upliftment of the down-trodden in the plantations—Father Pio Ciampa S.J. His Estate People's Service at Kahawatte has done many years of yeoman work. Although his personal services have been mainly confined to the areas around Kahawatte, Fr. Pio Ciampa is one of the indefatigable publicists and evangelists for the cause of plantation workers. His writings and appeals for the amelioration of plantation workers have appeared in practically all newspapers in this country. He has a formidable list of pamphlets and leaflets about the sad fate of plantation workers to his credit. *Tribune* has frequently published his contributions in its columns. But Fr. Pio Ciampa is such a prolific writer that much of what he has sent us for publication has not been used owing to the exigencies of space. However, we feel that it is necessary to focus attention on Fr. Pio Ciampa at this time and we cannot do better than to publish extracts from what he has sent us. Towards the end of October 1977 he sent us a comment which read: "The lovely, lonely tea-plucker on the *TRIBUNE* cover of 15.10.77, seemed to cry out her story of sweat and tear, fear and anguish. The Tragedy '77, on the 110th anniversary of the CEYLON TEA, seems to run the risk of accelerating the end of a golden chapter (golden for the British owner first and for the Sri Lanka nationalized new owner), written by the silent, humble and hardworking Indian Tamils. One of the most depressive consequences of the Tragedy '77 is FEAR. Plantation Indian workers have become AFRAID. Hence the blind rush to cancel their application for Ceylon Citizenship and to apply for Indian citizenship. Even many who had already obtained Ceylon citizenship are trying to have it cancelled. A 'confidential circular' by a Trade Union sought to encourage the Plantation Workers to go to India in large numbers quickly....who will then suffer most?.....The ever-green tea fields will remain unplucked and return into jungle (as it has already happened in more than one place). One of the serious responsibilities of those who love the country and the people must be the removal of such fear and the rebuilding of confidence in a joyful atmosphere. To do so, more ingenuity is needed and more enthusiastic gestures of good-will. A few practical suggestions: (a) GRANT CEYLON CITIZENSHIP to those who have applied for it more speedily and make its granting a civic function and festivity, removing all the unpleasant discriminations particularly, the unpleasant rule that new citizens cannot OWN LAND; (b) Could they not be granted A PIECE OF LAND with THE PIECE OF PAPER which declares them CEYLON CITIZENS?; (c) CALL FOR RE-APPLICATION for the Ceylon citizenship by all those who applied for it and were refused with or without any reason; (d) Make it equally permissible for those who have applied for Indian citizenship to revert and apply for Ceylon Citizenship (now only ONE WAY is allowed: i.e., to withdraw the application for Ceylon citizenship and to apply for Indian citizenship); (e) Otherwise, make a new rule saying that have once applied for Ceylon citizenship, one cannot change the application (as it is now, have it once applied for Indian citizenship); (f) Meantime, a more organised EFFORT should be made to make the living conditions of the Plantation Workers, the Health, Education and Social Services better to offer them a speedier human development. More recently Fr. Pio Ciampa sent us an article on children on the plantations: 'Nationalisation of the Estate Schools was supposed to be another progressive step for the development of the Plantation children. But, has it been so? He cited instances where sudden nationalisation without proper alternative arrangements has led to total dislocation of even the limited earlier educational system.

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—Growing Frustration	p. 2
THE WORLD TODAY	
—India, Pakistan	p. 4
SRI LANKA CHRONICLE	
—Mar. 1 - Mar. 5	p. 9
PUBLIC SERVICE—2	
—More On Political Neutrality	p. 12
RACE RELATIONS—1	
—A Spiritual Challenge	p. 16
BOOK REVIEW	
—National Congress Documents	p. 18
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Fish And Fisheries	p. 24

NEXT WEEK

- IMF IN SRI LANKA
—Subsidies, Loans,
Development
- QUIDNUNCS
—More About Tenders
- CONFIDENTIALLY
—Imports
- WHO KILLED SEBAI?
—Larnaca To Lebanon
- A JEWISH DISSIDENT
—Confessions By IF. Stone

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK**Down The Slippery Path**

Colombo March 11.

The government seems to be totally oblivious to the fact the disillusionment about the government's ability to get things done has spread among large sections of the population. The SLFP was able to draw a very large crowd to its Kurunegala meeting because of the rising costs of essentials and the even greater scarcities of items in every day use. Government propaganda has begun to crow about the drop in the prices of vegetables, but it has no explanation why fish prices have soared so high or why dry fish price has trebled and quadrupled.

Ordinary torch light batteries are virtually impossible to get at any price. Car, lorry and tractor batteries are equally difficult to come by. Cigarettes have disappeared and to get match boxes one has to walk miles. Even tooth brushes are difficult to get. To console the people, the Deputy Minister of Trade, the voluble Mr. Amarasinghe, has promised to import cigarettes, torch light batteries, car batteries, match boxes and everything else.

There was no shortage of this magnitude of many of these items even in the worst days of the SLFP regime and one wonders whether production has fallen so badly that shortages have become so grave and chronic. Or is it that the locally manufactured goods are being exported (or are being smuggled) to oil rich countries where they can be sold for higher prices? Or is there local hoarding in the belief (or knowledge) that prices will increase, sooner or later, owing to devaluation and the inflation con-

sequent on certain government policies? Or is the hoarding due to the fact that the creation of artificial shortages will provide opportunities to some to order goods from abroad—giving them chances to get secret commissions and even over-price which can be retained abroad?

Whilst the SLFP and UF governments had a reputation for vicious and vindictive actions, they got a few things done, but the Dharmapala UNP government has acquired a reputation for ineptitude of the highest magnitude. There is big talk, but nothing is being done or accomplished. There is an awful lot of boasting, but nothing has got off the ground. Everyday people are told to wait for the great day of miracles, but the miracles have not come.

In the meantime, the law and order situation has deteriorated. The homicide rate—bad enough before—has become worse. But more scandalous than homicide is the phenomenal increase in robberies, thefts and attempted jail breaks. The police keep on suggesting that there is some kind of tie-up between political subversives and the professional gang robbers. There is an unfortunate belief among our half-baked and obviously inefficient police top brass that if a political bogey is raised the government can be stampeded into declaring an Emergency under which the police and the armed forces can maintain the peace of the cemetery.

It is true that some political subversives of the 1971 insurrection have turned professional criminals, but this is no reason to brand and label all dissident and oppositional politics as subversive. The government has, so far, resisted the attempts on the part of the police to intimidate it to declare an Emergency and vest the Police with special powers, but it is not certain

how long the government can hold out.

There is also no doubt that it is not only Police men who feel the absence of special Emergency powers. There are bureaucrats in every government department who feel the same. Not so long ago, they were petty dictators. Their word was law. They enforced so many controls and had the sole discretion in allocating quotas. They are today in a frustrated state and there is no doubt that they are misleading many UNP Ministers and politicians into the belief that things will get done only if there were special powers and special laws. In order to impress upon their new political rulers that what they say is correct, work is being sabotaged in such a way that is compelling many Dharmapala UNPers—not the President—to think that Special Laws and Emergency are essential to get things done. The danger which stems from the activities, preachings and pleadings of such bureaucrats, who had flourished in an era of emergency and controls, is very great, and unless the government is vigilant about the surreptitious activities of these persons, the UNP will fail to deliver the goods.

Frustration has now begun to grip not only back benchers of the government Parliamentary group but also rank and file elements in the UNP. The globe-trotting activities of Foreign Minister Hameed has become the talk of UNP back-benchers. Some of them want to know the number of days he has been in Colombo at his desk since he became Foreign Minister—and this necessarily brings up the question of the trips he has made and the number of days he has been

out of the island. And, what have Hameed's trips cost the country? He has already covered a fairly large segment of the world, in his travels and the question that is being asked now is when he will cover the rest.

Hameed, it is known in political and diplomatic circles, has become a joke not only in Sri Lanka but in many parts of the world. Will the Foreign Minister of any country rush to New Zealand to discuss the packing of milk powder or the blending of tea? What else has he done in any of his trips? He has invited the heads of States, including President Carter, to visit Sri Lanka. Ordinary people have begun to wonder why President J. R. Jayawardene has allowed Hameed so much freedom to waste the tax-payers money (in foreign exchange).

Under Hameed, the conduct of Sri Lanka's foreign policy has become a caricature of what it was. It has brought disrepute to the UNP government. Out of deference to Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, foreign commentators have not so far sharply criticised Hameed's conduct of foreign affairs. For a time, they believed that Hameed was on a low-profile foreign policy stance and dimension—in which event he should have stayed at home. But his reckless gallivanting on every continent militates against the low profile posture. With the special sessions of the UN on Disarmament in May, Hameed will once again start on another odyssey to the West. But before that, he might be tempted to see some of the neighbouring countries he has so far not visited.

UNP back benchers have asked questions about the foreign travels of former Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike. She is said to have made 18 official journeys and 1 private trip in seven years, that is

less than three per year. But at the rate some Ministers and Deputy Ministers of the UNP government are rushing round the world, Mrs. Bandaranaike's 19 trips will fade into insignificance.

Next to Hameed, Ronnie de Mel seems to have the record for numerous and lengthy trips—one which took him round the world. Why he dashed off on February 21, 1978, about 24 hours before President Jayawardene returned from Sydney, has aroused a great deal of speculation in political circles. Had he got the okay from the President for the trip? Prime Minister Premadasa is new on the job and Mr. de Mel may have advanced convincing arguments about leading the Sri Lanka team at the UNCTAD Conference and the need to re-schedule debts and if possible secure the cancellation of some.

One of the first actions of the President on his return was to "cancel" the creation of a Special Committee to act as Liaison between the FTZ and the Finance Ministry. The FTZ authority had objected to this "interference" and the President has obviously upheld the objection. Next, the President issued a curtly worded communique that only the President could invite other heads of state and other foreign dignitaries on official state visits to Sri Lanka. This was obviously a slap in the face of Ronnie de Mel who had invited General Zia of Pakistan to visit this country.

Foreign Minister Hameed too had been handing out invitations to foreign ministers and dignitaries to visit Sri Lanka, but the President had overlooked this, but now that he has put his foot down—and because of the Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel's actions all UNP Ministers who are rushing around the world will be more careful about the invitations they issue.

It must be also mentioned that there is deep resentment among old UNP loyalists that a new interloper into the ranks of the UNP like Ronnie de Mel should have such an important portfolio where he has made many mistakes and has the power to undertake unilateral trips of long duration.

There are also persons who think that de Mel's absence from Sri Lanka may be due to the fact that it is best to be away from the island at a time when the President was considering a Cabinet re-shuffle. J. R. Jayawardene has announced in Dharmista Style that he would discuss with the Ministers concerned their shortcomings and then arrange the changes. If Ministers whose work calls for a change of portfolios are abroad, the President, it is thought, will be thwarted in his Dharmista way of effecting a reshuffle. But, the President is entitled to recall the Minister concerned if he so desires.

The President also administered another "slap" to Ronnie de Mel by refusing to let him lead the Sri Lanka team at the UNCTAD Conference by sending Lalith Athulathmudali to head the delegation. But, the Minister of Trade also seems to be bitten by the travel bug, but he has each time he went abroad taken care to be the personal envoy of Mr. Jayawardene. Mr. Athulathmudali's ostensible excuse for going on a three or four weeks' odyssey this time is to head the team at UNCTAD and thus prevent Minister de Mel from doing that. He will also deliver a lecture at some Chamber of Commerce at Brussels—but for the rest he will follow the footsteps of Ronnie de Mel through various European capitals and also deliver sermons to Sri Lankan diplomats and trade representatives in Europe about what they should do to create a new image of Sri Lanka.

