

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

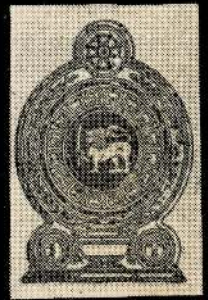
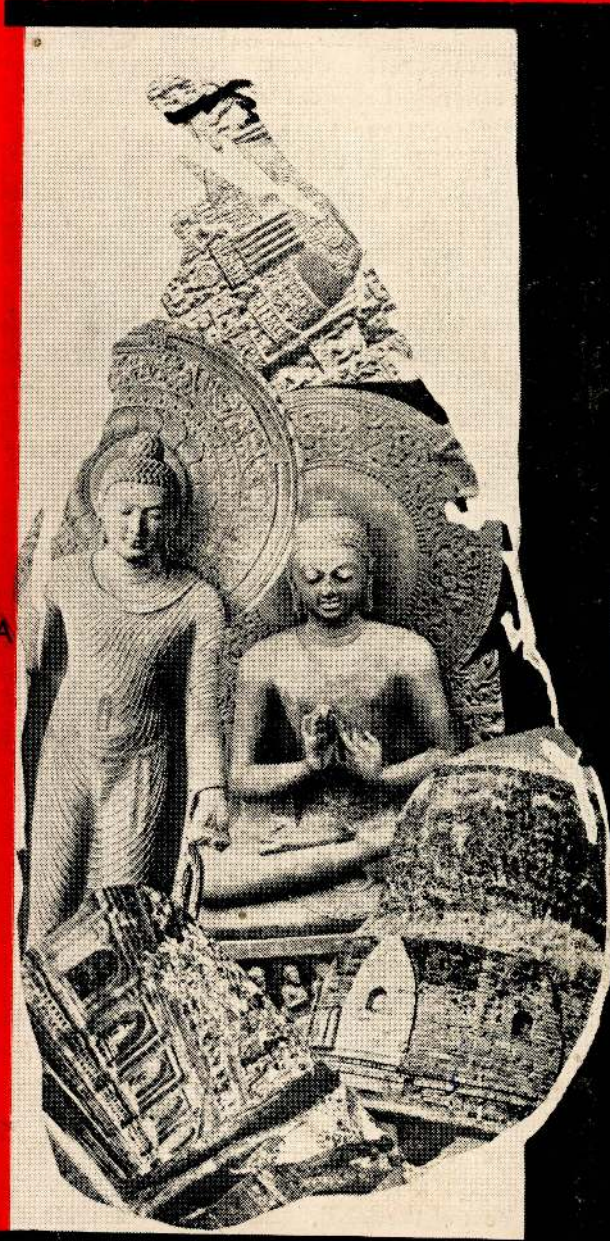
MAY 20, 1972

50 Cts.

VOL. 17, NO. 29



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SRI
LANKA

Republic of Sri Lanka

ON MONDAY, May 22, 1972, at the stroke of the auspicious minute sometime between 12.30 p. m. and 1 p. m. the Republic of Sri Lanka will be delivered from the womb of history by the midwives of the United Front, of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party, before the Constituent Assembly set up by the Seventh Parliament of Ceylon which was elected on May 27, 1970. After 450 years of Portuguese, Dutch and British rule, this island achieved the status of an independence of a Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1948. During the period of European colonial rule, especially during British times, the island perhaps for the first time in its history, was integrated into one closely knit, cohesive, administrative and political unit. The new Constitution carries this process of political unification, economic integration and social intermingling of the heterogeneous groups in Ceylon, under the hegemonistic supremacy of the Sinhala language and Buddhist religion, a step further. Whether this ambitious attempt to mould into one nation state, with one official language and one "foremost" religion, out of the multi-racial, multi-linguistic, multi-class, multi-caste and multi-religious society

which is now Ceylon, will succeed is a matter of concern for the immediate future of the island. The minorities have been assured certain fundamental rights in the matter of religion, language and culture, but the assurances are solely dependent for implementation on the administrative goodwill of the Sinhala majority. It is yet to be seen whether the new Constitution will succeed in unifying the different racial, religious and linguistic groups presently in Ceylon, or whether it will provoke greater fissiparous divisiveness which will bring new confrontations and new tensions.

The Government is now engaged in carrying on a massive propaganda campaign to tell the people the virtues of the new Constitution. These publicists have drawn attention to the significant features of the new Constitution. Mr. Nihal Jayawickreme, for instance, Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Justice, in a CBC seminar has said that the most unique feature of the Constitution was that it was in Sinhala and that it had been drafted in Sinhala itself. Mr. Stanmuganathan, Additional Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs said during the course of the same seminar that the most unique feature of the Constitution was that it had "emanated from the people" and not from any outside authority. Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, Leader of the Opposition and still a Vice-president of the UNP, said on his return from London on May

17 that Ceylon had been a "monarchy" for over 2500 years and it was now assuming a Republican status.

Other speakers over the Sinhala beam stressed that the most unique feature, besides making Sinhala the official language from Point Pedro to Donera, for the first time in history, was that the Constitution ensured Buddhism the "foremost place" among all religions in the island. In fact, Buddhism has become the *de facto* official religion of the new Republic of Sri Lanka. But what is of special significance is that avowed Marxists, dedicated and committed to the principle of secularism, have helped to set up a *de facto* theocratic state, and the cover of the term "foremost place" does not detract from the reality that the new Republic is a theocratic state. Even the Marxist leaders of the Cabinet will pay homage to the Tooth Relic and worship at the Dalada Maligawa. Whether this portends anything new in the world of Marxism is yet to be seen, but the strategy of atheistic and materialistic Marxists underwriting a theocratic state will interest students of politics in all parts of the world.

The New Republic will be born amidst the fanfare of magul bera and conch shells and *Tribune* can only hope that the new Constitution will usher in a period of political stability, economic prosperity and cultural emancipation in a climate of communal and religious harmony.

TRIBUNANIA

Mainly about Sri Lanka

TRIBUNE must apologise to its readers. In the last issue some of the articles mentioned as being part of the contents failed to appear in its pages, notably the columns by *Agastya* and *Sherlock Holmes*, and also a few other articles. *Serendib* had sent in a long piece as his *Ceylon: Marginal Notes* and it took more pages than we had anticipated. Moreover, *Serendib's* article was interesting and topical and it seemed a pity to cut it. He dealt with an important aspect of the current confrontation in the political world in Ceylon—a confrontation

which is so much below the surface that many fail to discern it altogether. To many, the United Front appears to be monolithic, in spite of the occasional cracks which have appeared on the surface, and the overwhelming parliamentary majority presently commanded by the UF tempts many others to invest the UF with an awesome permanence which is frightening. *Serendib's* analysis last week about the basic conflict within the UF itself was most revealing. And it is well to remember, that this conflict, viz namely the role of the private sector, will sooner or later come to the surface in a big way and the manner in which this conflict resolves itself (depending on the strength of different political forces at that time which is not far off) will shape the future of the island's history.

In the meantime, everything seems set for the promulgation of the new Constitution on May 22. A few changes have been made on the original draft, particularly on two matters *first*, in the new Constitution, Buddhism will have the "foremost place" in the country instead of the "rightful place" which was the terminology in the draft presented earlier, and *secondly* the life of of the first National Assembly has been reduced from six to five years—and this means the next General Elections (if the first Assembly is able to survive the

full term) will fall due in 1977 instead of 1978. This apart, with Buddhism occupying the "foremost place", it has been made amply clear that Buddhism will be *de facto* the official religion in the theocratic Buddhist state of Sri Lanka. Short of calling a spade, a spade, the new Constitution has enshrined Buddhism as the official religion, and the verbiage about the "foremost place" (less ambiguous than the term "rightful place") cannot give the socialists who pin their faith on the dialectical materialism of Karl Marx any consolation that they have camouflaged the creation of a theocratic state. The secular state has been the ideal of the materialists, humanists, marxists and others attracted by the post-eighteenth century European ascendancy in philosophical casuistry, and it is an object lesson in the irony which history inflicts upon human beings to witness the strange spectacle where stalwarts of the Left movement pay their homage at the Dalada Maligawa Tooth Relic on the occasion of setting up a theocratic state. *Serendib* deals with this rather amusing development in which the Marxist Left has been the instrument to establish a theocratic state with one language as supreme in a multi-lingual and multi-racial country. *Serendib's* acidic comments on the way the Constitution has been ushered will not win the approval of some UF enthusiasts, but they will undoubtedly tickle the palate of cynical students of history.



TRIBUNE
CEYLON NEWS SHEET

Founded 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

MAY 20, 1972

Vol. 17. No. 29

43, Dawson Street,
COLOMBO 2.

Telephone: 33172

The Editor is chiefly concerned this week in his *Rambling Notes* on the disastrous developments in Vietnam where President Nixon's precipitate action has thrown everything into the cauldron of acute confrontation. Vietnam has become a game of check and counter-check, of point and counter-point between the USA on the one side and the USSR on the other with China in the picture in a big way. How this game will be played in the coming weeks is yet hard to envisage. *Pertinax* has an interpretatively critical analysis of Ceylon foreign policy problems in this issue. Much of what *Pertinax* spotlights is never said openly or publicly, but he examines the undercurrents which act as the secret mainsprings which trigger Ceylon's foreign policy postures.

