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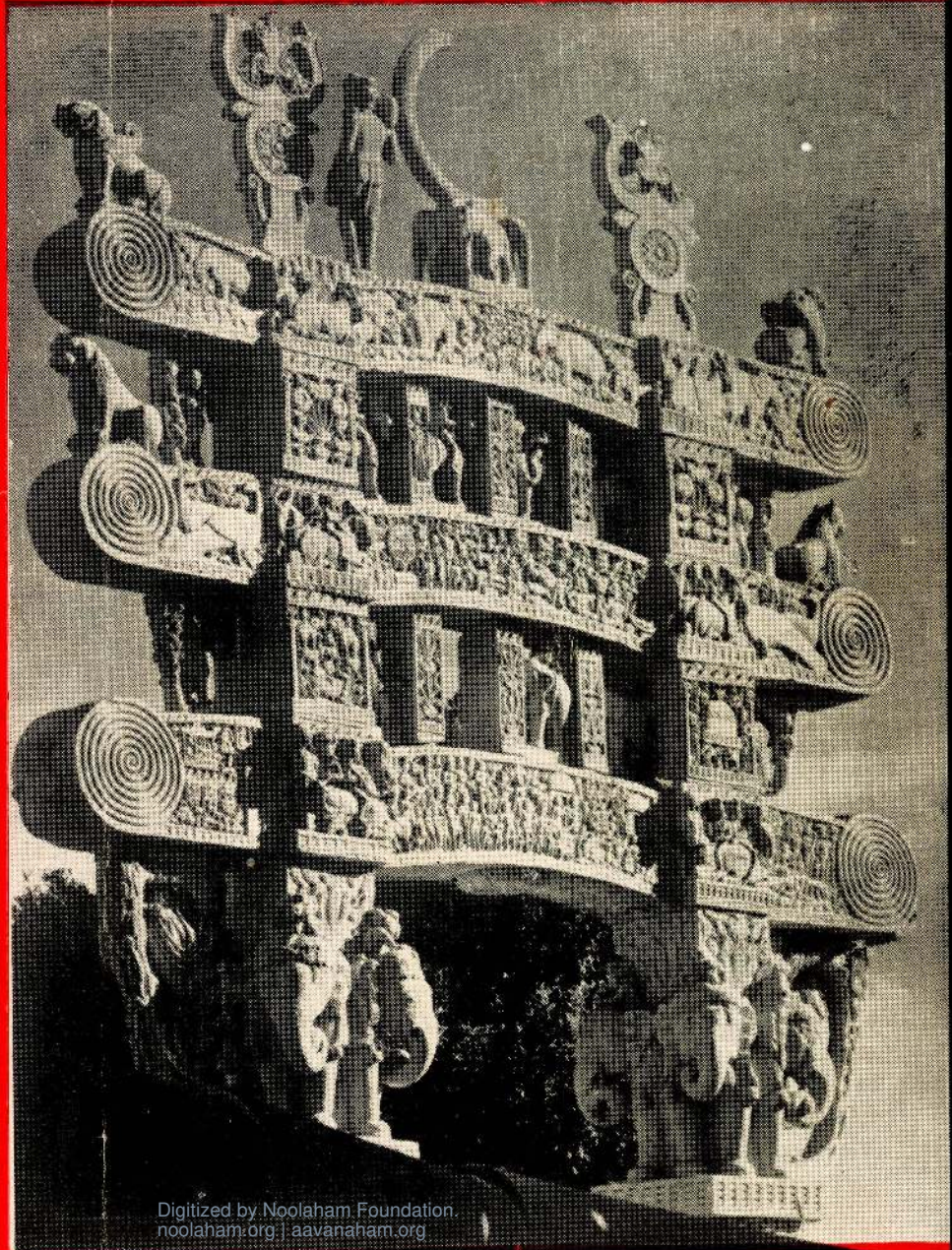
CRIMINAL JUSTICE
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POLITICS, MEN &
MATTERS

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D. M. K. ON
THE WAY OUT?

HEADLINES



On Peace and Goodwill: Vietnam

On the cover this week we have a much photographed and even more publicised representation of one of the architectural remains at Sanchi in India sacred to Buddhists in Ceylon and Buddhists all over the world. The Buddha stood for *Peace, Goodwill and Compassion*, and these are virtues which the world is in dire need of at the moment. In Ceylon, there is apparent calm and peace, but we can do with a lot more goodwill and compassion. With the New Year around the corner every Buddhist, for that matter every person in Ceylon, hopes that peace and quiet will prevail—unlike during the New Year last year when the country was in the throes of an armed insurrection.

But more than in Ceylon, there are other areas where peace and goodwill are even more sorely needed. Take Vietnam and the Indochinese peninsula. When the peace talks began in Paris over two years ago, many optimists felt that peace would soon come to the war-torn region. But all these hopes soon faded out. Nixon, who won his election on a pledge to end the Vietnam war, escalated the fighting into Cambodia and Laos in what he thought was a bid to end the war quickly. He then withdrew the bulk of US ground troops and hoped that the new South Vietnam army could fill the vacuum created by the US with-

drawals. These troops performed well in Cambodia, but took a beating when they tried to break into North Vietnam through Laos. All the time however, the talk about peace was kept in the forefront of propaganda, and even behind the scenes, as was disclosed more recently, parleys went on to effect a peace settlement. The inimitable Dr. Henry Kissinger made a number of highly secret visits to Paris to confer with North Vietnamese delegates in Paris. All this came to nought. All that the world knew was that the North Vietnamese had an eight-point proposal while President Nixon put forward a seven-point peace plan. The Nixon plan did not receive any support either from China or Russia and the stalemate continued.

When Nixon went to Peking there were fresh hopes that the fighting in Vietnam would decrease and that a Vietnam settlement might follow. But China gave the Hanoi plan its fullest support and indicated that the US should settle its dispute with North Vietnam on a bi-lateral basis. North Vietnam received powerful support from Russia. It is now obvious that the support was substantial. When Russia started helping Hanoi more, China had no alternative but to increase its help. Peking urged the US to withdraw completely from Indo-China in terms of the North Vietnamese plan. Chinese help alone, however, cannot account for the massive

military achievements of North Vietnamese troops in the last fortnight. Hanoi's troops have broken through the Demilitarised Zone and have occupied sizable parts of the area formally under Saigon's suzerainty. President Nixon and the Pentagon seemed to have woken up from a bad dream and ordered massive air raids to check the onrush of North Vietnamese forces. Peking has welcomed the military successes of the North Vietnam armed forces and condemned the US bombing raids on North Vietnam. China wants the US out of Indo-China.

The US has only itself to blame for the mess in which it finds itself now. President Nixon and Kissinger have a great deal to think about. Either they should have got out of Indo-China completely while the going was good and left the Indo-Chinese to settle their problems, or they should have fought the war in a way in which wars are fought. But the anti-war movement in the USA itself inhibited US action. Having made a decision to quit Vietnam, the US should have walked out lock, stock and barrel. The dilly-dallying which stemmed from geo-political reservations, covert and overt, has led to a situation where the US will not be able to leave the field of battle gracefully.

Indo-China needs *peace*. The Vietnamese, Cambodians and the Laotians should be allowed to settle their problems. The results may not please President Nixon or many Americans. But there seems to be precious little the Americans can do to shape the future destiny of Indo-China in the way they want.

from The Editor's Desk

THE SINHALA and Tamil New Year will soon be with us. *Tribune* takes this opportunity to wish all its readers all the best for the new year. In Ceylon, one has the occasion to wish many of one's friends a happy new year, at least twice, once on January 1 and again in mid April. In neighbouring India, there are many more new year days—as many of the racial and linguistic groups have different new year days. After independence, March 21 was chosen as the new year for the official calendar, because on that day the sun entered the northern he-

misphere crossing the equator and heralded the beginning of spring. The Sinhalese and the Tamils start the new year on the day sun enters the first point of Aries in the heavenly zodiac. It is also the point at which the sun was visible from all parts of the globe.

The new year this year falls on a new moon day. It somehow seems symbolic of the dark days which seemed to have enveloped the country. We are still in the midst of a prolonged drought. Those who have cause to remember say that they cannot remember an all-island drought of such magnitude for well nigh forty years. We have had the usual cycles of droughts which had affected certain parts of the country periodically. But the present drought is something totally unknown and unexpected. The drought has affected the north, east, south, west and the hill country in the middle. The paddy crop has been adversely affected. In fact, every crop has been affected, tea, rubber, cocoa, coconuts, vegetables, and everything which grows in this island. Rivers have begun to dry up in certain areas and the tanks have no water for the Yala.

These notes are being written sometime before the new year, and one can only hope that some rain would fall soon. There is usually rain around the new year marking what is

called the inter-monsoonal rains. But this year the North-east had failed in the dry zone, and rain which falls in other parts of the island (from equatorial cyclonic squalls) has also failed. The astrologers are unable to say why the rains have failed or when it would rain again. But, it is not the drought alone which makes people despondent. The drought has hit coconut plantations in a big way, but the impact will be felt only one year later, and the trees would begin to bear nuts fully only about 18 months after the rains set in again. Coconut may become a rare commodity if the drought persists and the pest continues to spread. Already a *tambili* costs Rs. 1.25 each in the city.

This year's drought is one of the worst natural disasters that has ever befallen this country and has added to the already numerous difficulties which this country has to contend with: decreased export earnings, increased cost of imports, depleted foreign exchange reserves inadequate to sustain the minimum levels of imports, reluctance of foreign countries to lend more money on reasonable terms—all this in the context of mounting recurrent expenditure to maintain the welfarism already bestowed on the people by earlier governments. Even more distressing is the fact that money has to be found to finance the development plans of a "socialist" government to promote populist policies. Savings and austerity have been rightly emphasised, but there is little left

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with any section of the community to make savings worthwhile. A visiting professor has pointed out that it was difficult to save in a society with diminishing incomes, and that savings really went with people with opportunities for increasing their incomes. What he said may be dismissed by some of our pundits because he comes from "capitalist USA", but there is a great deal in what he had pointed out. The number who still have the leeway to save cannot be more than a few thousands in this country. An optimistic estimate would be ten thousand and a pessimistic one two thousand. The compulsory savings which has been "extorted" from people is really a salary and income cut. Most of those who have paid, especially those who have been compelled to pay, have denied themselves and their families bare essentials. Ostentatious living and expenditure is confined to a few hundreds in the cities and the towns. Consumer expenditure has already hit the rockbottom and to expect people to "save" is to expect miracles. But money can still be squeezed out of them by the powers that a government can exercise, but what the implications of such measures will be is difficult to predict.