Mr. Athulathmudali is one of the young Ministers who talks volubly,

pompously often facetiously. He says he wants to create a new image of Sri Lanka abroad at a time when the affairs in the island are daily getting worse and worse. The affairs in his own Ministry of Trade are far from satisfactory in spite of the numerous press conferences he holds. His deputy minister is no second in the matter of press conferences.

In spite of big talk about dry fish, it has disappeared from view and Amarasiri has complained that nearly half the co-ops had not taken delivery of their weekly stocks of dry fish. He does not seem to know that the majority of the members of these co-ops cannot afford to buy the dry fish, which on one cost about Rs. 3/- a lb. at Rs. 9/- to Rs. 12/- a lb. Further, many co-ops do not have working capital to purchase stocks which most of its members cannot afford to buy. The only way they can do it is for the managers to get the money from private traders and hand the stocks to them after purchase so that they can sell the dry fish in the open market at high prices which the only richer segment of society can afford to buy.

As we said earlier, the Ministry of Trade cannot explain why there are no batteries, matches, cigarettes and a whole lot of other things. But, they have flooded the market with onions and chillies, and the local producers will henceforth cultivate chillies and onions in lesser quantities. Local needs will not then be met and the country will then import chillies and onions as in the bad old days. The local prices of fertilizers are high (they will cost more when the subsidy on fertilisers is removed), the costs of insecticides have already shot up very high, seed material is difficult to come by and labour costs have more than doubled. In this situation, onions and chillies are being dumped here at prices which local producers can never hope to match. If bureaucrats and

technocrats tell Minister Athulathmudali and Deputy Minister Amarasiri that local products can be produced at the prices these imports are being sold, it is only to sabotage the government's effort to increase agricultural production.

As we have often pointed out, and as many in the UNP now realise, the several hundred million rupees of the money handed out from last October as agricultural and paddy loans have not gone into agriculture — those to whom the loans were given either on political grounds or for corrupt reasons have bought bicycles, cars, radio sets, sewing machines, building materials and the like.

It would be far better for young Ministers like Athulathmudali to stay home and find out what is really happening. Melodramatic and sensational incognito raids (with full press coverage the next day), the seizure of a few stocks from hoarders and intimidatory threats to depress prices by imports will boomerang on production sooner or later. It is necessary to know what is really happening and it is clear that Minister Athulathmudali and his Deputy Amarasiri are living in a kind of Fools Paradise. One only has to examine the statements they have made at various press conferences in the last six months, to know that the country will soon be in a big mess judging by what has happened so far. The Ministry of Trade is running wild with the foreign exchange they have to play with—without the slightest consideration for local production.

It is possible to go on in this way about many Ministries and Departments. One of the biggest stinks will soon come from the Ministry of Fisheries.

How President Jayawardene will use the Executive Power to set things right is yet to be seen?

THE WORLD TODAY

THE SUBCONTINENT

INDIA

● Elections & Indira ● US & Nuclear Policy

by The Recorder

THE POLITICS OF INDIA continue to provide surprises of a high order. The latest is the political comeback staged by Indira Gandhi. Not even her most enthusiastic supporters had anticipated the massive victories she scored in Karnataka and Andhra and sizeable showing in Maharashtra.

Writing on February 26, immediately after the Karnataka results, and before the Andhra results were known, G.K. Reddy, well-known commentator in the *Hindu* had stated: "The spectacular performance of the Indira Congress in Karnataka has come as a great surprise to the political circles here (in Delhi), although it was generally expected that the party would do well in that State. The earlier assumption in Delhi was that it would largely be a neck-and-neck race between the Congress (I) and the Janata with the official Congress trailing behind them in a determined bid to retain its identity in a State that had come to be looked upon as Mrs. Gandhi's only stronghold after the recent party split. But nobody expected that the Indira Congress would win an absolute majority that the Janata's hopes of emerging as the single largest party would be so badly shattered and that the parent Congress would be so completely routed in Karnataka which had become the focal-point of these elections. The Janata did not think that it would come such a poor second in a State where it hoped to do much better in the wake of the Congress split. How-

ever, the party leaders were not jumping to any hasty conclusions on the basis of the Karnataka results, until the counting is over in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Assam. They were not hazarding any forecasts whether the Karnataka outcome represented a marked trend or was only a local phenomenon. But in either case the three main parties would have to review their respective strategies in the next 18 hours for consolidating the gains or facing the consequences of these elections."

Then, writing on March 1, Reddy stated: "There was an unmistakable ring of renewed confidence in her tone as Mrs. Indira Gandhi addressed her first press conference in Delhi today after her shattering defeat in last year's Parliamentary elections. It was not the same distraught Mrs. Gandhi, who had looked so empty and lifeless after her sudden political eclipse. Today she gave spirited replies to the volley of captious questions combining moderation with reassurance. Mrs. Gandhi faced with complete self-possession what was by and large a critical press corps of both Indian and foreign correspondents, as one who had tasted victory again. While stoutly defending her past policies and actions, she took care to strike a conciliatory note about the possibilities of Congress unity in the new situation. Every word that she uttered was intended to give the impression that she was the only one who could give the Janata a fight and restore the Congress to its rightful place in the country's political life. The former Prime Minister chose this particular moment to address a press conference to focus attention on her own role at a time when the unity moves under way were gaining momentum".

The official Congress led by Brahmananda Reddy and Chavan took a severe beating and the present indications are that both

factions of the Congress will once again get together under the leadership of Indira Gandhi.

Reddy commenting on this matter on February 27, immediately after the Karnataka results had stated: "It is only after she has completed these mopping up operations and mapped out her overall strategy that Mrs. Gandhi will indicate her response to any overtures from the other side for burying the hatchet and getting together again. But her concept of reunion would be a virtual surrender by the Congress on the basis of an unquestioning acceptance of her supremacy in the party organisation. She will certainly try her best to keep up the momentum of her victory in the South by projecting herself as the focal-point of opposition to Janata rule at the Centre. She might also make a bold bid to combine her well orchestrated advocacy of the cause of the weaker sections with a matching campaign for greater autonomy for the States. Any moves for reuniting the two Congress parties under her leadership will have to fit into this grand design for giving an extra dimension and a sharper edge to her crusade against the Janata to pave the way for her own political rehabilitation in the northern States."

In the same despatch he had referred to the impact of the Karnataka results on the Janata Party: "The Janata itself is squabbling bitterly over the causes of its poor performance especially in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka and the inadequacies of its campaign in these elections. The Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, has been taking a philosophical view of the whole thing and telling his party colleagues that there was no harm in a country of India's size if there were different parties in power in some of the States. He feels that, if the people of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka have still voted for Mrs. Gandhi in spite

of all the wrongs she had done, they were certainly entitled to have her rule. But there are others in the Janata who are demanding that the party President, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, should resign following Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's example. They blame the Janata's defeat on the policy of throwing its doors open to defectors and the mishandling its election campaign. An attempt is also being made to explain away the muddle with arithmetical jugglery to prove that the party had actually improved its position marginally in all these States. A more basic issue that has been posed by these election results is whether it is desirable at all to risking a functional democracy a conflict between judicial and electoral processes with the courts or commissions holding certain politicians guilty of excesses or corrupt practices and yet the people voting once again for the very same persons despite the serious charges levelled against them. The Grover Commission, for example, has held Mr. Devaraj Urs guilty of corrupt practices and the Governor of Karnataka have called for his prosecution. But the people of Karnataka have voted him back to power and the same Governor will have to induct him into office again."

Then, he had gone on to point out: "In the last 30 years more than 50 commissions of enquiry have been set up by the Central and State Governments, but their adverse verdicts have done no lasting damage to the reputations of the politicians found guilty by them. A good many of them have managed to get back to power despite their tarnished reputations. The way Mrs. Gandhi has managed to sweep the polls in the south in these Assembly elections showed that all the publicity given to the proceedings of the Shah Commission has not percolated to the poorer sections and made much difference to their

traditional voting patterns. In the case of Karnataka, if the Centre had not acted in such a ham-handed manner and dismissed the Devaraj Urs Ministry only 48 hours before it was due to face the Assembly and threaten him with presecution in the midst of the election campaign—he could not have gone about as a victim of the Janatha vendetta evoking a lot sympathy from the people. If he was allowed to continue, in office during the elections, he would have been much more vulnerable to the charges on which he was removed from office."

One of the most interesting and intriguing questions that political scientists find puzzling is how some politicians with charisma sustain their popularity in spite of scandals—sometimes even increase their popularity in the process. This has been so in the ages past and it is also true today. Why some fall with the first whiff of scandal and why others even after a setback are able to stage comeback is one of the most baffling problems confronting historians.

However the Janata government has, unexpectedly, made an extremely good showing in foreign affairs. Morarji Desai and Vajpayee have maintained the traditional Nehruian non-aligned foreign policy of India in a remarkable manner and have been able to extend the scope of India's friendly relations with all neighbouring countries in the most spectacular fashion. The latest example of India's foreign policy success is the close links she has developed with Vietnam, India has extended substantial aid to Vietnam in fields she is competent to help. This growing friendship between India and Vietnam has tremendous political, economic and geopolitical implications for Asia and the world.

No sooner the Janata government came to power, it was made out by Western commentators that

India would soon begin to trail behind the US and the West. It was probably in this belief that President Carter paid his spectacular visit to India on New Year's day in 1978. But India has not succumbed to US pressures or blackmail on any matter of importance—more especially the one matter on which Carter wanted success—submission by India on nuclear policy. Desai, it will be recalled, refused to accede to Carter's demand during his visit, and Carter tape-recorded *faux pas* in this regard is one of the biggest gaffs a US President has been guilty of.

On the question of the US reactions to India's refusal, a news agency from New York report dated Feb. 27, stated: "An indefinite delay is likely in the already overdue shipment of 7.6 tons of enriched uranium to India for the Tarapur nuclear power plant, it is learnt. The question of its clearance is now held up before the autonomous Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). Environmentalist groups which had objected to the supply of nuclear materials to India previously have revived their agitation and are demanding public hearings before deciding on allowing supplier firms to ship the fuel to Bombay. While the US President, Mr. Jimmy Carter, was in New Delhi in January, he promised the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, to expedite the supply. The State Department, accordingly, recommended clearance of the export permit. In reviving their agitation, environmentalists have drawn sustenance from the strong views expressed in the Congress during the debate on the Nuclear Non-proliferation Act which bars supply of nuclear materials to foreign countries unless they agree to placing all their nuclear installations to international inspection. The Act has been passed by both Houses and will

become law as soon as the President gives his assent. Congressmen and Senators, some of them known friends of India, continued to highlight the dangers of "horizontal proliferation" but ignored the threat to the world from persistent vertical proliferation by the nuclear weapon powers defying international opinion."

The story does not end here. A *Samachar* report from New Delhi dated March 1, stated: "The Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, told the Lok Sabha today that the US had violated the agreement by creating difficulties for storing spent fuel rods in the existing pool of the Tarapur atomic plant. Replying a question by Mr. K. Ramamurthy, the Prime Minister admitted that it became necessary on this account to reduce the output in Tarapur plant (70 per cent of the designed capacity) in the second half of 1977-78. Mr. Desai said because of the shortage of storing space for the spent fuel, the plant's output was reduced. Now the question was how to utilise the full capacity. This could be solved by an agreement with the US. India was negotiating with it all the while. But in view of the US attitude, India had to find out what methods could be used to get out of the impasse. 'Perhaps, we might find out some other way', he said.

