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Letter From The Editor

THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES for the General Elections scheduled to take place on July 21 was concluded on Monday, June 6. There are more seats, more parties and many more candidates in the field than in any previous election. The SLFP and the UNP are the two main contenders for power: the SLFP has nominated candidates in over 150 seats and the UNP in 156 seats. The new ULF has over 120 candidates, whilst the TULF (one of the two new parties recognised by the Elections Commissioner) and its ally the MUF have 24 candidates. The CWC (the second party recognised this year) has 2 candidates in the field. The JVP has 3 candidates, and a large number (larger than expected) of Independents and small parties (some of them trade unions, DWC, CMU, CESU, etc) have come forward to participate in the elections. The Prajathantra Jatika Peramuna, PJP, (Dharmasekera's group) and the Mahajana Vimukthi Pakshaya, MVP, (Mahinda Wijesekera's group), have nominated two candidates each, but they are in an electoral alliance with the ULF. It will take a little time to scrutinise the full list of candidates and their affiliations (this will be difficult sometimes in the case of Independents) in the context of the current election confrontations. This study is essential for any understanding of the general elections of 1977. But, before one ventures to evaluate the candidates of the different parties and the prospects of the candidates of the smaller parties and trade unions, and also the Independents, it would be useful to have a quick survey of the present state of the Press and the Media. The Lake House is still the biggest newspaper undertaking publishing daily papers in all three languages besides a number of weeklies and other periodicals. For the last four years, Lake House has been a government-owned organisation directly under the Prime Minister. It is not necessary to recount the stages by which Lake House has descended into the terrible morass in which it is today, but it is significant that a substantially large number (some say practically the entirety) of the employees in Lake House have quit the SLFP Union and joined a UNP-organised Union which has, among other things, sought to check the excessively pro-SLFP bias of its publications. Lake House, ever since the take-over, has slanted news, blacked out news and distorted comment in an effort to save and sustain the diminishing credibility of the SLFP and the Government. To do this, Lake House has even resurrected the dead to have a bash at the UNP. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene recently demanded that all parties should be given fair and equal coverage in Lake House publications, and when the management seemed unwilling to comply with this request, the employees had started a "go-slow" to prevent ultra-biased anti-UNP articles from being published. This led to a one-day strike and the newspapers of Lake House did not appear on May 27. With this strike, the management staged a hasty retreat and took cover under the excuse that the employees had misunderstood the situation when the management had stated that it would have had to refer the matter to the Government for a ruling. What the management seemed to forget is that the Government had assured the NSA and the public that Lake House was being "taken over" in order to ensure fair and impartial news reporting and objective comment—with opportunities for all points of view to be reflected in its columns. These noble objectives were forgotten no sooner Lake House was taken over. The recent strike and the employees' insistence on fair reporting has brought a welcome change in the make-up of Lake House papers, but one can still detect traces of its earlier inhibitions and deliberate distortions in its headlines and in its reports. The second biggest group is the *Sun Dawasa* group of the Gunasena family. The group publishes dailies in all three languages and also weeklies and other periodicals. The *Sun/Dawasa* group of papers are read with far greater interest than any other daily newspapers at the moment, and they enjoy far greater credibility among the newspaper reading public than the papers published either by Lake House or the *Times*. The *Times* group (publishing only the Daily Mirror, Sunday Times, Lankadipa and the Sunday Lankadipa) has lost the importance and popularity its enjoyed before the *Sun/Dawasa* group re-started publication. The editorial policies of the *Times* group are a merry mix-up: it plugs heavily for Anura Bandaranaike (right or wrong and do or die): it is critical of many aspects of SLFP and government policy: it has its knife into Badiudin Mahmud (for very good reasons) in a big way: and it tries its best to present all the news fit to print. A big question mark hangs over the future of the *Times* after the elections. Big money alone can rescue the *Times* from its present financial difficulties and additional capital is required to make it a viable organisation. Speculation is rife in knowledgeable circles as to what will happen to the *Times* either in case of an SLFP victory or an UNP victory. Who knows? In the next issue, we will review the other papers and periodicals in publication at the moment.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

After Nomination

Colombo, May 8,

Nomination Day, on Monday, June 6, went off peacefully. The daily papers of June 7 and 8 have published the details of the nominations and also a complete list of the candidates who have entered the fray. The *Sun* has announced a Polls Contest and invited its readers to make their guesses about the outcome of the elections, electorate by electorate—really to get the final breakdown.

The most noteworthy feature of the nominations is that 270 (266 according to one tally and 277 by another) Independents have filed their papers for the 168 seats (this total being made up of a number of multi-member seats). According to the figures so far available, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) has sought nominations for 147 seats, but as the papers of one of its candidates was rejected as being "not in order", the SLFP now has in the field 146 candidates. The United National Party (UNP) is fielding the largest number of candidates—154. The United Left Front (ULF) has 130 on its slate consisting of about 80 LSSPers, 40 CPers, about 8 PDPers and two from the MVP and the PJP the splinter led by Dharmasekera. The MEP has 26 candidates, the TULF has 24, the CWC 2, and Bala Thampoe's Marxist Revolutionary Party (MRP) also has two. The JVP has about 3. The figures are largely correct, but still tentative in that it would take a little time to work out the full statistical data with a high degree of accuracy.

A few surprises merit attention. Except in two or three seats where there will be straight direct fights, in all constituencies the contests will be three-cornered, if they are not more with Independents of various persuasions. The Beruwela multi-member constituency has a record number of 16 candidates. Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya has 13 candidates. There are also a large number of electorates where four and five candidates are in the field. In Yapahuwa, owing to the rejection of the nomination papers of the SLFP candidate, Rajah Dharmapala, there

is now a straight fight between the UNP and the ULF. The only other seats, as far as it is possible discern, where there will be straight contests will be between Amirthalingam (TULF) and Sridharan (Independent), at KKS, and also in Bingiriya where the UNP and the SLFP are in a straight contest. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, will be opposed at Attanagala by A. W. G. Seneviratne (UNP), Chandra Gunesekera (LSSP-ULF) and J. A. D. Thambugala (PDP). The leader of the UNP, J. R. Jayawardene has four candidates against him: Lal Salgado (SLFP), Sarath Wijesinghe (ULF) and two independents. The LSSP leader has 5 candidates contesting him. Two SLFP Ministers, Hector Kobbekaduwa and Maithripala Senanayake, are not being contested by the ULF. Vasudeva the stormy petrel of the LSSP, who has been suspended or expelled (it is not clear) from the LSSP, claims that he is a ULF candidate though the ULF has not officially sponsored him. The ULF, however, has not fielded a candidate against him whilst the UNP and the SLFP are contesting him. The CP leader, Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, has a UNP and an SLFP candidate against him. It is not possible in this short note to point out all the surprising features of the Nominations. Nearly ten sitting MPs and Ministers have not sought nominations (two of them will be taking foreign ambassadorial posting while the campaign goes on).

But the multiplicity of parties and the excessively large number of Independents (there were proportionately less in 1947 when many political aspirants had entered politics as Independents only to be drawn later into different parties) is a clear indication that the alignment and polarisation of political forces which had held good from the 1956 era to 1976 (when the United Front broke up) has disappeared. The appearance of such a large number of candidates and parties shows that politics of the late 1970's has entered a new phase.

A large number of political parties and aspirants (Independents) feel that the assured political party standing and prestige of the established parties of the late fifties, sixties and the first half of

the seventies have gone with the wind and that the time had come for a new upsurge of political awakening and thinking in this country. And it is also not clear what impact the large number of parties and Independents will have on the elections. After the 1947 elections, where a sizable number of Independents were returned—remember the Yamuna Conference of the Independents elected to the first Parliament—Independents had received short shrift at the hands of voters. The fact that so many Independents have decided to come forward this time is a result of the fact that the popularity and prestige of the old established parties has been denigrated and undermined by the events of the last two and half decades.

It is yet too early to say what the outcome of the elections will be, but the general feeling that the UNP would win a runaway landslide victory, which had prevailed among large sections of the population, has disappeared. The SLFP has begun to fight back and this has brought an element of courage and hope to SLFP supporters. In some electorates, the third and fourth candidates are expected to eat into UNP votes, and the classic theory (to which we had ourselves subscribed) that a three or four-cornered contest will always help the UNP may not hold water in this general election. New trends and new lines of thinking among the voters have begun to emerge and there is no doubt that the General Election of 1977 will be a most interesting one so far as students of politics are concerned.

GENERAL ELECTIONS generate diversionary phenomena. In the recent elections in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, there was a surfeit of such diversionary gimmicks. Whilst India and Bangladesh have settled down after the stress of the General Elections and the Referendum Pakistan has gone through a traumatic post-election upheaval. The clever and astute politician, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, has been compelled to beat a retreat and come to terms with the PNA which had alleged wholesale rigging in the elections (and the Chief Justice of Pakistan who had been asked to inquire into it had declared that the rigging was a fact). But before Bhutto had caved

in he had played a most surprising and unexpected card by stating that PNA campaign before and after the elections was part of an international conspiracy against him organised by the US.

This came as a shock to many because Bhutto and Pakistan had been one of the staunchest and most loyal allies of the US in the region, if not in the world. It was known that differences had arisen owing to Pakistan's projected deal with France to set up a nuclear re-processing plant. The US had wanted Bhutto not to go ahead with this project, and had made it clear to him that such a unilateral action in regard to the nuclear re-processing plant would adversely affect good Pak-US relations. Bhutto used this to rations against the US over his troubles accuse with the PNA.

The *Asiaweek* of May 13 summed up the situation thus: "Accusing the US of 'invading' Pakistan on an unprecedented scale with money and subversive ideas, he voiced doubt that the nine-party P.N.A. could itself organise such chaos by charges of widespread rigging of ballot papers.... The only meaningful issue over which there has been some misunderstanding between the two countries concerned Pakistan's avowed nuclear intentions: Bhutto built a nuclear plant with French assistance but, observers point out, even here Washington seemed anxious to take issue with Paris being the supplier. Clearly, this was the only straw at which Bhutto could clutch to substantiate his claim of a US-backed plot with his opponents...."

The *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 20, published a despatch from its correspondent, Richard Nations, from Rawalpindi: "When Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto linked the opposition campaign to a 'colossal imperialist conspiracy' to go away with him, the power struggle in Pakistan spilled over into the country's foreign relations. The United States, Bhutto left no doubt, was the power behind the flood of dollars flowing into Pakistan to finance the Opposition's civil disobedience drive to force the Prime Minister's resignation and schedule fresh elections. Most observers agree that Bhutto's allegations of an imperialist conspiracy to get his 'blood' amounts to little more than a naked appeal to his nationalism of the masses wooed by the Opposition

for a pure Islamic state. But if the theme is repeated too often it cannot help Pakistan's relations with the West, particularly the US. The State Department's initial response to this charge of massive interference in Pakistani affairs was a *pro forma* denial and to turn the other cheek. Bhutto immediately slapped that one too. He received a letter from Secretary of Cyrus Vance which offered 'to discuss any concerns you may have quietly and dispassionately'. Vance concluded 'I suggest we seek ways to avoid public charges which can only damage our relations....'