One important question which people ask is what has happened to the money which was collected under the compulsory savings scheme. Has it been kept reserved for development expenditure? Or has it been put into the common kitty and expended on govern-

ment's recurrent expenditure? If people had the assurance that this money was being used only for development purposes and if they have the confidence that the money would come back to them (or their heirs) people will put up with even greater hardship for the sake of the country. But on these two questions, there is grave scepticism among the general public, and Government will do well to clear popular misgivings on this question of savings.

WHILST LITTLE CEYLON continues to drift in circles beset by many difficulties, many countries in the rest of the world are dashing ahead in the most spectacular manner. The Nixon visit to China has set in motion a chain reaction in Asia, in Europe and elsewhere which is likely to have important repercussions in the months to come. Russia is now preparing for the Nixon visit in May. In the meantime Russia has strengthened her position in South Asia. After Nixon took the bold initiative to send Kissinger to Peking last July, the USSR awoke from a kind of slumber which had been induced by the soporific effect of the quarrel with its former ideological partner China. The Indo-Soviet agreement of last August was a diplomatic triumph for Moscow, and the Indo-Pak war of last December placed the final seal of victory on Russia's endeavours to consolidate her position in this region. Mujibhur Rahman has been to Moscow and more recently Zulfikar Ali

Bhutto himself, and if Russia is able to effect a reconciliation between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, as she is seeking to do, it will add to the Soviet Union's stature.

But Moscow's attention is not solely confined to the South Asia region at the moment. At the Trade Union Congress meeting in Moscow, Brezhnev made a conciliatory speech indicating a desire of better relations with the United States. This was obviously an olive branch in view of Nixon's visit to Moscow in May. But even before this new spurt of activity as a prelude to the Nixon visit, Russia had begun to mend its fences in the Far East with Japan. The Gromyko visit to Tokyo in January was particularly well-timed. Japan was sulking because Nixon had made direct approaches to Peking leaving Tokyo to its own devices in regard to coming to terms with China. The Gromyko visit may well result in a peace treaty and greater Jap-Soviet co-operation in trade and other matters.

Brezhnev in his speech at the Trade Union Congress took a soft line with China and the Russian negotiator over the border disputes has returned to Peking to renew talks. But the ideological war between the two countries continues at the same old furious pace. Moscow has accused Peking of collaboration and collusion with US imperialists in the same way China had accused the USSR of the same crime when Khrushchev had gone to meet Eisenhower at Camp David. And

China replies every attack with a counter attack. When this will end cannot be predicted. But the USSR has run into a spot of bother in the Southeast region with Malayasia and Indonesia claiming the 600 mile Straits of Malacca as the joint territorial waters of the two countries. On the basis of the 12 mile territorial rule, the narrow straits of Malacca, the two countries assent has become a private Suez Canal of the two countries. In the first instance, they have jointly announced that Malayasia and Indonesia had ways of enforcing their claims that the straits of Malacca was not an international waterway. About 100 ships pass through the waterway every day, and Kuala Lumpur and Djarkarta have now made it clear that it was open only for "innocent passage". This means that the two countries can pick and choose who passes through.

THIS JOINT MOVE had immediate international repercussions. To most people this claim did not seem to have foundation in law. Japan was clearly disturbed. Soviet officials have discussed the matter with Japan and Russia has attacked the move. China took the opportunity to pipe in with hints about Soviet-Japanese "collusion". Malayasia and Indonesia state that they want to prevent the great powers from clashing in Southeast Asia and seem to think that the control of the Malacca Straits would contribute to this. Malayasia seems to want to go further and impose a levy on the ships

passing through the Straits. Various reasons have been given by Tunku Razaleigh, Chairman of the State Economic Corporation Pernas of Malayasia as to why he wants to make the Straits a Suez Canal of Southeast Asia. He has also suggested a schedule of charges which he estimates would bring in about \$ 150 million a year to be shared by Malayasia and Indonesia. In the meantime, Russia views this move as a threat to its naval and shipping programme in the area. The Bangladesh government, after waiting several weeks for western consortiums under UN auspices to clear up the seas around Chalna and Chittagong had finally given the job to the Russians.

In the Middle East, King Hussein's plan for a United Arab Kingdom with a autonomous reigon on the West Bank with Jerusalem as capital seems to have become a basis for negotiation and discussions. Hussein has met Nixon to explain the scheme to him, but there is every reason to think that the plan has had the prior blessing of the US State Department. At first Israel had reacted against it, but it is suggested that this was a propagan-da gimmick to make the plan acceptable to the Arabs. It would appear that the Hussein Plan was drawn up with the secret collaboration of certain Israeli leaders. It is said that Hussein plans to visit other important capitals like Paris, London and even Moscow in a bid to make his plan accepted as a starting point for a settlement.

In the USA, the Nixon programme for economic growth seems to have had positive results. Doubts had been expressed earlier whether the Nixon plan would work, but it seems reasonably clear that there is a brisk expansion of US economy. It is still uncertain whether the Government can achieve the target of a 6 percent real growth in the GNP for the year as a whole and whether unemployment will be brought down to 5 percent of the labour force. Only a pessimist

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will say that the Nixon plan for US economy had done no good because industrial production which had been sluggish for two years had grown at a rapid pace of 7 percent since August. The boom in housing construction had even exceeded the Administration's "most optimistic dreams". All through 1971 unemployment which had been around 6 percent dropped down to 5.7 percent in February 1972. This may be a sign of better days ahead. But a little inflation was also inevitable.

In the UK, Britain has taken over Northern Ireland under its direct rule. The Protestants in the North would give no quarter to the Catholic minority in that state and this has been the source of conflict. The terrorism of the IRA had flourished on this conflict stemming from the legitimate grievances of the Catholic minority. What direct rule will achieve is still not clear, but though the ultra sections of the Protestants had called for a two-day strike as a mark of protest, the IRA had declared a truce. Britain had also succeeded in concluding an agreement with Mr. Dom Mintoff of Malta. He got £ 17½ million rent a year (he had asked for £ 18 million and the highest the UK and the NATO had gone earlier was £ 14 million). In the new agreement there was a new clause that Malta would provide no facilities for any Warsaw Power pact. No sooner Mintoff had affixed his signature to the agreement he

Politics, Men & Matters

by PERTINAX

IT HAS slowly begun to dawn even on our politicians that this country can no longer afford to offer free subsidies to its voters and through them to the entire nation. But they do not seem to know just how to withdraw benefits which had been "handed out" ever to voters since the end of the last war and the dawn of independence in Ceylon. It was admittedly the resourceful genius Sir Oliver Goonetilleke who hit upon the gimmick of subsidised rice, free education and free medicine as a method of ensuring UNP victories in elections in Ceylon. Once the game was started, other political parties claimed they could do better. The Left Parties had proclaimed that they could give most of everything *free* to the worker and the peasant once capitalism was abolished and socialism was introduced.

And the game has been played in this way for the last twentyfive years. And it is ironic that it has fallen on the Left to end this game of free subsidies and handouts. The simple fact is that there cannot be any progress in Ceylon *economically*, either under capitalism, or socialism, or democratic socialism, or state non-capitalist 'welfarism, or

took off on a visit to Peking to regularise recognition and exchange ambassadors.

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any other system, unless the self-sapping system of subsidies are done away with completely. This will immediately mean hardship because the money which the pampered voter now spends on buying arrack or kassipu, or going to the films, or making pilgrimage (and tourist) trips round the island, must be diverted to buying food, education and medicines which are now given free. To many this will seem to be a lowering of the "standard of living", and it probably can be interpreted as such. But when the country cannot afford the things given free, even if we have a socialist setup overnight, and it is time people faced realities squarely in the face.

The U F Government has found it extremely hard to tell the people the truth that the era of subsidies and free rice, free education and free medicine was over. But the Government evidently wants to remove the subsidies and free handouts in gradual doses hoping at every stage that some miracle of *socialism* will make it unnecessary for them to deny the voter the things he had got free. And to keep the "masses" with them, the Government has been anxious to deny the subsidies first to the more "affluent" groups (if there are any such left in Ceylon today) first before coming to the low income brackets. For this purpose the *Development Centre of the Organisation for Ec-*

onomic Co-operation and Development, situated in Paris, had prepared a report on *Employment and Unemployment* under the direction of a senior economist Mr. P. J. Richards. The full report has not yet been made available to the public but the gist and essence are known. The report had stressed that in the past Government had distributed the subsidies indiscriminately. To change this it was necessary to revise the tax structure so that the lowest deciles were taken into consideration. That in this connection it had to be remembered that the lowest 90 percent of income receivers did not constitute a homogeneous group and that some sub-groups were much more fortunately placed than others, some had wages boards, some had special incentives, etc., etc. The report was really for the purpose of examining how donor countries could help a country like Ceylon, and the chief suggestion was that subsidies should be based on incomes. The higher income brackets should not get anything free, that they should not get anything which carried a subsidy, but that subsidies should be given only to the lower brackets until their standards were upgraded. This is certainly a helpful suggestion, but what senior economist Mr. Richards does not realise is that the income-tax paying group is so small that the government will not save very much in the rush.

FOLLOWING THE CLUE in this Paris-oriented report,

the Government seems to have decided to deny free rice to the 200,000 income-tax payers. Minister Illangaratne announced this fact in some of his speeches. What more is to come is not known, but the levy of 25 cents per patient in the OPDs was another measure in the same direction. Minister Illangaratne, however, believes that attack is the best form of defence, and with mounting criticism about the co-operatives in the country he went on the air over the CBC and berated the public for being critical of the revamped co-op movement and insisted that we "free ourselves from colonial bondage and grow as a self-reliant nation". A plan had been drawn up he said to make co-ops attain "maximum efficiency" and wanted people to participate in the co-op movement "in a more meaningful and responsible manner". Directives had been issued he said to eliminate corruption and he went on to say that the co-operative movement would lead to democratic socialism.

