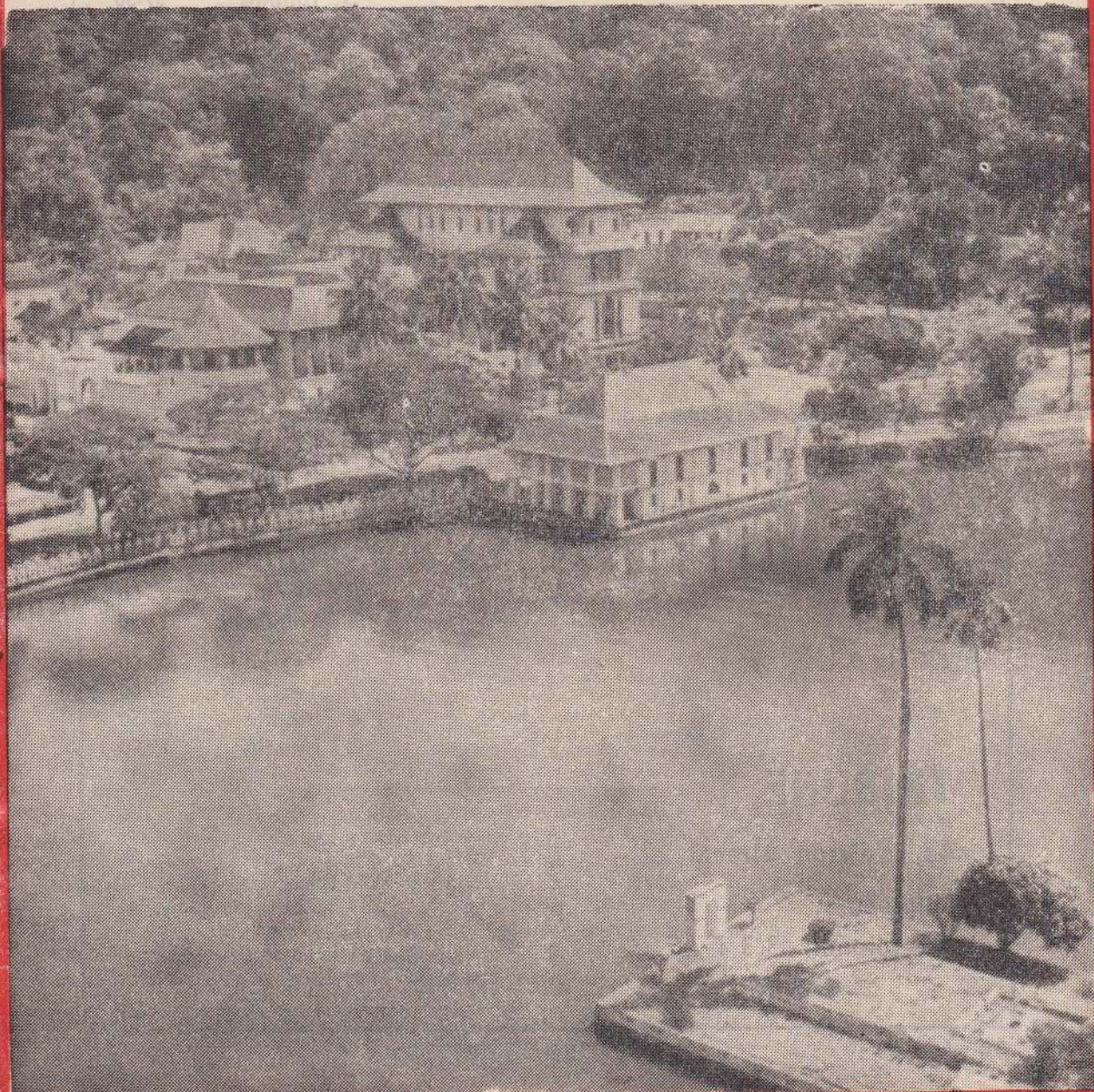


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TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a picture of the prestigious Dalada Maligawa (Temple of the Tooth) in Kandy, or Maha Nuwara, as it is now officially known. A very restricted and circumscribed Perahera took place this year instead of the mighty religious carnival which propaganda for domestic consumption has made out to be a world-shaking international event. But with all the global significance attached to the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy as one of the Meccas of the Buddhist religion, recent events in the town and its environs will be long remembered as the very antithesis of everything Buddhist. Historians and others will detail and elaborate on the carnage that was Kandy during the recent anti-Tamil communal violence, but we will confine ourselves to the mere thought of what Gautama Buddha would have to say from his Nirvana about the manner in which Sinhala Buddhist mobs were incited by Sinhala Buddhist "leaders" to murder, loot, pillage and burn Tamils and their homes (after taking away all worthwhile movables). The same things and worse took place at other Meccas of Buddhist pilgrimage—Anuradhapura, Dambulla, Polonnaruwa, Kotte, just to mention a few. Before sane-minded Buddhist leaders and religious dignitaries could begin to issue statements and appeals to stop the carnage, the damage had been done. Blaming the TULF for asking for a place under the Sri Lankan sun for Tamils—whatever the stupidities and however inflammatory the speeches of an amateurish TULF political leadership—is no excuse for the communal violence that was unleashed in a planned, deliberate and organised manner upon hundreds of thousands of Tamils. If the TULF and the Tamils had been driven to ask for Eelam in their bitter frustration, Sinhala communalists, with their communal violence in 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1977, have laid the basis and foundation for a divided Ceylon. To repair the damage done will take a great political tact and human sympathy. It will not be enough to talk of the Buddha's *dhamma* or his *maitri*, but these must be practised in a concrete manner. Buddhist organisations have begun to move and act, but there are Buddhist priests and others who seem to think that blood-curdling speeches and statements will bring the Tamils to their knees. One Buddhist monk, who seems to have the blessings of the Information Department, has demanded the permanent Sinhala military occupation of Jaffna and the complete Sinhala colonisation of the areas which are the traditional homelands of the Tamils. It is such a policy that has brought about the present impasse. If the Tamils had also been given opportunities to "colonise", Sinhalese areas under state auspices, it would be different. Nor can such policies they establish hegemony for a race in the modern world. There are innumerable examples in history to show that such unthinking policies have proved suicidal. The Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, had, very correctly, requested the TULF leaders to desist from making inflammatory speeches that would provoke the Sinhalese, and he also gave a stern warning that "if it is peace it will be peace and if it is war it will be war". Mr. Jayewardene is primarily the leader of the Sinhalese and only after that the Prime Minister of a multi-racial Sri Lanka. He has to keep his followers happy, but he has also an obligation to keep the unity of this country intact. This cannot be done by merely castigating the Tamils and the TULF—in spite of all the kindnesses shown to the Tamil refugees in their misery. He has also to restrain those of his followers who are inclined to indulge in communal outbursts which incite the Sinhalese fanatics to violence and also develop a sense of burning hatred against everything Sinhalese among the Tamils. The speech the UNP backbencher, Merrill Kariyawasam, made in the NSA during the last debate was a racist battle cry which the UNP cannot afford to endorse or even ignore. Kariyawasam spoke of Dutugemunu and that there was a Dutugemunu in the heart of every Sinhala. Such rhetoric is counter-productive and will make matters worse. Even if Mr. E. L. Senanayake's history was cock-eyed and irrelevant, his condemnation of communal violence and the practical assistance he had rendered to Tamils in Kandy and elsewhere has endeared him to all. Everything must be done to end the communal hatred that has been stirred by rumours spread by designing persons. This kind of communal holocaust had been caused before also through rumours and it has been done now, and it is imperative that it should not happen again. It is time that it is recognised that the real crux of the problem is economic. Such rumours will not be believed if there is greater employment and greater economic development—in which all communities participate.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