Bhutto then made a public speech in which he had said "whether quiet or disquiet I shall stand by my principles...if they interfere in our internal affairs then a Pakistani like me has a right to stop them..." The State Department had hinted that Bhutto was peeved because the US had suspended supplies of teargas. Richard Nations had concluded "the real weakness of Bhutto's case is the slender evidence he presented in his April 28 speech to back the charges: first a telephone conversation between two American Embassy officials (apparently overheard on a tapped telephone line) quoted by Bhutto as saying: 'The party is over! the Party is over!' Secondly the fall in the blackmarket

value of the dollar on the eve of the Opposition campaign...." It was Bhutto's case that over \$ 25 million had been brought in to help the PNA campaign. Bhutto had also lashed out at the foreign media which had been critical of him. He was particularly hard on the BBC, the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*. Bhutto has continued to play up the theme of the "massive foreign intervention and conspiracy" and his press has been having potshots at the "peanut evangelists" of the United States. The PNA, when Bhutto continued to associate it with the US de-stabilisers, had vehemently denied it in a statement and had said that it had not received any support from abroad. With Bhutto coming to terms with the PNA, all this shouting about US interference will die down, but Bhutto's charges will linger long in the political memory of the Third World.

In Ceylon, too, each election has brought the customary alarms about "foreign interference". In 1952, Dudley Senanayake and the UNP based their election on the cry "the flames of Marxism will burn temples, religion...." In 1956, Sir John Kotelawela had also raised this same cry, but this time the Left and the anti-UNP front had raised the

COVER

UNCONCERNER?

THE PICTURE on our cover this week is from a remote rural village which verges on one of major jungle areas still left in this country. The young lady seems certainly happier with her little pet than most of her more sophisticated sisters who have been turned out by our Maha Vidyalyayas and Universities and who hanker after white collar or high grade (high pay) jobs in the public sector. Menika, (let's call her Menika), on our cover can barely pass the literacy test, but she can read the papers, if necessary, with a little difficulty. She can write a letter, but she has no time for the papers or other printed reading matter—comics, love stories and even pornographic literature—which has become a craze among our "educated youth. Menika is a farmer's daughter and she delights in helping the family in tilling the soil and getting a (meagre) return from it. She is not concerned who is in the NSA or who heads the Government, but she wants a Government that will help the farming community to cultivate the land in a profitable and viable manner. The forthcoming General Elections do not seem to bother her, (as yet), and she may be one of the many who may refrain from going to the polling booths on July 21. She says that it is difficult to choose between candidates who say the same things especially because it is impossible to know what they will do once elected. Many observers are aware, (but only a few seem willing to admit) a mood of cynical unconcern has gripped large sections of our population. Unless parties and candidates are able to whip up enthusiasm to overcome the prevailing "mood of cynical unconcern," the percentage of voters who cast their votes this time is likely to be less than in previous elections.

bogey of the CIA and the Americans. (The CIA interference in Guatemala and Iran were the pet themes....) In the two 1960 General Elections, Dudley Senanayake had accused the Soviet Embassy in a big way and the Chinese in a smaller way of "interfering in the elections". In the 1965, the UNP had switched its emphasis and had seen a Chinese behind every bush in the island and scare stories were sloganised. The SLFP and its allies proclaimed that the CIA and the US were the real power behind the UNP. In the 1970 elections, the UNP had once again concentrated its attack on the Chinese. The United Front had then made the CIA and the USA the sinister force behind the UNP.

In the 1965 and 1970 elections not much attention had been paid to the Soviets, but the UNP has now sought to raise a bogey about Soviet Embassy interference in the elections on the slender and far-fetched charge that an ex-employee and an employee of the Soviet Information Department had carried on a personal campaign in the *Daily News* against the UNP leader, J. R. Jayawardene.

The basis of this charge is on even more slender and fragile grounds for such a weighty charge than the evidence presented by Bhutto against the US. The Soviet Information Dept. has naturally hotly denied the charge as a "fabrication" to mislead the people. But, the UNP leader, surprisingly, is reported to have sent letters and telegrams to the Soviet leaders like Brezhnev, Kosygin and Gromyko. What the UNP leader hopes to achieve by this is not known, but his efforts may turn out to be counter productive. It will be open to other parties to make similar charges against individual members of other Embassies charging that they were "interfering" in the elections on behalf of the UNP.

Already there are whispers about charges against the American Embassy and the CIA, against the West German Embassy, against the Libyan Embassy, against the Chinese Embassy etc., etc.—and, in fact, in a free for all of this sort, the UNP is likely to be the loser.

And if the UNP had hoped to get part of the left-inclined youth vote this storm cry against the Soviets

is a sure guarantee that the UNP will not get that vote. The UNP cry against the Libyan Embassy and their "cheque" for Rs. 15 million (or thereabouts) has already done the UNP a great deal of harm among the Muslims to whom Gaddafi is kind of a new incarnation of the Prophet. Mistakes of the kind made by the UNP and its leader by making columnists like Stryx (whom very few read anyway) a ground for to Brezhnev will only help the writing opponents of the UNP. And brickbats are soon likely to be hurled at the alleged "foreign assistance" received by the UNP, and the names of officials of certain embassies are already floating about.

Diversions of this sort are "normal" in most general elections. But it is surprising that UNP should have set the ball rolling. It is usual for a Party which has its back to the wall to resort to such gimmicks, but everybody had believed, until now, that the UNP was on top with a sizable edge over the chief contenders. Has there been any change in the political sentiments of some sections of the public to the UNP?

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

May 26 — May 28

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror;
CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamina;
LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththina;
SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina;
DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthamani;
WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa;

THURSDAY, MAY 26: The police yesterday began an island-wide security operation code named 'Election 1977'—to ensure that the forthcoming general election will be conducted as peacefully as possible. Police have rounded up several suspects said to be involved in the manufacture of home-made revolvers—a menace which has worried police security for some time. The Supreme Court yesterday discharged the six accused in the Duraiahappan murder case. Delivery of food items to retail outlets of co-operatives will in future take place by day; hitherto delivery was made by night which allegedly resulted in corruption and blackmarketing. Suburban rail services were yesterday down to about 50% of normal strength—CDN. Monday, May 30 is the last day for political parties to apply to the Commissioner of elections for recognition as approved parties. The Ministers at their meeting yesterday decided to ask the Amunugama committee to re-examine the new salary scales offered to University teachers. There is an acute shortage of beef in Colombo

now; according to price control officials, the main reason for the shortage is that Colombo gets only 85 cattle as against the normal requirement of 200. Imported canned fish is to be distributed off the ration—CDM. The UNP leader yesterday told his party's candidates for the general elections not to be over confident of their chances and to work hard for victory. Deputy Ministers were yesterday told that they could no longer continue in office; this came after the government sought legal opinion in regard to the future of Deputy Ministers following the dissolution of the NSA on May 18. The SLFP's General Election campaign will be inaugurated in Kandy on June 4. The special allowance of Rs. 90 now being paid to all State employees earning less than Rs. 800 a month is to be incorporated into the consolidated salary. The Ceylon Planters Society told the Minister of Plantation Industries and Justice that unless proper attempts were made to diffuse the explosive conditions in the estates, a situation might arise over which plantation managers would have absolutely no control. Among the political parties which have sought recognition from the Commissioner of elections are the JVP and the PDP of Mr. T. B. Subasinghe—SU. The death occurred at the General Hospital Colombo today of Mrs. Colvin R. de Silva. The Price Control Department has told the Food and Co-operatives Ministry that the CWE imported canned fish issued only on the ration to consumers has found its way into the black market on a large scale. The assurance that was given by the spokesman of the Salu Sala was that all co-operatives throughout the island will continue the issue of imported textiles to the public—CO. A scheme is under way to give to the cultivators of spices, one of our traditional exports, the foreign exchange which is earned by exporting this commodity

—LD. An Air Ceylon plane which landed in Saudi Arabia without prior permission had to pay over Rs. one lakh in foreign exchange—ATH. Last year the government borrowed Rs. 107 million 40 lakhs from the Central Bank; this was 36 million 70 lakhs more than the previous year—DW.

FRIDAY, MAY 27: The government has decided to curb the brain drain of engineers from Sri Lanka and will insist in future on a bond being signed once an engineer graduates from the University; it will be a five year bond with the government in a sum equivalent to Rs. 35,000 pledging to serve the government. The Railway will need Rs. 15 million if the ten demands of the workers are to be granted. The Light Engineering Workshops functioning under the DDC's throughout the island will soon be supplying the needs of the CTB, thereby saving much foreign exchange. Mr. C. Suntharalingam, the leader of the Elam Front has announced his intention to contest Mr. A. Amirthalingam, secretary general of the TULF at Kankesanthurai at the forthcoming general elections. Mr. Keisuke Ochi, who has been appointed by the government of Japan as Ambassador to Sri Lanka, presented his letter of credence to the President yesterday—CDN. The SLFP's election manifesto will be announced in Kandy on June 4 when the party launches its general election campaign. Police Inspectors have protested to the PM against the proposal of appointing about 25 temporary acting ASP's for the General election. While one witness complained before the Gem Commission yesterday that favouritism was rampant in the State Gem Corporation, another said that there were too many women in it, and this could lead to corruption. Over fifty medical officers at the Anuradhapura hospital walked out on Wednesday; according to the GMOA this was because of the transfer of a paediatrician who had refused to treat the daughter of a politico—CDM. Police have imposed a ban on motorcades on Nomination Day. Large scale recruitments are being made by some state corporations and semi-government institutions. The TULF leader Mr. A. Amirthalingam has said that the Tamils will need international assistance to win their demands for a separate state for themselves. A work-to-rule by workers at the Railways hydraulic shed may paralyse train services. The Joint Committee of Trade unions of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation yesterday accepted the formula of the Minister of Industries regarding their outstanding demands. The Ceylon Planters Society has called on its members to donate one day's pay for distribution to displaced workers on Delta and Sanquar estates—SU. According to the GMOA, the action taken by the doctors of the Anuradhapura hospital may spread to other hospitals soon. Lakspray is now being issued to all co-ops according to a high official of the Milk Board. Prices of soap have skyrocketed in the market with private traders hoarding their stocks to capitalise on the scarcity of this item caused by the shortage of coconut oil—CO. The Sudese Organisation has appealed to the Bribery Commission to investigate in to the question of bribery by all former MP's and reveal the names of those who have been guilty before the general election and also take suitable action against them—DP. From July 1, in over 30 hospitals in the island, nursing staff, midwives, and attendants will having an 8 hour working day—DM.

SATURDAY, MAY 28: The government is to suspend its controversial plan to alienate land in the Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya electorate. A top level conference was held at the Ministry of Defence yesterday to examine the situation arising out of the work-to-rule campaign by certain sections of Railway workers. The four hour protest by Bank employees will continue throughout the coming week. All mail train services from Colombo last night were cancelled as a result of the work-to-rule by certain sections of the railway workers. A three-tier salary scale for middle-level technical officers in the state services has been introduced by the government from May 1. Five suspects in the Alfred Duraipah murder case were yesterday released on bail of Rs. 5,000 each by the Jaffna High Court Judge: the sixth suspect, charged with robbery, was given bail of Rs. 2,000; the case was transferred to Colombo and will be heard on June 14—SU. During the general elections, for the first time in Sri Lanka all the counting centres will be connected by radio with Colombo. A section of the Lake House employees started a go-slow yesterday afternoon; informed sources said that they were objecting to the contents of certain political articles which were passed for publication in the *Daily News* and *Dinamina*; later the same section went on 'strike' and dislocated normal production of the Lake House newspapers. The Minister of Health yesterday informed a deputation of the GMOA and the AMS that the Paediatric Unit at the Anuradhapura hospital would be re-opened and the Paediatrician who was transferred out allowed to resume work. A Special Committee which studied the implementation of the Channelled Consultation Practice Scheme for government medical officers has recommended that the fees for each consultation should be Rs. 25, of this Rs. 15 for the consultant and Rs. 10 for the co-operative which provides consultation practice. Dr. W. Dahanayake yesterday announced that he will contest the Galle seat as an independent candidate. Sri Lanka's export earnings from selected industrial products shot up very significantly last year; the total earnings for 1976 amounted to Rs. 755.7 million as against Rs. 533.6 million in 1975—an increase of 42%. CDM. 1750 employees of the Central Bank were on strike today and went on demonstration—DW.