Minister Illangaratne does not seem to know what he is talking about. The new "revamped" co-op movement has eliminated popular participation. Elected officials have been removed and now the movement is run by government officials and nominees of the Government (the Commissioners and the MPs of the area.). Before the new "revamping" there was some element of democratic participation by the people, but today the

whole thing is run by officials and those nominated on their advice. If Minister Illangaratne would only turn aside from the *glory-hallelujah* reports emanating from officials of the Co-op Department and the *you-scratch-my-back-and-I-scratch-your-back* category of UF loyalists to honest-to-goodness people who have no axe to grind, he will find that the newly reorganised co-op movement is daily sinking into a quagmire from which it will be impossible for anyone to extricate the outfit. But the bureaucrats and others who hang around ministerial offices safeguard themselves by branding and labelling all potential critics as "reactionaries", "UNPers", "Federalists", "anti-progressives" and so on. And the charade goes on.

Whilst Minister Illangaratne carries on what is really a rear-guard action to side-track the rising tide of criticism against his Ministry, the UNP has decided to move a motion of no-confidence on the Government. The motion stated that the Government had not fulfilled its election pledges and that it had not taken any meaningful steps to reduce the cost of living and solve the problems of unemployment and scarcity of essential commodities. The motion also stated that the provisions of the Public Security Act were being misused to hinder normal democratic rights. The UNP has asked for an early date for a debate, but the Government has not indicated when the debate would be possible. The

UNP Committee appointed to investigate certain statements said to have been made by Mr. J. R. Jayawardena had asked him for his comments on the published reports of what he is alleged to have said. Reports indicate that Mr. Jayawardena has asked for time to make his comments.

Whilst the UNP is agitated about the activities and the speeches of the enigmatic Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, the SLFP executive Committee has shown deep concern about a statement Dr. N. M. Perera had made in Parliament recently when he had said that he had "saved" Dahanayake "from the gallows" during the investigations into the assassination of the late SWRD. The SLFP has decided that a Royal Commission should be appointed to investigate this matter. This decision is an indication that everything is not going well between the SLFP and the LSSP and that this demand for a Royal Commission to investigate what NM had said over thirteen years ago (unlucky 13!) is really a demand to examine the basic relationship between the SLFP and the LSSP. Dr. N. M. Perera is alleged to have said that he had "saved Dahanayake from the gallows". This statement is capable of so many interpretations that it was felt that only a Royal Commission could untangle the mystery. It could mean that NM had saved Dahanayake from a frameup to send him to the gallows, or it could mean that NM subverted justice

by his testimony. Whatever it is, there is not the slightest doubt that this inquiry might well be the turning point in LSSP-SLFP relations and may affect the very foundation of the UF. Within the SLFP itself, there are various trends pulling in different directions, but the towering personality and charisma of the PM, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike keeps the party intact.

THE FEDERAL PARTY on the other hand, is now divided as never before. There is first the tussle between Amirthalingam and Rajadurai for the presidency, and this has emerged as a conflict between the Northern Province Jaffna Tamils and the Eastern Province Batticaloa-Trincomalee Tamils. Additionally, there are many FP adherents who feel that SJVC and Amirthalingam should not have gone haywire in Madras over "a separate and sovereign Tamil state in Ceylon" without a party mandate. The charisma which SJVC once exercised over the Tamils has begun to wear thin and the FP is today at the crossroads and does not know what the next few months will bring. The Tamil Congress (TC) is in two halves; the parliamentary group is allied with the UF, whilst its executive committee and leaders like G. G. Ponnambalam and Sivasithamparam are totally opposed to the Government and the new Constitution. In their plight the TC party hierarchy even seem willing to tie-up with the FP in a Tamil United Front to oppose the new Cons-

titution. *Never-say-die* Suntharalingam, who has fought the FP for the last two decades, called on SJVC with much newspaper fanfare and publicity when the FP leader returned from Madras after giving the call for a separate Tamil state. Suntharalingam has been a lone campaigner all these years for an separate Tamil Eelam in Ceylon; and to find the FP now adopting his political slogan must have shaken Suntharalingam. He rushed in to embrace his old foe (political) much to the surprise of those who know Suntharalingam. He had been diverted during the last five years or more from the *Eelam* cry to the temple entry question when he championed the cause of the diehard Hindus that the Harijans should not have the same equal rights as the highcaste Hindus inside a temple. Suntharalingam has also been a bitter foe of G. G. Ponnambalam ever since the days of first D.S. Senanayake Cabinet (1947-52) when both were members of the same Cabinet for a short while—though Suntharalingam was pushed out by old D.S. once the latter had inveigled GGP to break with SJVC and join the Cabinet. Current events may now bring Suntharalingam and GGP together. Like everything else in this country today, Tamil politics are in the process of change, conflict and uncertainty. Old values, old beliefs, old loyalties and old alignments have been cast into the melting pot and what will emerge in the Tamil world in Ceylon is difficult to predict.

The Communist Party (CP) seems to the afflicted with a similar malady. The *Aththa* and a section of the CP now seem to be disillusioned with the UF Government. The *Aththa* has been carrying on a bitter campaign against the government for sometime—mainly on the same agitational opposition level which the CP and the Left parties had maintained during the years they were in the wilderness. The Keuneman “trade union” group in the CP believes that the ‘unity’ of the UF must be maintained at all costs. PBG Keuneman himself has become a parliamentarian *par excellence* and he seems to have become enamoured of the badly-drafted and clumsily put-together Rent Act which his bureaucrats had produced after much labour and thought. The Rent Act has certain welcome features but the bureaucratic machine it has created—and which must be enlarged if it is to work—will soon overwhelm the welcome and desirable features. The result will be, if past experience in bureaucratic operations are any guide, a nightmare where everybody will be tied up in knots and nobody will want to build houses for rent. Those who can afford to build houses have houses for themselves and their children. Those who need houses will find fewer and fewer houses to rent every year and very few of them will be able to build houses for themselves. The common people, of the middle and lower groups, without houses will be completely

at the mercy of an inefficient bureaucracy.

Even the magic of a Kenue-man cannot make our bureaucracy work better especially when they have been vested with such sweeping powers (which cannot *de facto* be questioned in a court of law). The Minister is supreme and even if a loophole or vacuum is discovered in the Act, the Minister has the right to set it right by regulation. In practice, a bureaucrat, or a group of bureaucrats, will rule supreme. One does not mind *bureaucracy raj* if it were efficient (even corruption could be pardoned), but the one thing which Ceylon's bureaucracy has distinguished itself is unmitigated inefficiency. PBGK seems to think that he has delivered the goods so far as housing and tenants' rights are concerned. His Rent Act and other proposed allied legislation constitute an experiment in parliamentary legislative control of a capitalist structure to make it produce results which can be got only in a total socialist economy with difficulty. In a socialist economy, rents are low, houses become progressively plentiful and the tenants have rights which cannot be challenged. In such a society the state and other public organisations are the landlords. And, in socialist countries today, tenants have been encouraged to own single-flats or houses for their occupation. If the UF government and PBGK had created such a structure of society nobody would have had any grouse. But what we

will have after his Rent Act and other legislation gets under way will be a hotch potch which will not lead to socialism, And the consequent bureaucratic bungling will leave everybody dissatisfied.

The *Aththa* has not commented on the Rent Act, but the paper would not hesitate in the coming weeks to show how far short of leftwing expectations the Rent Act falls. *The Aththa* itself has come in for a mild but pointed bit of criticism from the LSSP orientated weekly *Nation*.

THE CRITICISM is couched in cautious and guarded language but the meaning is clear. This is the first time that the *Nation* has thought it necessary to criticise *The Aththa* and many knowledgeable persons feel that what the *Nation* said was only a reflection of what the top hierarchy of the SLFP feel on the subject. Both for the record and for its topicality, it is worthwhile quoting *in extenso* the remarks which the *Nation* of March 17 made in the column *Notes and Comments* under the heading *Attitudes the Problems*.

“According to a newspaper report, the Prime Minister, as leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, will shortly meet the Communist Party leader, Dr. S. A. Wickremesinghe, and some of his colleagues, to discuss problems that have recently arisen in relations between the two parties and between the Communist Party and the United Front. The newspaper in question states that the meeting between the two

party leaders has been precipitated by a recent speech which Dr. Wickremesinghe made to a gathering of Survey Department employees, in the course of which he is stated to have made certain criticisms of Government policies. We ourselves have no direct knowledge of the meeting in question or of the remarks that Dr. Wickremesinghe is alleged to have made at it. We cannot, therefore, comment on them. What we do know about is what we have seen in the reports of speeches at various other meetings by certain Communist Party leaders carried in the pages of *Aththa*, a daily paper published from Communist Party headquarters. We have also followed with some amount of anxiety the kind of news regularly splashed across the front page of "*Aththa*" in recent months, its editorial comments, cartoons and even inside features.

"What we have seen makes it clear to us that *Aththa* has been conducting a consistent propaganda campaign. This, perhaps, is nothing new to those who know anything about *Aththa*. It is not a newspaper in the staid or, should we say, conventional sense of that term. It does not purchase news from accepted makers of this commodity and retail it along with various other attractions to consumers willing to pay its price. *Aththa* openly selects its news and lards it up with the aim of whipping up public sentiment against the current target of its campaign. In other other words, it is a po-

litical daily that seeks to present and interpret news that is uncomfortable for daily newspapers that merely do good business.

"Being a political daily, *Aththa* is liked or disliked by its readers according to whether they approve or disapprove of *Aththa's* politics. Until recently, *Aththa* did yeomen service to the United Front and its three constituent parties. This does not mean at all that *Aththa* was until recently just a United Front paper. Because it was published from Communist Party headquarters, people generally considered it a Communist Party paper. This has been recently denied by Housing Minister Pieter Keuneman. The latter should know, seeing that he is also General Secretary of the Communist Party. It seems, therefore, more correct to define the status of *Aththa* as being the publication of a section of the Communist Party. This section is obviously powerful enough to locate its newspaper, despite broadsides against the Communist Party's allies in the United Front and the Government of which the Communist Party is a member, in the Headquarters of the Communist Party itself. Because of its sustained attacks on the United Front Government, its policies, its Ministers and principal spokesmen and officials, *Aththa* has created serious problems for the UF and the Government. Attempts to appeal to its good sense and the better judgement of its party leaders over several months

proved futile. The step was, therefore, taken of indicating Government's disapproval of *Aththa's* politics by withdrawing all advertisement patronage that the Government had extended to the paper. But even this has had no effect. On the contrary, *Aththa's* campaign against the Government has increased in political scope and emotional depth since then.