"Mr. Chitta Basu asked whether the storage capacity for the spent fuel was part of the contract between the Government of India and the US. If so, the storage problem created was in violation of the agreement, he said. Mr. Desai, sharing the anxiety of the member, said the US had violated the agreement. He replied by asking the member, 'What can we do about it? Can we go to court? Can any court decide on this?' The Prime Minister said, 'We have, therefore, to find an alternative method

of working. If it does not work, I cannot give up the self-respect of my country'.

"Mr. Samar Guha said the Atomic Energy Commission could find some storage for the spent fuel. Why should they depend on the US for this? Mr. Desai said the spent fuel could not be thrown away anywhere as they liked as this would create more problems. It had to be reprocessed and disposed of. This had to be done in consultation with the United States."

India has even begun to hit back in a subtle way. Indian publicists, at recent seminars and conferences have placed documents (which cannot be questioned) to show that the "horizontal" proliferation of nuclear-weapon capability to Israel and South Africa had come from the USA. Fissionable material and technological know-how had "secretly" been leaked to both these countries from the USA—negligently, unwittingly or deliberately. Indians have made the point that the USA should develop safeguards to nuclear weapon materials (not mere nuclear material for peaceful use) in the USA first before asking other countries to submit to restrictions and international inspection in this regard.

Whilst the Janata government has made a proud showing on foreign affairs, on the local domestic front its record has been extremely poor. Apart from opening the doors wide open to certain selected multinationals (whilst restricting the activities of certain others), the Janata Budgets have roused no enthusiasm. The Growth rate attained under Indira Gandhi has slowed down to utter stagnation and the latest Janata Central budget has received with scepticism even by Janata MPs. Indira Gandhi is thus identified as a saviour of the weaker sections of the community. Powerful landlords have

begun to take the upper hand in rural areas and Harijans and other landless peasants are being thrown out of lands they had been allotted under Land Reform. Prices of essential food items have increased and the law and order situation has become worst with increased robberies, murders and thefts.

+ + +

PAKISTAN Govt. Files Six Cases Against Bhutto

Politics in Pakistan has been a puzzle to many. But the central fact is that the Military Administration hopes to bring some stability and political quiet after eliminating former Prime Minister Bhutto from the scene. There is a battle royal in the courts, but tensions began to mount in the country. All political activities were therefore banned for a month in the hope that "peace" would come to the country.

In the meantime, the cases against Bhutto are being pursued. To enable our readers to get an idea of what is happening in Pakistan we publish a summary of the cases filed against Bhutto. It is in this background that we hope to publish further articles about developments in Pakistan.

- ① Subverting the process of law by rigging polls
- ① Filing a false and incorrect declaration of assets
- ① Misuse of public funds
- ① Abuse of official position
- ① Misappropriation of Secret Service Funds
- ① Importing items of luxury by evading payment of custom duty etc.

The Government on February 3-4, in Lahore, filed six cases against Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, PPP Chairman, in a Special Court consisting of Mr. Justice Shafiqur Rahman. The court was set up on Jan. 16 under Article 4 of the Holders of Representative Offices (Punishment for Misconduct) Order 1977. Counsel for prosecution is Dr. Khalid Afzal Ranjha.

The cases include subverting the process of law by rigging the elections, filing in false and incorrect declaration of assets under MLR 21, misuse of public funds, abuse of official position and misappropriation of the Secret Service Fund. The Federal Investigation Agency has unearthed necessary evidence to support the prosecution charges. The investigations have revealed that the massive illegalities and malpractices committed before and during the March 1977 elections were a part of a plan prepared by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and his close associates to ensure PPP victory in the polls. Notwithstanding Mr. Bhutto's claim in the National Assembly and other forums that it was never the policy of his Government to manipulate or rig the elections, the records reveal that Mr. Bhutto started work in this sphere as early as 1974 when he brought the Election Commission under his strict control and this fettered its authority and independence.

He followed this up by formulating a diabolic scheme to be implemented at the district level. He selected the district of Larkana as a model, and marked the plan for 'eyes only'. He circulated it in April, 1976 among a chosen few with the following remarks: "I have prepared a scheme for the elections both Central and Provincial for the district of Parkana. This scheme might be of some assistance to you in the preparations of arrangements we have

to work out on the scientific basis for the whole country."

This scheme visualised the use of district administration to further the political ends of PPP. The conscientious civil servants, who were reluctant to toe the party line were harassed, brow-beaten and intimidated. By creating fear or bestowing favours, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto created a machinery which could ensure the PPP victory in the elections. Even the provincial Governors who are the constitutional heads, were not spared. They, too, were directed to contribute to election campaign in favour of PPP candidates. In addition, a number of senior officers were sent on tours of various parts of the country to gear up support for the party in power. To crown it all "most dependable" polling officers were carefully selected to fulfil the PPP aims.

Besides tying up all ends to ensure PPP victory as per Larkana Plan, a scheme was prepared to keep those Opposition candidates "Out of the Assembly" who "would obstruct the democratic process in the country and cause problems in the Assemblies". And lists of such Opposition candidates was drawn well in advance and necessary measures were taken to ensure their defeat in the polls. As a result of these plans, the PPP managed to score a landslide victory by employing foul and unfair means.

THE SECOND CASE against Mr. Z. A. Bhutto pertains to the declaration of assets. According to his declaration, he possesses properties and assets valued at Rs. 17,52,948 only whereas the conservative estimate of his known assets in Pakistan alone, is over Rs. 5 crore. This wide disparity between the two figures is due to the fact that Mr. Bhutto not only unduly undervalued his assets but also concealed some of

his properties such as land, houses and vehicles.

THE THIRD CASE alleges misuse of Government funds to the tune of Rs. 90 lakh for the development of his private lands in Larkana district. According to the available evidence, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and his family owned 2,200 acres of agricultural land in Lera Bhutto. These lands are commonly known as "Z.A. Bhutto Farm" or "Nusrat Farm". To protect his holdings from the Land Reforms Act, Mr. Bhutto contrived to transfer a part of this land to some trusted and dependable persons; but this transfer remained only a paper transaction. The actual control continued to be exercised by Mr. Bhutto or his representatives.

Not only did Mr. Bhutto and members of his family continue to possess these lands in violation of the law of the land, he also utilised the services of WAPDA, Agriculture; Irrigation and Sind Planning and Development Departments for developing the farm. The total expenditure met out of public money on constructions and installation of various facilities comes to about Rs. 90 lakhs.

THE FOURTH CASE against Mr. Bhutto concerns illegal expenditure of Rs. 60 lakhs from the public exchequer on structural improvement, alterations, airconditioning and maintenance of his houses at Larkana and Karachi. To cover up this huge expenditure, Mr. Bhutto had attempted to pressurise the concerned officials to categorise his private houses, Al-Murtaza and 70-Clifton, as his official residences for use by him as President/Prime Minister.

Misappropriation of the Secret Service Fund for the benefit of his Pakistan People's Party is the

FIFTH CHARGE against Mr. Bhutto. During his tenure in office as President and Prime Minister of the country, Mr. Bhutto had spent a total of over Rs. 192 lakh from the Secret Service Fund. Investigations conducted into a part of this colossal expenditure have revealed that money was dishonestly misappropriated to benefit the PPP. Even false certificates were prepared by Mr. Bhutto declaring the funds to have been properly spent in the interest of public service.

Investigations have established that Mr. Bhutto had advanced, out of the Secret Fund, lakhs of rupees to office-bearers of his party which were mainly misused for payment of salaries to the staff of the Pakistan People's Party, monthly rent for party offices, purchase of furniture, preparation of banners/flags, Eid Milan parties of PPP members etc.

According to available evidence, Mr. Bhutto had also misused the Secret Fund for the purchase of a jeep which was later transported to his ancestral home at Larkana for private use. Yet another instance of misuse of the Secret Fund discovered in the course of investigations is the payment made to a firm in Karachi towards the repair/freight charges of five jeeps belonging to the People's Party of the NWFP. Evidence has also been found to establish that purely party ventures like printing of manifesto were also financed from the Secret Service Fund.

THE SIXTH CHARGE filed against the former Prime Minister is that he obtained through corrupt and dishonest means, pecuniary advantages by importing items of luxury for private use and evading the payment of Customs duty and Sales tax to the tune of Rs. 29 lakh. Inquiries con-

ducted by the FIA have revealed that Mr. Bhutto had imported items of luxury for his private use worth Rs. 20 lakh in excess of his entitlement as the Prime Minister of the country. Under the rules Mr. Bhutto was required to pay Rs. 29 lakh as duty and taxes but the amount was never paid.

Mr. Bhutto also committed violations of Foreign Exchange Regu-

lations by obtaining foreign exchange on false pretext and utilising it for importing articles other than those for which release permits were obtained. On occasions even arms and ammunition were imported against permits released for the import of household goods. He also misused the funds of Pakistan Embassies abroad to the tune of lakhs in sterling.

The court issued notices to the accused in three cases in which complete challans have been filed by the prosecution. These cases relate to the misuse of the Secret Service Fund, development of Nusrat Farm at Government expense and for spending public money on his personal residences.

—Weekly Pakistan News

Feb. 7, 1978

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

March 1 — March 5

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

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

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1: A six point plan for national integration has been formulated by the National Integration Unit set up by the government. Foreign trips by the former PM, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike during her regime in her private and official capacities will be queried in the NSA by the MP for Polgahawela when the Assembly meets on March 8. The governments of Sri Lanka and the USA yesterday signed loan agreement totalling US 16,500,000 dollars which will finance assistance for Malaria Control and Agricultural Base Mapping. The Leader of the Opposition has issued a statement saying that he wished to remove any misconception that he was threatened by politically motivated youths; it was merely a protest by some young men who had been improperly recruited for jobs in the KKS cement factory who had been discontinued—CDN. Cost of Living Committees are to be appointed in every district to tackle effectively the problem of supplies of essential commodities. The Ministry of Labour yesterday made it clear that the draft law embodied in the White Paper on employment relations was not the final form of the Employment Relations Law: views and representations on this white paper have been invited by the Ministry from TU'S, employer's organisations and others. The Public Health Department of the Colombo Municipality has noticed several pro-

prietors of eating houses are flouting the by-laws laid down for eating houses; they have been warned and if they do not improve, their licenses will be cancelled—CDM. The government is today expected to decide on the procedure to be adopted in the recruitment of personnel from electorates represented by the SLFP MP's; this follows a request made by the Working Committee of the UNP that a 'screen test' be held to ensure the security of democratic institutions. Strict security measures are to be enforced by the city police in connection with the anticipated token strike and meeting of trade unions affiliated to the CMU today. Pakistan's Martial Law administrator General Zia ul Haq is expected to visit Sri Lanka shortly according to Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel—SU. An armed man was detained yesterday as he prepared to board a plane on which the Sri Lanka's Minister of Finance was travelling—CO. Co-lenders for the SFMC Urea Project and officials of the Sri Lanka government held discussions to review the present status of the Urea Project; they reaffirmed their decision to continue with the project—IDPR. No. 71. The Sri Lanka government has appointed Mr. T. D. S. A. Dissanayake as Ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia.—IDPR NO. 46/78. The National Milk Board is to import 2 packing machines worth Rs. 2.5 million from Germany to increase production capacity. The Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways has decided to stop the distribution of land till investigations reveal why people living outside the district have been allocated land when the policy was to allocate land to people within the district—DW. The government has decided to postpone the Local Government elections—JD.