UNITED STATES

The New U.S. Challenge To Russia

— Interview By Zbigniew Brzezinski —

Reprinted from **U.S. News And World Report**, May 30, 1977

Published at Washington, D.C.

In an interview in the May 30 issue of *U.S. News And World Report* magazine, National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, said the United States, in "a new era of creativity" in foreign policy under President Carter, wants to co-operate with the Soviet Union in dealing with the "great issues of our time."

What is important in this new U.S.-Soviet relationship, he said, "is to try to create a framework of co-operation which inhibits competition and which prevents aggression. We are trying to stimulate mutual involvement in the Soviet Union in dealing with problems which eventually will confront us with really staggering dilemmas.....We are challenging the Soviets to co-operate with us.....and we want to engage the Soviets in that co-operation on an equal and responsible basis".

It is difficult, even now, to understand, or fully comprehend, many aspects of President Carter's foreign policy. One of the most baffling matters is the way relations with the Soviet Union are going on. Brzezinski, Carter's National Security Advisor, is believed to be the architect of the new policies. We publish the full of his interview to *U.S. News and World Report* entitled "The New U.S. challenge to Russia," to enable our readers to know the avowed motivations of Carter's policies.

QUESTION: Mr. Brzezinski, you must be aware of criticism that the Carter Administration has no sense of direction in its foreign policy—that it's riding off in all directions. What is your answer to that?

ANSWER: I can answer that in several ways. First of all, pretty much everything the President has done in the field of foreign affairs since January is the product of a deliberate planning exercise, which he supervised immediately after the election. Almost every action we have taken—I would even say every action we've taken—was part of a plan for the first 90 days of the Administration, which were meant to culminate in the London

Summit. And I believe that this plan was carried out very systematically. These were not haphazard actions. It is our view that we are now at a stage in history in which the United States again has to undertake a creative process of building a new world system. This must take into account the cumulative effect of all of the changes that have occurred in the past 15 to 20 years: the appearance of a massive number of new states, the extraordinary, rapid decolonization, the surfacing of new social and political aspirations. The doubling of the world's population.

Q: Are you looking toward a new era of American leadership in the world?

A: It may be too sharp and potentially misleading to call it a new era of American leadership. But it certainly is a new era of American creativity, based this time on the need for a much greater degree of collaboration with others than was the case between 1945 and 1950—when we were similarly engaged in a creative international effort.

Q: Does this mean collaboration with the Soviet Union, or are the Russians still too hostile for that? Are you, in effect, challenging Moscow to help us shape a more peaceful future?

A: What is important is to try to create a framework of co-operation which inhibits competition and which prevents aggression. We

are trying to stimulate mutual involvement with the Soviet Union in dealing with problems which eventually will confront us with really staggering dilemmas.

I can say this: we are challenging the Soviets to co-operate with us or run the risk of becoming historically irrelevant to the Great issues of our time. We're not being naive in the sense of expecting an instant accommodation. I think we're reasonably vigilant to the fact that the competition goes on and therefore we have to compete. But we are also very much aware of the fact that in this shrinking world the imperative of co-operation has become more urgent. And we want to engage the Soviets in that co-operation on an equal responsible basis.

Q: What's the difference between your policy and the *detente* with the Soviets that was the centerpiece of Henry Kissinger's foreign policy?

A: We feel that *detente* is desirable, and we do not shrink away from the use of the word "*detente*". But *detente* to us essentially means progressive accommodation. *Detente* means the establishment of more co-operative relationships. And *detente* to us means also a process which, to be enduring and to be accepted by the American people, has to be both reciprocal and progressively more comprehensive.

Q: You mean *detente* cannot be a one-way street—

A: "Reciprocal" means that the rules of the game are the same for both parties. It means that one party cannot feel free to proclaim revolutionary principles or certain inevitable laws of history which give it a right to comment on the social order of other societies or even to engage in the direct abetting of revolutionary violence, and then at the same time considers it an act of intervention if the other side affirms its own beliefs, its own fundamental principles. Reciprocity also means reciprocity in more tangible relationships—access, contacts. This is what *detente* has to be about to be enduring.

Q: You mentioned that *detente* also had to be more comprehensive. What does that mean?

A: It means that it cannot be conducted on a selected, com-

partmentalized basis. It is difficult to think of the American-Soviet relationship being stable if it involves accommodation in one part of the world and uninhibited exploitation of the kind of turbulence which is almost unavoidable in our day and age in other parts of the world. If that takes place, we feel the competition will feed back into the areas of co-operation and undermine even the co-operation that has begun.

Q: So you're implying that uncontrolled competition between the United States and the Soviet Union in Africa could finish off detente—

A: One has to be very careful with words. "Finishing off Detente" might mean to some people the notion that it means immediate conflict, perhaps even the threat of war. That would be pushing it much too far. But I think it is a matter of common-sense judgement that if there develops uninhibited competition in Africa—the use of proxy forces for direct military intervention—then that is bound to poison progress and to affect adversely areas where co-operation has already developed.

Q: Why is the Administration apparently backing away from the tough stand it took earlier in support of human rights in the Soviet Union?

A: I don't think that either the substance of the tone of the Administration's statement on human rights has altered one iota. What has altered is the amount of press play that is given the subject. From the day of the inauguration to Secretary (of State) Vance's recent and important speech on human rights, we have been saying that human rights is an issue which is of importance to us. It is an issue which is central to American beliefs. It is an issue which identifies the United States with an ideal that more and more people worldwide share. Therefore, it conditions our relationship with the world. But it's not a condition for specific relationships or for specific negotiations. That has been our position throughout, and was spelled out by Vance. What happened was that, at different stages, certain aspects of this were sensationalized—but not by our statements.

Q: On another aspect of our relations with the Soviets: how do you view the continuing large-

scale Russian military build-up in a period of detente?

A: I think it is a problem that might be resolved in part by S.A.L.T. (Strategic Arms Limitations Talks). The purpose of S.A.L.T. is to create conditions of mutual stability, parity. This is why the S.A.L.T. negotiations are now so sensitive and so very important. One could, in the vast, see the Soviet build-up in some measure as a response to the real or perceived asymmetry in the American-Soviet relationship. This no longer prevails. Therefore, the question as to why the Soviets continue their build-up is a very legitimate one. If S.A.L.T. results in agreements which produce both stability and parity, then I think the answer may not be very ominous. But if we cannot reach such a S.A.L.T. agreement, then this question concerning the Soviet motive in continuing its build-up is bound to be raised with an increasing sense of urgency by the public and by Congress.

Q: Will failure to achieve a S.A.L.T. II agreement by October mean a runaway arms race?

A: Not necessarily. It really depends somewhat on what happens.

Q: On another subject: is there a danger that president Carter's plan to withdraw American ground forces from South Korea will create an impression in Asia that the United States is weakening in its commitments?

A: For one thing the United States is committed in a treaty relationship to South Korea, and that treaty relationship is binding. Second the United States hasn't withdrawn any troops from South Korea. We are about to engage in discussions with the South Koreans and with the Japanese about what kind of security Arrangements would be adequate in the second half of this decade and pointing into the 1980's. I think it is noteworthy also that South Korea has a population twice that of North Korea and a remarkably successful economy, a military establishment which is very impressive, troops which have performed very well—most recently in the Vietnam war. So one can certainly take another look at the situation in Korea today in contrast to that which prevailed in the 1950's when the present mili-

tary Arrangements were shaped. South Korea then was impoverished, devastated recently over-run and so forth. It seems to me that responsible statesmanship entails the requisite of periodically looking at a situation and asking ourselves, "What has changed? If so what adjustments do you make?" It doesn't mean making snap decisions altering arrangements capriciously—but it does mean making judgements as to what is possible which was not possible in the past.

Q: Are you worried about the possible reaction in Japan—the suggestion for example that the Japanese might go nuclear?

A: There is nothing in Japanese politics which even remotely suggests the likelihood of Japan going nuclear either because of this development or any other development. You cannot evaluate policy alternatives on the basis of extreme speculative consequences.

Q: Are you counting on the triangular American-Soviet-Chinese relationship to help preserve stability in Asia, regardless of what we do in South Korea?

A: There is no doubt that the different relationship between the Soviet Union and China from that which prevailed in the 1950s creates also a new situation in the far East. I think it's fair to say that our relationship with China is one of the key relationships that we have in world affairs. It is only a matter of common sense that China will play an increasingly important role in the world and that it is in our interests to have a good working relationship with the people's Republic of China. Insofar as the Chinese-Soviet relationship is concerned predictions pertaining to relationships between states that are controlled by highly centralized leaderships tend to be very dangerous. But it does appear that the cumulative effect of historical forces of geographical proximity, of ideological disagreement, indicates that the conflict will continue—and that China and the Soviet Union will not return to the kind of relationship they had in the past not in the 1950's.

Q: Can the U.S. exploit this situation to its advantage?

A: Again I would not want to use the words "exploit" or "advantage". Let me simply say that it certainly creates the kind of a more pluralistic global structure

which we prefer, which we find more compatible with our notion of how the world ought to be organized and which reduces the pressure on us. Again, it certainly is a matter of common sense that a unified Sino-Soviet bloc—homogeneous, ideologically militant—would create an altogether different world situation than a setting in which the United States can progressively normalize its relationships with the People's Republic of China, while at the same time also trying to establish a more stable and an increasingly more co-operative relationship with the Soviet Union. I want to emphasize the proposition that our foreign policy is not based on the notion of permanent antagonism toward the Soviet Union—of an endless conflict. Rather it is derived from the notion that in the kind of world we live in today, the ideological conflicts of the 1950s are less and less relevant. There is the growing need for collaboration between the major countries in the world in coping with the variety of new dilemmas which have suffered in the course of the last 20 years.

Q: How important is it for the United States to quickly normalize relations with Peking to minimize the danger of a unified Sino-Soviet bloc?

A: I think a normalization in U.S.-Chinese relationships has merit on its own rights. I don't think it is to be viewed as an expedient device to prevent Sino-Soviet reconciliation. Moreover the Sino-Soviet conflict stems from its own internal causes and was not produced in any significant degree by the relationship between the United States and China. So, if anything, the cause and the effect relationship is different. This in no way diminishes the desirability of progressive normalization. And the administration has been cognizant of that. But I don't think it's to be seen as a tool for preventing Sino-Soviet reconciliation.

Q: Should we consider the sale of military equipment to China?

A: I think that's an immediate policy question which I would not want to comment on. I think you ought to ask secretary Vance that.

Q: Turning to Europe, Mr. Brzezinski: should the United States try to draw the Communist countries of Eastern Europe away from the Soviet Union?

A: I think if we eventually move toward a more accommodated world, the notion of narrow somewhat watertight spheres of influence will become increasingly antiquated—as a consequence of historical process and not as the deliberate objective of foreign policy.

Q: In other words, you don't think that U.S. policy should work to separate the countries of Eastern Europe from the Soviet Union—

A: I think it's important to have a broad strategic purpose in mind. If one sees the world as entering a phase of increased turbulence, it is important to try to create a framework for such a world in which there's greater co-operation. If co-operation develops between the major powers, it will have certain consequences. There's no doubt, for example, that the American sphere of influence in certain parts of the Western hemisphere has become more heterogeneous because of historical change. And I think this process is likely to take place in other parts of the world as well.