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Colombo, August 31,

This country is still in the throes of one of the most traumatic socio-political upheavals of the twentieth century. There have been many such upheavals since the turn of the century, but only a few of them were violent. The Sinhala-Muslim riots of May 1915, the Sinhala-Tamil riots of May 1958, (with a dress rehearsal in 1957) the anti-Government (the Establishment which included the LSSP and CP) Insurgency of April 1971 and now the anti-Tamil holocaust of August 1977, were violent, involving loss of human lives and property. There have been other lesser upheavals with manifestations of violence but they did not have the impact of the riots of 1915 or 1958. There is no doubt that 1977 will lead to far-reaching consequences either for good or evil depending on what the Government and the major political parties do and say.

There have also been other "revolutions" in Ceylon on the socio-political front which were not attended with any violence. But, we are not concerned with these however important they may be. Nor are we concerned directly with 1915, 1958 or 1971, though every one of them has intimate links with the current anti-Tamil violence. The unravelling of deep-seated animosities that led to the anti-Tamil outburst two weeks ago involves an investigation of profound importance but that is a task that must be undertaken by the historian, political scientist and the sociologist. Political journalists can only draw attention to significant trends and preach the customary homilies on what should be done and what should not be done.

One important factor that many seem to have forgotten is that, in the ultimate analysis, the basic cause for the Sinhala-Tamil confrontations and violence is economic; in the chronic economic under-development of the island and the frustrations that stem from

people seeking government jobs. During the last 20 years the economy has also suffered serious setbacks as a result of poor prices for the country's main export crops—tea, rubber and coconut—and the continuous rise in the cost of all imports. Together with this, the population has grown at a rate of around 2.5% while economic growth has seen-sawed between 2% and 4%. On this rate of population and economic growth, the backlog of under-development has not been cleared and the demands of the new generations with greater consumerism have not been met. The nett result is that there are too many young people (and even older people) wanting "suitable" jobs, but there are not even "unsuitable" jobs to dole out. In the absence of dynamic economic growth and development, frustrations, fears and bitterness easily spark off communal passions that have been deliberately nurtured in the hearts and minds of the Sinhalese and Tamils (and also the Muslims) on the slightest provocation.

The manner in which Sinhala, the official language, was manipulated to deny jobs to Tamils through discriminatory practices and also to ensure a kind of monopoly to Sinhalese, without any considerations for merit, laid the foundation for bitter resentment among the Tamils and also the fear among the Sinhalese that if the language policy (and its administrative manipulation) were altered in the slightest they would not get the jobs that were getting (and even lose some of those allotted to them). Coupled with this, standardisation was forcibly thrust upon the United Front Government through a radical-led Sinhala chauvinist organisation (now shedding crocodile tears for the sufferings of the Tamils). The Ex-PM and her government adopted a whole host of other measures suggested by this neo-fascist racist organisation to restrict employment of Tamils in all government services and even in the mercantile sector.

This economic discrimination against the Tamils operated through the official language, standardisation and district quotas, MPs chits and a whole lot of administrative devices must be viewed in the background of nearly fifty years of officially sponsored colonisation of Tamil areas. This colonisation was one-sided and partisan. Whilst

Sinhalese were planted in Tamil areas with huge government subsidies, Tamils did not enjoy any rights in Colonisation Schemes in Sinhala areas. In some "buffer" zones a few Tamils were thrust in as colonists in a Sinhala scheme as a propaganda smokescreen, but every time there was communal tension these Tamil colonists have been driven away after being robbed (many have been killed). The Tamils have therefore developed a sense of insecurity that the Government was using the Land Development Ordinance to promote racial and territorial genocide. Unless this sense of insecurity is removed, the frustrations of the Tamils will keep growing. The cry for Eelam came as a last desperate slogan of Tamil frustration.

Sinhala sentiments, on the other hand, has been aggravated by atavistic prejudices among the Sinhalese who have, in recent decades, been persuaded to look upon Tamils as "invaders" who pillaged buddhist temples and had destroyed ancient Sinhalese civilisation. The Sinhalese also fear that the secessionist movement for Eelam would seek to merge the north of Ceylon with the neighbouring Tamil Nadu in South India, barely 12-16 miles across the Palk Straits. All this and more has been repeated *ad nauseam* by politicians of various persuasions. The case for the Sinhalese and the case for the Tamils has been proclaimed from many house-tops, but at the moment what is important is not arguments for and against Eelam or any other concept but a way out of what is regarded as an impasse that has led to so much violence, arson, looting and displacement. (Sri Lanka will now have a permanent refugee problem if a solution is not found for the communal tensions and confrontations).

The Prime Minister, apart from the statement he made on August 18 in the NSA when the Leader of the Opposition Amirthalingam raised the matter of the communal violence on an adjournment motion, has maintained a discreet silence. He had however shown a great deal of personal interest in alleviating the sufferings of the refugees and more importantly taking very necessary steps to bring the situation under control. However in a message, the PM sent to the World Peace Through Law Centre

Conference, the Prime Minister gave an inkling of the kind of solution he had in mind for the communal imbroglio in Ceylon—a stand consistent with the manifesto of the UNP. His message to the Conference merits attention

"On the occasion of the World Law Day, and at the very commencement of my Government's term of office, it gives me great pleasure to state before an international forum dedicated to the promotion of human rights in the world, my Government's programme and policy in regard to the protection and enhancement of human rights in Sri Lanka. By a happy coincidence, my Government which on the 21st of July, 1977 was elected by universal franchise, complete its first month in office on World Law Day.

"During this month I have presented to the National State Assembly a comprehensive statement of the policy of my Government with primary emphasis on human rights, the economic emancipation of the poor and the moral regeneration of our society.

"At the general elections just concluded, my party sought, and overwhelmingly received, a mandate from the people, for the establishment of a just and free society in Sri Lanka.

"In Sri Lanka, we have a pluralistic parliamentary form of democracy. However, as with every democracy, in the absence of public vigilance, the institutional safeguards of human freedom tend to become eroded. My Government does not believe in the achievement of economic prosperity at the cost of human freedom.

"It is for this reason that my Government intends to give the highest priority to the redress of the unfortunate erosions, in the recent past, of institutional democracy in Sri Lanka. Through immediate constitutional reforms, my Government intends to restore, to the status of inviolability, the universally recognized fundamental human rights, enshrined in the Universal Declaration.