The new Constitution has evoked a great deal of eulogistic praise from supporters from of the UF and also from Sinhala Buddhist enthusiasts. The Left had agreed to the *one religion and one language* formula as the bedrock of the Constitution in the belief that the "socialist" constitutional framework without entrenching a private property clause would help the country forward towards socialism. The language and religious chauvinists think that once they establish the theocratic one language state, it would not be difficult to make everybody forget the radical framework to introduce socialist measures. If the Left are pushed out of the Government,

and there are no persons who call themselves Marxists in the Cabinet, the demand for radical measures to bring in "socialism" will die a natural death. This is the way in which *Serendib* approaches the problem, but even from an orthodox legalistically conservative angle, the Constitution has many "drawbacks." We publish in this issue an article which had appeared in the *Indian Express* by A.G. Noorani. He is alarmed at the pseudo-marxist features in the new Ceylon Constitution and feels that the fundamental rights of individuals will be trampled upon. We publish this article because it will interest many of our readers and it also throws interesting light on certain aspects of the Constitution. We also have two pieces one from New Delhi and another from Madras about certain developments in the state of Tamil Nadu where the DMK presently rules the roost.

Our cover picture spotlights the new Constitution where Buddhism and Sinhala become supreme in the new Republic of Sri Lanka. In the season of Wesak which falls on May 28, we cannot think of a better representation of the state of Sri Lanka than what we have portrayed on our cover.

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IS IT TRUE ?

Dudley - JR : Yoghurt Cups: Meat Prices

by SHERLOCK HOLMES

IS IT TRUE that there is a great deal of amusement in certain VIP circles that the Dudley-JR feud has landed the UNP right in the middle of a legal battle in our courts? That it is not often that a tussle within a political party is taken to a court of law? That, in fact, our Courts will not be able to resolve the political *cum* personal confrontation within the UNP in any satisfactory manner? That political battles cannot be won in courts of law? That the courts are only another forum in which the fight can be pursued?

That the "partnership" between Dudley and JR had begun in the middle thirties and that it had been one of the more enduring political associations in this country? That it was only after the death of D. S. in 1952 that cracks had begun to appear in this friendship? That from the time Dudley became PM in 1952, it was clear that the political style and manner of JR was fundamentally different from that of Dudley? That JR felt that Dudley had let the side down when he quit after the hartal of 1953? That Dudley had failed the UNP when he went into hibernation when Sir John took over?

That it was JR who saved that party after the 1956 debacle? That it was JR who brought Dudley back into politics in 1957 with the famous March to Kandy? That JR no doubt did this because Dudley was the only UNP leader who had national charisma? That differences had kept growing over the years between the two leaders? That it was talked about even when the UNP was in the Opposition from 1960 to 1965? That these differences had threatened to surface when the UNP was at the head of the "National Government"? That after the debacle of 1970 these differences had begun to mount? That after the insurrection, JR had developed a new line to promote a new kind of National Government based on liberal moderation? That this programme could wash only if the UNP hierarchy had to shed themselves (or at least hide) some of the spots with which the UNP had tainted its political record?

That Dudley would have none of JR's strategy? That he was sure that his charisma would weigh more with the UNP-ers than JR's cold, calculating and pragmatic logic? That Dudley succeeded in capturing the party machine as well as the support of the UNP rank and file? That, in spite of Dudley's success within the party, JR may have been able to pull off a political coup if the SLFP had been able to accommodate JR within the UF at a propitious moment in Feb-

ruary when everything had seemed right for a new polarisation of political forces?

That someone had talked out of turn and the LSSP-CP caucus within the UF had raised such hell that the SLFP bigwigs had got cold feet? That JR had every reason to feel that he had been left in the lurch? That the bus, having been once missed, it is missed for ever? That in the meantime Dudley had started an offensive against JR within the UNP? That everything was being set to have JR "expelled" from the UNP? That it was only to thwart and delay this "expulsion" that JR moved an injunction in the Courts?

That in the process of fighting it out in the courts, the question of expulsion will be postponed? That in the meantime other political forces are at work to bring JR into the Government? That if JR is brought in, political pundits predict that the LSSP-CP group with certain others in the SLFP would walk out? That these same pundits think that the odds are 50/50 as to whether JR would be able to get into the Government in May as predicted by certain newspapers? That it is more likely to happen after the New Constitution has been promulgated? That political know-alls are definite that any Cabinet reshuffles which turn on JR's entry will come (if at all) only after the new Constitution has been promulgated?



ISN'T IT TRUE that when the new Government took over in May 1970 the Milk Board was a veritable Augean Stables? That, even after a great deal of cleaning, the muck from the days of old remained? That once there was old dirt new dirt always accumulated around it? That unless everything which is filthy is swept out, it would be extremely difficult to begin things on a clean slate?

That, among other things, there has been a bit of *furor* re-

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Minimum Subscription
Rs. 30 per 60 issues,
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cently about the cups in which Yoghurt was supplied? That once upon a time Yoghurt was sold in satisfactory packing? That there were plastic cups of good quality? That the local manufacturer had obtained first rate machinery to turn out these cups? That these cups had covers? That even after this government took over, the same cups were in use? That in more recent times Yoghurt was also sold in poor "paper" cups which crumbled up at the slightest touch? That most of these cups did not have covers?

That a cursory investigation showed that the "order" for cups had been inexplicably divided into two? That the new supplier did not have machinery but he had got a big allocation of raw materials? That he turned out these cups by manual labour under conditions which were not very hygienic? That he did not supply covers for all the cups? That the supplier who had excellent machinery was not given an adequate allocation of raw materials—no doubt because his "order" had been halved? That nobody important seemed to know how the order was spliced and how a newcomer without any machinery was given a raw materials allocation normally given to an established manufacturer? That every bigwig contacted as to how the miracle had been performed said that they did not know a thing about it? That this was probably true? That somewhere along the middle the magic dead was done—us-

ing of course the big names at the top to cover these nefarious operations? That the Yoghurt cup mystery is worth a major probe?



IS IT NOT TRUE that meat has become a rare commodity in the city of Colombo? That only a lucky few get meat at the controlled price? That beef is available at about fifty to eighty cents a pound over the controlled price? That even at this price it is not always available? That mutton is about one rupee and fifty cents a pound over the controlled price? That during the last fortnight or so meat was not even available at these prices? That meat was sold only on certain days of the week? That it was suggested in an evening paper that butchers had cut supplies because Jana men had tried to act as price-control officers? That Jana men have such powers is well known? That Jana men however did not know that butchers cannot supply at controlled prices? That there are not enough cattle and goats available for slaughter? That nobody wants to breed cattle or goats for slaughter because the controlled prices are below the cost of production? That the limited supply of animals compels butchers to pay prices which makes it impossible to sell the meat at controlled prices? That in addition the palms of a whole range of officers had to be oiled before the meat could reach the consumer? That Jana men would do well to chase these traditi-

onally well-known grafters if they want to bring down the price of meat?

That it was high time that Government removed controlled price for meat? That price curbs had been removed on onions and chillies, and a whole host of other scarce commodities? That this has been done in order to encourage local production? That when the import of a commodity was banned price control inevitably led to a disastrous blackmarket? That it was when the price curbs was removed on potatoes that local production increased? That for some time prices shot up? That within a short time prices slumped as production increased? That the same methodology has now been extended to onions and chillies? That it is only logical that the same method should be utilised in the meat industry? That if price controls were removed more people would breed goats and cattle for slaughter? That this is something to which Government must give serious consideration?

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The Draft Constitution of Ceylon

By A. G. NOORANI

THE draft constitution presented to the Constituent Assembly of Ceylon on December 29, 1971 by the Steering and Subject Committee is a fine study in excess. It should serve as a warning of what can happen to the rule of law and the liberty of the individual when collectivist doctrines are allowed to run amuck.

We have a few such in our midst and in fairly high places, too. They have little sympathy for the philosophy that underlines the constitution of India; but, for tactical reasons, they prefer fabian tactics to a direct assault. Now and then speak in accents which betray their contempt for individual liberty. Mr. S. Mohan Kumaramangalam, Union Minister for Steel and Mines, is a good example of such.

In his speech at the Tiruchi Bar Association, on March 9, he said that when the government embarked upon major measures of social transformation, it did not want these to be held up at the courts as "so many things are held up in the courts whether we like it or not. When the cause of the individuals and the cause of millions come into conflict, it is the cause of the millions which should take precedence."

However, the constitution of India is based on a deliberate and wise rejection of this per-

verse arithmetic. It is concerned with values, not with numbers, and, while imposing many a restriction on individual liberty, it confers on the citizen basic human rights which he may assert against the entire society.

An alternative model is the draft constitution of Ceylon. The fundamental rights and freedom are placed entirely at the mercy of the legislative majority of the day. Section 18 (1) confers the rights—equality before the law, freedom of thought and religion, of speech and expression, of peaceful assembly and association, of movement and the like. But sub-clause (2) of the very section takes away the rights. "The exercise and operation of fundamental rights and freedoms provided in this chapter shall be subject to such restrictions as the law prescribes in the interest of national unity and integrity, national security, national economy, public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others or giving effect to the Principles of State Policy set out in section 16".

THE TEST of reasonableness, to which a valid restriction on fundamental rights in India must conform, is rejected. Only the grounds of restriction are specified. They are very general and all-embrac-

ing, and even if a restriction is grossly in excess of the necessity it will be valid. A bare majority of the legislature can set the rights at naught. Further, all existing laws are saved. Even in regard to preventive detention, the sole constitutional pre-requisite is a law. No safeguards are laid down as in Article 22 of our constitution, which a law must embody if it is to meet with judicial approval.

Indeed, judicial review will be at a discount in the future polity of Ceylon. It is to be based on the unfettered sovereignty of its Parliament. The Republic of Sri Lanka, as it will be called will be a unitary State based on the sovereignty of the people "exercised through a National Assembly."

In India, as in the USA, Canada, and the Federal Republic of Germany, to mention a few, the popular will is exercised through the national Parliament; but, its powers are advisedly restricted and not merely in order to establish a federation. They are also restricted so that the liberty of the citizen might be secure. In Sri Lanka the National Assembly will be "the supreme instrument of State power of the Republic". It exercises legislative, executive and judicial power, through the President and the Council of Ministers and through the courts created by law.