Q: How great is the danger that the Soviet Union might exploit a Post-tito crisis to pull Yugoslavia back into its orbit?

A: Well, Yugoslav independence is, first of all, the product of the Yugoslavs themselves. And the Yugoslavs over the years have shown an intense dedication to their own national sovereignty. Vice President Mondale's visit to Yugoslavia underlines the fact that we recognize Yugoslav independence as being a factor—an important factor—of European stability. This is something which we certainly are not shy in emphasizing. But the protection of Yugoslav independence cannot be assured unless Yugoslavs themselves are intensely dedicated to it. According to all evidence that we have, they intend to protect themselves. And that entails consequences. If a country of some 20-odd million people is prepared to resist any encroachment on its independence, that is not a negligible fact in world affairs. And that, in itself, is a major guarantee that that independence will be preserved.

Q: In another area—Africa: what is the United States trying to do there?

A: We recognize that in the kind of world we live in, the principle of majority rule has to be the basis for the international order in Africa. Secondly we recognize that precisely because the implementation of majority rule was so long delayed, its quest today has become much more urgent potentially much more destructive. Thirdly it is our intention to try to avoid transforming the Black-white conflict in Southern Africa into a Red-White conflict—which it can easily become if violence escalates and if foreign aggressive powers are drawn into it. Given all of that, it is our intention to try to use the leverage we have to obtain rapid movement toward majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia. At the same time, we intend to use our leverage to encourage the South Africans to start the process of the progressive transformation of some of their internal arrangements, lest otherwise they become the target of a massive conflict in which we will not—I repeat—we will not support them.

Q: Is it self-defeating for the U.S. to lean on the Vorster regime to end apartheid in South Africa, while seeking its help to bring majority rule to Rhodesia and Namibia?

A: I would say that not to do it would be self-defeating. If you pursue a policy that was pursued at one stage by this country—of getting Vorster to help you get change in Rhodesia at the cost of supporting him in South Africa—all you're doing is transferring the conflict to a higher, more intense and more enduring phase. What one has to do is to try to resolve the immediate issues of Rhodesia and Namibia fairly rapidly, and at the same time match that with the progressive transformation of social, cultural and racial realities in South Africa itself.

Now, we know from our national experience that social rearrangements, particularly when they involve racial relations, are extremely difficult, extremely painful and cannot be achieved overnight. We also know that if the process begins, it is best to encourage it by praising, by approving what is being done, and by encouraging it to become more rapid rather than by either pointing the gun to somebody's head or condemn-

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ing him because he hasn't transformed himself overnight. So we're not prepared to support racism. We're not going to protect apartheid. We're not going to make a deal which is expedient and which has the effect merely of transferring the battleground from Rhodesia to South Africa tomorrow because of its expedient nature.

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A BLUEPRINT

To Rehabilitate The Coconut Industry

by R Kahawita

In my last series of articles on the Coconut crisis I criticized the Establishment, its policies, its administration and misdeeds under the guise of Land Reforms and organisations to help the industry. Criticisms have no value unless there is an alternative to reconstruct and revitalise the industry. I propose to do that in this article.

To prepare a plan of reconstruction, there must be borders within which the plan can be worked out. I accepted that these must be within the Land Reforms Law, which all have accepted as a necessary piece of progressive legislation, but what was objectionable was the manner the law was interpreted and administered. Also there are certain features in the law itself that have created anomalies and are working against production to increase the economic wealth of the country and well being of the individuals.

In a democracy where the people are supreme, the development of the individual, socially economically, and culturally, should not be impeded by legislation. Until such time the present constitution is replaced by another, the laws must be within the framework of the constitution. Therefore the law must not be interpreted to mean appropriation of wealth by the state or grab one's property for the benefit of others who can be despotic because of their political status or position.

The Land Reforms law as it stands has not considered the present level of production nor increasing production. In fixing the ceiling of holding only the physical surface areas has been considered. It says in section 3 of Part I—"Ceiling shall—(a) If such land consists exclusively of paddy land, be 25 acres; or if such land does not consist exclusively of paddy land, be 50 acres, so however that the total extent of paddy land if, comprised in such fifty acres shall not exceed the ceiling on paddy land specific in para (a)." It says "Agricultural land" and to classify land as agricultural it means the soil must be arable and productive, rainfall and weather conditions must be such that crops can be raised, depending on rain or where rainfall is inadequate, water is available for artificial irrigation, that the soils are responsive to fertilizer and are suitable for growing crops known and grown in Ceylon, and optimum productivity is such that working the land should give the owner a profitable income. In Land Reforms these are the criteria to be used in fixing a land ceiling.

In India, where land reforms are under way currently, all these have been taken into consideration and the ceiling has been fixed according to these prerequisites; accordingly the unit has been fixed to equalize income, depending on the soil types, crops grown, rainfall, availability of irrigation water etc. The Indian authorities did not rush to Land Reforms to say "We've done it, the rich have become poor, we have taken over their lands to be distributed among the landless", This is the boastful canticle of our Minister of Agriculture.

The main concern of the Indian authorities was social justice and fight against poverty, our Minister's concern is to reduce every one to poverty. This is the difference between our brand of "socialism" and the Indian "socialism." Ours is to destroy, theirs is to build a vigorous nation. In view of the need to increase production the anomalies created by equalising surface area of unit to all categories of land must be cleared by law and the existing law suitably amended to bring production and equality of income according to the physical

and climatic conditions of the area the lands are situated.

Before amending the law a technical commission should be appointed to classify the Agricultural land according to soil, water, agro-nomic potential, weather, productivity and income potential. These should be the primary consideration that should influence the unit of holding taking into consideration Government Policy on income levels of the people and the necessity to build up investment capital and savings in the hands of the people.

According to section 14(1) of the L.R.C. law only the major children of a family are eligible for inter-family transfer of excess land. The minors are not. We cannot find any social or economic reasons why a parent should be forced to discriminate against his own progeny by law. It amounts to a parent being forced to disinherit his minor children by law. This is unthinkable in any human society, much less in a Buddhist country with a 2500 year cultural background. This kind of legislation violates the sanctity of the family which is the corner stone of any society

A similar section has been included in the ceiling on housing, where the major children are discriminated against inheriting a surplus house from a parent. In our society, it is a major child who needs a shelter to settle down and bring up a family. Here again we cannot find any reason for disinheriting a major child by law, unless it is to destroy the Sinhala people, their traditions, their culture and religion. In the above quoted two sections of L.R. law which affect ownership and gifting of real property by a parent to his children, violates the very roots of a democratic society:— Sanctity of marriage and family and the inviolability of home and property and the freedom of a parent to distribute his estate to his children. Therefore the second point is to amend this section of the L.R.C. law to prevent legalized discrimination against a citizen's own children.

The section 3 of the L.R. law as quoted above says the unit of holding is to be 50 acres if highland and 25 acres if it is paddy land and if it is mixed it cannot exceed

25 acres and 25 acres of Agricultural land. But in approving inter-family transfers, the Board that was appointed by the Minister for Agriculture has discriminated in no small measure. In some cases no inter-family transfers were allowed, in some cases fragments here and there and in others the full unit of 50 acres has been allowed.

If one examines a cross-section of the recipients, one would find what mattered was not the law: Party members and supporters, friends and relations, influential men and women with the right contacts, and those who were in a position to take to law etc. got all what they wanted, where they wanted and for any purpose, other than Agriculture, if the L.R.C. approved it. And those who were known to be supporters of the U.N.P.—the avowed enemy of the United Front—or who did not have the correct contacts, or who are of no consequence to the ruling party got nothing or they were given in fragments and in places the L.R.C. directors wished. In some cases, what was given under L.R.C. law was acquired under the Land Acquisition Ordinance. There is no appeal against these acts of vindictiveness, except what one of our eminent Bankers says in his book "Development Savings Banks and the Third World." "They are apt to take up legitimately those political weapons they have acquired in the wake of independence to turn the leaders of Government out of office."

With a general election round the corner, this is what is left to the people of Ceylon who have been discriminated against in law and in the constitution. There is no room for discrimination in the L.R. law for inter-family transfers. Section 14(1) says, *may within three months apply to transfer by way of sale, gift, exchange or otherwise of the entirety or portion of such agricultural land to any child who is 18 years of age or over or to the parent. The Commission may by order made under its hand grant or refuse to grant approval for such transfer.* The section does not say that the Commission can vary the quantum to be transferred. It can only approve or refuse but cannot vary the quantum as long as it is within the ceiling. This is there

to prevent discrimination, this is exactly what the Commission has done and it is illegal.

This section of the L.R.C. law must be quite clear to remove any possible discrimination in the hands of the political or administrative authority. If it is 50 acres under the law it must be 50 acres to all who are entitled to hold, own and work Agricultural land under the L.R.C. law. All these lands that were fragmented or denied for the reasons referred to above must be corrected and restored. The above amendments to the law and the restoration of the rights of the land owners must be given effect to before any scheme of rehabilitation. This will create the necessary incentives and sense of ownership for maximum production in a "democratic socialist" society.

First phase: All coconut lands 5 acres and above should be registered with the Coconut Rehabilitation Board—a statutory body to be established for the rehabilitation of the Coconut Industry. The Board should be manned by a team of well experienced, knowledgeable coconut planters and a chartered accountant. This Board shall be the executive authority to implement administer and supervise the plan of rehabilitation. **Second** All coconut lands 5 acs. and above will be classified according to weather and rainfall, soil types and divided into regions—like the coconut triangle, Eastern, Northern and Central coconut belts etc. **Third** A target of yield per acre for each of these regions will be fixed. This will be the minimum production of nuts per acre to be aimed at in each of the regions. **Fourth** A fertilizer mixture suitable to each region will be designed and a fertilizer application season for each region will be fixed. The above will be the basic guide line for the rehabilitation scheme.

Fifth execution: Under the control of the Board extension officers, trained in Agriculture and experienced in coconut cultivation will be recruited and appointed to be in charge of 2000/2500 acres of coconut land which have been registered under the scheme. They will be the field officers responsible

to advise, guide and implement the requirements of the scheme at the owner level. He shall be the contact at the owner level and the administrative level of the Board. An experienced coconut planter should be appointed to be in charge of 4 to 5 extension officers as Visiting Agent who shall report to the Board quarterly progress etc. of the scheme. Each of the V.As. will be assigned a definite area in a region.

Sixth, capital subsidy: The Board will give the following subsidies for improvement of the holdings (a) Fencing (b) Soil conservation and contour drains (c) Drainage (d) Construction of a well where suitable and necessary for inter-cropping (e) Under-planting, filling of vacancies and replanting. **Seventh, cultivation subsidy:** Side by side with the above, subsidised fertilizer and a subsidy for mulching and husk burying should be given. The programme to be carried out under the guidance and advice of the extension officers, who shall see that the subsidies are made use of and the targets of yield are achieved.

Livestock under coconut: A programme to establish a profitable livestock industry in the coconut properties—particularly in the coconut triangle should be prepared and implemented through livestock officers at the owner level. Livestock that should be considered is Poultry, Pigs, Sheep, Meat Cattle and Milk Cows. The subsidies that should be given are (a) Establishment of pasture and fodder grasses (b) irrigation facilities for pasture and fodder (c) Housing (d) Animal feed (e) Fertilizer for pasture and fodder. **Loans:** Loans should be available on easy terms for purchase of livestock, housing for animals, implements required for a livestock industry. **Inter-cropping:** Inter-cropping among coconut should not be taken into the scheme of rehabilitation, but should be encouraged where soil, water and other conditions are favourable and do not conflict with the main objectives of rehabilitating the industry.