"My Government is profoundly committed to the absolute independence of the judiciary, free of political control as a prerequisite for the guaranteeing of equality before the law and equal protection of the law for the people. To this end, it is proposed that

the executive be divested of any means whatever of interfering whether directly or indirectly with the course of justice. It is further proposed that all extraordinary judicial tribunals before which individuals may be tried under discriminatory rules of procedures and evidence be abolished. My Government has also pledged to review the cases of persons already so tried and punished.

"My Government believes in a clean and open administration and therefore deprecates the practice of resorting to legal formulae designed to screen governmental and administrative action from scrutiny by the Courts.

"My Government rejects the practices of arbitrary arrest, detention without trial of suspected offenders and all forms of inhuman treatment of prisoners.

"The concept of the political prisoner will be eliminated by guaranteeing to everyone, justice according to universal standards and in terms of the ordinary law of the land.

"Safeguards will also restrict the 'emergency powers' of the executive to periods of genuine threats to national security.

"My Government believes that the freedom to associate and the freedom of expression are essential to every other freedom.

"Accordingly the formation and activities of political parties will not be curtailed in any way.

"The freedom of the press will not only be guaranteed but active assistance will be extended to all political parties to publish their views.

"The present state-controlled broadcasting system and the newspaper organisations will be freed from political control by laying down guidelines for the unbiased dissemination of information. The controlling bodies of these organisations will be broad based.

"My Government is dedicated to the elimination of all forms of discrimination, in this task, the redress of the grievances of all ethnic, religious and caste groups will receive my Government's urgent attention.

"To this end, an all-party conference will shortly be summoned to consider the problems of the non-Sinhala speaking people and its decisions will be incorporated in the proposed constitution.

"While moving speedily to restore and entrench the necessary legal safeguards for the promotions and protections of civil liberties my Government is acutely aware that institutional mechanisms in themselves will not ensure to the people the desired protection if in the administration of the law, persons in authority do not act in the spirit of, and with complete dedication to, the philosophy underlying these safeguards.

"It is with this realisation that My Government has set out to establish a Government and public service of determined and incorruptible men and women with a new moral commitment not only to efficiency but also to justice and fairness. In this endeavour persons in high office will be called upon to set the primary example.

The PM's message to the Manila Law Conference was an indication of what was in his mind. The In-

From the Ceylon Daily Mirror, Friday, August 26th, 1977.

T'phone Directory War: POLICE ON TRAIL OF CULPRITS

Police are now trying to track down the culprits responsible for creating panic among Tamil residents in what is called telephone directory warfare. Police sources said that certain mischievous elements took the telephone numbers of Tamils from the directory at random and informed them that the Tamil houses down their street would be the targets of attack that night. The message was then passed on to other Tamil residents and utter panic reigned in such areas. Residents in desperation flooded the police, army and even Members of Parliament with frantic calls seeking protection. Generally the security forces strengthened their patrols in such areas but the pain of mind caused to Tamil families was so extreme that many asked to be evacuated. The Telecommunication authorities have been asked to observe certain telephone lines and try to assist the police investigators in bringing the culprits to book.

formation Department release containing a Buddhist monk's unbuddhist solution to the problem probably represents the hardliner tough chauvinist Sinhala Buddhist opinion. Several UNP Ministers have made soft statements about the need to have a compromise solution. There have a whole host of statements and appeals asking everybody to be peaceful and calm. Many Buddhist organisations have pleaded for compassion—no doubt compassion for the Tamils.

What is needed is not compassion. After thrashing a man to an inch of his life it is pointless preaching a homily on compassion. After killing the breadwinner (and looting everything the family had and setting fire to the house) what is needed is not compassion for the victims. In religion, compassion must be shown to the sinner and not to the victim.

The slip the TULF leaders made in indulging in bravado talk about Eelam was utilised to punish a whole community with a ferocity that has left permanent scars. Many Sinhalese with victorious glee now want the TULF to climb down, eat humble pie and repudiate Eelam. This cannot be expected of even enemies in defeat. There are victors or losers in modern battles or contemporary political confrontations. Those who want to find a solution to the problem must not expect an abject apology from the TULF or the Tamils.

The real test of UNP statesmanship will lie in making it possible for the TULF and the Tamils to forget about Eelam, at least for the movement. The UNP has decided to do away with standardisation. This is a very big step forward. But the impact of this decision will be known in concrete terms only after the University admission selections in mid 1978. Not before, and the sceptical (and all Tamils are justifiably sceptical) Tamil will say that he must "wait and see." Without waiting to see what the TULF will say or do the Government must include in the forthcoming amendment to the Constitution the constitutional guarantees envisaged in the UNP manifesto. A Round Table Conference would prove fruitful only after such a step has been taken.

The initiative must be taken by the Government to break the deadlock. The olive branch and an indication of the "package deal" must

be held out to the TULF and the Tamils. The TULF, for its part, will do well to maintain the kind of discreet silence its now deceased leader, S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, maintained on such occasions. It is true that the TULF has the democratic right to speak about Eelam. In this connection, we are reminded of a cartoon that had appeared some years ago in the prestigious weekly *Punch* depicting a memorial stone in a graveyard for a motorist with the inscription **HERE LIES THE MAN WHO INSISTED ON HIS RIGHT OF WAY**. Sinhalese chauvinists have, no doubt temporarily, succeeded in securing a victory in a graveyard, but if they do not want Draculas and Frankensteins to emerge, (not among from the Tamils but from the Sinhalese who ran amok), they must bring this unhappy state of affairs to an end in the self interest of the Sinhalese themselves.

Neither the Government nor even compassionate Sinhalese (Buddhists, Christians, Leftists) should expect any favourable reactions from the Tamils to the appeals of "prominent Colombo Tamils"—such as those whose statement appeared in the last issue of *Tribune* and also in all the newspapers (and over the SLBC too)—or Colombo Tamil politicians like V. Kumaraswamy. A young Tamil youth, S. Sri Kantha, whose article on the polls verdict on Eelam in the North and East appeared in the *Tribune* of August 27 has written with hot indignation to the Editor and we reproduce relevant passages from his letter below:

As my article in *Tribune* (Aug. 27, 1977) had also been cited in the 'Editor's Note-Book' of that issue, I have the bounden duty to reply and clear doubts expressed by the Editor on the lines of economic prosperity of Eelam, to many of the readers, and detail out my point of view. Before I espouse my point of view, I like to expose some of the common features of the gentlemen, represented by 15 Tamil names, *Tribune* had listed in the last issue, who had appealed for peace. These so-called 'Tamil Residents in Colombo' (better if they would have put, Colombo 7 and 3 or 5) have the following common features.