"The Government, of course cannot object to a propaganda campaign against it, so long as the latter is based on fact and is conducted within the limits of existing legality. In this respect, "*Aththa*" has kept within legal bounds, but it is highly questionable how scrupulous it has been about the facts as they have been re-written by its staff writers. There is understandable cause for resentment on this score. But that is not a major problem. There are many ways of stopping lies and falsification where they transgress a limit. The Government's real problem is that "*Aththa*" is a Communist Party newspaper even as it attacks the Government and the Communist Party continues to be one leg of the United Front. Until now, the other two parties in the United Front have been willing to regard the antics of "*Aththa*" as an internal affair of the Communist Party. Both the SLFP and the LSSP did not wish to be involved in the internal disputes of their third partner. They, therefore, hoped that the obvious ambivalence of the Communist Party's political line would soon

be corrected through the CP's own processes of internal decision-making. Unfortunately, there is no sign of a solution in the near future and, meanwhile, the Government's embarrassment by the demeanour of uncontrollable CP dissidents cannot be further endured.

"It is hoped that the Prime Minister's meeting with the CP leaders will be able to bring about some solution to their party's present political ambivalence. The Communist Party's impatience with any real delays in implementation of the UF's Common Programme, if that is the problem, will be easily understood by the Prime Minister, we feel confident. If that is the cause of their vituperation against the Government, there should be no difficulty in working out more detailed schedules for the future. But if, as "Aththa's" propaganda would indicate, some people in the Communist Party have other sectarian axes to grind, the grinding might be better done elsewhere."

The *Nation* comment refers to a newspaper report on this same question, and the only one of any significance in the English papers appeared in the *Daily News* of March 16. The heading read *SLFP, CP Leaders MEET This Month—Clear—The-Air Sequel to Communist Party President's Recent Statements*. This report itself was unquestionably an "inspired piece." Lake House is today very wary about treading on anybody's corns, and this report would not have appeared unless Lake House felt that it

had the tacit approval of the powers-that-be in the SLFP and LSSP. This report itself is worth citing in full because it constitutes, in the view of many astute observers, writing on the wall which cannot be ignored. "Leaders of the SLFP and the CP—two of the United Front parties—are expected to meet this month to "clear the air" about certain policy questions. The decision to call a party leaders' meeting was taken at a discussion between the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and the President of the Communist Party, Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, held at Temple Trees earlier this month, according to informed sources. The discussion between Mrs. Bandaranaike and Dr. Wickremasinghe was held following certain statements said to have been made by the President of the Communist Party at a meeting he addressed in the first week of this month. Speaking to the Survey Department Employees Union at Narahenpita on "*Future political trends and developments*", Dr. Wickremasinghe is alleged to have made certain remarks which were "critical" of government policies.

"According to informed sources, the Prime Minister has asked Dr. Wickremasinghe to clarify some of the statements he is alleged to have made at this meeting. Dr. Wickremasinghe is believed to have said that the government has forgotten the very people who voted for it. He is also reported to have said that the government's Five Year Plan had given

equal roles to the public and private sectors and that this could not usher in socialism. If socialism is to be introduced, a more meaningful United Front was necessary. Dr. Wickremasinghe is also said to have asked at this meeting whether Ceylon was waiting for America to recognise Bangladesh before it took the decision to do so. At the time this speech was reported to have been made Ceylon had not yet recognised Bangladesh. Dr. Wickremasinghe is believed to have explained to the Prime Minister what he had meant when he made some of the comments critical of the government. Among the questions that are likely to come up at the party leaders' meeting are the role of the private sector, the nationalisation of foreign interests in Ceylon, various points in the United Front manifesto and trends in Ceylon's foreign policies."

The second anniversary of the UF government's coming to power is fast approaching and in the nature of human affairs, strains and stresses between constituent parties of a United Front are inevitable. An interesting question which intrigues knowledgeable political observers is whether the relation between the three parties in the UF will undergo any change in the near future.



Headlines

FEB. 8 — MARCH 20

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8: The Government has decided to grant a five-year tax-holiday to all new industries which are able to export 25 percent of their annual production. The Bar Council of Ceylon has condemned the police action in the P.C. Gunasekera affair saying that the incident had hurt the dignity of their profession as a whole. Thailand yesterday recognised Bangla Desh.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9: Important amendments to the Compulsory Service Act will be placed before the Cabinet to halt the flight of professional talent from the country. The Premiers of India and Bangla Desh have jointly announced that all Indian troops would be withdrawn by March 25 from the territory of Bangla Desh.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10: Finance Minister Dr. N. M. Perera yesterday said that there is no truth in the rumour that the ceiling on the disposable income is being raised from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3500 per month. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Finance has revealed that 10 percent of the private industrial undertakings accounted for approximately 82.8 per cent of the total industrial output of the country.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11: The Governor General has appointed a three-member Royal Commission to report on the

University of Ceylon, Peradeniya. The Chinese Government has responded favourably to the proposal of the Ceylon Government to start a shipping service between the two countries.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12: The Building Materials Corporation yesterday took the premises and buildings of the Chetnad Corporation Ltd. A new State Fisheries Harbour Corporation was set up today. A Chinese vessel, "Jilin" steamed into Colombo yesterday carrying two new gunboats for the Royal Ceylon Navy. Major-General D.S. Attygalle, the Commander of the Ceylon Army, will leave shortly to US-SR on an 'observation tour'.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 13: The Government has decided to incur an additional expenditure of Rs. 10 million annually to pay increased salaries to Policemen as recommended by the Salaries and Cadre Commission. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, walked out of the UNP's crucial Working Committee meeting yesterday charging that a resolution due for discussion was illegal, unconstitutional and undemocratic. The Working Committee appointed a five-man Disciplinary Committee to probe into certain statements reported to have been made by Mr. J. R. Jayawardene and to recommend action against him. Nearly hundred public sector trade unions which met yesterday, unanimously accused the bureaucracy of implementing deci-

sions in a manner which brings the Government to dispute.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14: The Public Service Commission has approved a three-tier structure for the Ceylon Administrative Service. Two hundred toddy taverns managed solely by co-operatives of tappers would be opened throughout the Jaffna district. Mr. Premlal Kumarasiri, a former M. P. for Hakmana who was held under Emergency regulations was released yesterday. An assembly of 1,200 delegates from 84 countries meeting in Paris, including USA, yesterday demanded that President Nixon set a precise date for the withdrawal of all American armed forces from Indo-China.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15: Prof. B. A. Abeywickrema became the first Vice Chancellor of the new integrated University of Ceylon and overall head of the five campuses of the University which was inaugurated this morning. Mr. Sarath Amunugama, Chairman of the Film Corporation of Ceylon, yesterday assured the country's film exhibitors that the Corporation would ensure an uninterrupted supply of film entertainment according to popular taste. The Soviet Union yesterday launched another unmanned moon probe, Luna-20 to make further exploration of the moon and near-lunar space.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16: Ceylon has successfully negotiated for a reduction of the freight surcharge imposed on Ceylon Cargo destined to ports in the United Kingdom,

following the devaluation of the dollar. The United States and South Vietnamese delegations yesterday decided to boycott Thursday's session of the Vietnam Peace Talks in protest against a huge anti-war assembly held in Paris last weekend. A state of emergency was declared in Britain yesterday following the five-week-old strike by coal miners.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18: The Government has decided to distribute only raw sugar from next week in the face of a very steep rise in the world prices of sugar. Dr. W. Dahanayake yesterday protested in the House of Representatives that Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera's "I saved you from the gallows" statement was baseless. A new Rent Act to extend rent control to all houses in the private sector, was presented in the House of Representatives yesterday by the Minister of Housing. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will bring the Sri Lanka State Trading (General) Corporation under her charge. President Nixon yesterday began his historic journey to China. Wild rowdy scenes broke out in the House of Commons yesterday night when the government's narrow Market vote was announced.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19: The distribution of Crown land among the landless in blocks has been completely stopped by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. Ceylon and China yesterday renewed the bi-lateral trade agree-

ment for 1972. The new Rent Bill received the unanimous approval of the House of Representatives yesterday. The Soviet Union yesterday warned United States and Peking not to gang up against it.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20: A large-scale probe is to be conducted shortly by the CID into the alleged Telex machine racket carried out by some Private Sector entrepreneurs. Three more Puisne Justices have been appointed by the Governor General. While China setting the stage for tough talks with President Nixon, Radio Peking renewed Peking's attack on US foreign policy and reiterated its position on world issues.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21: The Law Society of Ceylon has called on the Government to hold a plebiscite on the new Constitution before it is adopted. The Petroleum Corporation sources have ruled out any possibilities of petrol rationing. President Nixon arrived at Peking Central Airport at 9 a. m. and there was a warm welcome with Chou En Lai being the first to shake hands with the President.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22: According to Gazette notification issued yesterday night, the Minister of Plantation Industries can now take over any estate in the national interest. The World Bank has agreed to finance the foreign cost of Stage I of the Mahaweli Development Project in Ceylon. President Nixon yesterday had his first-ever meeting with the Chinese leader Chairman Mao

Tse-Tung. They held "serious and frank discussions". Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared yesterday that India would not accept any decision that may be taken on the fate of Asia at the current talks between President Nixon and Chinese leaders.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23: All future new entrants to the Public Service will be required to sit for the Sinhala Proficiency Examination within three years of their appointments. The prices of petroleum products have been increased with immediate effect. President Nixon and Prime Minister Chou En-Lai yesterday settled down to talks on the issues that sharply divide the United States and China. They met for nearly four hours in the second full round of discussions. Russia's Lura-20 moon probe yesterday touched down on a rocky plateau near-by the sea of fertility.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24: Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike said yesterday that China's outright gift of five gunboats was gift without strings, political or otherwise. Secondary school and University students are perturbed over the recent statement by Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, that students entering the University of Ceylon and other state institutes of higher education would be compelled to enter into a bond to serve the State for 10 years after graduation. President Nixon and Prime Minister Chou En-Lai held their third long session of talks yes-

terday. In a friendly gesture towards the Soviet Union, China marked the 54th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet armed forces by wreath-laying ceremonies at various centres throughout the country.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25: The Capital Levy Act is to be amended shortly to lessen the burden of a number of private sector organizations as well as individuals groaning under its weighty provisions. Mr. M. D. Banda and Mr. Hugh Fernando yesterday gave evidence before the Committee appointed by the UNP to inquire into the recent statements attributed to Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, Leader of the Opposition. President Nixon had a fourth session of closely guarded talks with Premier Chou En-Lai after visiting the Great Wall of China. The Philippines yesterday formally recognized the new state of Bangla Desh.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26: The Government has decided to crack down on bureaucrats in Ministries, Govt. departments, Corporations and Boards who harass members of the public who want to transact business. President Nixon and Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai have described the Sino-American summit talks as beneficial and said that they were determined to break the walls between their countries. Radio Moscow reported yesterday that China does not want the United States to withdraw completely from Asia.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27: Dr. Colvin R de Silva, Minis-