Agro - Industries; The primary products of the coconuts are (a) Copra (b) Dried coconut (c) Coconut oil (d) Fibre. All these are export items. With an

Coconut Rehabilitation

animal husbandry industry integrated with the coconut planting industry, export of copra should be banned, oil and poonac instead should be allowed with ceiling on Poonac prices for home consumption, export of desiccated coconut should be controlled to maintain the overseas markets but not to the extent that it will interfere with the needs of livestock industry. Manufacture of fibre and fibre products should be encouraged and a subsidy or incentives given for the manufacture of yarn, twine and ropes of quality, fibre carpets and mats and other fibre ware. A research unit should be set up to investigate methods of improving fibre, fibre products and the expansion of the uses of fibre as an industrial raw material.

Coconut shell charcoal: Manufacture of activated coconut charcoal for export should be undertaken in selected areas. There are several areas where coconut is grown mainly for the manufacture of arrack, vinegar, treacle and jaggery. The traditional area for these industries is south of Moratuwa bridge. The coconut holdings in these areas must be developed for this purpose and subsidies given to maintain and improve the holdings. Nuts for consumption, used to be supplied from these areas and this should be re-established. Use of coconut lands in the coconut triangle and other regions coming under the rehabilitation scheme for these purposes should be discouraged if not prohibited. In these areas the home gardens or units less than 5 acs. may be subsidised if the trees are used for tapping. In addition a scheme to improve the quality of vinegar, coconut treacle and jaggery, with a view to establishing an export market may be set up. This will be an inducement for the small holdings to improve them and increase the income. This will also be the main source of nuts for local consumption.

SURPLUS LANDS UNDER THE LAND REFORM LAW

After a revision of the actions taken by the Government to dispossess owners, not in keeping with Reform law, there will be still surplus land that will be vested in the State. Most of these lands are mismanaged and neglected with

the resulting drop in yields etc. now. Section 22—(1) of the L.R. law stipulates what the Government should do with the lands taken over. They are:—

(1) (a) Alienation for Agricultural development and animal husbandry by way of sale exchange rent purchase or lease to persons, who do not own Agricultural land or who own Agricultural land below the ceiling.

(b) Alienation by way of sale exchange, rent purchase or lease to a person for Agricultural development or animal husbandry or to Co-operative or Collective farm.

(c) Individual allotment to persons for the construction of a residential house.

(d) for a farm or plantation managed by the Commission.

(e) Utilization for any Public purpose.

(f) Alienation by way of sale to persons who were minors at the time of the imposition of the ceiling on agricultural land and whose parents were dispossessed of such land in excess of the ceiling by reason of such excess land having vested in the Commission under this law.

(g) Alienation to any corporation established under the State Agricultural Corporation Act No. 11 of 1972 etc.

Section 25 says: The extent of any agricultural land alienated by the Commission to an individual shall be such as to ensure as far as possible that the average income derived from the development of such land shall not be less than three hundred rupees per mensem.

The most important of these are: land may be sold to minors at the time the law came into operation when they come of age, and the other, "sold to those who do not own land, in such extents, they can secure an income of Rs 300/- a month. In the former case the children of the owner have been denied of their birth right by law because they were minor contrary to basic human rights. Such lands, in extents the children are entitled to under section 3, should be restored to the parents, to be held in trust till they become

major, but vested in the state till the land is sold to the rightful owners. Till this is done the trustees parent should pay the state 7% annually of the value of such land. It is obligatory of such trustees to fall in line with the rehabilitation scheme to maintain and increase production.

The objects in the latter class should be, to sell to persons, who are capable of working the land and who have the necessary financial support to do so, in extents to give the person a net monthly income of Rs. 300/- as required by the law. Such extents to be sold, will vary according to locations etc. as explained earlier. The criterion or the base is not surface area but the income potential of Rs. 300/- per month in terms of the law. Other lands, which can be worked in units of 300 Acs. or more may be handed over to State Plantation Corporation to work and operate purely as coconut plantations.

These proposals will justify Land Reforms, will broadbase and scatter ownership, provide economic units of holdings to those who have no land but have the financial resources to work and derive a reasonable income from a coconut property, will be just and fair to all owners whose land have been vested in the state, and finally restore the economic value of the coconut lands to the community, for the community will benefit if its members can earn, save and invest for greater productivity. This should be the underlying principle in Land Reforms.

In summary we recommend:

1. A clear definition of Agricultural land with reference, to soil, water and crops.
2. Area of units should be according to productivity to equalise income to owners.
3. Unit should be same to all owners and their children.
4. Section 14 should be amended to remove legal disinheritance of minors of a family.
5. Land that should go to the minors should be held in trust till the minors come of age to be eligible under the reforms.
6. All owners of land coming under the reforms law shall be treated equally, acts of

discrimination corrected, where their wishes have not been granted as provided for in law granted, fragmentation of their statutory holding corrected.

7. Redistribution of land to be carried out in economic units as provided in the Reforms law.
8. Destruction or fragmentation of estates into minute parcels for settlement and village expansion should be prohibited by law as in the case of tea and rubber.
9. A legal commission be appointed to inquire and report to Government on the implementation of the L.R. law and its effects on the economy of the state.
10. A Statutory Board be created by an act of Parliament to rehabilitate the coconut industry with power to set up an organisation to assist and develop the industry in all its aspects of planting, replanting, management, granting of subsidies, supervision of Agricultural practices and develop subsidiary agriculture, set up and rationalize agro industries based on coconut plantations.



EIGHTYSEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

Ho Chi Minh born May 19, 1890

In this world where people have become power grasping puppets, where individualism is exalted to such heights as to exclude all thoughts of others, it is essential to remember a man whose life was a personification of struggle, a man who understood the essence of the science of revolution and applied it to achieve the liberation of his own people and the oppressed peoples the world over.

President Ho Chi Minh was not a mere political figurehead, isolated from his people. He is the spirit of Vietnam. Each man, woman and child identifies himself or herself with this great man who was an integrated part of his peo-

ple: "Uncle Ho is not dead. He will live for ever with our mountains and our rivers, in our revolutionary cause and in the hearts of our people". Not only is he in the hearts of the people of Vietnam, but in the hearts of the oppressed peoples in other parts of the world, fighting for national liberation.

Ho Chi Minh came to France as a young patriot in search of a revolutionary road to liberate his fellow countrymen from the French colonial yoke. During this time, he also visited Europe, Africa and the Americas. It is during these years that he became deeply aware of the injustices and cruelties of the capitalist society, and was grievously shocked by the destitute life of the working class and the labouring poor. Hence, he clearly realised that "our friends were the working class and our enemy was imperialism, wherever it may be". This was a great turning point in Ho Chi Minh's thinking.

Gradually, he educated his people and made them distinguish between friends and foes. It was in the midst of his activities in France that the Russian Revolution broke out. The Great October Revolution had a decisive influence on Ho Chi Minh's militant life. He was determined to follow the road of the October Revolution.

The Versailles Conference in 1918 led him to another important conclusion—in order to gain independence and freedom, the people must first and foremost rely on their own strength; the Vietnamese must liberate themselves through their own efforts. Having begun his career as a Vietnamese patriot longing for his country's liberation from foreign enslavement, Ho Chi Minh steadily moved towards Socialism, grasping immortal Lenin's teachings: "Step by step, along the struggle, by studying Marxism-Leninism parallel with participation in practical activities, I gradually came upon the fact that only Socialism and Communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working people."

President Ho Chi Minh paid special attention to the ideological cultural revolution aimed at educating the labouring masses. He said: "In order to build Socialism, Communism, it is necessary to produce Socialist, Communist men." He taught the people of

Vietnam that they must resolutely struggle against individualism, cultivate the spirit of collective labour, display industry and practise thrift to build the country and maintain close contact with the masses and whole-heartedly serve the supreme interests of the revolution.

It is this spirit which gave an individual enough courage to arm himself with grenades and mines and throw himself on an American tank. It is this spirit, instilled in every man, woman and child which enabled them to reconstruct a blown-up bridge within six hours, by substituting human shoulders when the steel stays were missing. It is this spirit which enabled his people to study under the most grim circumstances. *Each one, Teach one*—was a living inspiration, not an empty slogan. Families were torn away, great sacrifices were called for all done with the same selfless undaunted spirit.

Honesty, humanity, loyalty, will-power, courage, were essential to him. He disliked formalities and empty talks, and set great store by practical deeds. "For, deeds should match your words," The people of Vietnam inspired by his words, have made a firm resolve to perform practical services for the country and the people, all their life, every moment of their life. It would be well for our own people to heed them and learn from them.

President Ho Chi Minh and his party, known earlier as the Communist Party of Indochina and later the Vietnam Workers Party and now the Communist Party of Vietnam, attached great importance to the founding of various organisations to rally the masses and give full play to the strength and creativeness of the masses in the revolutionary struggle. Like Lenin, he had boundless faith in the masses. "Without the people, even the easiest work cannot be done; with the people; even the hardest work can be done."

He took great care over the ideological education of the cadres. He launched a movement against illiteracy, advised the people to get rid of backward ideas and customs left by the colonial feudal system. He told children to study well so as to take part in the build-

Debt Moratoria ?

ing up of the country. He had great faith in the unity of his people;

*Our mountains will always be,
Our rivers will always be,
Our people will always be,
The American invaders defeated,
We will re-build our land ten times
more beautiful.*

There was unity between his momentous revolutionary activities and his very simple life and modesty. His means were frugal, never a morsel wasted. He never asked for help for anything he could do by himself. His plain living was in complete harmony with the highest, most beautiful thoughts, feelings and spiritual values. He was no ascetic; but living the grim life of his people, he shared their equanimity and calm.

Ho Chi Minh was a pet-philosopher, in the great Asian tradition. "A man who would wander the grim mountains of South China, ford its rivers, slump exhausted in mice ridden huts", and yet—

*Warmth fills the heart of man
and life reawakens,
Bitterness now makes way for
happiness.*

*Another poem bids goodbye to a
tooth?*

*You are hard and proud, my friend,
not soft and long like the tongue;
Together we have shared all kinds
of bitterness and sweetness,
But now you must go West while
I go East.*

Yet, again, the dark dungeons of Kuomintang inspired him to write:

*When you enter the jail,
You are charged a lighting fee,
Six Kwaysi Yuan per person;
Thus, in the domain of darkness
Light is worth six Yuans.*

His journey to jail and captivity gave rise to another reflection:

*Along the way we travel,
the guards are carrying pigs,
Pigs travel on guard's shoulders,
While men are dragged in irons.
Once a man is forced to surrender.
The value of man is less than that
of a pig.*

Ho Chi Minh's mind was not confined merely to national issues. "The revolutionary cause of our people is an integral part of the world revolution. Our victory is a great contribution to the victory of the world revolution. This contribution consists in fighting and

defeating imperialism, essentially US imperialism, leading to the formation of a world people's front, in support of Vietnam against US aggression."

In 1921, Ho Chi Minh had set up the Union of Oppressed Peoples to co-ordinate the international liberation fighters. It comprised the representatives of Korea, Indonesia, India, China and Malaya. He drew his inspiration from the peoples of the Soviet Union and China.

The people of Vietnam will celebrate his eighty-seventh birth anniversary on May 19, 1977. They are a people, a nation, who can celebrate, for they have not deterred from the path shown by their uncle Ho. They are fighting, working, studying, becoming undaunted revolutionaries in the struggle to uphold the freedom of their mother-land, for the happiness of their people, and carrying out their international duties.