1. Almost all of them have passed their prime (i.e. above 60-age level), just marking time for their

last visit to 'Kanatte' (I certainly have respect for these distinguished citizens; if the wording is strong, please forgive me); 2. Their palatial mansions, located in spacious Colombo 7 and 3 or 5, had not been attacked or looted by the unscrupulous elements, who went on rampage; 3. Except for the two James' (Rev. V. Mather and Mr. Rutnam), others have retired (or on the verge of retiring) from active life, just passing time by sending reports to press, seated in arm-chairs. They hardly come into contact with the younger generations, of the lower income group, from both the communities; 4. All of them had their education in English—with their Sinhalese friends in the same class rooms and lecture rooms; and would have sipped Scotch whisky with the socially elevated Sinhalese group only; 5. Most of their progeny are doing well, not in our Sri Lanka, but abroad, hence not exposed to the racial in-breeding tension prevailing here.

Are these retired Supreme Court Judges, Queen Counsels, Doctors, Retired Civil Servants and Business Magnates, who are going to form the nucleus of the future generation of Sri Lanka—Definitely no!

The writer, a 24-year old youth, claims to have the authority to speak on behalf of the down-trodden frustrated youth (whom you depict as "youthful fanatics"), being educated in swabasha, being victimized by standardisation, and also in job opportunities (by Mrs. B's Govt.), even after obtaining a Science degree from our own University of Sri Lanka.

Mr. Editor, I was of the opinion that you are really well informed and you wouldn't have made statements like, "...the economy of the Jaffna peninsula is very much dependent on the gainful and lucrative employment of Jaffna Tamils outside—a large number in Sri Lanka and a very much smaller number outside the country."

Your statement, is true, partially, but not fully. If the 'Jaffna economy' is so much dependent on the rest of the seven provinces, how can the front pages of the dailies publish two column front page headings, such as "Jaffna Red Onions Dried Chillies by sea" (Sun, Aug. 26, 1977), "Onions, beetroots airlifted to Colombo" (Daily News, Aug. 29, 1977)

Peace And Rehabilitation

These news items informed us that 10,000 lb of onions and 700 lb of beetroot were airlifted; 2,000 cwt. of dried chillies, 35 cwt pumpkins were shipped to Colombo, mind you, all coming from 'economically depleted' Jaffna peninsula!

..... This angry young man, (and there are thousands of them) then went to argue that Eelam was a viable proposition. In desperation one can find arguments to support any brief, and we will not enter into polemic about the viability of Eelam whose boundaries are yet to be defined. A displaced young Tamil, with nowhere to go, and who has been denied job opportunities, (after he had managed to obtain a university degree having gone through the needle's eye of standardisation and district quotas), has nowhere to turn except Eelam, the mythical haven of Ceylon Tamils.

The statements made by "prominent" Colombo Tamils and compassionate Sinhalese have a limited and specific purpose: they help to pour oil on troubled waters. Now that the waters have calmed down a little, compassion and pious proclamations of goodwill and good intentions are of little avail.

More useful and meaningful than these statements oozing compassion were the appeals from many trade unions and political organisations. One of the first notable of these statements came from the CMU and other Unions:

Eight of Sri Lanka's powerful trade unions—the Ceylon Bank Employees Union, Ceylon Mercantile Union, Ceylon Trade Union Federation, Ceylon Workers Congress, Independent Harbour Workers' Union, Public Service Technical Officer's Trade Union, Federation Union of Posts and Telecommunication Officers and the Ceylon Estate Staffs Union—while severely condemning violence have called upon the working class to assert themselves as best they can both individually and collectively to protect innocent people from violence and re-establish normal conditions.

The following is the text of the communique of the unions:

"The above mentioned organisations of the Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee deplore and severely condemn acts of violence now taking place in various parts of the country.

"Seizing on a clash that occurred in Jaffna between police personnel and members of the public on 16.8.1977 anti-social and criminal elements in various parts of the country have launched a campaign of rumour-mongering and incitement to communal violence. The resulting acts of violence, arson, looting and robbery have already claimed a number of innocent lives and led to the loss or destruction of property and personal possessions.

"Apart from the harm caused to the victims of this senseless campaign of violence the present state of disorder and the resulting curfew throughout the country have disrupted normal life. Goods are in short supply and unscrupulous traders have exploited the situation by raising prices to unconscionable levels. The public and the working class in particular, the overwhelming majority of whom are opposed to this continuing state of disorder have become the victims of a situation for which they are not responsible.

"We call upon the working class and other sections of the population to assert themselves as best they can, both individually and collectively, to protect innocent people from violence and re-establish normal conditions.

"In particular, we earnestly request everyone to discourage rumour-mongering and to refrain from repeating rumours they hear from others. The expression of views likely to aggravate the current situation should be strictly avoided."

A very large number of other associations led by the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress, the Sarvodaya Movement, the Centre for Religion and Society together with other associations formed Civilian Vigilance and Defence Units to help the Police and the Armed Services to restore normalcy. The Daily Mirror of August 27 under the heading **CIVILIAN VOLUNTEER DEFENCE UNITS TO HELP POLICE BID TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE IN HOMES** stated.

The Civilian Volunteer Defence Units throughout the Colombo District came into operation yesterday. While assisting the police and armed services in their security operations, these units performed yeoman service by helping to restore confidence in the people alarmed by recent events, official

sources said. The units were organised to operate street by street lanes by lanes and flat by flat. Such organisations as the Rotary, Lions, Jaycees, YMCA, and other religious organisations including Buddhist monks and Christian clergymen participated in the campaign to bring life back to normalcy in the troubled areas. Yesterday at a top-level police conference, all SP's, ASPs and OICs of police stations were told how these Units would assist the security forces especially during curfew hours.

Many Rotarians and Lions have placed their cars at the disposal of these Units to help take people to hospital in times of emergency and the Services when urgently required to transport their personnel. The Units would also organise foot patrols in areas isolated from the main roads and keep the security forces informed about any movements of suspicious persons. They would organise a system where information could be relayed to a person who would always be near a telephone or a vehicle ready to pass the information to a mobile patrol on the main road. The Units would also bring calm to those living in fear in their houses. Clergymen of all religious denominations would go round to the people affected by the recent disturbances and re-assure them that things were normal again. The police meanwhile were asked to intensify their patrols near shanties and arrest anyone found violating the curfew. Police sources said that the majority of mischief-makers had come from the shanties at Grandpass, Mat-takkuliya, Pettah and the Wellawatte Canal banks. The Units in the Mount Lavinia, Dehiwela, Nugegoda and Kelaniya were also organised among the local citizens and were expected to come into operation today.

There is no doubt that these Civilian Defence Units have done a great deal to help the Police and the Armed Services to end the panic which had stemmed from the violence. Although many units of the Police, for reasons still unknown, were slow to react to the violence and looting, suddenly woke up to their obligations and thereafter discharged their duties in admirable style. The Armed Services have done well by the people, the government and the country. As we go to press, the

curfew has been lifted on an all-island basis.