"Buddhism, the religion of the majority of the people, shall be given its rightful place (now foremost place-Ed) and accordingly it shall be the duty

the State to protect and foster Buddhism, while assuring to all religions" the fundamental right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Sinhala will be the official language but the use of Tamil in accordance with the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act, 1958, is also provided for.

Principles of State Policy are formulated, but they are not judicially enforceable. The prime goal is the establishment of a "socialist democracy"

THE PRESIDENT of the republic is the Head of the State as well as the "Head of the Executive". He is not elected, but is nominated by the Prime Minister and is removable on "the determination by the Prime Minister that the President is incapable of performing the functions of this office by reason of mental or physical infirmity". A mere vote of no confidence passed by a majority of the Assembly, on the proposal of the Prime Minister or of at least half the total number of members, suffices for his removal. No misconduct need be proved. The Head of the State would, thus, be left entirely on the sufferance of the Prime Minister. He is much less than a constitutional Head of State in a parliamentary democracy. He is a creature of the Prime Minister, nominated by him, and removable by his certificate of unfitness.

It is pointless, then to provide, as Section 27 does, that "The President shall always, except as otherwise provided

by the Constitution, act on the advice of the Prime Minister".

The President is made expressly responsible to the National Assembly and so is the Council of Ministers, collectively. At the head of the Council is the Prime Minister who is appointed by the President as the person "who is most likely to command the confidence of the National Assembly".

He is deemed to have resigned in law, even if he actually fails to do so, in the event of the Assembly passing a vote of no confidence, or rejecting the Appropriation Bill or the Statement of Government Policy and the Prime Minister failing to advise the President to dissolve the Assembly. However, the President is empowered to reject an advice to dissolve the Assembly if it is given after the rejection of the government's Statement of Policy at the first session of the National Assembly. On the President's rejection of the advice, the Prime Minister shall be deemed to have resigned.

The principle of the supremacy of the Assembly is carried through to such an extent that it becomes a continuing Constituent Assembly. It can amend or repeal the entire constitution and enact a new one by a two-thirds vote of the entire membership of the Assembly. The only other safeguard is that the amendment or repeal must be by express terms and not by implication.

CURIOSLY, ENOUGH, by the same two-thirds majority the Assembly is empow-

ered to pass a law which is "inconsistent" with the constitution. The constitution is not deemed to be amended thereby. Only, it is effectively by-passed. Yet, this very document, elsewhere withholds from the Assembly the power "to suspend the operation of the constitution or any part thereof".

Against these enormous and unprecedented powers conferred on the Assembly, the safeguards of legality are few and weak. The Attorney-General is enjoined to "examine every Bill" to see that the requirements of a valid constitutional amendment are not being contravened. If he feels they are, he forwards his opinion to the Speaker of the Assembly or even asks him to refer the matter to the Constitutional Court.

This court will be none too powerful or independent a body. "The President shall appoint for the duration of every National Assembly five persons to be members of the Constitutional Court. "Clearly, they will be devoid of any security of tenure and will be political appointees changing with the political complexion of every new Assembly.

The Court's Function is to decide whether any provision in a Bill is inconsistent with the constitution. It acts on the initiative of the Attorney-General or the Speaker, whether acting on his own or at the instance of the leader of a recognised party in the Assembly or its members. The Court can also be moved by any citizen within a week of the Bill being

DMK Charisma Wearing Thin: Tamilnadu political Scene in Turmoil

Madras,

MERCURIAL sensibility in a Chief Minister may fascinate but it does not inspire confidence. Karunanidhi's press conference at New Delhi, after his meeting with the Pri-

from Page 6

placed on the agenda. The Court's ruling binds the Speaker and is conclusive for all purposes.

But, to what avail this procedure? For, as we have noted, the fundamental rights can be abrogated by any law passed by a simple majority. The constitution can be bypassed, amended and even repealed altogether and a new constitution enacted by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly. The Head of the State is sworn to uphold the constitution, but he is an appointee of the Prime Minister and can be removed from office with astonishing ease.

A constitution is necessary not only to confer but also to restrict power in order that freedom can survive a tyrannical majority. The draft constitution of Sri Lanka is a charter for constitutional dictatorship. But it is just the kind of constitution men like Mr. Kumaramangalam, with their distrust of the judiciary and their contempt for the rule of law, will draft if they are given half a chance.

me Minister, was like an adroit attempt to walk in two directions simultaneously. It appeared as though the hawk was posing as a dove.

In the mid-term poll last year, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam shone in the reflected popularity of Indira Gandhi. The election to the State Assemblies this year, following so closely on India's resounding victory on the Bangladesh issue, has made it crystal clear that no regional party can challenge her leadership. Karunanidhi and his cabal would like to stick to the seats of power for as long as they can. But they have come to realise that they occupy their ministerial positions only by the kindness of Indira Gandhi. As a Tamil weekly wrote, she has merely to lift her little finger and there would be a political bommalattam in Tamil Nadu.

Of course the DMK has an overwhelming majority in the State Assembly and it cannot easily be toppled. Even so, many leaders of the Kazhagam are casting covetous eyes at the Congress. Who would not like to jump on to the victorious bandwagon? Was it not Lord Mountbatten who once quipped that Indians always prefer to worship the Rising Sun?

The chances of the Congress being strengthened by the return of Kamaraj have been effectively ruled out by the TN-

CC resolution, though A.P.C. Veerabahu tried his hardest to bring about a compromise. Despite the tremendous personal popularity of Kamaraj, it is extremely doubtful whether he would be able to reorganise it as an alternative to the Kazhagam. It must not be forgotten that Kamaraj will be seventy next year: and the ravages of time cannot easily be wished away.

The smaller parties in the State are like rivulets sucked into the mainstream of the ruling party. The Forward Bloc ceased to be a power even in Ramnad district after the death of U. Muthuramalinga Thevar friend and confidant of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The Socialist parties had little popular appeal in Tamil Nadu, but the mid-term poll gave the death-blow to them.

The Tamil Arasu Kazhagam and the Nam Thamizhar Katchi are no longer heard of. The Vannikula Kshatriyas had organised two parties; the Tamil Nadu Toilers and the Commonweal Party. Dr. A. Krishnaswamy (son of Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar) got elected to the Lok Sabha on the Commonweal ticket. All these parties have gone with the wind.

The case history of the Swatantra is too tragic for words. The party has some excellent workers; but its greatest liability is its founder. It was said of the late Satyamurty that every speech of his won a few hundred votes for the Congress; but every utterance of Rajaji cost the Swatantra the loss of a thousand votes. Tamilians

have not forgotten that he never contested any election in his long public life, except the Piekwickian one in 1937 from the University constituency,

The Swatantra seems to have lost the support of its financiers in Tamil Nadu; and it seems as though the party is running on a shoe-string budget. The Swatantra has absolutely no future in Tamil Nadu despite the personal popularity of some of its leaders.

Mohammed Ismail had built up the Muslim League from scratch after the partition of the country. His personal integrity had been mainly responsible for the phenomenal growth of the League, though the Muslims in Tamil Nadu do not have pockets of influence as the Moplahs have in Malabar, I was at the New College in Peters' Road, Royapettah, where his body was kept for public view. Over a couple of lakhs of mourners (of all communities) paid their respect to one who was known as Quaid-e-Millet. His death has left the League almost orphaned and it is a moot point whether it would continue to be the force it has been for the last five years.

The Jana Sangh and the RSS have not so far been able to get rooted in Tamil Nadu. The climate of the State is not conducive to the growth of such hot-house plants. The Communists (of both varieties) are not precisely in a position to replace the Kazhagam, though M. Kalyanasundaram threatens an agrarian revolution in Thanjavur district every

time he speaks in Madras. There is no doubt that in Madras as elsewhere the kulak class have been encouraged.

Karunanidhi spoke the other day of a Congressman who had circumvented the Land Ceiling Act by judiciously distributing his stupendous holdings among his relations. But equally serious charges have been levelled against the Kazhagam leaders in the press and on the public platform.

An analysis of the situation in Tamil Nadu is easy enough. But people are asking the question: What of the future? One need not be a soothsayer to answer it. The Kazhagam is sitting pretty at the moment with the small parties practically wiped out and Kamaraj refusing to come to a compromise with the Congress.

The Prime Minister is visiting Madurai to preside over the conference of the Pradesh Congress. Karunanidhi has already announced that he would be presenting Rs. 5 crores to her for the National Defence Fund on behalf of the people of Tamil Nadu.

It is imperative that Indira Gandhi should make a strenuous attempt to build up the Congress in Tamil Nadu almost from the grass roots. Most of her present lieutenants in the State are discarded leaders without any following.

As I watched the political panorama in what was one of India's stable states, I recalled the epic Tamil poem, Silappadikaram, which was the work of a prince and is known to

posterity as Ilango-Adigal. He showed an intellectual clan which reminds one of the great Renaissance figures like Piccolotta Mirandola. The songs he sows broadcast in his epic might have been sung to a guitar under Catalan skies.

"Blest are thou O Kaveri," he makes Kovalan sing, "for though the victorious Chola surrendered his heart to glorious Ganga of the North and the immortal Kanya of the South, his truancy had no power to turn thy love and loyalty sour."

That is the accent not of petty parochialism. It is the immortal voice of India.

— R. P. A.

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Ceylon's "Non - Alignment" After the Indo-Pak War: Can SWRD'S "Dynamic Neutralism" Flourish Today? Ceylon's Geopolitical Calculations.

by PERTINAX

STARTING from May 4, the Prime Minister met in Conference all Ceylon's foreign envoys who had been summoned to Colombo for consultations. The top brass of the External Affairs Ministry were also present, and apart from parochial, parish pump, internal bickerings which seem to have consumed a great deal of time, the conference is believed to have discussed the basic fundamentals of Ceylon's foreign policy in the context of contemporary developments in the world.