ter of Plantation Industries, at a press conference yesterday, told that the take-over of the BCC was necessary in order to serve the coconut industry effectively at a critical juncture. The Secretary General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, Mr. Arnold Smith, arrived in Ceylon this morning. It was announced that President Nixon and Premier Chou En-Lai have reached basic agreement on substantive issues during the past five days of summit talks. Israel was reported to have launched an air and ground attack on Lebanon yesterday.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 28: The Civil Rights Movement of Ceylon has urged the Government to restore and ensure democratic rights and liberties of the people that had been suspended since the declaration of Emergency in March 1971. A resolution of the General Council of CMU states that the Draft Constitution which is being sought to be imposed on the people maintains the capitalist state power and provides a legal framework for the continuation of the exploitation and oppression. The United States, in a joint communique with China at the end of the summit talks, has stated that its ultimate objective was the withdrawal of all US forces and military installations from Taiwan. Israeli forces struck into Lebanon for the third consecutive day yesterday with a series of air raids.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 29: According to a directive issued yesterday by the Minis-

ter of Foreign and Internal Trade, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Directors of Corporations and Boards under this Ministry must take an oath of honesty. President Nixon returned home yesterday after summit talks that established a new framework for relations between the world's most powerful and most populous countries. The UN Security Council yesterday unanimously called on Israel to stop military operations against Lebanon and to withdraw her troops from that country immediately.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1: Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has told the visiting Secretary General of the Commonwealth, Mr. Arnold Smith, that Ceylon has no objection in giving C'wealth membership for Bangla Desh. The Central Committee of CP (Peking), in a press release, has condemned the FP's slogan for a separate Tamil state. According to Finance Ministry sources, the Rs. 2000 a month ceiling on disposable income will be enforced from April 1. The Government has decided to lift the restrictions on the transport and sale of onions and chillies. Israeli forces ended yesterday their four-day attack and pulled their troops out of Lebanon. President Nixon returned home yesterday and said he had made no secret deals in his talks in China.

THURSDAY, MARCH 2: Transfer of ownership of estates less than 100 acres can take place without the sanction of the Minister of Plantation Industries. According to a recent issue

of Tamil Nadu Government publication, "Thamil Arasu", the island of Kachchativu rightly belongs to India. The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, arrived in the Soviet Union yesterday on an official visit.

FRIDAY, MARCH 3: Sri Lanka State Trading (Tea) Corporation has been set up by the Minister of Plantation Industries. The Communist Party Leader, Dr. S. A. Wickramasinghe, yesterday said that the "United Front" was now a mere name and the Government does not seem to be living up to the promises held out to the people. The Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, yesterday repeated India's offer to sign a no-war pact with Pakistan.

SATURDAY, MARCH 4: Mr. Chandra Gunasekera, M. P. for Kottawa, speaking to a large gathering of Ceylonese post-graduate students from Oxford, Cambridge and other British Universities in London, warned that unless the radical changes promised by the Govt. were brought about, the present unrest in the country would assume alarming proportions. There has been a *de facto* devaluation of the Ceylon rupee by 8.4 per cent since the rupee was linked with the dollar and was allowed to float freely in relation to sterling. Egypt has reacted angrily to the American decision to supply Phantom aircraft to Israel. President Bhutto has sacked Pakistan's Army and Air Force chiefs.

SUNDAY, MARCH 5: The Commander of the United Sta-

tes Seventh Fleet, Admiral John S. McCain, arrived in the island this morning. Mr. K.W. Devanayagam, M. P. for Kalkudah, while speaking at the Constituent Assembly, said that insurgents were holding up traffic between Dambulla and Habarana. China yesterday accused the US, Japan, and Taiwan of collaborating to plunder Chinese coastal seabed resources. General Tikha Khan, known as the "butcher of Bengal", has been appointed as the new army chief in Pakistan by President Bhutto. The general elections in 16 states in India began today.

MONDAY, MARCH 6: Ceylon has recognised the new state of Bangla Desh as a sovereign and independent State. The Supreme Court this morning allowed the Kandy election petition appeal and Mr. E.L. Senanayake retains his seat in the House of Representatives. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Bangla Desh Premier, left Tashkent for Dacca yesterday after obtaining promises of Soviet assistance to rebuild his country's war-torn economy.

TUESDAY, MARCH 7: The UNP Parliamentary Group which met this morning decided unanimously to move a vote of no-confidence on the government. A new party by the name of "Minority Tamils Progressive Front" has been formed to unite the Minority Tamils against social disabilities, to support the introduction of the Tavern System and co-operate with the Government. Ceylon and UAR signed

a trade pact today.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8: Admiral John S. McCain, US Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Area, met Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and discussed the "Indian Ocean Peace Zone", a proposal put forward by her at the Commonwealth Premier's Conference last year. According to *Sun*, Ceylon will extend an invitation to Premier Chou En-Lai of People's Republic of China to declare open the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall early next year. Pakistani President Ali Bhutto yesterday said that martial law in Pakistan would be lifted in August and "buried forever". The Sudanese Government yesterday granted regional autonomy to South Sudan after 16 years' fighting.

THURSDAY, MARCH 9: At the SLFP Executive Committee meeting held yesterday, Ministers, Government MPS and SLFP chieftains were asked by the Prime Minister to go before the people and explain the country's present plight. At Peradeniya, Police has discovered a large quantity of bombs and sticks of dynamite in close proximity to the Police Station. At Dambadeniya armed youngsters are reported to have entered an estate belonging to the Junior Minister of Health and set fire to the crops. Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has accused the United States of planning "something sinister" for India and said that renewed American charges of Indian aggre-

ssion against Pakistan were laying the ground work for such actions.

FRIDAY, MARCH 10: The United Motors Ltd and Auto-mile Assembly and Manufacturing Ltd were taken over by government yesterday under the Business Acquisition Act. The multi-storied 'Ameer Building' in the Fort was acquired by the Government yesterday. The State Agricultural Corporations Bill presented by the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, received the unanimous approval of the House of Representatives yesterday.

SATURDAY, MARCH 11: Ceylon and People's Republic of Hungary signed an agreement yesterday to provide for technical and scientific co-operation between the two countries. At a press conference, the visiting Secretary of Soviet Writers' Union, Mr. Vitaly Ozerov said that Boris Pasternak, the author of "Doctor Zhivago" was a bad writer and that he was awarded Nobel Prize because his novel was useful for anti-Soviet propaganda in the West. Cambodian strongman Marshal Lon Nol yesterday took over super-power as head of state and promised to continue the war against Vietnamese Communists.

SUNDAY, MARCH 12: The Government has decided to allow gifts of cars and textiles not in excess of Rs. 2000 from relatives abroad. According to Department of Information sources, Government's rehabilitation scheme in respect of insurgent youth is wor-

king beyond expectations. The State Film Corporation has decided to reduce the number of Tamil and Hindi films imported from India. The White House announced yesterday that contact between Washington and Peking would take place through the American and Chinese Ambassadors in Paris. Israeli Air Force attacked Arab guerilla bases in Lebanon yesterday.

MONDAY, MARCH 13: Sharp differences of opinion have arisen among the leaders of the United Front oriented Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisations over a demand that the State of Emergency should be lifted. In a report by a team of WHO experts submitted to the Government, it has been stated that the existence of a very low percentage of working people in respect of the total population is the main cause for Ceylon's stagnant economy. The Congress won landslide victories in all parts of India as more results were declared yesterday in the Indian State Elections.

TUESDAY, MARCH 14: The Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, addressing a public meeting in Jaffna yesterday, warned the Federal Party that serious notice would be taken by the Government of any attempts by the party to resort to violence. The Education Minister, Dr. Badi-uddin Mahmud appointed yesterday a 6-member Committees to inquire and report into the teaching of English in Ceylon schools. The United States

and China yesterday began in Paris their first formal contacts aimed at normalising diplomatic relations.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15: The Government has decided to Ceylonise the Shipping Agency business. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has given a categorical assurance that the Government will refrain from rushing legislation intended to impose a ceiling on the ownership of land. Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike and Leader of the House, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, have declined to accept honorary office as patrons of the Ceylon-Bangladesh Friendship Society. The Marxist Communist Party in West Bengal has suffered a sensational rout in India's State Elections from which Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has emerged more powerful than ever.

THURSDAY, MARCH 16: The Federal Party for the second time has postponed its annual convention in order to avoid a rift over who should be the next party president. Fifteen members of Parliament will take wing early next month to Paris and London. Three new campuses of the University of Ceylon are to be opened at Batticaloa, Jaffna and Galle in May. A Danish airliner with 112 people aboard — 106 of them tourists returning from Ceylon — crashed in a remote mountain area in Fujairah near Dubai. Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi rocketed to unassailable power in India when closing count of state elections revealed

sweeping victory for new Congress which won 14 out of 16 states.

FRIDAY, MARCH 17: The Police yesterday appealed to all citizens for information regarding any acts of an unlawful nature which have occurred or which are likely to occur anywhere. The UNP Committee inquiring into the controversial public statements by Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has given him more time to explain his statement. The new National Savings Bank was inaugurated by the Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, yesterday. The controlled price of off-ration chillies has been lifted with immediate effect. Pakistan's President Bhutto said yesterday that his country could no longer secure self-determination for the disputed State of Kashmir. President Nixon will begin his official visit to Moscow on May 22 for talks with Soviet leaders.

SATURDAY, MARCH 18: Volunteers of the Armed Services have been mobilised for active service. The outgoing Ambassador for Pakistan in Ceylon said yesterday that cordial relations which have existed between Ceylon and Pakistan would continue to be developed in spite of Pakistan's decision to leave the Commonwealth and Ceylon recognising the new state of Bangla Desh. Mr. S. Thondaman, leader of the CWC, left for Moscow yesterday to take part in the 15th conference of the Soviet Trade Unions. India has told the United States and Britain that it is opposed to the esta-

blishment of a Communication Base on the island of Diego Gracia, in the Indian Ocean. North Korea has pledged military aid to the Cambodian insurgents under a bilateral agreement signed in Pyongyang yesterday.