There is a great deal of speculation as to WHO HAS DONE IT? This will be a recurring theme in these notes for many months to come. To set the ball rolling we cite a statement made by the Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel (*Daily News*, 27/8/77), to provoke comment from our readers and to initiate a discussion on this very important matter, second only to the need to find an interim solution to defuse the tension and promote communal amity—a prerequisite to bring a lasting solution:

Some sections of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party were responsible for the present crisis facing the country, said the Finance Minister Mr. Ronnie de Mel yesterday at the foundation stone laying ceremony for the headquarters of the Government Officers Benefit Association at Sir Chittampalam Gardinar Mawata, Colombo.

Mr. de Mel said: "I am making this charge directly at the SLFP as there is enough matter to believe that they are responsible for turning the Jaffna incident which was purely non-communal into a communal clash. They may have intended by that to creep into power over dead bodies of people, but I would warn them that they are playing with the wrong Government."

The Minister appealed to all sections of public servants not to believe rumours spread by defeated political elements, but to help the government in all possible ways to restore normalcy as soon as possible.....

This charge against "some sections" of the SLFP has been made by many responsible persons. Important and influential SLFP "elements" have been taken into custody in connection with the recent violence. Reports reaching *Tribune* indicate that some sections of the SLFP and also some of the lunatic fringe of the ULF have participated in the violence. We cannot pronounce a verdict on the basis of such reports. The proposed Commission of Inquiry must do a thorough job of investigation.



MONK'S "FINAL SOLUTION"

Army Of Occupation

by James T. Rutnam

The Reverend Madihe Pannasiha Nayake Thero of Vajirarama Temple, Bambalapitiya, where presently some refugees are housed and cared for by several benefactors, is reported to have submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister urging the stationing in Jaffna of a contingent of over thousand soldiers. They are to enforce state colonisation of Sinhalese in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, the traditional homelands for centuries of the Tamils, and accepted as Tamil-speaking provinces by successive Governments, both SLFP and UNP.

The idea seems to be to change the 'racial' and linguistic character of these areas. This would ensure a Parliament of 168 "Sinhalese only" Members. What a fantastic idea? Curiously at this very moment our Foreign Minister Hameed is leading the non-aligned nations to register their protest against a similar type of plantation of Jewish settlements in the West Bank of the river Jordan. The militant Buddhist monk is perhaps not aware what a legacy of blood and tears has followed the plantation of Ulster in Ireland. Ireland is still bleeding.

You cannot crush the spirit of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity with a thousand or more soldiers. Does the monk think that this is a Buddhist solution to the Tamil problem, so like Hitler's "Final Solution"? Where is Hitler now? What is happening to racists today all over the world, including South Africa? Does this monk think that if these soldiers found an opportunity to exercise their might and armoured prowess over an innocent but resisting population, the world outside would remain quiet with folded arms?

We have already noted India's "concern". It is a reflection of the "concern" the Central Government of India has for forty-five million "Tamilians" (they use this term) in Tamil Nadu. On 24 August the people of Madras staged a General Strike and a demonstration of 100,000 protesters in connection with the disturbances in

Sri Lanka. This was the largest assembly of people in Madras since Annadurai's funeral.

Our Prime Minister need not worry about Trincomalee. It will continue to belong to the people of this island, and could only be captured over the dead body of India, our Big Brother. We cannot repudiate this relationship. Geography and Anthropology have sealed for ever.

The Government has pledged itself to solve the Tamil problem. We have to give this Government a chance to do it. I make this appeal especially to the TULF. I understand the predicament of the TULF. They have had a stunning mandate in the Northern Province. Their young men are restless. I agree. The first task of the Government is to find employment that had been unreasonably denied to them, solely because they were Tamils.

I had an opportunity on 25 August to meet the Prime Minister along with several earnest men who are endeavouring to help in the restoration of calm and harmony among the people. Notable among them were R. S. S. Gunawardena, President of the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, Father Tissa Balasuriya, V. Manicavasagar, former Judge of the Supreme Court and Dr. Kaleel. All of us were impressed by the dedication and determination of the Prime Minister to solve this problem at the beginning of the Government's tenure, but without dividing the country into separate states. At the age

Vajiraramaya Mock Refugee Camp

Much publicity has been given to VAJIRARAMAYA as a haven for peace for "many" refugees, but anyone who has visited the place would have seen the facts for himself. Vajiraramaya woke up from slumber late in the day to set up a refugee camp, when the time for its necessity had passed, calling other religious bodies to follow the "good" example, when in actual fact many non-buddhist bodies and a number of other organizations took prompt action at the very beginning to bring relief to hundreds and thousands of refugees without any fuss or blowing of trumpets.

of seventy-two years, with eyes sunken and cheeks drawn, Jayewardene carries the burden of State with resolution and resignation, fortified by basic Buddhist principles. S. D. Bandaranaike once declared that S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was a Bodhisatva, but Jayewardene as I saw him, at an anxious moment of this grave crisis, appears to be nearer the ideal than anyone else I had known.

Premadasa's speech on 24 August has reassured the Tamils, coming as it did soon after the Prime Minister's heartening appeal to the good sense of all the people in this country. Premadasa had often dwelt on the accidents of birth that make some, Tamils and some, Sinhalese. His speeches are a lesson to both the clergy and the laity of all religions. I am only sorry that Premadasa was compelled to use the language of his principal detractor to crush him. This is unfortunate though understandable. Poor boy, Anura summons Benjamin Disraeli to his aid saying "The time will come when you will hear me." I sincerely hope it will come, but he must change.

A Member of Parliament who glories in the name of Kariawasam has incidentally mumbled, during the height of the crisis, something about Dutugemunu and the Sinhalese. Dutugemunu is a legendary hero, despite the fact that in his youth he killed a very old but brave man in single combat. This was not a great feat. But why drag history or legend as Premadasa would say. This would only cause idle debate. Why not face the present reality? The composition of the present population in Sri Lanka is neither Tamil nor Sinhalese ethnically. The division is linguistic. Some of us speak English well, but we are not English nor do we claim to have the heart of a Richard the Lion-hearted.

Besides the name, Kariawasam we have a number of other names which we must remove first, before we could call ourselves "true Sinhalese" like for instance Felix R. Dias (Bandaranaike), scion of the House of Neelaperumal and cadet of the House of Jan Christoffel Schaarf of Sangarhausen, Germany.

Here is a short list of interesting names belonging to so-called Sin-

halese: Govindawaduge, Demalappaliyegurunnanselage, Ponnahenadige, Sellahenadige, Ilayaperumal, Nallaperuma, Sellaperuma, Sellahaperuma, Konaramudianselage, Agampodige, Thondamanarachige, Theveraperumage, Pulikutiarachi.