The *Sun*, 3/5, had anticipatorily summed up thus: "...The Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, will seek the views of her envoys abroad on how best Ceylon's policy of non-alignment should be pursued in the light of several drastic changes that have taken place in the world arena. The Conference attended by eleven Ceylon Ambassadors and High Commissioners will be held at Temple Trees. The Prime Minister will preside and top Ministry officials will also be present. The Conference will provide an opportunity to the ambassadors to point out any defects in the manner in which the country's foreign policy is

pursued and suggest corrective measures..."

The Conference discussed many "inner departmental matters", like the new Policy Planning Committee, station allowances for envoys abroad, red tape in the Ministry, the friction between the permanent career bureaucrats and political appointees in our foreign service, and the like. But there were also serious discussions about basic changes in the world which impinged on the non-aligned *foreign policy* postures Ceylon has proclaimed with varying shades of emphasis ever since Independence. The US-China detente, the Indo-Soviet Treaty, the Indo-Pak War, The Brezhnev Plan for Asian Security and Peace were among the topics discussed, and it is believed that the PM gave her envoys firm instructions what the policy of her Government would be in the coming period and how she wanted her ambassadors to project Ceylon's image in the different capitals.

IT IS INTERESTING to recall that Independent Ceylon has always proclaimed non-aligned neutralism as the basis of her foreign policy- But behind a smokescreen of neutra-

lism, between 1947 - 1956, the UNP with D. S. Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake, and Sir John Kotelawala as Prime Ministers, followed a brazenly pro-west and anti-communist line. In April 1956, came S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, with his "positive non-alignment" and "dynamic neutralism" and greatly weakened Ceylon's moorings with the West. He repudiated Ceylon's military agreements with the UK and the British quit Trincomalee and Katunayake. He established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries and endeavoured to play an important role in the Third World of non-alignment with towering personalities like Nehru, Sukarno, Nasser and Tito. With his stirring speeches, SWRD brought Ceylon quickly to the forefront of non-aligned politics particularly in co-operation with neighbouring India.

After July 1960, Mrs. Bandaranaike had gallantly carried on the same non-aligned policies as those of her husband. At the start she had displayed a greater antiwest edge than Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. After a visit to Peking, she had used the term "rapacious West" — this was at the time there was a confrontation with the foreign oil companies which had been "nationalised" and there was a rumpus about the delay in the payment of compensation. Ceylon's relations with the US were strained, and the US had suspended aid for a time. During the years 1960—65, Mrs. Bandaranaike,

though she had leaned heavily on some matters on the socialist bloc of countries and China, she had succeeded in steering a middle course. But the West did not like the non-aligned neutralist policies she had followed and welcomed with a great deal of fanfare the victory scored by the UNP-led coalition in March 1965.

Then came a new twist in Ceylon's non-alignment. The UNP leaned very heavily on the West and thrust Ceylon's "friendship" with the socialist countries and China into cold storage. But the UNP in the 1965-70 period could not go back to the days of D. S. and Sir John with Dulles-McCarthyian anti-communism as the chief beaconlight. Dudley Senanayake and his so-called National Government kept their foreign policy on a low key of seeming neutralism whilst wooing the West in a big way with unmistakable overtones of anti-communism. The UNP had hoped that this posture would persuade the bankers of the West to bring Ceylon untold prosperity. But bankers are bankers, and they do not usually throw good money in a big way after bad, and the bankers of the US and UK had given Ceylon only what they thought would be enough to enable the UNP to win the 1970 elections. But their gamble failed. The leftwing-backed United Front, led by Mrs. Bandaranaike of the SLFP, swept the polls in May 1970 in the most decisive manner.

THE UNITED FRONT UF government then swung heavily to the "Left" particularly in international affairs. The GDR was accorded full diplomatic recognition. The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea were also accorded full diplomatic recognition. But even more surprisingly, the Revolutionary Provisional Government of South Vietnam was also given full diplomatic recognition. To show anti-imperialist fervour on behalf of the Arab cause, Ceylon broke her diplomatic ties with Israel. Strong anti US imperialism speeches were made by UF leaders.

All this naturally incensed the West, particularly the U.S. But the UF was not so hard on the UK or France. Nevertheless, the US was now much more adroit and far-seeing than before in its foreign diplomacy, and let the UF government indulge in all this rhetoric without deviating from US foreign guidelines so far as countries like Ceylon were concerned.

But Ceylon's growing economic difficulties, particularly the chronic foreign exchange problem, on the one hand, and the totally unexpected insurrectionary outburst of April 1971, on the other hand, created a situation in which the UF had to gracefully drop its aggressive anti-imperialist sloganising. The armed insurgency had placed the UF Government in a real pickle, and it had to appeal to imperialist as well as to

non-aligned and socialist governments for military assistance and equipment. The bulk of the help had come in the first instance from the UK, USA and India, but countries like Pakistan, Yugoslavia, the USSR had followed up quickly. China had come to the rescue of the UF government in a big way, not only with an ideological declaration condemning the insurgents "as ultra left elements and counter-revolutionaries", but also with a hard currency interest-free loan of Rs. 150 million.

CEYLON'S RELATIONS with the West also began to improve although the bankers and IBRD still refused to accept the LSSP-CP-oriented economic policies of the UF government as being acceptable enough to increase financial aid from the West. The US-China thaw, (which had begun in April 1971 with ping-pong diplomacy had gathered momentum in July with Kissinger's secret visit and the subsequent announcement that Nixon would go to China early in 1972), had brought a new climate into international relations. In October 1971, Mrs. Bandaranaike attended a meeting of the UN General Assembly, and thereafter accepted invitations to visit the US, Canada and the UK. She had also visited France.

It will be thus seen that before the end of 1971 Ceylon had infused a new dimension into her non-alignment. UF spokesmen, after April 1971, had a fulltime job denouncing

the insurgency and they had little or no time to worry about the "imperialism" of the US, UK or France. Except for a few diehards, there were no attacks on imperialism, the CIA, or the West in general from the higher echelons of the UF. The insurgency, stemming from ultra-leftism, had dampened the enthusiasm of many UF leaders and groups for every thing "left," and it had also increased their feelings of friendship for the capitalist West.

In addition to this, and even more important than the Ceylon insurgency, a major change had taken place in Asia and in the world—and this compelled an even greater impact on the basic fundamentals of Ceylon's non-aligned neutralism. In the second half of the 1960s, the third world of the non-aligned had corroded. Nehru had died in 1964, Sukarno had been overthrown in 1965, Nkrumah was deposed in 1966, Nasser suffered a stunning defeat in the Israeli war of 1967, and Tito was engrossed with problems of his own. Indonesia drifted into a pro-west position under Suharto whilst circumstances had pushed Egypt into closer collaboration with the USSR. At the turn of the decade, India and Ceylon were the main pillars left of the Bandung era of non-alignment, but 1971 brought major changes in both countries: e.g. in Ceylon, the insurgency and in India, the Bangladesh imbroglio and the Indo-Pak war. Whilst Ceylon had technically

kept out of any big power alignments or collaboration, India signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR in August 1971 somewhat different from the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty, but nevertheless creating a new pattern of power in the region.

The 1970s had thus brought a new pattern of power in Asia and the world. The global system of US military pacts fashioned by Dulles had collapsed. CENTO and SEATO existed more on paper than in actual fact. The Dullesian dream of "containing communism" had ended in failure, and in the 1970s President Nixon set out to create a new pattern of power alignments in the world. He ended the boycott of China and sought to find a way of co-existing with "communism" in a way that would lead ultimately to the victory of capitalism. This had naturally created many dilemmas for Nixon but every country in the world, big and small, is today in the throes of similar dilemmas.

SO FAR AS CEYLON was concerned, the Bangladesh episode and the Indo-Pak war had created a new situation which called for re-thinking on many matters. With the decisive victory in the 14-day war, India had emerged as the strongest military power in South Asia, and this has led to a new pattern of power completely erasing the power alignments which had existed before. When the British had quit in 1947, they had sought to leave

behind a particular system of balance in the power pattern in South Asia. Their Indian Empire was cut up: Burma was set up as a separate entity, and Pakistan was carved out of Hindustan. Pakistan was thereafter built up as a major military power as a counter to India, and the Anglo-American combine created CENTO and SEATO to strengthen countries like Pakistan presumably as "buffer states" against the expansion of communism but also to maintain a balance of power in this region conducive to Anglo-US interests.

Every government in power in Ceylon since Independence has had a nightmarish fear of "big brother" India and its potential for "expansionism". That is why, every government in Ceylon has consistently followed a policy of politically disenfranchising settlers of recent Indian origin and thereafter seeking to repatriate the largest number possible by every known device. In her geopolitical calculations, Ceylon has sought to maintain extra friendly relations with Pakistan and with China as a check on possible Indian "expansionism". It was a rightwing UNP government which first entered into the Ceylon-China Rubber Rice Agreement in 1953. This fear of Indian "expansionism" has been the unspoken bedrock of the thinking of both major parties in the island, the SLFP as well as the UNP. The LSSP and CP had different ideas on the subject but they could make no headway on an electoral

basis until they quietly succumbed to the "anti-Indian" attitudes of the major parties. From time to time, the LSSP and CP called for more "progressive" attitudes towards Independent India but their feeble efforts made no impact either on the government or the majority community, namely the Sinhalese.

Ceylon's PM, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, had formulated her scheme to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, primarily in the national interests of the island. Many other countries paid lipservice to this call for a zone of peace, but there was no real support for it because it did not accord with the national interests of the countries which had a stake in the Indian Ocean. The political strategists, who inspire the government of Mrs. Bandaranaike, seem to feel that the Indian Ocean had already become the centre of great power rivalry, and that the demand for a zone of peace was an appropriate backdrop to secure a balance of power to ensure the independence and territorial integrity of the new Republic of Sri Lanka.