While in many countries the masses are living in misery and poverty, victims of the whims of political leaders who, in their selfish egoism and ignorance, are letting the country waste, a people unified, courageous, undaunted are building a nation "Ten times more beautiful" under the inspiration of their beloved leader Uncle Ho.

ANAMIKA

—Mainstream



IMPENDING NEMESIS

Third World Debt

—Three Hundred Billion
Dollars—

By A Special Correspondent

At the time of writing the full details of the agreements and disagreements which have emerged in the recent Paris North/South dialogue are not known. It has been briefly reported that the rich nations had agreed to set up a Common Fund to stabilise the prices of primary commodities of the Third World countries and also that a billion dollar fund would be created under the auspices of the IMF to enable the poorest among the Third World countries to service their debts.

Many people in Ceylon and in the rest of the Third World do not know the extent of the foreign debt of Third World countries. According to the report of a National Parliamentary Committee in Canada—this Committee is in charge of foreign affairs and national defence—the Third World countries are burdened with foreign debts of over \$ 165 billions. The report revealed that of this sum \$ 9.8 billions are owed to Canada. The Committee has recommended the creation of a mechanism to individually re-negotiate the debts. The Committee, further, in its report to Parliament, said that the Government was not favourably inclined towards cancelling the debts or converting them into subsidies or taking other measures to waive their repayment. The government, on the other hand, has stressed the importance of guaranteeing the commitments in order to ensure international monetary and economic stability. The report finally stressed that the magnitude of the Third World's chronic debt problem prevented development and that the problem could not be ignored by the rich industrialised countries.

While the Canadian estimate of Third World debt is \$ 165 billion, there are other more convincing estimates that the debt is over \$ 300 billion. There are economists and bankers who have stated that unless the rich industrial countries and the bankers of the capitalist world resolve this problem of debt, it would not be long before the \$ 300 billion mountain of Third World debt will destroy them. There are other observers who have stated that some of the recent aggressive confrontationists policies of the U.S. vis-a-vis the Soviet Union stem from the overhanging threat of Third World debt; and the danger of Third World countries repudiating them altogether was real and the only way of preventing a unilateral cancellation or moratoria of debt was war, limited or global.

It is interesting to examine how the developing countries piled up the huge debt; it started snowballing, first, during the great commodities boom from 1971 to 1974 and secondly after the oil multinationals (operating through OPEC) forced the quadrupling of oil prices at the end of 1973. Most of this debt is short term loans, renewed

(or "rolled over") loans, continuously increased by the bankers' shylockian imperatives.

Less than \$ 100 billion of this debt is long term government-to-government loans usually from the United States and other industrial countries to developing countries for aid purposes. According to David Goldman, writing in the US Labour Party journal, *New Solidarity*;

"The core of the \$ 300 billion dollar is about \$ 75 billion from five to seven year loans to the Third World from Euro-dollar banks. Of that principal amount of \$ 75 billion, a tremendous \$ 17 billion in loan amortisation comes due in September 1977, in the estimate of the Swiss Bank Corporation. Virtually none of this lending has affected the actual economic development of Third World countries. In consequence there is no basis for any of it to be repaid. During the pre-1974 years of commodity boom, when the prices of the raw materials which the developing sector exports doubled on the world market, Third World countries contracted a huge volume of debt through the following swindle. As the paper value of their exports rose, Third World countries' credit rating rose, and they increased their borrowings. They then re-deposited most of the loans in the Euro-dollar pool they had drawn from, providing more funds to their bankers. This, in turn, led to more loans to commodity speculators, more jumps in commodity prices, and more loans to Third World countries. Through this mechanism, a miserably poor country like Zaire managed to borrow over £ 8 billion from the international banks, while the price of its single export, copper, rose from 66 cents a pound to almost \$ 1.40 a pound at its early-1974 peak.

"But when commodity prices collapsed (following the wave of industrial shutdowns over 1974), the rate of lending to the Third World increased. With the collapse of their export earnings due to the end of the commodity price bubble, and the 400 per cent rise in oil prices, the Third World was now desperate to keep its head above water. By official estimates, the Third World was short of cash for even limited import needs by \$ 35 billion during

1975 and \$ 30 billion during 1976; the actual totals are about half again that much.

To finance these massive deficits, the international banks issued short-term loans at a stupendous rate: these total over \$ 100 billion. About half these short-term loans represent a pure book-keeping trick in which no money changes hands; as interest payments on the total outstanding debt came due, at the rate of about \$ 20 billion in 1975 and \$ 30 billion in 1976, the banks merely issued new short-term loans to cover the interest payments.

The writer explains how this huge debt grew "on paper" without any corresponding or proportionate developmental benefit to the borrower countries.

Now, the interest payments have begun to 'swallow the revenues of many developing countries. And, if this multiplication of interest is not arrested third world countries can survive only through total debt cancellation or a moratoria.

There is no doubt that the brink has been reached: and that unless the burdens are lifted off the debtor-countries, the lending countries are faced with the collapse of their monetary system.

"But this rubber band has been stretched to the point of snapping. During 1977 at least \$ 17 billion of long-term credits are due for repayment. By the method banks use to 'cook' their books and cover up total illiquidity of their loans to the Third World countries, payments schedules are all-important. Banks can declare profits and dividends against scheduled income. If the scheduled \$ 17 billion in cash income fails to come through this year, the entire book-keeping swindle will come apart, and banks will be unable to meet their liabilities to depositors. On top of the \$ 17 billion, the Third World's deficit during 1977 is projected by international agencies at \$ 33 billion. This adds up to a net financing requirement of \$ 50 billion in new cash (excluding the gigantic burden of short-term debt and its interest). By Morgan Guaranty's estimates, this is double the ante-for 1976. There is absolutely no way—as David Rockefeller insisted in a Paris speech early this month—

that the banks will be able to find the \$ 50 billion. As for the world's erstwhile central bank, the International Monetary Fund, only \$ 7 billion in loans issued from the Fund this year. And the IMF has absolutely no cash left for further lending.

Goldman has set out the position clearly. The IMF is very nearly bankrupt and the Eurodollar world has been trying to save the IMF-IBRD and the entire fabric of the Eurodollar monetary empire through Petrodollars. Up to a point, OPEC and Arab countries had obliged, but these countries are now becoming more and more cautious.

Finally, Goldman pointed out the plight of Mexico and Brazil.

"Meanwhile, the two largest Third World debtors, Mexico and Brazil, are bankrupt by any reasonable accounting standard. Mexico currently pays more than half of its total export earnings out as debt service; Brazil pays 46 per cent of its export earnings. Wall Street sources are terrified that both countries will default when major debt repayments come due for Mexico in the first quarter of 1977, and for Brazil in the second and third quarters of 1977.

"In a recent report, the World Bank, the sister institution of the International Monetary Fund, argued that the Third World debt situation was not as bad as it might seem, because inflation reduces the relative value of dollar debts with respect to the commodities the Third World exports. This is the proposed "solution" of World Bank president Robert McNamara, the old Kennedy and Johnson Defense Secretary, a close associate of the proposed Carter cabinet: world hyperinflation. The World Bank did not mention that inflation also raises the cost of Third World imports. But since they are committed to rapid reductions in the world population, they have no reason to consider how the Third World will manage to import food, let alone tractors.

Anyway, it is abundantly clear that the 37-nation Paris Conference has not even touched the barest fringe of problems of the Third World Debt. The debt will grow. The billion dollar fund cannot meet the \$ 17 billion, due in September.

Concept Of Sovereignty

Will the rich countries resort to a "limited war" in the Middle East to save the IMF, IBRD and the Eurodollar empire?

* * *

HEADLINES AND HIGHLIGHTS

- Constitution
- Police

by Serendib

FAULTY FOUNDATION.

Tribune has consistently reiterated that the basic foundations of the 1972 Republican Constitution were bad. Tribune has called for a change in the Constitution from the time it was promulgated and has stressed that it was necessary to have one which would recognize the separation of powers where the Executive and the Judiciary must stand apart from the Legislature and be linked together only on the basis of definite statutory provisions.

Support for this view has grown over the years. Many political parties have criticized one aspect or another of the Constitution, but it was our contention that the entire concept underlying the Constitution was faulty. It was heartening, therefore, to read a report in the *Sunday Times* of May 29 by Victor Gunawardene under the title "REVIEW CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF NSA."

"The conceptual basis of the National State Assembly as stated in the Constitution, that 'the sovereignty of the people is exercised through a National State Assembly of elected representatives of the people' needs to be reviewed, according to Mrs. Suriya Fernando, attorney-at-law and a member of the Civil Rights Movement, and Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam, attorney-at-law. They said so in the course of the discussion that followed a talk by Dr. Tiruchelvam on 'Human Rights Policy and the General Election' at the Centre for Society and Religion last Wednesday. Mrs. Fernando, who presided, said the present conceptual basis of the NSA could result in human rights being put in jeopardy because a government could under the guise of exercising the sovereignty of

the people, enact legislation infringing some of their basic rights. The people would then have no legal remedy.

Dr. Tiruchelvam had earlier urged that the Constitution be amended so as to provide for enforceable remedies for violations of human rights. A prerequisite for such amendments would be a review of the conceptual basis of the NSA so as to provide for among other matters, judicial review of legislation and the right of challenge of laws and of all actions of the Executive by aggrieved parties.

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Suriya Fernando, Attorney-at-law and Member of the Civil Rights Movement, is closely connected with some of the leading lights of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. It will be remembered that the Communist Party was the only partner of the United Front which had objected to the Criminal Justice Commission Law but had later been stoned-walled into acceptance by various threats from governmental sources supported by the LSSP. The CJC legislation is only one of the many aberrations that has emerged from concept of sovereignty which is the basis of the 1972 Constitution.

The Civil Rights Movement has from its very inception been fighting against the Constitution and the anti-democratic legislation and procedures it has adopted. It is to be hoped that the Constitution will be changed before it is too late. All parties, except the SLFP, have indicated that some changes in the Constitution are desirable. But it is not enough to effect piece-meal changes. The whole concept of sovereignty must be changed. Any Constitution must have checks and balances—at least to curb the misuse of power. A *carte blanche* handing over absolute power—legislature, executive and judicial—even to a body like the National State Assembly can lead only to disaster.

POLICE AND THE PUBLIC

The *Sunday Times* of May 29, had a front page story with the heading: "IT'S PLAIN TERRORISM". SILENCE OF JAFFNA PUBLIC A DISSERVICE SAY POLICE". The report read as follows:

"This is plain terrorism, a top police official told 'The Sunday Times', commenting on the recent killing of two policemen of the Chunnakam station.

"He added: 'Unless the Jaffna public refuses to be terrorised and intimidated we are almost helpless. When eye-witnesses don't talk, it is obviously through fear. But the Jaffna public is doing itself a disservice...their silence through fear will only encourage more terrorism.'

"Police inquiries so far reveal that the two policemen were on the verge of a major breakthrough in their own investigation of a previous shooting. Again, this victim was a policeman who was investigating some bank robberies organised by a terrorist gang with political connections. That policeman was stopped on the road and eight bullets were fired at point blank from an automatic pistol and two through the ear when he was on the ground.

"The two policemen investigating that killing were about to make certain arrests when they were shot dead at 9.45 a.m. on the main Jaffna-KKS road. Five masked men rode up to them, got off their bicycles calmly, shot the men at point blank range and rode off. The incident took place near the bus-stand and there were many people who obviously saw the whole incident. But nobody is ready to talk.

"The same police official said: It is interesting that policemen investigating ordinary crimes like house-breaking are left severely alone...this is terrorism with a political angle, he added.