I wish to end this article with a sad reflection of a Tamil victim of a Sinhalese assault recently. He told me pathetically, "I pray that my wicked assailant may be born a Tamil in his next birth." This brings me to the desire of the Anagarika Dharmapala as he lay dying. He wished to be reborn in India, but as a Brahmin. I cannot understand this particular wish, for the Anagarika's father in Sri Lanka was a "good" Goigama and his mother a "good" Durava. All this points to one thing. Brahmin or Sudra, Goigama or Durava, Sinhalese or Tamil, we are all one. If Justice and Equality prevails in this beloved land of ours, Sri Lanka, this Dharmishta Samajaya, then there will be no Tamil problem.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Aug. 13 — Aug. 17

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

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

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13: The Cabinet at a special meeting held yesterday reduced with immediate effect the price of flour from 80 cents a pound, bread from 75 cents to 60 cents and increased the sugar ration from 1 pound a month to 1 1/2 pounds a month at the subsidised price of 72 cents a pound with effect from September 1; the pledge given by the PM to provide 8 pounds cereals per week to every person will also be fulfilled, all consumers will have the opportunity of purchasing 4 pounds of rice and 4 pounds of flour weekly on the ration card; the widespread consumer reliefs decided upon yesterday would amount to a release of Rs. 700 million in foreign exchange; other important decisions taken were; release of Rs. 66 million in foreign exchange for the liberalisation of the import of milk food; release of 24 million for the import of dried fish and 25 million for sugar; release of Rs. 60 million for the import of popular varieties of textiles;

release of Rs. 113.5 million in foreign exchange for the import of fishing gear, motor spares and other essential consumer items. The Minister of Health decided to permit government doctors to engage themselves in private practice both in private nursing homes and in private dispensaries. The 52 day-old strike at the Chartered Bank sparked by the dismissal of the bank union president and three others was settled yesterday on the terms specified by the Ceylon Bank Employees Union. The President of the Student's Union of the Colombo Campus of the University has written to the PM to pay special attention to the problem that had arisen former campus President if unfortunate events that had occurred in Peradeniya in the past were to be avoided. The first election petition following the last general election was filed yesterday by Dr. W. Dahanayake, former MP for Galle—CDN. The Police service must be urged of all corruption, drinking and assaults on members of public, said Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, Deputy Defence Minister in a hard hitting address to senior police officers yesterday. Under the new scheme of Local Government elections approved by the Cabinet last Wednesday, votes will in future not for individual candidates but for the list of nominations submitted by each political party contesting the elections; the architect of the new system; Mr. R. Premadasa, will shortly present the necessary legislation in the NSA. Rear Admiral Rajan Kadirgamar, the new Chairman of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation paid a high tribute to his predecessor; he said he was stunned at the impeccable manner in which Mr. Karandawela had prepared all papers; he also found the administration to be a well knit organisation manned by competent personnel. Tea prices will be reduced to Rs. 4.50 for the best grade of tea with immediate effect with

lower grades being correspondingly lower, the Chairman of the Sri Lanka Tea Board said yesterday. Disciplinary action is to be taken against police officers who conducted themselves in a partisan manner during the recent general elections said Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, Deputy Minister of defence yesterday. Government doctors have been given the right to indulge in private practice in any nursing home with immediate effect; this was announced by the Minister of Health when he met representatives of the GMOA and the AMS at his office last morning. A high powered committee has been appointed by the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways to make a full study and recommend ways of averting an impending power crisis after 1981. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has sent out circulars to Government Agents to make a survey of all state of lands and give a total report on the acreage. According to the latest Central Bank bulletin the number of people registered by the Employment Exchange in December 1976 was over 500,000—SU. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has asked for a full survey of the activities of the 281 co-operatives in the island in the past—VK. Many Tamil youths are of the opinion that Kasi Ananthan, should accept the verdict of the people of Batticaloa and work in concurrence with him to work for freedom; if he fails to do so, he will be expelled from the party; this was decided at a secret meeting of the TULF in Jaffna last Saturday—DP. The Paddy Marketing Board has said that they intend putting up warehouses for storing paddy at a cost of 16 lakhs of rupees—DM. The government is going to set up a permanent commission to go into the malpractices and abuses prevalent in the Clerical Service; this is at the request of the Clerical Services Union—DW.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 14: The first person-to-person contacts between the UNP government in Sri Lanka and the Jajatha government in India will be made in early September when the Foreign Minister pays a three day official visit to New Delhi. The Government's economic package to ease the cost of living with reduced bread and flour prices and more sugar on the ration will cost the country around Rs. 360 million annually according to projections made by the Food Department. Textile and garment prices in the Pettah and at the 'World Market' in Fort yesterday with traders who expected to take a beating from the government decision to release Rs. 60 million for popular textile imports feverishly trying to dispose of stocks. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike said a statement on the PM's statement on post election violence said that she and her party which is formed on democratic policies have always eschewed violence of any sort—SO. Point 8 in a list of ten demands presented to the TULF leaders at the recent Ramakrishna Mission Hall meeting in Colombo is the first sign of the serious political pressure which the TULF leadership faces from its militant youth and rank and file; the 8th demand calls on all TULF MP's to take a vow that they will not contest any future election to the NSA. The chances of Sri Lanka making a formal application for ASEAN membership are now considered 'slight' the strongest argument for joining was economic; but economic experts who have been studying the relevant data, consider the likely benefits as 'marginal'; any other direct economic advantages that would accrue to Sri Lanka, such as Japanese investment could go on a bilateral basis they feel. A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka was held yesterday and a policy statement

based on the UNP government's new policies is expected to be issued early this week. The Airport Manager of British Airways has complained that even the most elementary precautions are not being observed at the Bandaranaike International Airport. Posters have begun to appear on the Colombo and Katubedde Campuses deploring the abrupt removal of the Peradeniya Campus President who was appointed soon after the November 12 tragedy at the campus—ST. Air Ceylon the tottering National Carrier may soon go off the air; it is likely to be replaced by a new dynamic Sri Lanka International Airways: This matter is now being actively examined by the government in the light of the bad image Air Ceylon has created for itself and Sri Lanka. The PM will chair a high powered Ministerial team that was set up last week to keep a continuous check on Cost of Living and prices of items considered essential to the people. The first step towards the construction of a new NSA in the precincts of the historic city of Kotte is to be taken soon by the new Speaker of the Assembly who is also the MP for Kotte. A three member committee has been appointed by the Minister of Finance to inquire into malpractices and maladministration at the Bank of Ceylon, People's Bank, Loan Board, National Savings Bank and other institutions coming under the Ministry of Finance—ST. The government will give land free to poor farmers; arrangements are being to do this; under this new scheme of the government poor farmers in the Eastern Province will benefit, said the Minister of Justice and MP for Kalkudah —VK. The Minister of Finance has said that all corporations that do not bring in a profit should be closed down—DW.

MONDAY, AUGUST 15: An overall reduction in the prices of all food items is expected following the Government's decision to reduce the price of flour, said the Secretary of the Food and Co-operatives Ministry yesterday. Mr. Prins Gunasekera, General Secretary of the Sri Lanka Vimukthi Balavegaya in a press release has said that the new government should be given a reasonable amount of time, an opportunity and mass support to solve the country's problems; every honest attempt made by the government in this direction should receive the unreserved support of the people he says. In a stormy seven and a half hour session of the SLFP working committee held yesterday at the Party Headquarters at Darley Road, many of the top notches in the last government came under heavy fire; it was decided at the meeting to convene a meeting of the party Executive Committee to go into the question of the re-organisation of the party. A one man Presidential Commission will be appointed to probe the working of the Sri Lanka Tobacco Industries Corporation. Citizens of Colombo will work side by side with Town Hall officials to keep the city clean and improve standards of civic amenities, according to a scheme initiated by the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction—CDN. Several Cabinet Ministers of the SLFP Government, top bureaucrats, political favourites and family bandyism came in for a savage barrage from all corners of the SLFP Headquarters hall when the Party's working committee, MP's and the 130-odd defeated candidates from all parts of the island gathered for the first time to air their views on the party's crushing defeat at the polls; a few of the top-ranking ministers were also the target of severe criticism; Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike was criticised most, others were Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa and Mr. S. K. K.