THURSDAY, MARCH 2: Health authorities yesterday warned the public to be cautious in the purchase of beef following the widespread outbreak of 'hoof and mouth' disease in the main cattle producing areas. A modern and sophisticated telecommunications network will be provided in the GCEC area by the Posts and Telecommunications Department. The present scheme under which untrained teachers are provided professional training at Training Colleges is to be res-

structured to enable more teachers to obtain their training as early as possible. Mr. Pham Van Dong, PM of Vietnam arrives in Sri Lanka today on a four day visit. Three persons are reported to have died and 85 patients have been admitted to the Kegalle and Mawanella hospitals for treatment following an outbreak of dysentery. The government is to take steps to prevent sea erosion in the island—CDN. The five-member Universities Grants Committee, which will be appointed by the President of Sri Lanka under the new Universities Bill will not only be in charge of the disbursement of funds to universities but will possess powers in respect of over-all planning and co-ordination. The government has reduced the duty on another group of imported goods with a view to reducing the cost of living. Dr. Nath Amerakone and Mr. V. W. Kularatne were released on security bail by the Chief Magistrate, Colombo—CDM. The government is considering the setting up of a seven judge Appellate Court which will be higher than the Supreme Court and therefore the highest court in the country. SLFP Leader, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has charged that attempts are being made by the UNP government to take away, through a Presidential Commission all the democratic rights enjoyed by the people; she said that she was even prepared to go to jail to safeguard these rights. CID sleuths were yesterday sent to the south and Kegalle to conduct investigations into what is believed to be intensified insurgent activities in these areas—SU. There has been a 100% increase in the price of petrol in the Soviet Union—VK. The Minister of Plantation Industries has said that he will employ 10,000 people in the estate sector in the near future—DM. The government has allocated 160,6 million rupees for the import of Lakspray milk powder—DW. Four new campuses and two additional medical faculties are expected to come up by October to admit an increased number of students to the university this year—CO.

FRIDAY, MARCH 3: "Vietnam will join Sri Lanka in any venture she embarks on for social, economic and cultural uplift of the people; in the task of reconstruction we are prepared to work hand in hand with Sri Lanka's leadership and her people" said Vietnam's PM Mr. Pham Van Dong who arrived yesterday on a four day goodwill mission to Sri Lanka. Earnings from industrial exports last year was nearly a thousand million rupees; this has been a substantial increase over the previous year. The Leader of the Opposition yesterday issued a statement on the arrival of the Vietnamese PM, welcoming him and wishing the people of Vietnam on behalf of the Tamil-speaking people and the Opposition in Parliament. Consumers are turning to the open market for their purchase of rice, discarding the off-ration rice now available at Rs. 2.90 a measure

at co-operatives because of the very poor quality. The Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction will soon hold local government elections and vest the administration of certain local bodies now in the hands of special commissioners in the hands of the people's representatives. In the seven month period since the UNP government came into power the income of the Janawasama Commission had increased by 40.6% over the immediate seven months prior to this; the Chairman of the Janawasama Commission said yesterday—CDN. The Ministry of Education yesterday ordered the closure of the Maharagama Teacher Training College and the 1500 teacher trainees have been asked to report to their respective schools with immediate effect; the Secretary to the Ministry of Education said that lectures could not be conducted at the College because none of the trainees attended the lectures. The Customs Preventive staff yesterday cracked open one of the biggest opium outlets in the city of Colombo and seized nearly six pounds of raw opium valued at over Rs.30,000. Sri Lanka is expected to receive a substantial level of assistance in the form of cereals from the FAO. The World Bank mission in Sri Lanka is understood to be willing to offer financial assistance for slum and shanty clearance in the city of Colombo. SLFP, LSSP, CP-sponsored trade unions and the Ceylon Mercantile Union yesterday launched a lunch hour picketing campaign outside workplaces against the White Paper on Employment relations. The SLFP candidate who contested the President for the Colombo West seat in the NSA at the 1977 elections has quit the SLFP and applied to join the UNP—CDM. Private individuals are to be appointed by the Paddy marketing Board as Authorised Agents to purchase paddy during the current Maha season under the Guaranteed Price Scheme. Undergraduates of the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka yesterday walked out of the halls and boycotted lectures. The Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs said that Sri Lanka could gain much from the industrial and technological knowledge of the Indian people and that India has considerably advanced in these spheres during the last two decades. The Ceylon Bank Employees' Union has decided to stage a one day token strike to protest against unfair dismissals, transfers and appointments in the banks. Trade Minister will leave tomorrow on a mission abroad to promote trade relations with several countries—SU. Price of flour given by America under the PL 480 agreement have been increased by 22 dollars; as a result of this Sri Lanka will have to spend Rs. 1.75 for a pound of flour—DK. The Education Ministry has said that the learning of Sinhala for Tamils and vice versa is only done with the parent's approval and that learning these languages is not compulsory—DM. The Ministry of Transport is

gravely concerned about the pelting of stones at moving trains inflicting serious injuries on innocent commuters; incidents of this nature were found to be increasing during the last few days—*IDPR No. 75.*

SATURDAY, MARCH 4: The President told the Vietnamese PM yesterday that he trusted that Vietnam would join Sri Lanka firstly to preach to the world complete disarmament and secondly to seek to implement it stage by stage. Mr. Pham Van Dong in his reply to the President at the luncheon given in his honour yesterday said that the relationship between the two countries are deeply rooted from the cultural currents in history and had always been relations of peace and friendship. A framework type fo agreement between Sri Lanka and Vietnam was signed yesterday at the Ministry of Trade; the agreement will cover trade relations between the two countries. 1800 new telephone connections will be given to applicants in the Central, Havelock Town and Maradana exchange areas from next monday. The government has placed orders for Rs. 50 million worth of consumer items for distribution during the Sinhala and Tamil New Year. The Department of Agriculture has taken precautions to immunise cattle against the widespread outbreak of hoof and mouth disease—*CDN.* Special forms on which 1000 persons from each electoate will be given employment will be posted to each MP by March 10. The Air Ceylon DC 8-41 aircraft which was impounded in London has been released and flown back to Sri Lanka. Far reaching judicial reforms are to be introduced shortly; these include the abolishment of constitutional courts, circuit courts, postal summons and several provisions of the Administration of Justice law—*CDM.* The government is to enter the tea brokering business shortly and thus compete with the private tea brokering firms; a State Tea Borkering Corporation is to be set up for this purpose. Arrangements have been made to restore about 1000 tanks in the dry zone through the rural development scheme. Sri Lanka will be in future called the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka the President announced yesterday. The engineering Students Federation of the Peradeniya Campus are continuing to boycott lectures, while students from other faculties attended lectures yesterday—*SU.* Mr. A. A. Josphe has been appointed as the GA for Jaffna; he is the first Tamil to be given this post after 16 years—*EN.* The Leather Corporation has asked permission to set up a large leather factory in the FTZ area with a capacity to produce 35000 pairs of shoes a day with Indian collaboration—*LD.* The last government has closed down 1080 paddy milling dactories in the past seven years—*DW.*

SUNDAY, MARCH 5: The Trade Minister who left yesterday for Europe on a mission that takes him to eight capitals said that the Sri Lanka FTZ will offer

great incentives than those obtainking in any such zone elsewhere in the world. Negotiations have been concluded, a compromise solution worked out and top American films will come to Sri Lanka in about a month. Women recruits to public service will be taken into the pensionable service with their male counterparts on recruitment; they will not be given the option to remain out of the pensionable service with only provident fund benefits. British funded specialist training of Sri Lankans in the UK has proved to be a disappointment over the last few years and had even facilitated the brain drain, a review undertaken by the Overseas Development Ministry and the British Council has revealed. Four round-the-world cruise ships will bring nearly 3000 affluent visitors to this country this month—*SO.* Among those whose names are being mentioned for appointment to the Presidential Commission to inquire into the actions of the previous government are Mr. Justice J. G. T. Weeraratne, Mr. Justice S. Sharvananda and Mr. K. C. E. de Alwis, District Judge of Colombo. The Labour Department and the Police are of the view that security service organisations that are mushrooming in several areas of the city of Colombo and its suburbs are a threat to society. The Vietnamese PM planted an ebony sapling at the Botanical Garden at Peradeniya this morning. An island wide network of people's associations to prevent crime and delinquency will be set up shortly; the initiative has come from the Commissioner of Prisons. Opium addiction is spreading on a big scale in various parts of the country, according to Customs Intelligence reports. The government has issued an ultimatum to the management of a private nursing home which serves only foveigners that it must extend its serfices to local patients too—*ST.* Over three hundred Sri Lankans most of them lured for employment abroad by bogus agencies are now stranded in Bombay. The President will later this month commence talks individually with cabinet ministers; these talks will be a prelude to cabinet changes that are to be effected. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike addressing trade unionists in protest of the White Paper on Employment Relations said yesterday that the SLFP government entered into a very useful nationalised venture, but as soon as this government came to power they were handing back those that were nationalised; therefore it is not wrong to conclude that the White Paper intends handing all ventures to the private sector; so she asked why even the government should not be handed over to the private sector—*WK.*

PUBLIC SERVICE—2

Political Neutrality

—Politicians Wanted It—

by A Special Correspondant

This is the second of five articles on the Public Service in Sri Lanka. The writer stresses in all the articles the compelling need for political neutrality on the part of public servants.

The acceptance of the Ceylon (Constitution & Independence) Orders in Council 1946 and 1947 by the Ministers implied their own dedication to the principle that the public service should remain apart from politics. The new constitution was in consonance with the thinking that found expression in the Minister's Scheme for constitutional reform, namely that it was necessary to "secure impartiality in appointments to the public service." This concept was thus enshrined in the constitution.

Even while such independence was firmly entrenched in the Constitution, situations had apparently arisen where political pressure at the highest level had been used. Such an inference is not unwarranted in view of a circular dated 10.01.1953 issued by the PSC to all Permanent Secretaries drawing the attention of "all public officers to the correct constitutional position in regard to the exercise of powers delegated to them by the Commission." The same circular draws "attention to the Prime Minister's directive on certain problems in relation to the public service."

PSC UNDER THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1972. It is now appropriate to

study the position under the Republican Constitution of 1972. The Public Service Commission was abolished. The Cabinet of Ministers was vested with powers as set out in the relevant sections of the Constitution reproduced below:

- 106(1) The Cabinet of Ministers shall be responsible for the appointment, transfers, dismissal and disciplinary control of state officers and shall be answerable therefore to the National State Assembly.
- (2) Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, the Cabinet of Ministers shall have the power of appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of all state officers.

The more important section of supreme importance to the state officer is section 106(5) which reads:

- 106(5) No institution administering justice shall have the power or jurisdiction to inquire into, pronounce upon or in any manner call in question any recommendation, order or decision of the Cabinet or Ministers, a Minister, the State Services Advisory Board or the State Services Disciplinary Board or a state officer, regarding any matter concerning appointments, transfers, dismissals or disciplinary matters of state officers.

It is thus clear that the legislature felt compelled to vest the powers earlier vested in the PSC, an independent body, in the Cabinet of Ministers, subject of course

to the provision that the Cabinet of Ministers, shall be answerable to the NSA. The question arises whether a decision of the Cabinet of Ministers will ever be set aside by the House. Such a situation is unimaginable, for would not an adverse verdict lead to a resignation of the Government according to parliamentary traditions?