At present, of all the littoral states, India has the biggest navy in the Indian Ocean. Indonesia's seapower is negligible and so is Pakistan's. Britain, which had ruled over the Indian Ocean for over 150 years, still has a sizeable presence in the area with a number of strategic bases. But when Britain announced her policy of withdrawal east of Suez, the

US naturally thought that it was its "divine duty" to fill the power vacuum to prevent the vandals of "communism" encroaching into the region and thereby to uphold the interests of capitalism and private enterprise.

BUT SOVIET POWER is on the up and up in this region, and the Russian Navy has already made its presence felt in this area. With the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, although the Soviet Navy has no actual naval bases in India, it has a number of friendly ports for rest and recreation for its sailors and also facilities for bunkering and refuelling. The Soviet Union has also very good relations with Bangladesh and is doing a great deal of reconstruction work in its major ports. Though Russia has not signed a Treaty of Friendship with Bangladesh, India has a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, and this, according to geopolitical strategists in Ceylon, extends what they call the *Moscow Delhi axis* to Dacca as well.

It is now admitted in governmental circles, in private, that the emergence of India as a strong military power, in conjunction with the USSR as an ally, has caused much anxiety and worry to Ceylon's foreign policy strategists. It was one thing if India was by herself, but with a super-power like the USSR as ally, it is a totally different matter. India was daily becoming more powerful

in a military sense and soon it was likely to join the nuclear club.

But more than this, say these Ceylonese strategists, the USSR was pushing itself out in all directions. It was already in the Mediterranean and the Arab countries in a big way. It had a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Military Collaboration with Egypt. It had special agreements with Yemen in the Red Sea. More recently it had signed a Treaty similar to the Egyptian one with Iraq with which it had earlier agreements for collaboration in oil production. This brought the Soviet Union directly into the Persian Gulf.

The USSR was also wooing Turkey much to the consternation of the USA and NATO countries. With Iran, the USSR did not have any special Treaty and although Iran was very much in the western camp there was precious little it could do against the USSR in any crisis. It is also pointed out that the Soviet Union has a dominant position in Afghanistan. In India (and through her in Bangladesh,) the USSR had a special place. Moscow had also increased its influence in North Vietnam with her massive military supplies which had made the latest DRV offensive possible. And the USSR had improved its relations with Japan.

CEYLON FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGISTS also point out that the USSR was reaching out even further into

South and Southeast Asia. The USSR wants the Straits of Malacca to be regarded as an international highway. Britain supported this position whilst the USA seemed inclined to agree with Indonesia and Malaysia that this narrow stretch of waterway should be regarded as the territorial waters of the two countries. In the meantime, it has been reported that the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Adam Malik, had revealed in a press interview on April 17 in Singapore that Indonesia had 'rejected a Soviet offer of a friendship treaty on the same lines as the Indo-Soviet Treaty'.

It was therefore, argued that USSR was pushing its Brezhnev Asian Security System with great diplomatic vigour. A Soviet writer, D. Yefimov had described this scheme thus: "... It is becoming more obvious that there is only one way that corresponds to the vital interests of the peoples of Asia, the way of good neighbourly co-operation on the principles of the UN Charter, the way of widely developing trade, economic and other contacts on the basis of complete equality and mutual advantage, in other words, the way of ensuring peace in Asia by collective efforts. It should be stressed that the idea of collective security in Asia put forward by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the international meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties in June 1969, is evoking general inter-

rest on the continent. . . Such a system could be gradually formed as result of consistently extending mutually advantageous co-operation primarily in the sphere of development of industry, trade transport, the prospecting for a utilisation of natural resources . . ."

At the time when the Ceylon Prime Minister met her Ambassadors and foreign envoys in conference, the Indian PM had just concluded a similar conference with her envoys in South and Southeast Asia. In the communique released in New Delhi at the end of the conference, it was stated that India would support any international convention or agreement which would guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the countries in South and Southeast Asia. Without naming the much talked-about Soviet Asian Collective Security System, the communique stated that India was vitally interested in the security and stability of all its neighbours in the region as a whole and would support moves for any agreement over it. India was at pains, however, to stress that such an agreement would not mean ganging up against one power or other and affirmed that any security scheme to be supported by India would exclude military alliances between the countries concerned. India was against the domination of the region by outside powers. Nor did India want to dominate the region.

In Colombo, however geopolitical strategists close to the

Government, believed that the Soviet Union's "collective security scheme in Asia" was directed primarily against China and the USA. They felt that this motivation suited India's interests. It was also asserted that Peking had made it clear that China was convinced that the USSR was out to "encircle" it with a series of "Friendship" military Treaties. The USA under Dulles had attempted one kind of encirclement, claimed Peking observers, but the USSR was intent on another kind of encirclement.

There have been hushed whispers in Colombo about the possibility of India becoming a nuclear power, but there was open alarm over the proposed plan to deepen a channel in the Palk Straits to enable ocean going vessels to sail through it. If this were done, Colombo would lose its importance as a bunkering and victualling port. Furthermore it is asserted that the opening of the Palk Straits to big ships would have great significance in naval strategy. The warships of India (and its Treaty partner, the USSR) could move freely and fast between the two zones of the Indian Ocean. And the question has also been raised as to who would pay for the Palk Straits Scheme. Could India afford it even in her Fifth Plan? Or will some world agency or some other country extend financial assistance to complete the scheme? And which other country besides

the Soviet Union would be interested in such a project ?

That influential elements in the government of Ceylon entertain these fears about India and the USSR is an open secret in political and diplomatic circles in Colombo. That is why New Delhi has recently done a great deal of "protesting", it is said. There have been several statements in the Indian Parliament and outside by official spokesmen that India had no territorial designs against Ceylon, "either economic, political or territorial". The Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister, Surendra Pal Singh, had stated in Parliament that the fears of Indian expansionism were being replaced by a realisation that the time had come to promote co-operation between India and Ceylon.

INDIA ALSO seems to have changed her style and method in dealing with Ceylon. When Mr. Illangaratne went to New Delhi early in April, he was received with far greater cordiality than ever before. India also undertook to buy more from Ceylon and promised to expedite the joint collaboration ventures. There was evidently some talk about the Sino-Ceylon rubber and rice agreement because Mr. Illangaratne in a farewell speech had stated that Ceylon was not finally committed to the Sino-Ceylon agreement for all time and that if something better turned up, Ceylon would abrogate the agreement.

But, once again, what was

significant were the assurances that India had no territorial ambitions in regard to Ceylon. A report in the weekly edition of *Hindustan Times* set out the position thus "... For a long time Ceylon had been suffering from the obsession that India as its giant neighbour would swallow the tiny island anytime it chose. This obsession had been deepened with India's emergence as an Asian power to be reckoned with, specially after the recent Indo-Pak war. Pakistan and China in particular, had been plugging this line and using it as propaganda weapon against India. But, last week, India once again assured Ceylon that it had always believed in living in peace and friendship with its neighbours and had never harboured any territorial ambitions. The assurance came in the opening remarks made by Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister of Planning, at the inaugural session of the second meeting of the Indo-Ceylon Joint Committee on Economic Co-operation which began in Delhi early last week. Earlier Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in an interview with a visiting Ceylonese newspaper editor, had also assured Ceylon that India had no aggressive designs on the island..."

New Delhi must have sensed the undercurrent of thinking among policy makers in Colombo to make these declarations. There is no doubt that among SLFP strategists there is today a tremendous obsession that India constituted a

big threat to Ceylon's sovereignty and territorial integrity. And they feel that the threat had become more after the Indo-Soviet Treaty and the Soviet Union's major diplomatic offensive which had brought her in a big way into this region. There is no doubt also that the current Conference of Ceylon's foreign envoys will discuss this matter. The *Observer*, 3/5, in a report about the Conference stated: "... In foreign policy, Ceylon is likely to play a key role in terms of the new Moscow-New Delhi Bangladesh axis. This might mean a re-orientation of our attitude towards the United States as well as to the People's Republic of China..."

WHILST SLFP STRATEGISTS (and UNP ideologists as well) regard the emergence of India and the Soviet Union as a major force in this region, with alarm and apprehension, the Communist Party understandably welcomes the Soviet Union's increasing power and prestige in South East Asia and elsewhere in the world. Its attitude is that hegemony under a socialist power was a major advance towards global socialism and that it was a setback for imperialism. The fact that China objected to USSR's increasing power was regarded an aberration on the part of China. All the CPs in the region are today urging Pakistan to accept the leadership of the Soviet Union and accept a Collective Security System for South Asia proposed by

Brezhnev. *Pax Britannica* and *Pax Americana* were devices of the imperialists for exploitation, but *Pax Sovietica* was a socialist haven ensuring that the exploitation of man by man will beat an end.

The LSSP, while being very critical of US Imperialism has its own reservations about the Soviet Union. The LSSP still viewed Soviet power from the critical angle of Trotskyism. But the LSSP believed that India could be encouraged to develop as an independent power in spite of its affiliations with the USSR, and that it would be in Ceylon's interests to develop regional co-operation in trade, economic development and even in political collaboration with India.

In this situation, where does the non-aligned neutralism of the kind preached by SWRD Bandaranaike come in. Ceylon must be friendly to all countries. She will show the greatest friendship towards New Delhi and Moscow but entertain her secret reservations. Many of her actions and attitudes would be derived from these secret reservations. With the US and China, Ceylon will undoubtedly have certain other kinds of reservation, but Ceylon is likely to think that her independence and territorial integrity could be preserved only on a balance of power as between the Indo Soviet grouping on the one hand and the US on the other with a special role for China.