Suriyaratchi. Most of the defeated MP's and Ministers of the SLFP were camera-shy yesterday; the *Daily Mirror* cameraman who went the venue to take photographs was asked to get away from the spot by some party officials the cameraman who was standing on the main road was threatened with bodily harm by the crowd if he failed to leave the place forthwith. Mr. S. Thondaman in his amendment to the government's Policy Statement, has regretted the government's failure to enunciate any positive programme or steps to remove the discriminatory practices that the plantation workers are subjected to and provide for their integration into the social mainstream of the country. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation tops the list of state corporation which have suffered heavy losses last year; this is revealed in a report submitted to the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs—CDM. Major changes are to be made in Government policy in regard to the issue of passport; it is reliably understood that the Minister of Foreign Affairs is formulating a new scheme for this purpose. The Sri Lanka Police Service is to be completely overhauled; a blueprint for this is being prepared by the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr. T. B. Wera-pitiya. The Peradeniya Campus of the University will not be opened as scheduled today for freshers. The government is preparing a master plan to completely overhaul and resuscitate the services considers essential to the people said the Finance Minister—SU. The CWC leader, Mr. S. Thondaman, has warned that he is in a position to stop unloading of our teas in London ports. The tinned fish factory in Pesalai had remained closed for the past six months and all the regular work has got held up—DP. A spate of reported losses of travellers cheques by foreigners visiting Sri Lanka during the past two weeks has caused considerable concern; American Express in Colombo said that as many as 12 cases of lost travellers cheques has been reported to them within the last fortnight. The CWE has doubled the import of dried fish from Pakistan, India and the Middle East. The Minister of Trade will travel to China next month to renew the Sino-Sri Lanka Rubber-Rice Pact which will be 25 years old this year. Protests have been made by members of the medical profession to both the Independent Medical Practitioner's Association and the SPC, against the poor quality of some of the drugs imported into the country—SO. The Railway workers who in 1976-77 had pay cuts, will now be given their original pay at the instructions of Minister M. H. Mohamed; he will soon decide with the Minister of Finance whether their basic pay from January '77 should be also paid—LD.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 16: Eleven election petitions had been filed in the Supreme Court by yesterday, the last day for filing these petitions; among the elections challenged yesterday were those of the former PM, the present Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake and Mr. Anura Bandaranaike. The PM said yesterday that the government would as soon as possible make further reductions in the price of textiles and foodstuffs for the benefit of the people; he was addressing the recipients of certificates of the Women Teacher's Front which participated in the UNP's May Day rally. Following the reduction in the price of bread by 20 cents, buns, roast bread and other products made with flour would be reduced by five cents, bakers said yesterday. The Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka will enroll fresher students to all faculties on August 31. The All-Ceylon Organisa-

tion of Political victims of the Education Ministry wants a commission appointed immediately to probe corruption, irregularities and the mismanagement of funds in the education service during the period of the last government. About 850 people in the Tourist trade are expected to arrive in Sri Lanka for the Pacific Area Travel Association workshop in Colombo next January. The People's Bank will ask all co-operative outlets functioning under its direction to prune down profits and offer essential consumer items to the general public at cheaper rates, according to the new Chairman of the bank. The Deputy Minister of Fishing has taken steps to implement a crash programme to repair all fishing trawlers that are out of commission at present. Nearly 2 million pounds of tea are now lying in the plantations without being attended to; action has now been taken to send thousands of tea chests to plantations to expedite the dispatch of tea to Colombo for export, according to the Chairman of the Sri Lanka State Plantation Corporation—CDN. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, SLFP President told the packed audience at the SLFP Headquarters that before the elections she had sometimes contemplated retiring from politics if the SLFP won, but today she was determined to stay as party leader and lead the fight back. Drugs and equipment worth several hundred lakhs of rupees are lying uncleared at the Port warehouses allegedly because a co-operative society which was given the contract for clearing the goods is bankrupt. The Co-operative Ordinance will soon be amended with retrospective effect to permit the Minister of Food and Co-operatives to remove Board of management of Multipurpose co-operative societies and replace them with new nominees till such time the co-operative movement is re-organised. The Diyawadana Nilame, Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne, who is also the Minister of Education said that he would not use his political position in the conducting of the Kandy Esala Perahera, at a conference held at his office to discuss security arrangements—CDM. The President Mr. William Gopallawa is to relinquish office later this month; he is learnt to have intimated to the PM his intention to do so, in terms of the Constitution. The government has begun preparing the groundwork for the setting up of the Free Trade Zone. The Minister of Education has sent out a directive to all heads of schools that school children should not be made to attend functions organised to welcome either Ministers or Deputy Ministers. The government will have to incur an additional expenditure of Rs. 700 million on the relief measures announced last week according to the PM. The ULF candidate for the postponed Pottuvil election, Mr. S. L. A. Sattar has withdrawn from the contest. A police constable was shot at by armed terrorists in the Puttur area during the early hours of yesterday while on patrol duty; the injured constable has been admitted to the Jaffna Hospital—SU. The production of synthetics which had been stepped up in a big way from the beginning of this year, is expected to reach record levels by December; the target set is the highest on record 36 million yards by the end of this year; meanwhile the big question now being posed by the Trade is whether a new pattern of distributing synthetic should replace the present scheme of distribution which is mainly through the co-ops—CO. The Minister of Education has said two additional Campuses in the University will be established in the South and West of the island—DM.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17: The Secretary of the Defence Ministry, the IGP and the Army Commander flew by special Airforce helicopter to Jaffna at noon yesterday as reports reached Colombo at large scale violence in the Northern Capital resulting in the death of two persons; both the police and the office of the leader of the opposition said yesterday that the violence was due to a direct confrontation between the public and the police and not for any communal reasons. Mr. M. Sivasithamparam said yesterday that he had spoken to the PM about the Jaffna incidents and requested him to issue a statement to the effect that an inquiry would be held and the miscreants would be punished; he also said that the PM had said in response, that he would issue a statement after the team sent to Jaffna returned and reported to him. Mr. A. Amirthalingam leader of the TULF and Leader of the Opposition said yesterday that incidents of assault by the police on innocent people in Jaffna had become so common in recent times that the situation had become intolerable; he had called off a public inquiry into the incidents in the last two days in Jaffna and for prompt action to stop such unprovoked assaults. Inland Revenue investigators on Monday raided the DASA group of companies and removed a number of files and documents for security. The Health Ministry announced yesterday the details of the revised Channelled Consultation Scheme drawn up in consultation with the GMOA and the AMS. The Indian government has indicated it's willingness to keep Sri Lanka posted with up-to-date information on the oil explorational activities being currently conducted a few miles away from the territorial waters of this country. The Acting Secretary of the JVP, Mr. Upatissa Gamanayake addressing a Haital commemoration meeting in Colombo said till Rohana Wijeweera and the other political prisoners are released the JVP will agitate for their release—CDN. Pandemonium broke out in Jaffna town yesterday when policemen allegedly created disturbances in the early hours of the morning following a clash between police and groups of people; according to TULF sources four persons were killed and around 20 injured during the incidents; the old Jaffna bazaar market has been burned down; some of the shops in the new market and a theatre were set on fire and were ablaze till yesterday evening; Mr. A. Amirthalingam was alleged to have been manhandled by the police when he had gone to inspect the damage caused, according to Mr. Sivasithamparam, MP for Nallur; a tense situation prevails in Jaffna and several mobile patrols of armed police are now maintaining a strict vigilance; all schools, shops, work places including government departments and banks remain closed; CTB buses were garaged in depots and no transport was available. The question of whether MP's living 20 miles from Colombo should be paid the Rs. 100 extra allowance of the NSA will have to be decided by the Cabinet according to an official of the Assembly. The reduction of the school going age from six to five years means that additional accommodation will have to be found next year for 350,000 children. Moves are afoot to bring the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health—CDM. Far reaching changes are to be introduced in the structure of the country's judiciary; these changes are now being studied by the Minister of Justice. Several of Sri Lanka's ambassadors serving abroad are expected to return to the island shortly. The Bribery Commissioner's Department last week completed investigations into