STATE SERVICES ADVISORY BOARD. In relation to the power of appointment, the Cabinet of Ministers would have the advice of a State Services Advisory Board. The functions of this Board are set out in sections 111 and 113 of the Republican Constitution. Those sections of this statutory provisions as are pertinent to this discussion are given below:

- 111(1) There shall be a State Services Advisory Board to exercise, perform or discharge such powers, functions or duties as are required of the State Services Advisory Board.
- 113(1) Except where the Constitution otherwise provides, appointments.....shall be made by the Cabinet of Ministers after receiving the recommendation of the Minister. No such recommendation shall be made by a Minister except after consultation with the State Services Board.

In regard to appointments which do not fall under section 113, section 114 of the Constitution states:

114. Appointments which do not fall under section 113 ...may be made by the Cabinet of Ministers only after having received... the recommendation of the State Service Board.

STATE SERVICES DISCIPLINARY BOARD. This Board

was set up to advise the Cabinet of Ministers in regard to the exercise of its powers of dismissal and disciplinary control of state officers. The relevant sections are given below:

112(1) There shall be a State Services Disciplinary Board to exercise, perform or discharge such powers, functions or duties as are required of the State Services Disciplinary Board under the Constitution.

117. The Cabinet of Ministers shall exercise its powers of dismissal and disciplinary control only after receiving.....a recommendation from the State Services Disciplinary Board.

118(1) The Cabinet of Ministers may delegate to a Minister its powers of dismissal and disciplinary control of state officers.

(2) A Minister shall exercise the powers delegated to him under sub-section (1) only after receiving a recommendation from the State Services Disciplinary Board.

Where, however, a Minister delegates his powers to a state officer an appeal lies to the State Services Disciplinary Board, whose order shall be final if the order made by the delegate is not one of dismissal. Where the order is one of dismissal, the appeal lies to the Minister who "shall have the power to vary such order". This is set out in section 119 which I have not quoted in greater detail.

THE TWO ADVISORY BOARDS. The two Boards described in the two preceding sections have been shorn of any executive powers. The only mandatory power vested in the State Services Disciplinary Board is

contained in section 119(2) where the disciplinary order is not one of dismissal. True, the Cabinet of Ministers and the Minister who holds delegated authority from the Cabinet of Ministers should act only with the advice of the two Boards, but it is not mandatory nor indeed can a Cabinet of Ministers be expected to take orders from one of its own creatures. That would not be in consonance with the dignity of Parliament nor would any legislature tolerate such a situation.

As a matter of fact, the writer is of the view, that the one reason why the Pre-Republican Constitution PSC was abolished was because it was not responsible to the legislature. It was an authority unto itself. There was no Minister in the legislature who could be called to account by the House for the actions of the PSC. This situation was naturally unacceptable to the NSA and the Republican Constitution ensured its abolition.

The question that is agitating the mind of every public servant is whether in doing so, the NSA has not exposed the public service to political pressures? Has the new arrangement provided the climate needed to promote the growth of a politically neutral public service that would be an asset to any government in power? Unfortunately experience has shown that the abolition of the PSC mortally injured the Public Service.

APPEAL TO A COURT OF LAW.

Section 106(5) of the Republican Constitution quoted earlier in this paper has effectively precluded a state officer from seeking redress in an "institution administering justice". It is not clear why it was considered fit to deprive the state officer of the right to seek

redress in a court of law, if he felt so disposed. The state officer, by virtue of becoming a servant of the state does not lose his inherent right as a citizen of the land. One of our country's eminent lawyers had occasion to declare quite recently in exquisite prose "Majesty of law is in its enforcement, beauty is in its simplicity, justice in its fairness for social good, service in its concern for the EMPLOYER, EMPLOYEE, and the STATE". Surely this is fair enough?

This also brings to my mind what Lord Sankey, Lord Chancellor of England, said on 5.07.1929 when speaking at the Mansion House. Lord Sankey declared "Amid the cross currents and shifting sands of public life the Law is like a great rock upon which a man may set his feet and be safe, while the inevitable inequalities of private life are not so dangerous in a country where every citizen knows that in the Law Courts, at any rate, he can get justice". In Sri Lanka the need for "a great rock" for man (state officer or not) to "set his feet and be safe" was never so great as when the Republic Constitution came into effect.

Every state officer knows what happened in and to the public services. The inequities and injustice broke him/her completely until the only place where justice was being dispensed remained the court of law. And the right of the public servant to appeal to that "great rock" had been taken away. What grew was a tribe of 'yes' men who feared to tender advice without fear or favour because they wanted to cling to their positions of vantage.

A state officer is entitled to believe that a government's objective is to forge an effective administrative instrument and to

nourish state service apparatus that will not be insensitive to the needs and feelings of the people and at the same time be ready to tell the governor, the political master, what he honestly and sincerely feels is the best course of action in the national interest and back up his recommendation with reasons. The Fulton Committee reported that "Civil Servants must be able to give forthright advice to their superiors and to Ministers without fearing that a clash of views might lead to dismissal from Service."⁷

TRADITIONS OF A PUBLIC SERVICE. The public service in Sri Lanka is largely fashioned on the traditions of the civil service in Britain. Thus, what Sir Warren Fisher, one time Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, had stated should be the principles upon which the Civil Servant should act will be of relevance for the purposes of the discussion in this paper:

"Determination of policy is the function of Ministers, and once a policy is determined it is the unquestioned and unquestionable business of the Civil servant to strive to carry out that policy with precisely the same good will whether he agrees with it or not. That is axiomatic and will never be in dispute. At the same time it is the traditional duty of Civil Servants, while decisions are being formulated to make available to their political chiefs all the information and experience at their disposal, and to do this without fear or favour, irrespective of whether the advice tendered may accord or not with the Minister's initial view. The presentation to the Minister of relevant facts, the ascertainment and marshaling of which may often call into play the whole organisation

of the department, demands of the civil servant the greatest care. The presentation of inferences from the facts equally demands from him all the wisdom and all the detachment he can command."⁸

Jennings adds "Nevertheless, the tradition is firm that when the Government changes the policy the departmental policy must change. When at last, in 1932, the UK went protectionist, there was no change in the personnel of the Treasury, and the Board of Trade, but the officials of those departments did their best to produce the most efficient protective system that their ingenuity could devise"⁹ Jennings also continues "Public servants are much like other people who may have axes to grind and ambitions to achieve. The traditions of the public service do their best to encourage honest opinion and fearless criticism, but so long as politicians can influence promotions and the distribution of honours, there is risk of toadying, flattery and self-seeking"¹⁰.

The lesson is clear—comment would be superfluous. I am reminded of the lament of one of President Richard Nixon's principal aides to whom is attributed the words "Between my ideals and my ambitions, I lost my moral compass" when he fell from his high pedestal. Could anything be more painful or tragic.

POLITICAL NEUTRALITY.

The discussion proceeds on the premise that a public service from political influence is in the best interests of the country. Who is the political panjandrum who does not claim to have sacrifice much and come forward to serve the people and the country? The search therefore is to evolve a system that can help to create for the political machinery a public ser-

vice that will serve any government elected by the people with unquestioned loyalty and within the political environment in which it finds itself. Modern administration needs men who have the capacity to operate in a highly articulate political environment. This reminds the writer of Anthony Sampson's description in his *Anatomy of Britain* of the public servant's response to a given political situation:

"Civil Servants sometimes talk about politically sensitive areas as if they were regions of radio activity, where geiger counters frantically oscillate, which can only be entered with a full protection of asbestos and visors...to cope with the wild world of politics, to tame it and to translate it into some kind of sensible action, the civil servants have their special fine armoury of words—words that have been refined, sharpened or carefully blurred over the last few hundred years to express the nuances, doubts and delicately balanced arguments on which the business of administration depends".

On the other hand the Fulton Committee comments "One of the main troubles of the Service has been that, in achieving immunity from political intervention, a system was evolved, which until recently was virtually immune from outside pressures for change. Since it was not immune from inside resistance to change, inertia was inevitable". Such inertia is dangerous and self-defeating. The public service is the only instrument available to government to translate into positive action its political decisions. Confronted with a situation requiring action, it would be tragic for an administrator to plead as an excuse for doing nothing that the law did not

tell him precisely what he should do. Within limits, which are generally very wide, it would be his clear duty to suggest courses of action to his political chiefs.

It is interesting to read what Henry Parris has to say in his *Constitutional Bureaucracy* in regard to relationship that should exist between the two:

"The epithet (civil service) implies a distinction between two branches of the executive government—the civil service as distinct from the political or parliamentary service of the Crown... but between those two extremes lay a spectrum in which differing proportions of political and administrative duties blended into one another."¹¹

Thus, political neutrality should not be taken to mean that the civil servant and the politician cannot work together—indeed it is a must.

"When did the permanent civil service (of Britain) come into existence" asks Parris in the same book. According to him "the language of historians implies that it has always existed and that Trevelyan held that 'in the Treasury of the first twenty years after the Revolution of 1688 we see the emergence of the best modern traditions of the permanent civil service."¹²

These traditions continue to support the case for a politically neutral civil service which remains the pride of the British citizen. Graham Walls in *Human Nature in Politics* comments very pertinently on this aspect "the creation of this Service was the great political invention in the 19th century England, and like other inventions it was worked out under the pressure of an urgent practical problem". He further points out "that the existence of a permanent Civil Service, appointed on a system,

independent of the opinion or desires of any politician and holding office during good behaviour" provides the constitutional check in England, not so much by the House of Lords. From whatever angle one may view this natural political compulsion, it is obvious that in Britain every effort has been made to ensure a public service that is politically neutral and unaffected by changing political fortunes.

Political neutrality as an essential attribute for the promotion of good government is not a recent concept. As far back as 1854 Lord Palmerston declared in Parliament that it was "impossible to overrate the advantage to the public service of having in each department of government a Permanent Secretary not belonging to any political party not swayed by passion or feeling...but a man whom being the repository of the lore and knowledge belonging to the particular department, was able...to give the newcomer into that office information as to past events, as to the principles regulating the department, as to the knowledge of individuals, and as to the details of transactions, without which it was impossible for any man, let him be ever so able and ever so expert to perform his duties with satisfaction to himself and advantage to the public."¹³

Henry Parris further points out that the process begun by Parliament to reduce royal influence based on patronage created conditions for greater efficiency and a non-political service. He adds "An important, though unforseen, result was the rise of a class of non-party officials capable of servicing any government which the tides of electoral fortune might return to power."¹⁴ So that the real pressure to separate administration from politics first of all came from the politician himself.

The unwavering dedication of the British civil servant to the concept of political neutrality finds support from the civil servants themselves. J. C. Harris (1778-1855) who in "1823 crossed the great divide between administration and political appointments to become Financial Secretary to the Treasury with a seat in the House of Commons" has said "I am pursuing my own laborious vocation. I am not in the following of any party. My business is with the public interest and my duty, to promote the King's interests wherever I am employed."¹⁵

Sir L. Namier in his *Personalities and Powers*, asks himself the question "What are the basic elements of constitutional monarchy?" In reply he states "that one of the essentials is an unpolitical civil service whose primary connexion is with the crown (the head of state where there is no monarchy) and which, while subordinated to party governments, is unaffected by their changes; the two permanent elements, the Crown and the Civil Service, which not by chance together left the political arena, supply the framework for the free play of parliamentary politics and governments."¹⁶

Yet another official R. W. Hay, Permanent Under Secretary at the Colonial Office once declared "All who have had experience of the manner in which the business of our great public departments is transacted, would, I am sure, concur with me in bearing witness, that it is a point of honour for the permanent members of these departments, not to allow any party feelings to interfere with the zealous and faithful discharge of their official duties."¹⁷

Political neutrality has come to be regarded as a POINT OF HONOUR.