Such seems to be the logic behind thinking in foreign po-

TAMIL NADU

Tax Raids: DMK and Filmland in Blackmoney Link-Up

New Delhi,

After a lull, it came with a bang, in capital letters. The Income-Tax Department unearthed black money to the tune of several lakhs. The "black" accounts, brought to light in preliminary assessments, are reportedly linked with business worth Rs. 5 crores. The sensation lies in the fact that certain politicians who occupy important positions in the public life of Tamil Nadu will have to do a lot of explaining. Among the places recently raided was the residence of a beautiful film star of Madras. The tax men seized accounts to the tune of Rs. 30 lakhs. They also seized currency to the tune of Rs. 10 lakhs. This particular film star is connected with a politician, according to recently created property records.

Whose money was seized? Did it belong to the star whose house was searched, and from whom it was recovered? Or did it belong to the big fry, her patron and 'partner'? In another raid on the firm of a well-known film financier, the tax men seized certain documents. These revealed an intriguing entry. A sum of rupees six

lacy attitudes of Ceylon at this time when she is emerging as the independent Republic of Sri Lanka.

lakhs was shown as having been paid to a politician for doing an extra-political job, namely, of writing the story and dialogue for a few pictures. There has been no corresponding entry in the records of the recipient, the prominent political figure. The discrepancy has been brought to the notice of this politician. Not much may come out of all this but the political calculation here is, that the formal recording of the Centre's awareness of the lapse may lead to restraining this politician's strident postures on the State's autonomy issue.

The centre has also taken serious note of the seizure of unaccounted money from the residence of a legislator who is the chairman of one of the many "autonomous" bodies the DMK Government has created in recent months. The Centre has taken the stand that big money is involved in the work of this autonomous board and, therefore, the gentleman who guides its destiny in the glare of big publicity should step down, at least, until he properly accounts for the money seized by the tax officers from his residence.

According to reports reaching here, simultaneous raids have taken place at several centres in Tamil Nadu. This has been done to prevent

Ceylon Warming Toward the U. S.- Thaw Part of Power Shifts in Indian Ocean Area

by JAMES P. STERBA

A Tribune reader in the US has sent us a cutting of report which had appeared in the *New York Times* on April 10, 1972. We reproduce the report in full because of the fact that a prestigious US newspaper published it. We have no way of confirming or denying what Mr. Sterba has chosen to assert with categorical self-assurance. And in some matters, he has been proved wrong, for instance when he

Tamil Nadu

transformer of money and books. The raids have been organised with a thoroughness that has surprised the ruling circles in the State. Meanwhile, the Centre has ordered vigorous steps for the collection of tax arrears from leading film stars who dabble in politics all the time. One of these stars who is in arrears of tax of over Rs. 6,000,000 has obtained a stay order from the Madras High Court. This is, however subject to the condition that there should be no sale of property by the concerned film star. The authorities have been instructed to find out whether this condition is observed till the disposal of the case. —Blitz

said that Soviet warships would not come into Colombo. Within three weeks of Mr. Sterba's declaration about Soviet ships, a fully-fledged Admiral of the Soviet Navy and two destroyers arrived in Colombo on a goodwill mission. Nevertheless the Sterba despatch is worth placing on record.—Editor

COLOMBO, Ceylon April 8

A quiet but strategically important thaw has taken place in the icy relations between the United States and the Socialist Government of Ceylon within the last few months. The change comes after the power imbalance caused in the Indian Ocean area by the dismemberment of Pakistan and India's security pact with the Soviet Union.

The verbal abuse that only a year ago rained down on American "imperialism" from Colombo politicians and the local press has virtually stopped. Demonstrations in front of the United States Embassy here, once conducted with the acquiescence of the Government, have ceased. And, more important, United States warships are quietly pulling into port for rest stops here for the first time in recent history memory.

Soviet warships, meanwhile are not. And there is evidence

that relations between Ceylon and the Soviet Union are cooling.

The American Embassy here is overjoyed with the new relationship, but reluctant to discuss it for fear of upsetting it. As one diplomat said, "the Americans were the No. 1 villain a year ago, and this Government is still Socialist Marxist and semi-Communist. One wrong move and the Americans could be in disfavour again."

Ironically, the man who oversaw the turnabout was Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupe, an ultraconservative of Austrian descent whom Senator J.W. Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee had argued was unfit to head the Embassy in Morocco. He got along "swimmingly" with the Socialist coalition Government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister, according to a fellow ambassador.

When ultraleftist insurgent youths rose up in a violent attempt to overthrow the Government last April, it was the American Embassy, under Mr. Strausz Hupe, that came through with a \$ 3-million grant for helicopters and spare parts, trucks and communications equipment ahead of aid commitments from the Soviet Union. That was the turning point, observers say. Perhaps as a reward, Ambassador Strausz Hupe was recently named by President Nixon as Ambassador to Belgium.

Before he left, however, the Embassy published a booklet detailing 20 years of United States aid to Ceylon, with Mr. Strausz-Hupe in a "Dear Ceylonese friends"-preface saving in part: "I have observed that some of you did not have any idea of the tangible United States contribution to the economic life of Ceylon and that, in fact, some had an inaccurate understanding of it".

The booklet itemized \$ 200-million in grants to Ceylon in the period.

Following that, on Oct. 11, the destroyer escort *Knox* arrived here for a five-day visit. It was followed on Jan. 25 by the *Mobile*, a supply tender that delivered some components of the \$3-million aid package.

On Jan. 28, and then again from Feb. 14 to 17, the *Wadde* a guided-missile destroyer, was in port.

These naval calls were followed by a "goodwill visit" by Adm. John S. McCain Jr., Commander in Chief of United States forces in the Pacific, whose territory was expanded on Jan. 1 to include the Indian Ocean. Two Air Force transport planes were due in today with more equipment.

In the meantime, Mrs. Bandaranaike has dropped from official rhetoric here a proposal to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in Singapore in January, 1971, and repeated before the United Nations General Assembly in October, that the Indian Ocean be declared a peace zone. Her belief is now that the balance

has tipped so far in favour of India and the Soviet Union that balancing by the other major powers is necessary. She declined to be interviewed on the subject.

Although the Russian responded to Mrs. Bandaranaike's pleas for aid during last year's up-rising with a package of MIG fighter-bombers and technicians to train Ceylonese pilots, the government has become increasingly wary of Soviet intentions, especially after the Indian-Pakistani war.

North Korean diplomatic personnel, increasingly thought of here as acting as a front for Soviet subversion in Asia, were expelled from Ceylon after being linked to last year's up-rising.

There is worry among Government officials that the Soviet Union and India may be co-operating with insurgent elements there. (Italics ours-Ed.)

The Ceylonese Government remains friendly with China, which gave Colombo \$26-million to pay off debts, mainly to German banks. With relations between China and the United States changing, Ceylon, as the centrepiece of the Indian Ocean and with one of the best natural harbours in the world at Trincomalee, on the east coast, appears to be trying to bring about a power balance in the Indian ocean.

JAPAN — 2

Rising Sun in Pacific

by TOM ENGELHARDT
and JIM PECK

This is the second installment of the article from the U S magazine "RAMPARTS" of January 1972, the concluding part will appear in our next issue.

BY 1969, AMERICAN PLANNERS had gotten from Japan pretty much what they wanted—with one exception. Japan was indeed inextricably involved, economically and even militarily, with the most reactionary regimes of Asia; but her economy, independent and growing, was posing a serious challenge to the US. Without the basic intermeshing of the US and Japanese economies through the American "multi-national" corporations, Japan was bound to go its own way, to demand more than America was willing to give up. And so she has.

In 1969, however, public attention was still focused on the military dimension of Japan's role in Asia, where there remained significant compatibility between the two countries. The Okinawa reversion agreement of that year marked Japan's intention of seeking an "equal" military partnership with the US not globally, but in Asia. "Regarding Asian security," Premier Sato said in 1969, "it is Japan that is



gradually to play the leading role, while the United States will be co-operating from the sidelines "... We should now strive to really stand on our feet. We will have to view the problem of our security much more from our own independent standpoint than before." And, in fact, during the last two years, US leaders pushed harder and harder for Japan to take over not America's economic position, but America's military burden in Asia.

The 1970 Japanese White Paper on Defense lays out the revised terms Nixon and Sato agreed on in November 1969—and exposes Japan's expanding role in Asia. Japan's sphere of influence is extended to include South Korea. Her security is held "directly related to the security" of Taiwan. Even in the last year, Japan has intensified its military and economic ties with South Korea. It has established a naval and air repair network in Korea, manned by Japanese technicians, and begun an exchange of servicemen on training exercises. The entire leadership of the Japanese military has toured Korean facilities at least once this year.

Contingency plans for Japanese military action in Korea; the repair, maintenance, and exchange agreements between Seoul and Tokyo; various American and Japanese governmental statements, all suggest the breadth of Japanese involvement. William Bundy, as Assistant Secretary of State, stated

that if "activity" broke out again on the 38th parallel, this time the Japanese army goes." South Korea's Premier, Chong Il-kwon stated at that time: "I believe that Japan, as a UN member, must under the command of the UN headquarters in Korea, make an immediate response to any renewed communist aggression here." Here, then, is even a hint that Japan might use the UN as a cover in the 70s, the way the US did during the 50s and 60s.

The US has continued to pressure Japan for an increased buildup of conventional military forces. In July Defense Secretary Laird visited both Japan and Korea. He and Sato agreed that Japan's defense equipment was "pitifully outdated" and must be "improved". American military officials warned that the increase in defense spending already planned is "inadequate" for Japan's responsibilities "inherent in a regional defense commitment". Reportedly Laird said Japan must take over some of the non combat functions in Asia now discharged by the US Seventh Fleet, and he offered assistance in the 1980s for Japanese ABM facilities.