SUNDAY, MARCH 19 : According to *Times Weekender*, three Federal Party members of Parliament have indicated to the Party leadership that they would quit the party if the election to the office of the party president is not conducted in a fair manner. Anwil Distilleries Ltd. has been vested in the Govt. on an order made by Dr N. M. Perera under the Business Acquisition Act yesterday. The Govt. has decided to hand over the entire synthetic textile trade to the private sector. Israeli Premier, Mrs. Golda Meir yesterday condemned King Hussein's Plan for a Federation under his control on both banks of Jordan, as pretentious and not serving the interests of peace.

MONDAY, MARCH 20 : The World Bank is expected to send a 2 - member team to Ceylon shortly to review the Govt.'s fiscal and planning policies in relation to the implementation of the 5-year plan. Mr. A. Amirthalingam, former MP for Vaddukkodai, resigned from the post of General Secretary of the FP following a stormy session of the Working Committee yesterday. An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said yesterday that Ceylon fully shared New Delhi's concern over Anglo-American efforts to build up the

Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean. India yesterday signed a wide-ranging treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation with Bangla Desh.

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MAN'S FIFTH LANDING ON THE MOON

Apollo-16: Toward A New Pinnacle Of Space Science

BY WALTER FROEHLICH

"We hope, by this journey, to know better the origins of the earth, the moon, and the other planets. We hope to understand something more of the mysteries of God's great work. And, in this seeking, we hope to understand more of man himself."

President Richard Nixon after watching telecast of Apollo -15 launch on July 26, 1971.

THE LARGEST ARRAY of scientific machinery ever assembled for simultaneous shipment away from earth lies crammed inside or attached to the Apollo-16 spacecraft now being prepared for the next voyage by U.S. astronauts to the moon. Apollo-16 is scheduled for launch from Cape Kennedy, Florida, at 12. 54 p. m., America's Eastern Standard Time (EST), (1754 GMT), Sunday April 16, 1972. (Ceylon time: April 16, 11.24 p.m.) Among the scientific research equipment aboard the Apollo-16 moon landing craft is a small device that is to become the first astronomical observatory ever established on a heavenly body. Attached to the landing module's exterior is a cosmic ray detector, which is to be the

first such instrument on the lunar surface for analyzing the mysterious rain of energetic particles streaking through the Milky Way galaxy.

For still other unprecedented experiments, the Apollo-16 command module will take along on its roundtrip between earth and the vicinity of the moon a package filled with millions of microbes plus another container holding a set of other biological specimens. From these, scientists expect to increase their knowledge of the impact of the space environment on living systems. Mission plans call for a 12-day flight that will for the first time keep men living on the surface of the moon continuously for more than three days. The expedition is designed to produce a scientific information yield exceeding in quantity and quality the data accumulated by any previous manned space flight. Apollo-16 will be the world's 44th manned space flight, the 26th for the United States. The mission will become the eighth to take men around the moon, the fifth in which men land on the lunar surface.

HEADING THE FLIGHT CREW is John W. Young, 41, Apollo-16 commander, a veteran of nine and one-half years of service as an astronaut and one of the world's most experienced space travelers. He par-

ticipated in three earlier space missions and during one of these (Apollo-10 in May 1969) orbited the moon 31 times. Accompanying him in the landing craft to the lunar surface will be astronaut Charles M. Duke, 36, Apollo-16 lunar module pilot. Young and Duke will become the 9th and 10th persons in history to land on the moon. They will become the 3rd and 4th persons to ride on the moon in an automobile. They will use a battery-powered, jeep-like Lunar Roving Vehicle (LRV) similar to that which transported two Apollo-15 crew members on the lunar surface. The third Apollo-16 astronaut, Thomas K. Mattingly II, who is 36 years old, will not land on the moon. He will remain in the command ship in moon orbit until Young and Duke return to it with their landing module. Duke and Mattingly have been astronauts since April 1966, and Apollo-16 will be their first trip into space.

The flight's major purpose is scientific exploration. The primary objectives of the astronauts are to extend knowledge about nature and the laws of nature, particularly about the moon and the regions surrounding the earth. Flight planners have chosen a landing site likely to fill in blanks in information obtained during the earlier four U. S. manned moon landing expeditions. The Apollo-16 astronauts will aim for touchdown in a plain within a rugged highland region named Descartes (pronounced day-

kahrt) after the 17th century French mathematician and philosopher Rene Descartes.

THE LANDING SITE—186 miles south of the lunar equator, in the southeastern quarter of the moon's disk as seen from earth—lies in one of the highest portions of the moon on the earth side. Descartes is believed to contain volcanic rocks older than the 3,500-million-year-old samples gathered in 1969 by the Apollo—II and 12 crews in lunar plains and oceans (maria). But the Descartes samples are expected to be of more recent origin than the 4,600-million-year-old specimens brought to earth from the lunar uplands in the Apollo—14 and 15 mission in 1971. Collecting these samples and inspecting, photographing and surveying the landing region is among the major assignment of the Apollo-16 crew. Like their predecessors, the Apollo-16 astronauts will also carry out several scientific experiments on the moon and set up an automated laboratory known as the Apollo Lunar Surface Experiments Package (ALSEP.)

Apollo-16 experiments will include nearly every one carried out on earlier Apollo lunar landings plus some new ones. The most spectacular new one is the miniature astronomical observatory with which the astronauts are expected to photograph some 10,000 celestial objects, including the earth. The experiment is carried out with what scientists call a "Far UV Camera/Spectroscope" (the UV stands for ultraviolet) which

the astronauts are to set up on a tripod on the moon. The installation falls far short of the elaborate celestial observatories many scientists envision for eventual operation on the moon. But the relatively small and simple device exploits the same advantages the moon may ultimately offer to any sophisticated future installations. The Apollo-16 lunar observatory will be the first instrument of its kind to view the sky free from the atmospheric and magnetic interferences that hinder such experiments on or near earth. Even cameras in satellites above the earth's atmosphere must contend with disturbing phenomena caused by the earth's field, which the Apollo-16 device will evade. The instrument is particularly designed to detect in invisible light the amounts and characteristics of clouds of hydrogen, the most abundant element in the universe, in relatively near and very distant portions of the universe. This and related information is expected to help scientists refine explanations of the evolution and present behavior of the universe.

SIMILAR KNOWLEDGE may also emerge from the cosmic-ray detector bolted to the outside of the Apollo-16 moon landing craft. Though called cosmic "rays," they are really exceedingly small atomic particles traveling in vast quantities through the Milky Way at almost the speed of light. Because most of the particles are absorbed in the earth's upper atmosphere or deflected by the earth's magnetic field,

they cannot very well be measured or analyzed from the earth's surface. On the moon, the impacting particles leave trails in the detector. Before leaving the moon, the astronauts will detach the detector, load it inside the spacecraft and return it to earth.

Through analysis of the cosmic ray tracks in the detector, scientists will be able to tell what elements compose the particles and the speeds and strength with which they shower down. This, in turn, may lead to understanding of the origin of elements in the universe and the internal processes in stars in which the elements are believed to have been created.

The effects of these cosmic particles on some forms of life is to be determined during the Apollo—16 flight through another experiment, called "Biostack", which was designed by German researchers. They designed a box about four inches square, weighing 4.4 pounds, filled with alternate layers of cosmic ray detectors and dormant biological specimens including seeds, spores, plant embryos and shrimp eggs. The box will remain inside the Apollo-16 command ship throughout the flight. After the craft's splashdown and recovery, the materials inside the box will be examined to find out to what extent the contents were bombarded by cosmic rays and whether any changes occurred in the cells of the specimens. The researchers want to find out particularly whether cosmic ray impa-

cts induce mutations or cause other changes in the specimens' development.

ANOTHER BIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT on Apollo-16 calls for transportation inside the command ship of variety of bacteria, viruses and fungi. Many millions of these will be housed inside a rectangular Microbial Environment Exposure Device (also known as Microbial Ecology Evaluation Device, or MEED) that will be attached to the outside of the command ship for about 10 minutes during the return flight to earth. Scientists want to know the effect on the growth and mutations of these micro-organisms from low gravity and weightlessness, alterations in the oxygen environment from normal to vacuum conditions, and exposure to radiations without the normal protection of the atmosphere.

The MEED will be taken to the outside of the command ship by astronaut Mattingly when he begins a "space walk" about a day after the astronauts have inserted themselves from moon orbit onto a path toward earth. He will attach the MEED—which measures about 4.5 by 4.5 by 9.75 inches—to the ship's exterior, then return the MEED inside after a 10 minute exposure.

The main purpose of Mattingly's walk is to retrieve film cassettes from the Scientific Instrument Module (SIM) in the Apollo-16 Service Module before the latter is detached from the command module and allowed to disintegrate

during re-entry into the earth's atmosphere. The Apollo-16 SIM is almost identical to the one used for the first time in space during the Apollo-15 flight in July and August 1971. SIM apparatus is designed for mapping, photographing and other observations of the moon from lunar orbit. Mattingly will carry out the SIM operations during the three days he is alone in the command ship in moon orbit. When his colleagues return to the command ship from the moon's surface, the entire crew will remain in moon orbit for an additional two days to continue the SIM observations.

NEAR THE END of that time—just before beginning the return journey to earth—the astronauts will release a small satellite from the SIM similar to the satellite placed into moon orbit by Apollo-15. The Apollo-16 sub-satellite is expected to keep transmitting observations from moon orbit to earth for at least a year, almost exactly as the Apollo-15 sub-satellite is currently doing.

Like the SIM and its sub-satellite, most other Apollo-16 experiments on the moon, in moon orbit and on the earth-moon round trip are the same as those carried out on earlier moon flights. The repetition of these experiments permits a check of earlier findings. These additional data will have other values for researchers. The Apollo-16 automated laboratory (ALSEP) will become the fourth such robot scientific

station in simultaneous operation on the moon. The others were set up by Apollo-12 in November 1969, Apollo-14 in February 1971 and Apollo-15 in August 1971. They are still working.

Recording moon events, such as moonquakes, at separate locations helps scientists to calculate precisely the sites of the events and to determine the makeup of the moon's layers through which the quake vibrations travel to reach the recording instruments. In August 1971 the Apollo-15 crew more than doubled stay time on the moon by astronauts to nearly 67 hours. That time is to be extended by Apollo-16 to more than 72 hours.