Knowledgeable persons find this police comment very amusing. It is a sad reflection that Police Intelligence is ignorant about the real state of feeling in Jaffna with regard to the police and army, much more the police than the army. To the ordinary man in Jaffna, even the most civic conscious and public spirited, the police stand as a symbol of oppression and brutality, especially in regard to all matters political. There is a universal sentiment in Jaffna that the police constitute the strong arm weapon of a Sinhala majority government to eradicate the aspirations of the Tamils in regard to their language and their identity.

As long as this sentiment prevails it would be foolish on the part of the police to expect co-operation from the Public in any matter (especially political) it seeks to investigate. It is ironic to hear the police talk about "terrorism" when it has practised terrorism of various kinds against the Tamil people in a large number of matters. Jaffna Tamils have not forgotten the actions of the police (covered-up by the government) during the time when the I.A.T.A. Conference took place in Jaffna two years ago. If the police expect co-operation from the public in Jaffna it should set out to create a new image of the Force. It is only when the police, once again, discharge their duties and obligations under the law in a fair, objective and straight-forward manner that the police can hope for co-operation from the Jaffna public.

But it is not in Jaffna alone that the Police have "got" into "trouble". There have been accusations that the Police had "taken sides" by acts of commission and omission in many places, and more recently in the plantation areas, especially in Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya electorate.

A report in the *Daily Mirror* on June 1, stated that:

"While sporadic clashes occurred in Nuwara Eliya town last Friday between supporters of the UNP and the SLFP within a stone's throw of the police station, police did not intervene.

"Several times during the day rival groups clashed. According to a witness, one group was led by some traders. Tension mounted and it was only after complaints were made to the police that action was taken and an arrest made. The man who was arrested is reportedly a UNP supporter. He was later released on bail and admitted to hospital. Yesterday Mr. S. S. Joseph, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, flew into Nuwara Eliya by helicopter and began inquiries into the incidents."

The report did not throw any light on real issues involved.

However, the *Daily News* of Thursday, June 2 reported that Police Officers in Nuwara Eliya had reported sick and that many of them had succeeded in getting themselves warded in the hospital;

that similarly officers in the Police Stations in Nanu Oya and Hatton had also reported "sick". The *Daily Mirror*, which is presently a little allergic to news about the Nuwara Eliya division played this story down. But the paper indicated that the Policemen had reported "sick" because "they were protesting against the transfer of the Superintendent of Police of the area." The *Daily Mirror* assured its readers that everything was normal because Policemen from other areas had been brought in to man the Police Stations.

It was the *Sun* which reported that Mr. R. S. D. Silva, Superintendent of Police, Nuwara Eliya had been transferred to Vavuniya and that Mr. D. T. M. Senarath, who is at present S. P. Vavuniya is to succeed him from June 5. The *Sun* further stated: "the transfer move has sparked off a wave of protest from the Police Stations in the Nuwara Eliya region. In many stations personnel are reported to have sent sick notes as a mark of protest. They have also cabled the D.I.G. (Range II) requesting him to reconsider the transfer. Accordingly Mr. S. S. Joseph, D.I.G. (Range II) had rushed to Nuwara Eliya to make an on-the-spot study of the situation.

The *Sun* of Friday, June 3, reported in a front page box "FOLLOWING 'SICK NOTE' PROTEST BY POLICE AT NUWARA-ELIYA S.P.'S TRANSFER CANCELLED." The report read:

"The Government yesterday cancelled the transfer of Mr. R. S. D. Silva, Superintendent of Police, Nuwara Eliya. Police personnel attached to 16 stations in the Nuwara Eliya region had protested against the transfer and stayed away from work by submitting sick notes. Earlier the protesting policemen were reported to have rejected an offer to settle the dispute by deferring the transfer and insisted that it should be cancelled. At the Nanu Oya station, all police personnel reported sick while at Ginigathena, there was only a Sergeant who was acting as OIC. Reinforcements from Kandy had to be rushed to man the Ginigathena station. Other stations affected were Nuwara Eliya, Uda Pussellawa, Rangala, Nildandahena, Pundaloya, Talawakelle, Agarapatana, Lindula,

Dimbula, Hatton, Norton Bridge Maskeliya, Bogawantalawa and Norwood. Mr. S. S. Joseph DIG (Range two), who rushed to Nuwara Eliya on Wednesday for an on-the-spot study of the situation, disclosed the cancellation of the transfer. Shortly before this development, police personnel in a few other regions are said to have sent notes. Meanwhile, the Executive Committee of the Police Central Welfare Council meets this morning to review certain issues connected with the move to transfer Mr. R. S. D. Silva."

It is not clear what underlying circumstances led to the "crisis" in Nuwara Eliya among the Police Officers. Evidently the sudden transfer of the S.P. prompted the officers to resort to what was virtually a "strike"—through "sick notes."

In this connection, it is pertinent to note that the *Sun* of June 2 had a front page lead story with the heading "INSPECTORS PLEDGE TO BE NON-PARTISAN" THEY WILL REJECT ANY ILLEGAL ORDERS". The report read as follows:

"The Sri Lanka Police Inspector's Association has called on its members to perform their duties correctly in accordance with the law, and to carry out only legal orders. In a note to all its members, the Association has observed that in the past the reputation of the Police had been tarnished whenever a general election or a by-election took place. Hence the Inspectors have been told that they 'would not be justified in carrying out illegal orders from whatever source they emanate.' The note has been signed by the Chairman of the Association Mr. A. T. Seneviratne and its Secretary Mr. C. Mathanga-weera. It lists the following as the causes which in the past had tarnished the reputation of the Police during elections. *Reluctance on the part of Police Officers to take correct and appropriate action in accordance with the law and in certain situations due to fear of reprisal. *Pressurised by superiors or influential persons to take incorrect, unlawful and partisan action. *Pressurised to take no action at all in certain situations due to orders given to this effect by superiors or influential persons. The note adds: 'As much

as the welfare of our members is the prime concern of the Association, in the context of what has happened in the past and what is yet happening, it is also our aim to ensure that the actions of our members do not tarnish the reputation of the Service. Your action in connection with the forthcoming hustings should be above reproach and non-partisan. Your Association is aware of the acute stresses and strains under which you would be performing your duties in the months ahead. You can be assured that if you act in accordance with the law, justly and fairly, the Association would be solidly behind you to fight against any injustice that may be meted out to you. We hope your actions in the months to come would enhance the prestige of the Inspectorate and project a better image of the Association and the service."

This decision on the part of the Inspectors' Association to act, according to the law, and not according to the whims and fancies of Political Authorities, MP's, or other political bigwigs and their hangers-on, is a heartening development that must be welcomed by all.

In recent years, after the Republic Constitution, made Ministers and MPs the supreme Executive power, the misuse of power not only by Ministers and MPs but also by other grades of the bureaucracy, including the Police, has become chronically endemic in this country.

The public outcry against this misuse has even compelled the customarily moribund Police Inspectors' Association to sit up and think. Merely writing memoranda or even shouting slogans, experience has shown, are not enough to end the misuse of power.



HELD OVER FOR NEXT WEEK

● **MUNICIPAL AND OTHER COUNCILS**

—Illegal, Immoral and Worse

UNIVERSITIES

The Fostering Of Humanism

by P. Chandrasegaram

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Education reforms in Asian and African countries particularly tend to fall into various controversies. The role and purpose of education is not formulated or understood clearly. Whether education should be purely economics based and centered is a case in point. There is sometimes no clear understanding of what economics based education involves in terms of the intellectual life and intellectual leadership that higher education is expected to generate. There is still no serious conclusion on the question whether universities are best fitted to 'train' students in practical activities and the arts. The two continents are tending to base their system purely on the western model without any original educational thinking. But the fact remains that Asia and Africa had very proud higher educational and cultural heritage.

In societies where the higher educational system has developed indigenously there is rational understanding of the goals and purposes of the different types and of the levels of education.

In some western countries notably in West Germany and to a large extent in Britain, Universities provide mainly theoretical education and education for intellectual leadership, while practical sciences such as engineering are left to what are known as Institutes. Students intending to follow careers such as law, medicine or teaching branch off into different streams at different stages in their educational career. The overall educational system enters into the socio-economic structure of society. As such strains and crises can be analysed systematically and resolved in a socially rational manner.

This is by no means to suggest that this pattern should be followed in toto, in all the countries. But no educational reforms could be thought of until there is comprehensive understanding of the total

educational situation in countries of these continents in relation to socio-economic reality. In most of the countries of Asia and Africa children are educated for elitism. A national system of education does not exist; a national educational policy is therefore not possible.

Sri Lanka with all the inadequacies of the educational system may be said to possess a national system of education and a national educational policy.

There is lack of understanding about what a 'job' means in the Asian, African socio-economic reality. Higher Education if it is worth the name should develop creative individuals who should be strictly pigeon-holed for jobs. The 'output' of universities should be individuals with initiatives who would interact creatively with the social environment and for whom there would be not much difficulty in socially and culturally creative work. The quest for a 'job' should not become a negation of engagement with the social and cultural reality, though job-seeking is imperative in the workaday world.

The Asian and African experience had been that the higher educational system hankers after the images and ideas of societies far removed from their country of birth. Education is geared to the needs and interests of sections of the population alienated from the soil. The separation of the ruling dominant elite from the people is maintained through education which excludes the vast majority and whose benefits elude the people. The same 'negative genius' that devised racialism and casteism, is apparently at work in the sphere of education.

Of course this is much more pronounced in the African continent than in the Asian continent.

Educational reformers enunciate their proposals without concern for their practicability in these areas. India and Sri Lanka too cannot absolve themselves from this charge. There is rarely much awareness of the economic, political and social forces that determine the educational system; educational system cannot be altered in any significant manner without changes in the social content. Without a change in the enveloping structure, reforms in the curriculum and content of subjects will not be of great avail. This change should be rela-

ted to matters pertaining to the politics on economic relations prevailing in the society. Hence radical or meaningful educational reform is not possible without basic political change or revolution.

This is not to say that no change in the educational system is possible unless there is political change. But the relationship between the educational and the politico-economic system is dynamic and changes however marginal or at best catalytical can be initiated in the educational system.

It would be irrelevant to discuss basic or far-reaching educational reforms without taking into its dynamic feedback links with the political economic and cultural reality of the society. Intellectual energy and academic idealism is wasted in Asian and African countries in adumbrating educational reforms without taking into account the extra educational forces that impinge upon and largely control the educational system.

Political parties generally have virtually no ideas on educational reform. All the Asian and African political parties and movements are led by people who are products of the western-oriented educational system. The 'caste' of the English educated elite in a social stratum which those who enter it do not want to dispense with it.

The trend of educational change in the world is in the direction of earth consciousness and a concern for the forces of nature and natural elements. In fact it is something more fundamental. Education is concerned about the human awareness of the self, of the physical body—its potentialities and inadequacies, powers and deficiencies, and above all a deep awareness of finitude; the finiteness of the earth and its resources; finitude of the human intellect; limits of progress; limits to consumption of goods and services. There is returns to self away from manipulation of nature; away from endless manipulation of all activities. A return to crafts-pottery, farming, wood-working as ways of self-fulfilment rather than non-manual activities' such as office-work, thinking and intellection. This return is not anti-intellectual or anti-scientific. Experimental science has perhaps penetrated too deeply into the life and consciousness of the international community for

them to return to life of nature as Rousseau the educationist-philosopher would interpret. But Science is no longer the final tool which could solve all problems satisfying all needs, meet all inadequacies whether those of human behaviour or of natural processes and resources. It is true that philosopher-educators dream of the time not too far into the future when human life will become virtually, infinite thanks to the genetic engineering and all that. Even if this becomes a reality, the recognition of human finitude will become all the more imperative.