In 1971, American military and political leaders did not feel any important contradictions between Japan and the US at the military level. The US global role symbolized by the American nuclear capacity, is still viewed as complementary to an increasing role for a conventionally armed Ja-

pan in Asia. Yet even at the nuclear level the relationship is growing uneasy. "In practice," Admiral Rickover recently complained, "the Japanese Government has imposed onerous, unnecessary, and unreasonable conditions" on the movements of US nuclear armed ships.

Even while American-Japanese military co-operation continues, however, the deepening anger among American economic leaders has burst to the surface. US official frustration with Japan was evident in South-east Asia. Japan was making enormous profits by sending vast exports to Thailand, Indochina, Indonesia, the Philippines, etc, while buying only minimal imports in return. In this area alone, Japan's export surplus grew from 550 million dollars in 1960 to over 2 billion dollars in 1968. As American officials were well aware, such an imbalance was often met by these countries only through an infusion of US economic and military assistance. *Japan's enormous trade profits, in short, were being paid for by US funds.*

Vietnam provided an especially galling example of just this process. In 1967 alone, Japan, helping to create Saigon's "Honda economy" exported over 200 million dollars in goods to Vietnam, against less than 3 million dollars in imports. Such trade imbalances are certainly not likely to continue in their present form. However, Japanese officials are

now speaking of creating "deliberately complementary productive capabilities"—economies subordinate to Japan's needs.

AMERICAN PIQUE OVER JAPAN'S economic aggressiveness in South-east Asia is symbolic of a far broader economic conflict developing between Japan and the United States. At the heart of this conflict rests the fact that the Japanese economy is in a host of areas both more competitive than, and outside the control of, the US economy.

The textile issue which has been played up in the US press only shows the grim determination of the US to pressure Japan into line. On a global level, it is not a major area of economic concern to the US. It is, in fact, a national industry, with little capital abroad. To make it competitive on an international level would cost up to 5 billion dollars. Under intense domestic pressure, Nixon is seeking merely to place a ceiling on Japanese textile imports at approximately their present level.

Yet while the ruckus over textiles shows the domestic power of American textile industries, the problem actually lies elsewhere. Increasingly, while Japan buys from the US primarily raw materials and food, the US is buying from Japan the products the American economy can no longer produce as competitively. Cars, for example (Toyota has the fastest growing sales in the

US), or electronics (one out of every three TV sets bought in the US is Japanese) or aerospace products or steel. It has been estimated that for the US steel industry to regain its competitive edge with Japan, the Japanese would have to revalue their currency by a minimum of 35 per cent.

In the last few years, the US response has been to try to make Japan liberalize its import policies and revalue the yen. Japan, though publicizing its "economic miracle", has nonetheless insisted that it was too "underdeveloped" to open its doors completely to foreign manufacturers and capital. Yet Japan's trade surplus has continued to soar (5.4 billion dollars this financial year; a projected 6.9 billion dollars next year). "If you can't beat them, buy them," is at least part of the present American programme against Japan. And the whole question of Okinawan reversion plays an important role in this manoeuvring, highlighting both American desires to bring Japan under control and Japan's determination to achieve an "independent" stance in Asia.

Okinawa, taken at the cost of thousands of lives in the bloody battles of 1955, has been for two decades America's key support base in the Pacific. A vast network of air and naval bases, backed up by dependent service industries, the island is completely run by an American occupation army. Even the license plates on the cars—"Key-stone to the Pacific"—pro-


claim Okinawa's significance in American military thinking.

For Japan, the return of Okinawa to Japanese control is a symbol of the end of the war, the end of the American occupation, the end of Japanese defeat, the end of dependency. "Without Okinawa back in our hands," Prime Minister Sato has stated, "the 'postwar history' of Japan will not end."

The Americans, while agreeing to the "reversion" of Okinawa, have made frantic efforts to retain for themselves an independent position on the island and a wedge for further entrance into Japan itself.

It is remarkable that a Treaty initially viewed as a recognition of Japanese "equality" should actually be so unequal. Just how much sovereign power Japan will exercise over Okinawa is unclear. Sato already agreed in 1969 that reversion would not "hinder the effective discharge of the international obligation assumed by the United States for the defense of countries in the Far East including Japan". Operations in Vietnam thus remain covered. But so, too, does the use of Okinawa's ports as service centres for the nuclear subs. In addition, the US will continue to operate a host of facilities on the island: the special intelligence training installations, Voice of America facilities, the SR-71 spy aircraft system. In May, Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi announced that the US will remove all nuclear weapons before

Paying Scientific Dividends

 ONE of the most sophisticated tools scientists have ever used—a four-station moonquake detection network—paid its first big dividend when it

Japan — 2

Okinawa returns to Japan. Laird responded that if the Japanese wished to remain under US nuclear protection, they should stop asking awkward questions about where nuclear weapons are stored or under what circumstances they might be used. However, *Polaris* and *Poseidon* submarines are now considered better suited to US strategic interests in the Western Pacific than land based nuclear facilities.

More important, American officials and businessmen chose to interpret the Okinawa reversion agreement as implying an exemption from normal restrictions for US capital already on Okinawa. Consequently, they are equipping Okinawa as an economic Trojan Horse. In 1965 US investments in Okinawa amounted to around 10 million dollars; today, they have risen to a reported 250 million dollars. American corporations like Gulf, Kaiser Cement, Esso and Caltex, are placing capital in Okinawa which will soon be able to operate without restriction in Japanese markets.

To be concluded in next issue.

BY WALTER FROEHLICH transmitted to earth detailed information about a meteorite striking the moon and carving a crater into its surface. The impact occurred on May 13, 1972 only 22 days after installation of the fourth station by the Apollo-16 astronauts in the moon's Descartes region. Three stations had been installed by earlier Apollo missions.

Never before have scientists observed the crash of a large meteorite on the moon. Pens attached to automated receiving equipment at the manned space-craft centre at Houston, Texas, began scribbling zigzag and wavy lines on graph paper. From these patterns scientists were able to calculate the direction, strength and other characteristics of the vibrations generated on the moon by the impact. Dr. Gary Latham, a seismologist at Columbia University's Lamont-Doherty geological observatory, said the impact equalled the force of 100 tons of high explosive and probably dug a crater as big as a large city block.

The only similar events recorded on the moon until now were vibrations from the much weaker impacts of burned out rocket sections and discarded landing craft deliberately steered on a collision course with the moon after they were no longer needed. Scientists also received information from the instruments about spontaneous

moonquakes and the fall on to the moon of small meteorites. Many of these vibrations were too weak to be detected at more than one station.

The network consists of stations set up by the crews of Apollo-12 on the Ocean of Storms in November 1969, Apollo-14 in the Fra Mauro region in February 1971, Apollo-15 at the Hadley Apennine site in August 1971, and Apollo-16 at Descartes on April 21, 1972. The stations are located in a triangular pattern. The Apollo-12 and 14 stations are so close to each other that they are regarded as a single data point at the triangle's westernmost point. The Apollo-15 station is the northernmost outpost, and Apollo-16 stands at the easternmost point.

Each side of the triangle is about 625 miles (1,000 kilometres) long. A more primitive station was installed by the first men to land on the moon, the Apollo-11 astronauts in July 1969, but it ceased operation long ago when its sun-powered electric generator expired. All of the later stations are nuclear-powered and on the moon's front side which always faces toward earth. Scientists estimate that such large fragments of rock speeding through the solar system fall on the moon on the average only every few years. There had been concern in the scientific community that the network might not remain operative long enough for a major meteorite strike to occur.

From the Editor's Desk

Each station was designed for a life of at least a year. But the Apollo-12 station has remained in continuous operation for two and a half years and is still acquiring and transmitting information, as is the Apollo-15 station after 15 months. Besides, seismometer, each station also has various other research instruments. Among them are the devices for sensing changes in the moon's magnetic field, detecting molecules and gases escaping from the moon's interior, measuring the rate of dust deposited on the moon from space, and monitoring radiations from the sun rain unhindered on the moon's atmosphere-free surface.

Each station has its own automated radio transmitter and an atomic generator to power the transmitter and the research instruments. Each day millions of pieces of information are transmitted to earth from each station.

The network represents the fulfilment of an ancient aspiration of researchers—a scientifically instrumented astronomical body other than earth from which is instantaneously transmitted seismic and other geophysical information.

From this and other information gathered by Apollo flights, scientists are attempting to decipher the history of the moon. By comparing the moon with the earth and other bodies in the solar system, the scientists believe they can piece together also their evolution. The network is expected to be:

ALTHOUGH a vast majority of the American people, according to opinion polls, are in favour of President Nixon's decision to mine the waters outside all DRV ports and also to carry the air war into North Vietnam, the trend of opinion throughout the world is against the further escalation of the war by the Americans. The US plea that she was compelled to escalate the war because the North Vietnamese launched an invasion of the South has not won much support in the world, and if one takes a cross-section of opinion throughout the world it is clear most people and particularly politically active circles regard President Nixon's statement over the Radio and TV on May 8 about the events in Vietnam as aggravation of the situation in Asia by escalating the war to a level unknown before.

But though public opinion polls in the USA backed President Nixon in the escalatory steps he took immediately after the shock of the fall of Quang Tri, there is ample evidence that the overwhelming majority of the population of the USA, as elsewhere in the world, want a peaceful settlement through negotiation of completed with a fifth station in December, 1972, by the crew of Apollo-17, the last flight in the Apollo series of manned moon landing missions.

the Indochina conflict. The Nixon Administration took a calculated risk to increase American military intervention in Vietnam, particularly to mine international waters as well as territorial waters of the DRV, thereby violating generally accepted tenets in international law and thus endangering the best interests of the American people themselves.