During the period, the Apollo-16 crew will leave the landing craft three separate times, seven hours each time for a total of 21 hours. The record established by Apollo-15 for time on the moon's surface outside the landing craft was 18 hours and 33 minutes. Scientists are eager to obtain from Apollo-16 the greatest possible amount of new research information before the U.S. Apollo program ends. Apollo-16 is the next-to-last flight in that program, which is to end in December 1972 with a manned moon landing by Apollo-17. No moon exploration with spacecraft is currently planned by the United States after 1972.



Ceylon: Marginal Notes

by SERENDIB

THE HOUSE of Representatives adopted the highly controversial Criminal Justice Commissions Bill in the early hours of April 6 by a two-third majority. The voting for the Second Reading was 109 for and 24 against and for the third it was 112 against 8. A major blow-up was expected from the Communist Party, but like everything else in Ceylon it turned out to be a damp squib at voting time. The Party's president Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe and Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama abstained. Mr. M. G. Mendis and Mr. Aelian Nanayakkara were absent at the time of voting, and Mr. B. Y. Tudawe voted with the Government together with Mr. M. C. Subramaniam, the Appointed Member, (also a member of the CP). Minister Pieter Keuneman, the star turn of the CP, was away in Singapore on an official visit and frantic telegrams from the Party asking him to return "to settle the differences within the Party", or if possible to persuade the Government to accept the amendments suggested by the CP, failed to lever Keuneman out of Singapore, and he reported to have replied that "his programme of work did not permit him to return to Colombo immediately".

Whilst the CP showed up a major crack within its ranks for the first time since the UF government came into ex-

istence nearly two years ago, the UNP, in spite of its many splits and internal differences which had surfaced more than once in recent months, voted unitedly against the Bill. The FP also voted against the Bill except for its renegade, Mr. C. X. Martyn, who voted with Government. Messers- W. Dahanayake, Prins Gunasekera and Mudianse Tennekoon voted against the Bill. The Criminal Justice Commissions Bill will become law with the Governor General's assent. The only concessions the Government had been willing to make was to delete a clause which might have caught up with strikes and industrial disputes, and also to restrict the validity of the Bill in the first instance, to 8 years and thereafter to permit extension only with specific parliamentary sanction. This means that the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill will be law until 1980 unless parliament changed it or rescinded it in the meantime.

The Bill is specifically confined to matters of *insurgency* and *currency mal practices*. In regard to these two matters, the Commissions, which will sit from time to time, will have powers of investigation and adjudication transcending the normal rules of legal procedure and the admissibility of evidence. Sittings can be held in camera although lawyers chosen by the accused will have the right to appear for them. Con-

fessions become admissible under wide range of circumstances.

There was strong and widespread criticism against the Bill: that it violated the basic principles of the rule of law and that it made a mockery of the human rights. Criticism was at first directed at Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, but he has repeatedly declared that the "bill was not his own" and stated that the 'doyen of the criminal bar', Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Plantation Industries, had agreed with its provisions: and had probably helped to draft it. Mr. Bandaranaike also stated that Mr. Keuneman, Mr. Illangaratne Dr. N. M. Perera and others had been in favour of every clause in the Bill: that the Cabinet had approved the Bill unanimously.

On the strength of the Criminal Justice Bill becoming law, it was hinted that between 1000 to 5000 of those now held in detention would be released. Although the Parliament had passed this Bill with a two-third majority, it must be admitted that there is widespread dissatisfaction in the country that the Government had to resort to such laws of an unusual nature to cope with the insurgency and currency violations. Democracy, as this country has known in the past, will not flourish with the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill on the statute book although it is claimed that this law is to ensure a democratic way of life. The Public Security Act and the Emergency Regulations were rigid and stern

enough, but the common law in regard to confessions and the admissibility of certain kinds of evidence was still operative. But now, a new era in our legal history has been ushered in and what the future holds is hard to foresee. Law and justice acquire a new significance, and any dispute or disturbance has only to be called "insurgency" for the normal laws to be bypassed. In the same way anything which can be defined as a "currency malpractice" will bring the new legal procedures and rules of evidence into operation.

Government spokesmen, including the redoubtable champion of civil rights in the years gone by, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, argued that it was not possible to contain and liquidate armed insurgency except by these special laws devised by the Government. The question which troubles many is whether the insurgency of 1971 and the continuing outbursts of occasional insurgency (together with the consequent lawlessness which has become endemic) can be crushed by draconian laws of this kind. In the final analysis, the basic causes of insurgency can be resolved only through economic measures which will bring greater employment and better standards of living—which would in turn result in a healthier political atmosphere. The Criminal Justice Commissions Bill was coincidentally passed by Parliament on the first anniversary of the insurgency of 1971 and it is to be hoped that Government's hopes that

the new law will help to liquidate insurgency will be fulfilled. Many are pessimistic about the whole business, and many more are apprehensive that abuse of the legal process might become the rule and not the exception.

The *Nation*, the LSSP-oriented UF paper which reflects the thinking in some sections of the higher echelons of the Government, in its issue of March 31, lashed out at the critics of the Bill on its front page under heading RIGHTS FOR INSURGENTS: CHAMPIONS SPEAK UP. The whole is quoted *in extenso*:

"The Criminal Justice Commissions Bill, introduced by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, in Parliament last week, has aroused opposition and criticism from the usual legal cricles, the Civil Rights Movement of Ceylon and certain other groups including one section of the Communist Party that belongs to the United Front. The opposition of the section of lawyers that has lately raised its voice, particularly after the new Constitution began to receive shape in the Constituent Assembly, is not difficult to understand. Although some of these lawyers have been associated with progressive causes, the majority of them constitute a vested interest that has been affected adversely by the United Front Governments's measures against property - owning and the Draft Constitution's virtual banishment of English from effective use in the Courts. Quite apart from the use of Sinhala

and Tamil as Court language, the exclusion of English will reduce the need for intermediary lawyers since large numbers of people who are brought to Court on trivial charges will be able to defend themselves.

"The Civil Rights Movement of Ceylon is an assorted group of liberal-minded intellectuals whose hearts are prone to bleed each time somebody is wounded on the political battlefield. Being what they are, their sympathies invariably lie with the underdog. Their sensitivity, however, makes them aware of the differences of canine pedigree. The latter includes underdogs. The shootings, arrests, high-handed dismissals from employment etc. of industrial and plantation workers in the course of difficult battles for their rights throughout thirty or forty years did not bring into being any Civil Rights Movement in the country until a few months ago. Attempted coups against popular Governments left Civil Rights champions cold. The murder of Dodampe Mudalali and Corporal Tilakawardhana evoked no voice of protest. Their consciences are quickened only when a popular Government engaged in the implementation of a radical programme attempts to defend itself against a counter-revolutionary insurgency.

"As for the section of the Communist Party collected round '*Aiththa*', we have had occasion to comment on its inclination before. That these people should be concerned about civil rights anywhere

would ordinarily be regarded as a welcome sign. One cannot after all, forget their record of concern for human liberties under Stalinist regimes in the USSR and elsewhere, even when foreign armies were marched into countries like Czechoslovakia to put down recalled but overwhelmingly popular Governments! To most of these people shooting is good or bad depending on who does the shooting and who gets shot. It is an ethic to which all those who are not concerned with ethics generally subscribe.

"Explaining his Bill to a Colombo audience the other day, the Minister of Justice declared that the Criminal Justice Commissions he proposed were unorthodox, but they were necessitated by the 'unprecedented situation of the Insurgency.' The Commissions would be set up by the Governor-General; they would be controlled by the Chief Justice and be manned by Judges of the Supreme Court; and they would be resorted to only in case of three contingencies—rebellion or insurrection, currency frauds endangering the economy, and widespread damage to major public installations.

"Further, the Commissions will not be mere courts of trial. They will investigate offences, hear and evaluate evidence and frame charges, if necessary. Such procedure is not only unorthodox. It is not ideal justice. But can the critics of the Bill suggest a more suitable course of action? Of some

15,000 people detained on suspicion of complicity in last April's Insurgency, some 2,600 have already been released. A further 4,500 are in the process of being released. That leaves some 8,900 persons still in detention with reasonable suspicion of complicity in the preparation and execution of last year's Insurgency. Should the guilty among those prisoners also be released? How much will the Government's life be worth after that? How then is the Government to punish these people? *Let the Civil Rights advocates speak up.*"

Whereas the *Nation* was forthright in its attitude to the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill and those who opposed it, the CP weekly *Forward* made no reference to it at all in the last issues, viz. March 25 and April 1. Nor was there any reference to the Bill in the paper earlier, but previously it was not relevant. The Bill was before the public after March 22, and it is surprising that no comment was made about it. The CP daily *Aththa* had carried on a vigorous and hard-hitting campaign against the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill, but the *Forward* was silent. The lead stories in the *Forward* of March 25 and April 1 only repeated the *Forward* line warning the Government against the danger from the right-wing reactionaries who were prodding and encouraging ultra-left leftwingers.

One point which has been stressed by the *Forward* was that there was an attempt to implicate

genuine leftwing elements in the insurgency. This is what the *Forward* of March 25 stated: "The government should also be vigilant lest Right-wing forces seek to use the current confusions and tensions in order to promote provocations against the Left forces. Everyone is keenly aware how, at the height of the April events last year Rightist elements in the security services and elsewhere sought to promote provocations against leaders of the Left parties, against the 'SLFP Left', and against the Embassies of the socialist countries. These attempts were resisted. But they did take place and can take place again, if vigilance is slackened."

The *Forward* was also critical of the way in the Police was setting about its business. In the issue of March 25, it declared: "The official appeal made by the Police, calling for information 'signed or unsigned' from the public, should not have been allowed. It is bad enough that the Police should officially appeal for anonymous petitions against others. But such an appeal is also a green light to UNP and other Rightist elements, who still maintain strong connections with certain circles in the Police and other security services, to frame up honest Left supporters of the government through anonymous petitions and doctored evidence. During last year's April events, a number of such petitions from UNP and other Rightist elements led to the Police in

certain districts interrogating honest Left-wing supporters of the United Front and even to the arrest of some of them on framed-up charges. It was only long afterwards, when the charges were proved to be false, that they were released. Such things should not be allowed to happen again."

The *Forward* also referred to attempts to "involve" the Left, meaning the CP. This is what it said on March 25 in the same frontpage article: "The *Daily News* last week also published a story, obviously planted by high sources in the security set-up, to the effect that a certain "Socialist Embassy" had been importing large quantities of literature on the techniques of insurrections and that this had been detected by the Police. Those familiar with Rightwing provocations in this country cannot help noticing a familiar smell about stories like this"

The *Forward* was particularly concerned about "right-wingers" who had become entrenched in the security services of the Government and did not mince its words about the matter so that all knowledgeable people knew just what the *Forward* meant. There was no need to read between the lines. The meaning was plain as a pikestaff.