THE CITIZEN AND THE BUREAUCRAT. "The attitude

of the British citizen to the government official is a curious paradox," says Henry Parris. "On the one hand he takes it as a law of nature that the British Civil Service is the best in the world. On the other hand he hates a bureaucrat. The citizen fears that he is, or soon may be, ruled by people who have been appointed to sit in offices instead of by those whom he has elected to sit in Parliament."¹⁸

One wonders what our own citizens in Sri Lanka think of the bureaucrat. It would be best if the bureaucrat in our country heeds the advice of our own President and "turns the searchlight inwards; be a lamp unto themselves hold fast to the truth;" and then can be assured that those of us who belong to the bureaucratic fraternity will be able to answer the question honestly and better serve the nation.

On the other hand, it seems hardly a cause for anxiety for a citizen in a country with what parliamentary form of government to be much concerned with what a bureaucrat may do. Sir Oliver Jennings attributes to Sir Ivor Franks the statement "In the moment of decision almost automatically the public servant asks himself how he could justify it in Parliament if called upon directly or through his superiors. This is an adequate safeguard in a Parliamentary form of government."¹⁹

What Rousseau has to say about the parliamentary form of government in his *Social Contract* is very interesting "The English people believes itself to be free; it is gravely mistaken; it is free only during the election of members of Parliament; as soon as the members are elected, the people is enslaved; it is nothing. In the brief moment of its freedom, the English people makes such a use of that freedom that it deserves to lose it."

I now propose to examine the relationship that exists between administration and the political environment in contemporary times in a few countries, before proceeding to a discussion of what my own views are on how a machinery, can be set up to ensure a strong but politically agile public service that would serve any government in power, but with adequate safeguards for its members.

References:

7. Report of the Fulton Reference—page 134; 8. Cabinet Government—Jennings (page 123); 9. & 10. *ibid* (pages 123 and 127); 11. Constitutional Bureaucracy—Henry Parris 12. England under Queen Anne—G. M. Trevelyn; 13. Constitutional Bureaucracy—Henry Parris; 14. George III and the politicians—R. Paris 15, 16, 17 & 18 Constitutional Bureaucracy—Henry Parris 19. Cabinet Constitution Jennings (page 133).

(To be Continued)

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RACE RELATIONS IN SRI LANKA-I

A Spiritual Challenge To The Nation

by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya, OMI.

We publish the first of three instalments of an article on Race Relations in Sri Lanka by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya, OMI. Readers will find this series not only interesting and thought-provoking but also one that will induce action to bring about a Sri Lanka that will banish race conflict for ever.

—Ed.

SRI LANKA is a beautiful country. Sri Lankans are kindly people. We are peaceful and religious minded.

Yet many deep social maladies afflict us. We have the reputation of having one of the world's highest homicide rates. We have tolerated for centuries the evils of the caste system. The class imbalances condemn many of the poor to utter destitution and misery. The conditions in the urban slums, the neglected villages and of the exploited plantation workers are a permanent condemnation on our way of life. Among such evils racial prejudice is a prominent factor.

We are not racist as a people. The racial divisions do not impinge so deeply on our society as in the USA; South Africa, Britain or even Malaysia. The different races intermingle here far more freely. Even inter marriages are not infrequent. Within each social class there is much inter race co-operation. Thus owners of capital of all races invest together. There are workers of different races in the same trade unions. However, racial prejudice is a reality. It is communicated through language, folk lore, culture, education and ways of living. Even divisions of religions can augment racial divergences. The political dissensions on racial lines have been a long term factor in our public life. The eruptions of violence on racial lines specially in 1958 and 1977 have deeply strained those relationships. The loot, arson, rape and murder on these occasions have left an indelible scar on social life. The refugee camps and migration of families effect the mentality of persons for decades.

Mutual suspicions, fears and distrust are a social reality in inter race relations. We have analysed earlier some of the grievances of the different races (of *Logos Logos Vol. 16 2,3*). The resolution of the outstanding issues and elimination of prejudice is a challenge that our nation faces in the immediate future. For this, we need a

positive approach to the entire problem of human relations, including race relations.

IN SRI LANKA the members of the majority community have a major responsibility in race relations. Given the way the political power has been exercised during the past 47 years, it is the Sinhala party leaders who have had governmental powers. Since we are a democratic country, public opinion is an important factor that influences our rulers.

If the members of the majority community take the initiative in advocating communal justice, there is more likelihood that the ruling powers would be influenced to heed them. For this the Sinhala people have to understand that their own human and spiritual advancement can take place only in a context of justice to all.

It should be easier to stress this at present since the present government is pledged to remedy the grievances of the Tamil people, and the new President has insisted on ruling the country on the principles of righteousness (Dharmista.) The majority community must ask itself to what extent is it just or unjust in the exercise of the political power that it has due to its position of being a demographic majority.

If the minorities are pushed to extreme measures, such as the seeking of a separate sovereign state for themselves, it would be largely due to the folly of the majority community in not understanding and acceding to the just demands of the minorities. Work for communal justice require among the majority community members a certain sensitive discernment of issues and a cou-

rage to affirm publicly the rights of the minorities.

Often the majority of persons among the majority community may not appreciate such a view. Quite a few of them would tend to view such approaches as a "betrayal" of the Sinhala rights and demands. These latter are generally quite conscious of the disabilities of many of the Sinhala people, specially the poor in the rural areas. They tend to give a racial interpretation to situations which often reflect the class imbalances of society. Those concerned with communal justice must persevere through all such difficulties.

Members of minority communities too have their responsibilities. When issues come to a real head as with the demand for a separate sovereign state their position is unenviable. Their opinion can be a difficult one, when they experience their grievances and the practical obstacles to satisfactory solutions. However they too have to try to co-operate in remedying the situations fundamentally. They can be tempted to leave the initiative only to their politicians or to the more concerned among the majority community. To persevere in the midst of difficulties, and specially when feeling hurt in one's innermost being requires a certain courage and virtuousness. When some members of a minority community are thus dedicated to resolve the issues, it is easier for those among the majority who wish to work in like fashion.

BOTH MAJORITY AND MINORITY community members living in relative affluence have to reflect that they are both privileged with reference to those living in slums and shanties, the unemployed and the plantation workers without civic rights. The suffering felt due to communal troubles can make the affluent elite understand the need

of serious concern by them for overall social reforms to remove the grave inequalities that plague our society. How very easily those who live in an affluence forget the rest of their society. How little relevance their search for spiritual growth has to these basic situations crying for redress. This is an indication of the extent of the alienation of our religions from the real experience of identifying with the other. How far religiosity can be from a genuine spiritual experience and search.

In our desire for the resolution of the racial problems, it is normal to think of the political and educational remedies. We are also quite mindful of our historical linkages and of the physical, geographical and economic factors that relate the races of Sri Lanka to one another. The religions are strongly invoked in times of crisis, such as in August-September 1977. They generally bear a message of peace and harmony.

But once the gravity and the urgency of the problems subside, the religious forces fail to continue their action for a long solution of the issues. We saw a similar phenomenon during the youth insurrection of April-May 1971. The religious leaders appealed for peace and non-violence. Their messages were beamed over the mass media.

But once the violence was put down by the armed forces, there was little effort by them to find out the real causes of the uprising, and much less to remedy them. More or less the same thing happens in the daily life of the country. So long as life goes on peacefully the religions take the slums and shanties, the plantation lines and the mass unemployment for granted.

In this way the religions, as it were, come to terms with the prevailing *status quo*. They even give it a legitimation. They perform their religious rites and rituals taking very much into account the divergences and even the discrimination based on race, class, caste and sex. Thus the religions fail to have a catalytic influence for good by actively campaigning for the remedying of these basic social ills that afflict our nation.

In this the religions too choose the path of least resistance. In spite of notable exceptions, this type of approach seems to be the general rule among the religious institutions of our country. They may not be bad; but are they very much better than the institutions of the political, social, cultural and economic fields?

During the August-September 1977 troubles, the leaders of different religions met at the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress Hall at the invitation of the Citizens Committee for National Harmony. The Assembly issued a public statement pledging unanimous support for the cause of communal harmony. It undertook to follow up with a continuing programme of action. It is extremely desirable that this initiative born of a time of distress be continued and that the action be carried out systematically throughout the country. What a source of inspiration such a combined inter-religious effort can be to the whole country—including all the political leaders.

The recent statement issued by Ven. Havanpola Ratanasara and Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe is another very helpful step in this direction.

Their suggestion that we must work towards a positive Sri Lankan ideology in which there is a place for all persons, races, religions and cultures is a valuable contribution to our ongoing search. We have got beyond any narrow sectarian concepts that may be an impediment to the building of a united Sri Lanka with justice to and acceptance of all. The recent crisis has thrown up many such initiatives in different parts of the country. They need to be welded into a powerful movement for peace with justice to all races. The present atmosphere of general goodwill should be harnessed for long term solutions. It would be a great pity if it were allowed to slip by, and if relationships among the races were to worsen.

We are very fortunate that in Sri Lanka we have religious traditions at the base of our history and culture. The religions have a profound influence on the outlook of the masses of the people. Sometimes this influence has a strong admixture of myth and prejudice that are alien to the better inspirations of the religions. Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and the other religions such as Zoroastrianism all have a universal acceptance of all human beings as equal in dignity and calling. They all emphasize, service to others and the spirit of community. Great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King were inspired by the religions in their struggles against racial injustice.

In Sri Lanka we need a mass engagement of the religions in the task of building one contented nation out of the different peoples who have come to inhabit this land in different periods of history. Less than a long term mass education programme is inadequate to heal this problem once and for all. Mere structural and

political solutions are insufficient unless the mentalities of people are also fundamentally activated towards racial justice and harmony:

We present some comments on such an action with special reference to Christians as we are familiar with this religious tradition.

(To be Continued)

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BOOK REVIEW

Politics In Ceylon 1929-1950

DOCUMENTS OF THE
CEYLON NATIONAL
CONGRESS AND NATIONAL
POLITICS IN CEYLON—1929-1950

(in Four volumes). Edited by Michael Roberts. Published by the Department of National Archives, 7, Reid Avenue, Colombo 7, Sri Lanka. Vol. I—Rs. 70/- (local); £ 2.50 (foreign); Vol. II—Rs. 45/- £ 2.00; Vol. III—Rs. 45/-; £ 2.00 Vol. IV—Rs. 60/-; £ 2.25. Postage for the four volumes local, Rs. 7.25, foreign £ 2.75.

THIS PUBLICATION was issued on February 4, 1978 when the first executive President of Sri Lanka, was sworn in at a historic ceremony at Galle Face Green. It is "dedicated to HIS EXCELLENCY J. R. JAYEWARDENE, who assumes office on 4th February 1978, as the first elected PRESIDENT OF SRI LANKA, as a tribute to his contributions to the FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF OUR COUNTRY and to his commitment to the principles of JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY to which he has been dedicated throughout a long political career and to his abiding interest in the ARCHIVAL

HERITAGE OF OUR NATION."