It would be stupid to preach sermons to President Nixon or the Americans. But ordinary people throughout the world have the right to hope that the Government of the USA would display wisdom, stemming from a desire for long-term and far-reaching settlement of world problems, rather than satisfy pragmatic temporary interests to exact a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye from Hanoi. The US has much more to safeguard than Thieu. The US has the responsibility for creating the basis for the constructive settlement of burning international problems like disarmament, nuclear weapons cutback, and general problems of international security, as well as the Indochina conflict.

BUT THE RESPONSIBILITY for resolving the conflict rests on *all* parties involved in the Indochina conflict primarily those directly involved, viz the USA, the DRV, the RSV and South Vietnam. There cannot be peace unless all parties involved make mutual

concessions in the spirit of reasonable compromise. The resourcefulness which has been shown on the field of battle must now be shifted to peace talks and a genuine desire to settle the conflict by peaceful means must dominate thought and action.

One lesson must be learnt from Vietnam and the systematic escalation of the war during the last ten years. The latest escalation, as all earlier escalations, was triggered by the unilateral action of the parties involved in the hope that such unilateral action would "end the war". Hanoi has been as much guilty of such unilateral actions as Washington or Saigon during the last five years in particular, and this makes it necessary for the creation of some system of regional co-operation of matters of security, and war and peace in order to prevent unilateral actions and decisions by individual states which affect the interests of several states or the whole region. In Europe the danger of unilateral actions sparking off big conflagrations is even greater than in Asia.

Just as much as Hanoi has indulged in unilateral action, President Nixon too has taken important decisions on war and peace without even consulting his allies in NATO, CENTO or SEATO. This has created apprehension in many countries that the USA was not a reliable ally or partner because in a crisis it tends to ignore the interests of its near-

est allies. These allies of the USA have expressed the hope that there be frequent conferences on a regional level to safeguard peace, and that such conferences should not be narrow exclusive gatherings but larger gatherings where all involved parties are present.

For a few days immediately after the US mined the seas around DRV ports, there was fear and trepidation that Russia would retaliate in a way that would make a greater conflict inevitable. But the Soviet Union has shown unexpectedly great restraint and this prompted the mildly pro-left and anti-war Democratic hopeful, Senator McGovern, to say that he admired the stand taken by the Soviet Union in the face of the new escalation by the United States and the provocative actions from the USA. McGovern condemned the US actions in Vietnam and emphasised that the mining of the approaches to the ports of the DRV and the bombing of peaceful towns had brought further deterioration of the situation in Indochina.

CHINA TOO has shown restraint, for apart from strongly denunciatory statements, it has done nothing. It has been noted that whilst the US President Nixon was highly critical (directly as well as indirectly) of Russia's military assistance to the DRV, he was silent about China's role in the Indochina war (and China's assistance to Hanoi has been more than considerable). This

caution Nixon has shown towards China has naturally made many infer that the US and China have some collusive secret understanding about a possible settlement of the Indochina problem. But inside China itself, in spite of the overall Maoist supremacy, there are reports that there are elements which want China to pursue a more active role. It is said that many senior officers of the Chinese Army want a firmer stand against the USA in Indochina, and that these officers felt that the time had come for China to send volunteers to North Vietnam—as China had done in 1952 to Korea.

As we go to press, it is reported that Hanoi has rejected the new peace terms offered by Nixon, namely the release of the US prisoners coupled with an internationally supervised ceasefire along the new lines established after the latest fighting which had erupted on March 31. In the US itself, it has been pointed out that the escalation of the war had created a serious threat to the personal safety of the US prisoners of war in the DRV for they too might well become victims of US bombing. If this should happen, as it well might, President Nixon can legitimately be accused of taking decisions which resulted in the death of the US prisoners of war. At the hustings this can prove an effective argument against the re-election of Nixon, and this is an additional reason why the US administration

should endeavour to seek out every possible avenue for a peaceful settlement of the Indochina conflict.

This could be well one of the major topics of discussion in Moscow when Nixon meets the Soviet leaders for summit talks soon after his arrival there on May 22. In the meantime, Chancellor Willy Brandt has managed to secure technical ratification of the treaties he had entered into with the Soviet Union and Poland. The Soviet Union has signed a further agreement with Egypt for the supply of arms. At the end of this month President Bhutto of Pakistan sets out on a whistle-stop journey through 14 Arab and Islamic states in the Middle East and Africa presumably to win support for himself before the summit with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, if and when it comes off.

IN CEYLON, after five months of an unprecedented drought, there has been welcome rain, but certain parts of the country had too much of rain. Ratnapura and certain other areas have been devastated by floods, and a unusual landslide in Nawalapitiya has taken the toll of many lives. But more than all these natural disasters, the excitement about the promulgation of the new Republican constitution has captured the focus of popular attention.

The recognised Tamil parties and politicians are dissatisfied with Constitution because no provision has been made to

guarantee rights for the Tamil language and also ensure that fundamental rights will supersede the whims and fancies of a political majority. Leaders of the FP, TC, Sunderalingam's Eelam Party, the Cover and other have joined hands at a Conference at Trincomalee as the Tamil United Front to oppose the Constitution. Meanwhile, ex-judge Manickavasagar of the CINTA has appealed to the goodwill and sympathy of the majority community to grant the Tamils their legitimate rights. Manickavasagar and the CINTA have accepted and welcomed the new Constitution, but have announced that they would continue to use persuasion and pleading to secure amendments to the Constitution in order to grant the Tamils their rights.

Whether the Manickavasagar method will work is yet to be seen because communal relations in Ceylon seem to have reached the point of no-return. The Sinhalese rightly feel that the Tamils have been obstructive *vis a vis* Sinhala aspirations, whilst the Tamils nurse a grievance that they have been and are still being discriminated against by the Sinhalese. And, it is unfortunate that the leadership of the UF has still not been able to effect a breakthrough on the communal front. The Tamil United Front, which was formed at Trincomalee by representatives of the FP, TC, CWC and the Eelam Party, have decided to oppose the new Constitution, but it is not yet clear how this opposi-

tion will manifest itself.

The UNP too is opposed to the new Constitution, and though the High Command had at first wanted to boycott even the promulgation ceremonies on May 22, Mr. J.R. Jayawardena, on return from the UK on May 17 (his supporters staged an impressive motorcade to welcome him), has persuaded the UNP Parliamentary Party to attend the promulgation ceremonies but to vote against the Constitution. To boycott the ceremonies, said JR, would be unpatriotic, but it was a democratic right to vote against Constitution because of certain clauses it contained.

WHILST THE DILEMMA inside the UNP continues to be largely unresolved with Dudley and JR battling it out in the courts and elsewhere, the crisis within the CP seems to have been brought under control in a way which will preserve, for sometime longer at any rate, the unity within the United Front. The "expulsion" of the three MPs from the Parliamentary Party had triggered a virtual coup within the CP, when armed with a majority decision of the Central Committee, General Secretary Pieter Keuneman, took over the recalcitrant *Aitha* on May 12. There were no issues of the *Aitha* for a few days and the paper has reappeared with facelift and a new editorial staff. It is now a one hundred percent United Front paper and this may pave the

way for an SLFP-CP reconciliation in a big way. The *Aththa's* circulation will drop, but the unity in the UF will be preserved.

UF political circles are now once again emphasising that unity among the three constituent parties, the SLFP and the CP, was essential for the political good of the country. The LSSP-orientated *Nation*, which was earlier hard on the *Aththa* and the "rebel elements" in the CP, has begun to soften. In its issue of May 12, the *Nation* had a frontpage lead entitled FALSE STORY OF 'EXPULSION' and stated that "the capitalist newspapers were making a song and dance about the alleged expulsion" of three members of the CP from the government parliamentary group. "No such 'expulsion' has taken place," asserted the *Nation*. Then it went on to explain that the withdrawal of the Whip's Authority could not be regarded as "expulsion" because "all such a group can do is to exclude those who are not amenable to this discipline." The *Nation* then emphasised that the action taken against the 3 CP MPs only "raises the issue of the Communist Party's attitude towards these members. But it does not *ipso facto* raise any question of its relationship to the United Front of the SLFP, LSSP and the CP. . . ." The *Nation* then analysed the reasons given by the three CP MPs and stressed that these answers did not in any way denigrate the position of the

CP within the UF.

The need for continued unity within the UF has become a major issue within the UF. That any corrosion of the unity will spell disaster to the Government is now the view of UF political circles including the SLFP.

WHILST SOME OF THE TOP LEADERS of the three constituent parties of the United Front are determined to hold together certain rightwing elements and the newspapers representing their interests have been hoping (wishing no doubt) that the Left would be thrown out soon from the Government. The *Sun*, about three weeks ago confidently predicted that JR would be in the Cabinet by mid-May, but these prognostications have all been proved wrong.

Both the *Nation* and the *Forward* have been criticising the "capitalist paper" for the way in which they have been seeking to sow seeds of discord inside the UF by claiming that such discord already existed. The *Forward* in particular has been hard on the *Sun-Dawasa* group and raised some very interesting questions in its issue of April 29th. *Chitra* asked the question: "What is the reason for the special treatment that the Sun-Dawasa group of Gunaseena newspapers seem to be afforded? This is now the big question in political circles;" Then, *Chitra* stated: "With Lake House 'living on borrowed time,' as Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike

once put it, the Gunaseena press has stepped into its shoes as the main spokesman of reaction. These newspapers, which represent the interests of a small group of new-rich mudalalis anxious to get even richer through governmental patronage, have become the leading anti-left force in the newspaper world. And the 'Left' to them means the CP, the LSSP and everyone in the SLFP who has progressive or socialist ideas without difference or exception. Hence it is no surprise that this group of newspapers should be the main propagandists for the break-up of the United Front and its Government, and for a 'National Government' based on an alliance of the SLFP's rightwing and the J. R. Jayawardene section of the UNP. In foreign policy they have become the vehicle for the handouts of the West German press agencies and the US Information Service."

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