This is the time for all educational thinkers to assess the present condition and the necessity of thinking and finding a way out of the impasse into which mankind is threatened with virtual imprisonment. The impasse results from the aggrandisement of human communities, the aggrandisement of some communities against others, the 'classes' against each other and also the aggrandisement of man against nature. There are not aggrandisements but also forms of hidden imperialism. They are based upon an attitude of 'ruthlessness' of rejection of limits in exploiting fellow humans and also exploiting, the earth and its resources. Ruthlessness was justified as it is so in many Asian and African countries as rejection of static and stagnant and stultifying traditions and traditional constraints upon human behaviour. It is true that the pre-industrial societies in Europe particularly and elsewhere have ossified to a degree where the ideological and politico-military attack on conceited nations became irresistible. The ending of politics-military imperialism and the unscientific exploitation of earth do not mean re-establishment of social order. But an inately moral and positively self-conscious stable social order to the world is an imperative necessity.

Education, must take cognisance of the main historic forces. The search for a new dynamic philosophy and 'scientific', method of education in the 'older societies' is indicative of searching for new direction that are in consonance with new global trends. The drive towards new direction will not succeed until 'the balance of political power' shifts globally yet in the interest of every individual nation. Educationists generally are not in a posi-

tion to bring about this shift in power. However, some measures are being tried out that bring in certain amount of 'flexibility' in the conventional higher education. This is the significance of many experiments in higher education and a number of countries which are developed in educational science.

Growing unemployment among the educated, the negative impact of rise in prices among the 'working class' and the 'middle class' and many other factors create uncertainty. The political system is also caught in a crisis which it is unable to resolve. However even the most effete social structure does not collapse until there is a viable alternative. It has been suggested that the new is conceived in the womb of the old. This means that the experience of educators in the present condition as positive and creative elements that need to be identified and developed. If the main character of the present system is its alienation from the people from the cultural and social reality 'new education' should be marked 'by identification' with the people, the evocation of their energies and ideas. Action in this direction must be decisive if it is to be meaningful; it should be well thought out and it should involve all sections of the community.



LIFE IN A TEA ESTATE—27

My New Home

by Ina Trimmer

The bungalow at Brae was a strange place. It was not a thing of stones, and mortar and wood inanimate, a structure only of human hands. It had stood here for neraly a century and through the years had gathered round it an environment that enclosed it with an aura.

I sensed this as I walked in with my husband that first cold drizzly morning.

We entered what was usually the office room but it was vestibule as well for it was the one exit that was always used. The writing table was pushed aside and covered with dust sheets and hessian; filling cabinets and chairs were similarly shrouded.

Brae's Big Bungalow

A narrow door led into a room bright and airy with large windows. These flanked the main entrance which opened directly on to the flight of steps that we had skirted, but they were all closed and trays of lime and cement lay everywhere.

Right opposite was another room similar to the vestibule I peeped in.

"My goodness Teddie, what windows!"

"Yes—I was determined to let light and air into this mausoleum. Do you know that each of these windows is twelve ft. across and over six ft. in height?"

They certainly looked it even more, framed as they were with a wide black band. The deep sills were also black.

"Heavens alive!" I gasped. "Hundreds of yards will be necessary for curtains!"

"Curtains! What d'you want curtains for? To prevent fresh air and light from flowing in? These windows weren't put in to be curtained off. You women can never see a window without associating it with curtains."

I held my tongue. There are times when silence is the better part of an argument.

"Come let's see the rest of the house", he said, placing an arm round my shoulders.

We returned into the cheerful front room and he led the way into a passage on either side of which were two rooms. We entered the one on the right. It was beautifully proportioned, a large square with a large octagonal bay window at the further end overlooking the rose garden.

"What a lovely room!" I said, "but so dark".

"I haven't touched this one. I've left it as it has been for the last hundred years or so. See that bay, it's lined in wood. I've strengthened it and the seat round, that's all. Isn't the ceiling fine?"

I looked up. The low wooden ceiling was beautifully carved in squares that suited the dimensions of the room.

"What wonderful craftsmanship! In the old days nothing was too much trouble. Now we are satisfied with large tracts of asbestos ceiling."

"That's what I have put into our bedroom. I had to. The original ceiling was all damaged."

"But look Teddie, a brand new fireplace!"

"Ah! yes! That too is mine. You'll find them in every room. Old man Geary had a contraption like an old donkey engine. Antedeluvian! It stood here, did the old stove, where the fireplace is now, an old incinerator with a chimney that pierced the roof. That old stove did duty for the other room as well."

"Which room?"

"One on the other side of the wall. It's the visitors' bedroom. Come—let's continue our inspection".

We moved into the room exactly opposite through a door that opened in to the passage. It was the counterpart of the one we had just left in size, in shape, in every way. Even the bay was there.

An enormous ancient "upright" piano occupied the better part of a wall. I opened it. In faded gold letters I distinguished its name—Haake.

"Ancient," I murmured as I struck a few notes. Sweet and faint came the sound like silver bells tinkling in the distance.

They seemed to bring a message from bygone years.

My hands continued to wander over the keyboard. Cracked and harsh came other sounds, and many of the notes were dumb.

The voice of the piano had succumbed to age. It could no more express either joy or sorrow.

I closed it gently.

"Sad, isn't it Teddie?"

"What is?"

"This piano, Age has overtaken it like it happens to all. There's tragedy in old age. Long ago, this piano, here, must have been a wonderful instrument. Its very name shows it was a queen amongst pianos. These ancient brass sconces, so tarnished now shone like gold when it was new. The tone is still so sweet, so hauntingly sweet.

"Not much sound anyway", said Teddie prosaically.

Just then Arumugan showed his head round the door.

"What Doraisany wanting for lunch?"

"Oh! anything will do. Open a tin, corned beef, sheep's tongue any old thing. Don't attempt to

cook till you have settled down. But come in Arumugan, I want to ask you something. Tell me about this piano."

"A-a-a-that one Mrs. Geary's. She German lady. Can play very nicely. I only a small boy the day this piano brought. Twenty five coolies carried it."

"What! all the way from the Kambiaddi?"

"All the way. Arumugam's pride shone in his eyes.

He took up his duster and lovingly cleaned the light tan case with the shine of the French polish still almost intact. There were tears in his old eyes. He brushed them away, with his hand.

"What was this room used for?" I asked.

"Drawing room lady. In this corner here every Christmas, Mrs. Geary kept the Christmas tree. I also always got a toy.

He wiped away another tear.

"Had she many children?"

"Two. One girl and one boy. The boy died here, grew to be young man, then died. Died of fever."

For some unaccountable reason a shiver went down my spine. To die here! In the flower of his youth! In this God-forsaken spot, remote and lonely! Far from all help!

"I going lady. Must see about lunch." Arumugan broke in on my thoughts. I dismissed him and turned to Teddie.

"This is not going to be our drawing room."

"Please yourself. Your province not mine. Come on, our bedroom, next."

"I shall call this Queen Victoria's chamber. It has a queer, early Victorian look.

And Queen Victoria's Chamber it was, till the day I left Brae.

There were no verandahs in the Big bungalow. Not even a back verandah, but instead was a sort of conservatory with glass roof from which, on either side, bedrooms opened. It had been a conservatory once but today a mess of building materials lay everywhere.



Confidentially

• Land Reform—3

IS IT NOT A FACT that Land Reform in the plantations has led to most curious phenomena of the most newsworthy kind? That the air in the plantations is full of stories about great doings of big and powerful men? That whilst there is an outcry in the country among the political elite against international corporations, multinationals and other organisations that are inter-linked and inter locked so as to create monopolies of various kinds, nobody seems to be bothered about the inter-linking and inter-locking of the new ruling hierarchy that has become a plague in the plantations today? That there are a whole brood of Regional Managers, Estate Managers, Estate Assistant Managers and a number of others lower down the line who are inter-locked and inter-linked by kinship and other ties? That this inter-locking and inter-linking of the new hierarchy in the plantations has created a vicious kind of monopoly never known before and which is having the most deleterious effect on the productive capacity of the plantations? That this new hierarchy, in its attempt to establish supreme power, resort to many devices which are inconsistent with democratic practice? That laws are ignored and waived in order to maintain the supremacy of this new elite? That where even such methods are not enough to get rid of "outsiders", who do not toe the line, disgustingly sinister methods are adopted? That in one recent case it was reported that a complaint was lodged in a Police Station against an Estate Manager the length of whose nose was not to the liking of some of those who temporarily control the destinies of the plantations?—That fortunately this Manager had the wits to cope with the false complaint and it was a piece of luck that he was not remanded on the basis of this charge? That the charge was later withdrawn? That it is not known what action has been taken against the maker of

the false complaint? That in the meantime a large number of estate Managers and Assistant Managers and Trade Unions have taken up the matter of the attempted frame-up with the authorities? That it is common talk that many employees in the supervisory grades have been victimised in this way?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the new dispensation in the plantations has led to grotesque aberrations of the most peculiar kind? That in great big plantations not far from Nuwara Eliya two brothers had held important positions in the supervisory and manufacturing operations on the estate? That everything had gone on swimmingly for many years and it was known that the two brothers had got to the top because of their honesty and hardwork? That lo and behold, very recently, one of the new tribe of the interlocked and inter-linked hierarchy of chieftains suddenly decided that it was wrong for two brothers to work in the same plantation? That what was worse, the chieftains had stressed, was that the brothers held important jobs? That, on the score the two brothers should not be in one place, one was served with a transfer order which was tantamount to a demotion? That the transfer was not because of any inefficiency or dishonesty on the part of the brother concerned? That the gossip in the planting circles is that the brother so victimised was not amenable to suggestions that part of the, made-tea should be diverted into the growing channel of the illegal diversion of state-owned plantation tea? That if he had agreed to become party to the illegal sales organised by a section of the hierarchy, this brother would have advanced in his career under the present set up without any doubt? That this matter is likely to be taken up by the Trade Unions in the near future? That in the meantime questions have been raised about the new rule sought to be enforced about two brothers? That it has been pointed out that among the new hierarchy there are brothers, cousins, in-laws and a whole host of close and distant relatives employed in the same region and often in the same estate? That questions will also be raised about the way supervisory personnel

have been appointed to plantations on MP's letters? That in every plantation there are people appointed in this *ad hoc* fashion at salaries far above their capabilities and which violate the norms and patterns of the existing salary structure in the plantations? That apart from this there are stories of how attempts have been made to blackmail and intimidate even senior planters by threatening to cut water and lights supplied to their bungalows? That it is time that the Government and others concerned with the future of the plantations look into these matters? That it is one thing to effect a change of ownership? That it is another thing to implement the provisions of the Land Reform Law? That it is a totally different matter to harass and victimise innocent people? That change of ownership and land reform could easily have been implemented without violating the normal procedures based on equity and natural justice? That Land Reform could easily have been introduced with out disorganising production or causing tensions and conflicts that will undermine harmony on the plantations? That the recent upheavals in the plantations (in a year of plentiful rain—with good rainfall last year as well) has led to a fall in production of a most substantial nature? That in the greater part of the hill country the highest cropping months are April, May and June? That Senior Managers have told *Tribune* that this year's crop in these peak months will be only a fraction of what it should have been? That it may be only a fifth of what it once was? That unless this trend towards disintegration in the plantations is arrested the plantation industry may well be written off? That paper plans to re-organise the industry, on Co-operative lines, will be of little avail after the plantations are ruined?

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