The foreword is written by Amarawansa Dewaraja, the Director of National Archives. He says: "This publication brings out another work in the series presenting documents bearing on the history of Sri Lanka. While the earlier volumes were mainly on the 'Dutch Period' except for one on the Portuguese era, this publication focuses attention on recent events of Sri Lanka's history, and more specially lays bare the role played by the Ceylon National Congress during the period 1929-1950. The period dealt in this publication is an important period in the island's history. It was during this period that Ceylon advanced from a Crown Colony form of government to a 'fully responsible form of government' within the British Commonwealth. As often remarked upon, Ceylon attained this form of government by peaceful means, that is by, discussion, memorandum and lobbying, though on occasions resentment and a little ill-will, was generated. In the course of these manoeuvres for constitutional reform probably the most powerful, and continually operative organisation was the Ceylon National Congress. The Ceylon National Congress was formed in 1919 by a representative gathering of educated Ceylonese. Though subject to splits and losses of support, this association generally had the support of a number of Ceylonese notables. The degree to which the Ceylon National Congress was representative of popular aspirations and the degree to which it contributed towards the achievement of political independence in 1948, are questions that will long be debated. The material in these volumes are essential ingredients for those who wish to analyse these questions. They also provide a foundation for the survey of many other issues related

to nationalist politics in Sri Lanka from the 1920s to the 1940s. The documents pertaining to the Ceylon National Congress were preserved, until they were handed over to the National Archives, by one of its last joint-Secretaries, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene. Sometime later a few more documents were received from Mr. Gilbert Perera who was its last Secretary. The earlier history of the Ceylon National Congress, as evidenced by its documents, was published in 1928 by Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the late Hon. the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, under the title, 'The Hand-Book of The Ceylon National Congress'. Thus the present publication, which continues from where he stopped, brings to a conclusion the record of its activities....."

DR. MICHAEL ROBERTS of the Ceylon University was invited to be its honorary editor. He was a senior lecturer in the Department of History at the University, Peradeniya and has many publications to his credit. He is now with the Department of Anthropology in the University of Adelaide in Australia.

Mr. Dewaraja further stated that the project which started in 1969 took almost seven years to reach fruition.

The Editor, Dr. Michael Roberts, has contributed a Preface and a lengthy Introduction entitled ELITES, NATIONALISMS AND THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN BRITISH CEYLON.

Before one discusses the Introduction, it is necessary to refer to the Preface and the material covered in the four volumes. "The volumes within these covers are not a history of the Ceylon National Congress. They are primarily a collection of documents in continuation of the collection prepared by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and

published in 1928. These documents are both more assorted and more extensive than those included in the earlier work. For the most part they pertain to the period 1929-1950, though the opportunity has been taken to include the Minutes for the period 1919-28 as well. In editing the documents, the weeding has been minimal.

My Reference No. FA/4/206
The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964

Notice under section 33

I, N. U. Yasapala Assistant Government Agent of Kalutara District, in terms of section 33 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964, do hereby give notice that as the persons to whom this compensation is payable are not known a sum of Rs. 10,549 Cts. 14 (Rupees Ten thousand five hundred and forty nine and Cents fourteen) being compensation and interest thereon, for the acquisition of the land described in the Schedule hereto has been paid into the Case No. LA/262 of the District Court Kalutara to be drawn by the persons entitled to.

Schedule

Land called Uswatta and Kariyawatta situated in the village of Paiyagala within the DRO's Division of Kalutara Totamune South Kalutara District in Western Province (Lots 2, 7, 8 and 10 in PP K. 758).

N. U. Yasapala.
 Acquiring Officer and Assistant Government Agent, Kalutara District.
 The Kachcheri, Kalutara.
 28th February 1977

The tendency was to add on rather than to subtract. At the time the preparation was undertaken, I did not feel that I was sufficiently informed to decide that this or that documentary item was of little historical value. Our historiography has not yet provided the richness of detail which would permit a finely-controlled process of weeding. Time and resources, moreover, acted as further constraints and suggested that a massive stacking operation was the speediest and simplest process. The price is now before your eyes—both in thickness of volume and in market price. It will be evident that this collection of documents is largely meant for the historian and the research student. But the layman, too, should find much to interest him. My long introductory essay cannot, despite its length, hope to be exhaustive or definitive—for a great deal of research has to be done before any one can approach that possibility. However, I trust that it will be provocative and that, in association with the collection of documents, it will stimulate more research in this field. I need hardly add that the views expressed in the Introduction do not represent those of the Department of National Archives....."

The four volumes deal with the following:

Volume I: Section I—Office bearers, Committees & Personnel, 1919-1950.

Section II. Minutes of the Executive and Working Committees.

Volume II: Section III—Sessions of the Ceylon National Congress

Section IV—The Constitution of the National Congress and its Revisions, 1920-1944.

Volume III: Section V—Policies and Programmes, 1935-48.

Section IV—Annual Reports of the Ceylon National Congress 1939-45.

Section VII—Constitutional Affairs 1929-45

Section VIII—Relations with other political Groups in Ceylon, 1940-46.

Volume IV: Section IX—Indian Influences and Contacts 1940-1947.

Section X—Local Government Affairs 1933-1943

Section XI—Miscellaneous Subjects.

There is then a *Table of Contents in Detail*, section by section and also *A Note On the Arrangement of the Documents*.

THE INTRODUCTION has seven chapters: *one*, The Setting; *two*, The Social Background; *Elites in British Ceylon*; *three*, Nationalisms in Ceylon; *Origins, Stimulants and Ingredients*; *four*, Nationalisms in Ceylon; *Collective identities and Conceptual Focus*; *five*, Nationalisms in Ceylon; *Aims, Demands and Methods, pre-1931*; *six*, Nationalisms in Ceylon; *Aims, Demands and Methods, 1931-1948*; and *seven*, *The Ceylon National Congress 1919-1950*.

Dr. Roberts himself says that his Introduction is not exhaustive or definite. He hoped that it would be "provocative and that, in association with the collection of documents, it will stimulate more research in this field." Dr. Robert's Introduction is a valuable and interesting analysis of the "elites, nationalisms and the nationalist movement in British Ceylon." But, I find it hard to accept as true, correct or realistic, the rather over-simplified and superficial analysis about many matters he deals with, starting with what he calls "Kandyan patriotism."

To Dr. Robert's credit it must be said that he is conscious of the inadequacies of his approach but he nevertheless proceeds to make categorical assertions on many matters which must provoke sharp disagreement from those who think deeply on these matters. But he

seems to think that an academician's apologia ("there are, however, dangers in investing collective identities and movements of this sort with more modern conceptional notions and these interpretations would seem to require modification") is enough to cover all sins of over-hasty writing and then proceed to put forward a plausible and attractive neo-historiographical thesis on elites and nationalisms in Ceylon from 1800 to 1950 (and presumably up to the the present day).

Pontifical academic verbosity and a historiographer's jargon and clichés cannot hide superficialities and the over-generalised simplifications which vitiate analysis and interpretation.

Notice Under Section 7 of The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964.

Reference No. 11/7/3/12

The Government intends to acquire the land described in the Schedule below, for a public purpose. For particulars, please see part III of the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 305 of 17th March 1978.

Schedule

District: Anuradhapura

A.G.A.'s Division:

Kalagam Palatha South

G.A.'s Division: 57B Tulane

Name of Land:

Warayaya, Wekandepoulakale, Akkare Idama, Helembagaha henayaya

Plan No. F.V.P. 998 (Sup. I)

Lot No.: From Lot No. 17 to

Lot No. 67.

W. M. Jayatilake

Acquiring Officer and

District Land Officer

Anuradhapura District.

The Kachcheri,

Anuradhapura.

27/02/1978

Roberts says that "while adhering to class terminology on relevant occasions, I prefer to use the concept of an 'elite' in pluralist form in describing the social structure in British Ceylon as a background and foundation for an explanation of its politics." He defines "elites" as "those who get the most of what there is to get... a social formation which commands most of what portion that enables it to provide leadership. It also implies prevalence of a system of states evaluation which is founded in goods and services controlled by individuals."

This sounds very learned, fortified as it is with contemporary campus jargon, which is a little intimidating and frightening. Roberts does not intentionally seek to intimidate the non-campus reader with this high falutin' historiographer's terminology, but there is no doubt that he suffers from the weakness that has overtaken all those who are shut up in the ivory towers of many campuses in the Western world where University teachers are mass-produced after being brainwashed into dangerous conformism and mediocrity. Their morale and their belief in their own intellectual superiority is sustained by well-paid articles in journals of Asian or African Studies funded by rich Foundations and also by the publication of books (one every two years is the usual rate) printed by Campus printshops. The vast mass of the books produced in recent years by "scholars" from different Asian Studies Faculties financed by different multi-national Corporations go into the rubbish heap of history as quickly as they appear.

It is true that in the last two or three decades the campuses of many Western universities have churned out whole generations of academics with imposing paper qualifications

and a mighty list of publications to their credit. But very nearly everything they have produced is unreadable and un-understandable by ordinary people, even genuine intellectuals, because the books, tracts and essays are written in jargon that is really a private code of the modern jet-set campus.

What Roberts has written in his *Introduction* is of this genre. Not many will be able to make head or tail of what he wants to say or convey. I, for one, cannot. I have tried hard to break the private code of the campus terminology, but I have not been able to get far. All I have been able to discover is that the whole thesis in Roberts' *Introduction* is an attempt to portray society in Ceylon in terms of motivations of the acquisitive society of the aggressive colonialism of 19th century Europe. If I am wrong in this, it is because I have failed to break or understand the private code full of terminological cliches like "populism", "power status", "elite", "national elite", "local elite", "elite formation", "establishment", "agitation", "attitudinal and programmatic patterns", "conceptualisation", "functional sphere", "protectionist patriotism", "programmatic sentiments", "generational", "etatism" and hundreds of other similar coded jargon. One must be an "academic" versed in the private code to understand this kind of historical writing. Or, one must be provided with a special dictionary or glossary of this terminological bombast so that one can approach such writing with the appropriate kind of gullible conformism.

At one point, Roberts, very patronisingly says that he was "interposing a view from the 1970s." The simple fact is that the whole of Roberts' thesis is an intellectual

"interposing" not only from the 1970s but is also an interposition that seeks to analyse society in Ceylon—Sinhalese and Tamil—with 19th century European motivations. Roberts' efforts to "apply" these concepts to the realities of 19th and 20th century Ceylon fail to produce satisfactory results. I have tried to be fair by Roberts and get through his frightening verbosity and the mighty array of terminological cliches he has marshalled, but I have failed. My

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 280 of 1964.

Notice under section 7

Ref. No. 9/3026

It is intended to acquire the lands/land described in the Schedule below. The lands described in the Schedule below have been acquired. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 309 of 17.03.1978. (Part III)

Schedule

Situation of Land:

Village of Weliveriya, Gramasevaka's Division of Nupe, D.R.O.'s Division of Wellaboda Pattu West and Four Gravets, Matara, District. Ward No. 11 Gabadaweediya, within the Urban Council Limits of Matara.

Name of Land:

Bogahamandiya alias Bogahakelal—Assmt. Nos. 68, 68/1 and 68A, Sri Ratanapala Mawatha.

Lot & Plan No.:

Lot No. 1 in Preliminary Plan No. 9/8. 824.