The *Forward* had stressed: "One of the "disturbing" features of the present situation is the fact that, since the April insurgency some notorious Right-wingers with a heavy anti-Left bias have been able

to entrench themselves in positions of importance in some of the security services. These elements find themselves more at home in promoting anti-Left witch hunts than in fighting back reactionary conspiracies. It is therefore no wonder that the possibility of the present tense situation being misused by such elements to stage anti-Left provocations should have occurred in political circles.

"As usual, these Right-wing elements seek to use the ultra-Leftists, especially the most unrepresentative, irresponsible and infantile of them, as justifications for their provocations. This is how the ultra-Right and the ultra-Left feed each other. We saw it in action last April in no small way. While maintaining full preparedness to meet any eventuality, the government should be vigilant against attempts at anti-Left provocations by the Right-wing. Such attempts will only weaken the forces that can be mobilised to fight back the threats to the United Front, military and political."

The *Forward* on April 1 hugged the same line in its lead story. It wanted VIGILANCE to be RE-DOUBLED against PROVOCATIONS. The *Forward* stressed that it had always fully supported all the measures of the Government against the insurrectionary elements, but "at the same time, we warned against any attempts by Rightwing reactionary forces to use the current confusions and tensions in order to promote provocations aga-

inst the Left forces. In this connection we severely criticised an official appeal made by the Ceylon Police calling for information "signed or unsigned" from the public against would-be insurrectionists. We called it a green light to UNP's and other Rightists to frame-up honest Left supporters of the Government". The *Forward* was even more alarmed that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs had appealed to all bhikkus "to turn police spies" by furnishing information about subversive activities. The *Forward* also referred to attempts by the *Daily News* and the *Daily Mirror* to "stage a provocation against the Embassy of a socialist country here by publishing a gigantic fib about in connivance with the high-ups in the security set-up..."

The *Forward* then went on to repeat that there should be "public vigilance against the sinister machinations on the part of interested persons." And to keep the Government and the public alerted about this danger of rightwing provocations, the *Forward* threw into the melting pot the "alarming news" that two CIA operators who had been in Bangladesh were now under assumed names in Ceylon. These two cloak and dagger men were supposed to lay the bait in the troubled waters of Ceylon so that the appropriate fish could be caught at an opportune moment. The story about the CIA was blood-curdling but there was not one word about the Criminal Justice Commis-

sions Bill in the *Forward*.

The reason for this was apparent after the voting on the Bill took place on April 5. The CP was split. Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe and Sarath Muttetugamuwa had abstained at voting time, Tudawe had voted for the Bill while Mendis and Nanayakkara had kept away. The *Sun* of April 7 had headlines that four CP MPs had been reported to the PM for defying the Government Whip to vote for the Bill, that is two had abstained and two had kept away at voting time. The *Sun* also speculated as to whether the CP was SPLIT RIGHT DOWN THE MIDDLE. The report stated that the Party was anxiously awaiting the return of the Gen. Secretary Pieter Keuneman. The *Daily News* also speculated on its frontpage on the split in the CP which had surfaced in the most melodramatic manner.

It is yet too early to say what was likely to happen in the CP and thereafter in the UF. If one is to judge voting, there seems to be three trends within the CP regarding the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill—and this is just symptomatic of the attitude of CP members towards the Government. Tudawe was willing to reject the directive of the CP Politbureau not to support the Bill and go to the other end of voting with the Government. That is obviously one trend which comes to very close to being one with the SLFP. The other, represented by Mendis and Nanayakkara, want to perform a

balancing trick on the trapeze. They did not want to obey the CP Politbureau directive but they did not want to go as far as Tudawe. Their support for both the CP and the UF was "conditional", but the gossip at the time of writing these notes has it that they are likely to tilt towards the SLFP, and finally the hard CP line followed by Dr. Wickremasinghe and Sarath Muttetugama—a line which the *Aththa* has been preaching for sometime with great vigour. The developments around the CP will make news in the coming week.

The Criminal Justice Commissions Bill is now law, but one of the most interesting tidbits was a remark made by Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike in the course of the debate. The *Sun* of April 6 reported it under the heading THREAT TO RELEASE INSURGENTS, and stated that: "... Mr. Bandaranaike threatened that he would recommend the release of insurgents in custody unless the Bill was carried with the required two-thirds majority. He went on to say that in such an eventuality, he would call for the release of insurgents, particularly in the constituencies of members who had opposed the Bill..." There is no need to comment on this statement at this moment, but historians of the future are likely to have a great deal to say about it.

April 7, 1972

SOUTH INDIA

Is The D.M.K On The Way Out?

Madras,

It looks like the DMK is doomed—or more correctly, selfdoomed—to disintegration and liquidation so far as the Tamil Nadu Government is concerned. Apart from the Indira tidal wave that is sweeping India and threatens to carry this non-Congress state with it, the corrupt and decadent DMK itself appears to suffer from a "death-wish" driving it to political suicide.

DMK Chairman and Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi is not prepared to accept at face value the assurance given to him by C. Subramaniam and Mohan Kumaramangalam, Union Ministers, that there is no question of the centre doing anything to topple the DMK Ministry in the State.

Karunanidhi is convinced in the aftermath of its clean sweep of the Assembly elections, the Congress at the Centre will not tolerate the DMK regime in Tamil Nadu, because it does not conform to the pattern desired by the Congress.

The significant point being stressed by Subramaniam and other Congress leaders is that if the DMK Government falls by the deadweight of dissensions, "We cannot surely help it".

THIS HAS ADDED to Karunanidhi's suspicions, that the Congress is making every effort to split the DMK. Such is the undercurrent of suspicion that, in Karunanidhi's eyes, every third man in the party hierarchy is suspected of being "an Indira agent" or "Indira's listening-post" in the DMK. The result is that no leader of standing in the DMK feels safe about his position in the Party *VIS-A-VIS* Karunanidhi.

The DMK's secessionist move suffered a severe setback after the Rajapalayam conference, which got particular attention from foreign papers. The *New York Times* comment, which Karunanidhi said gave a 'mischievous twist' referred to the posters carrying portraits of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Karunanidhi at the conference and even the statement by one of the DMK speakers that the State should have its own army.

The latter statement went protested by the Education Minister and General Secretary of the DMK, Mr. Nedunchezhan, who was present at the conference, giving the whole secessionist trend of the conference an official imprimatur. This may also be an indication of the fierce in-fights which are expected to lead to massive defections of more than 60 per cent in the not too distant future. This publicity and comment in the foreign press was the subject of a heated debate in the Madras Assembly, when a cornered Karunanidhi found

it impossible to wriggle out of a tight situation.

His cavalier statement that many of his men did not understand the meaning of "autonomy" or that the true DMK demand was reflected by only the official resolutions and the DMK manifesto, did little to lift the party image. DMK newspapers are, however, emphasising the point, that "the monolithic dispensation under Nehru" did not solve the country's problem and, "in any case, Mrs. Gandhi is to guard herself against any tendency to make this monolith an instrument for enforcing regimentation over States."

LEFT TO ITSELF the DMK would like to woo Kamaraj, too, for an alliance against Congress "Fascism." In fact, the DMK leadership has activated a group in the Syndicate revolving round a newspaper, consistently to campaign against all moves for unity between the two Congress parties. However, Kamaraj has spurned all approaches by the DMK and it is a safe bet to say that he will join the Indira Congress to thwart the secessionist ambitions of the DMK.

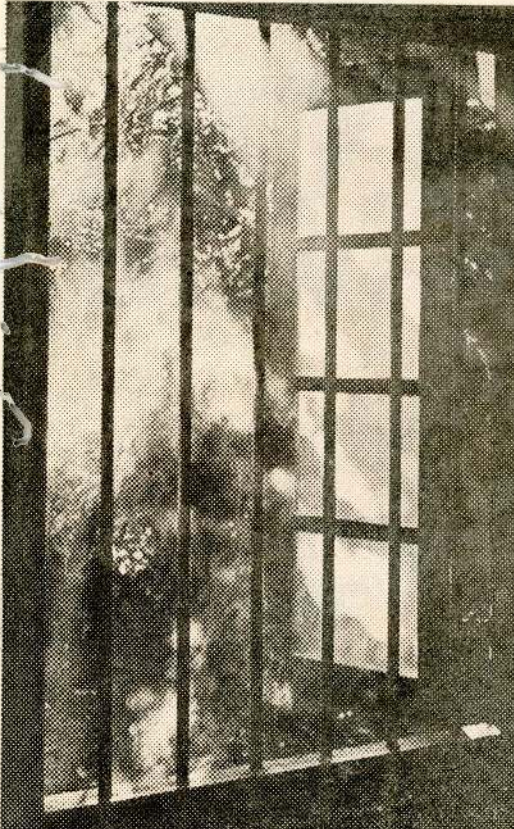
After the Congress victory in the Ariankuppam by-election to the Pondicherry Assembly, the CPI was compelled to re-assess its ties with the DMK which, according to CPI secretary M. Kalyansundaram, was "neither progressive, nor democratic" under Karunanidhi's leadership. At a three-day conference of the Tamil Nadu CPI, the entire

matter was discussed threadbare and it was decided to bring to an end the one-year-old electoral alliance with the DMK. Announcing the break-up to the press, Kalyansundaram said: "We are totally opposed to the State autonomy demand as propounded by the DMK. This demand is dangerous because it may undermine the unity of the country and extend an invitation to the foreign capital."

This obviously is a reference to Karunanidhi's frequent talk of Tamil Nadu's collaboration with Japan and America in the industrial field. Meanwhile, raids by Income-Tax men and CBI on the houses of certain politicians are continuing. These are being linked with coming changes.

Indeed, Tamil Nadu is ravaged by the most galloping plague of corruption. The joke that while elsewhere in India money is being passed under the table, here the blackest deals are made across the counter, has become a truism so far as this State and, particularly, its ministerial and bureaucratic circles are concerned.

In DMK circles it is said that Karunanidhi may step down from office by April end to ward off a general threat to the Ministry itself. The possibility of his choosing party work in preference to the leadership of the Government is rated high. This may not, however, come about before a fresh round of inner-party consultations.



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