C. D. Vidanapathirana.
Acquiring Officer,
Matara District.

The Katcheri, Matara.
6th March 1978

educational and intellectual attainments seem to be totally incapable of appreciating this kind of academic writing. My difficulties are not with Roberts' writing alone. I am lost in the unreadable jargon and in the terminological clichés of most Coco-Cola campus productions.

One has only to read the true historians of the past and the present to know how timeless their writings are and how free they are from sectarian and contemporary clichés. They have a capacity to explain without resorting to a private campus code.

Roberts, it must be generously conceded, has brought together in his *Introduction* a mass of information and factual details about life and politics in Ceylon in the 19th and early 20th centuries. For this we must be grateful to him. Someone, who has not been intellectually diseased by Coco-Cola or Pepsodent academic conformism, should use the material in Roberts' *Introduction* and the four volumes of documents to write history that is readable, in language and idiom emancipated from the current campus clichés and jargon.

We must be grateful also to Dr. Roberts for having patiently put together, arranged and edited the mass of documents that have been published in the four volumes. For that alone, this country is in debt to Dr. Roberts. My criticisms, however, stem from a long-standing grievance against the kind of writing presently produced by a class of contemporary academics, and it is not any special criticism of Dr. Roberts. He has done research of the most valuable nature for this country, but the pity is that poor mortals like myself are totally lost in historiographer's terminology.

The four volumes present a wealth of historical source material not only for the student and

the historian, but also for the interested layman. The printing is excellent and the four volumes will be a handsome addition to any library.

S. P. Amarasingam

QUERY & COMMENT

Has The Rupee Been Devalued By 100% ?

Sir,

Your comments in several issues of the *Tribune* on the subject of devaluation need a reply because they can be misinterpreted. It has been fashionable to decry that the Rupee has been devalued by 100 per cent by comparing the par rate of the rupee before unification of the rate after the Budget with the post-budget unified rate.

In the issue of the *Tribune* dated 14 January 1978 on page 16, you give the exchange rates before and after the Budget. The rates obtaining before the Budget are misleading as they refer to parity rates without any adjustment of the FEEC premium of 65 per cent which applied to all imports and services other than a short list of imports, namely Rice and Flour which were anyway subsidised by Government, Books, Pharmaceuticals and oriental drugs, and Two-wheeled Tractors, payments in respect of which were exempt from FEECs. Outside of this short list, all other imports were subject to FEECs.

The parity rate of, say, the US Dollar before the Budget was Rs. 8.5275 and this only after the new Government undid the unjustified revaluation exercise of the previous Finance Minister as a financial gimmick for a fleeting political advantage which back-fired.

When adjusted for FEEC, the true value of Sri Lanka rupee in terms of the US Dollar was equivalent to Rs. 14.07 (and not Rs. 8.5275).

The rupee was allowed to float and, quite rightly, after the Budget and the US Dollar settled at the middle rate of Rs. 16.00. At this rate, the devaluation of the rupee amounts to 13.7 per cent only and not 100 per cent as claimed, which is really a misleading statement.

In your issue of 21st January 1978, on page 11, you make the astounding statement that "the IMF would have agreed to a lesser

My No.—3/42/Ma-68

Notice under Section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964.

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars see Part III of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 309 of 17.03.1978.

Schedule

Situation:

6 Lots of land comprising of 84A. OR. 18P. in Extract I of V.P. 400 (Thumbare) and 1 Lot comprising of 137A. 3R. 35 P. in Extract I of V.P. 399 (Dandubendiruppa) and 6 Lots comprising of 353A. 3R. 31P. in Extract 3—V.P. 401 (Talakiriyagama) in Dandubendiruppu & Talakiriyagama Wasamas Kandapalla Korale, Galewela Divisional Revenue Officer's Division (now Assistant Government Agent's Division) in Matale District

R. Samarakoon
District Land Officer,
Matale.

Kachcheri, Matale.
6.03.78

devaluation where the Sri Lanka rupee could have been pegged at Rs. 12 or Rs. 12.50 to the US Dollar." When you make this assertion what you really say is the Sri Lanka rupee should have been pegged at the level which prevailed when the previous Minister revalued the rupee by 20 per cent for political expediency.

A mere comparison of the pre-budget par rate without reckoning the FEEC premium with post-budget unified rate is meaningless because it merely amounts to a comparison between two different magnitudes.

The truth is that the rupee has not been devalued by 100 per cent but by around 13 per cent, even though it may suit politicians and others to mislead the public by exclaiming that the rupee has been devalued by 100 per cent when it is not.

The foreign exchange value of the Sri Lanka rupee, in the last analysis, does not depend on political decisions or administrative fiat. It is essentially determined by the level of domestic prices in relation to external prices, which in turn partly depends on the size and the rate of real and non inflationary economic growth, with allowance made for population growth.

For 30 years since Independence, Sri Lanka has indulged in the politically attractive policy of financing increasingly burdensome subsidies which have inhibited economic growth, starved investment which is the source of such growth and encourage consumption while the population has continued to grow, fast though currently not so fast. To finance subsidies and large-scale welfare measures, Sri Lanka has lived beyond its means and sacrificed economic growth and the result is that in the course of these thirty

years, the value of the Ceylon rupee has been steadily eroded.

The upshot is that this unwise policy, though politically attractive, has resulted in a situation where the rural economy has been depressed through low wages and low guaranteed price for paddy. How many are aware that the delivered cost of imported rice is equivalent to Rs. 55 per bushel but the farmer is penalised by still being paid a much lower price of Rs. 40 per bushel, while domestic industry is protected to the extent of 200 per cent?

Agriculture offers direct employment to over 1 million persons and supports 6 million including dependents, whereas manufacturing industry employs directly around 125,000 persons and supports only no more than 750,000 persons. The result of a policy of open-ended and mounting subsidies followed for more than 30 years is that instead of the Rural Economy becoming the Engine of Economic Growth in Sri Lanka and it has ended up in the value of Sri Lanka rupee being halved and in mounting unemployment, now around 1.2 million or 20 per cent of the workforce.

In economics there is no escape from the harsh demands of economic laws which eventually must prevail over politics, while it is the privilege of politicians to delude themselves and others by advocating politically attractive solutions which turn out to be, not remedies, but mere palliatives.

Policy makers and leaders of mass media would do well to read Marx, understand Marx and identify his fallacies from the core of economic truth which his writings contain in his analysis of the process of economic development, not apply Marx but draw the moral from Marx and adopt the prescriptions drawn from the Marxian

moral. They will, then, realise that instead of seeking refuge from the politically impossible plea, they must summon political courage to apply right economic policies, because as in the Marxist or any other system, it is economics which ultimately must and will prevail over politics.

It is not by accident that every Marxist and Communist party sets high store on politics to the exclusion of economics until it captures political power. Then politics takes a back stage and economics comes to the fore in policy formulation and action. When will politicians and publicists learn from Marx?

N. U. Jayawardena

5th March, 1978

Whilst agreeing with some of Mr. Jayawardena's propositions, there are others on which we shall comment in due course.—Ed



Sir,

**The White Paper
On Employment
Relations Law**

The daily papers are understandably silent and less informative on current controversial issues. The White Paper on the Employments Relations Law, is one which is under-discussed and a closed subject. I shall kindly request you to initiate a discussion on the above, to educate your readers.

Jagath Silva

St. Clair Group,
Talawakelle,
22nd February 1978.

We will initiate a discussion soon in a further ming issue.—Ed.

Confidentially

● Fish And Fisheries

IS IT NOT STRANGE that the Dharmista Government has not woken up to the fact that the price of fish has climbed to heights at which many even in the upper income brackets find difficult afford? That the cheapest varieties of fish now cost at least Rs. 3/50 a pound? That sea and the more expensive varieties cost anything from Rs. 8/- to Rs. 12/- a pound depending on place, date and time? That prawns, on the rare occasions they are available to local consumers, vary from Rs. 7/50 a pound for the tiniest to around Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- a pound for the larger? That crabs have become a luxury which only foreigners with hard convertible currency can now afford to buy? That leaving a side prawns and crabs, (lobsters have become to locals as rare as the orchid that blooms once in thirty monsoons), ordinary fish has become more and more difficult to get? That *Tribune* investigators believe that the scarcity of fish is not in any way due to the absence of beef in the market because of the hoof and mouth epidemic in certain parts of the country? That the fish problem has to be examined without getting side-tracked by red-herrings about beef and mutton? That, without exaggeration, the price of fish has shot up fifty to seventy five percent after the coming into power of the UNP government? That the increase, according to many, is no doubt due to the fact that the fish caught in our waters do not reach the markets in our cities, towns and villages? That one reason for this is that the central pivot of the fishing industry has been shifted from the State Fisheries Corporation and other governmental agencies to private trade? That private fish mudalalis

have proliferated in recent months? That many Fisheries Corporation officials and Co-op Managers have turned private mudalalis? That where the new government thought that the free-enterprise and open competition would lead to lowering of prices, there has grown a new monopoly that wants to make the money either by pushing up prices by curtailing production or diverting the fish to foreign markets? That one way to depress production and market availability is by creating an artificial shortage of ice? That ice is the main refrigerating agent for the preservation of fish caught along our shores? That it is in ice boxes that fish is brought from our main fisheries harbours to Colombo and other towns?

That preliminary *Tribune* investigations seem to indicate that the primary and main cause for the dislocation in the fish industry stems from the wrong decisions of Big Shots in the Fisheries Ministry and the Fisheries Corporation? That in the course of investigations some intriguing questions have surfaced? That it is said that the four trawlers and three tuna boats belonging to the Corporation, and which were extensively repaired in the dry docks in Colombo during the last days of the old government, have been leased to a Malaysian entrepreneur? That this was in pursuance of the shift to private enterprise? That whispers state that this company which has leased these boats bears a name which sounds like MIDEAST MALAYSIAN TRADING CO. LTD.? That our investigators have not yet been able to get all the facts about this deal? That it is not clear whether the lease has already been given to this entrepreneur (Sole or some name like that!) or whether the lease is only in contemplation? That the allegation is that these fully repaired trawlers and tuna boats have been handed over to private enterprise? That they are now catching fish

mainly for foreign markets? That, whereas in the past, these seven vessels however badly managed and however irregularly operated, had caught fish solely for the Sri Lanka market, these deep-sea trawlers and tuna boats do not now bring fish here? That it is even alleged that these vessels often over-stock their refrigerated cold rooms and chambers (meant for fish) with fresh vegetables, meat, fruits and eggs and take them to oil-rich ports in desert Arabia? That profit-wise this operation yields greater dividends than catching fish? That stories like these have begun to go the rounds to explain the shortage and high price of fish? That our investigators are now trying to find out whether these stories are true or are canards? That the Fisheries Ministry and the Fisheries Corporation must take the public into their confidence, and explain the reasons for the present mess? That there are lurid stories about goodly looking female liaison officers who now make the vital decisions in the fishing industry? That there is no doubt that unless the UNP's party hierarchy look into this matter and end the scandals in the Fisheries Industry and ensure plentiful supplies of fish in our markets, there will be a stink that can get the Dharmista government into difficulties even before it can get going on the FTZ and Mahaweli? That it would be foolish to adopt an ostrich-like attitude and pretend that these stories and allegations come from disgruntled SLFP elements? That the stories which *Tribune* investigators are now pursuing were brought to us by solid long-standing UNP'ers? That what *Tribune* is after is the truth and it is our hope that the Government, the Fisheries Ministry and Fisheries Corporation will set out the true facts so that we can disentangle fact from fiction, truth from falsehood and fair criticism from libel?

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