a case in which an MP for the former government is alleged to have made money by helping several persons to obtain teaching appointments. All long distance trains will have a well-equipped Restaurant car where food and tea will be served at reasonable rates, the Minister of Transport said yesterday. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has instructed that the prices of food items that are made of flour sold in evening hours be reduced in line with the recent reduction of the price of flour by the government—SU. The Minister of Plantation Industries is looking into the possibility of reducing the hours of work of estate workers and to reconsider the wage structure—DP. Many public buildings in Jaffna have been damaged; this is the work of enraged youth. The TULF building in Jaffna was set on fire last Monday by a group who came in a truck; the fire was put off soon after. Late news says that the situation in Jaffna is under control and everything is quiet; bus services will be started today; rail services operated as usual yesterday—VK. The Army and the Navy are assisting police in patrolling the Jaffna area where the clashes between the police and civilian have cost three lives and hospitalised over 20 people. The Colombo bound night mail from Jaffna was attacked by a gang of unknown persons near Puliyanakulam yesterday; according to railway sources the gang had removed cash from the restaurant car—CO. Jaffna town, which was in a tumultuous state from the early morning right up to the evening yesterday with three deaths, and many injured and much loss of property was brought under control towards the end of the day; since yesterday evening army and navy are patrolling the streets, and many of the police officers have been sent back to their stations. In yesterday's incidents, three died and 2 were injured, some due to gunshot injuries and others due to being attacked by the butts; there was a complete hartal in the Jaffna with people working in almost all the offices showing their sympathy for the incidents that had taken place there. Most of the streets were blockaded; one police truck was completely burnt; many tires had been burnt and barricades of tires and tins were put up in very many places; last evening the CWE store was burning for over an hour after which time it was stopped from spreading to other places—EN.

FOR THE RECORD

Social Scientists' Appeal

The Social Scientists' Association of Sri Lanka issued the following appeal last Saturday in connection with the current disturbances:— We are aware that the current disturbances in certain parts of the country were really sparked off by an unfortunate incident involving the police and some civilians in Jaffna. We fear that this incident, through the intervention of rumour and deliberate mischief might, if unchecked immediately, grow into a major communal conflagration, and acting on first-hand and reliable information that is now available to us, we request the Government most earnestly to intervene immediately. To ensure that the law enforcement agencies of the Government in the affected areas carry out their duties in regard to law enforcement without partisanship and without promoting a feeling of discrimination among the affected people. To ensure that the refugee problem that has been brought about by the depredations of mischief-makers be resolved immediately in a humanitarian way, which should involve, as a minimum set of requirements, the provision of adequate escort and security and the basic amenities of life during their period of displacement; and to take all such measures as seem necessary to put down rumour-mongers and rumours which are tending further to aggravate the situation. In this connection we wish the Government would alert the people to the need to guard against the tendency for stereotyped rumours of a purely imaginary nature relating to the molestation of females and religious personnel and the destruction of places of worship to recur in all disturbances of a similar nature. The signatures include Neville, Jayaweera, Reggie Siriwardena, N. Shanmugaratnam, D. Jayatilaka, Hema Goonetilleke, Desmond Fernando, A. Sivanandan, J. Edirisinghe, Kumari Jayawardena, Sunil Siriwardana, A. Ragunathan, Suriya Wickremasinghe, Sunila Abeysekera

Harasha Gunawardene, Rohan Samarajiva, Faizum Zackariya, and L. M. T. Mendis.

—CDM, 22/8/77

Nagadipa Nayaka Thero Scotches Rumours

The Nayaka Thero of the Nagadipa Vihara has denied rumours which have been spread that damage has been done to his temple or any other temple in Jaffna. He has also stated that no Sinhalese have been killed in the recent incidents in Jaffna.

He has also appealed to Buddhists for compassion to all communities.

—CDN, 23/8/77

Anti - Govt. Forces Behind Present Disturbances

— Thondaman

Today anti-Government forces were using the Tamils and the Sinhalese as fodder to gain their objectives. Every Tamil or Sinhalese dead will be made full use of those opposing the Government. The present state of affairs in the country had nothing to do with the TULF demand for a separate State said the 3rd MP for Nuwara Eliya—Maskeliya, Mr. S. Thondaman (CWC) in the NSA yesterday. Mr. Thondaman said that during the last few days opponents of the Government had achieved a gruesome victory. They had got people killed and they had also brought to a halt whatever the present Government had achieved during the past one month. In addition agricultural crops like chillies, onions and potatoes which would normally have come from the Northern and Eastern provinces had been halted.

"I warn the Government that these are being done by opponents of this Government which has received an overwhelming majority from the people of this country. I also warn the Government that the present disturbances have nothing to do with any communal

differences and absolutely nothing to do with the TULF demand for a separate State", Mr. Thondaman emphasised. Mr. Thondaman said that it was the past practice of anti-UNP forces to use people as pawns for their own ends. Today they will go around the country in predominantly Sinhala areas giving statistics of Sinhala people killed in clashes. They will also go to the Northern and Eastern provinces giving details of Tamils killed. This has been their practice and they are making full use of it. I think they have won a victory and it is for the Government to use everything at their command to retrieve the position and bring all these people, whatever their rank, to book."

—CDN, 23/8/77

Finance Minister Tells TULF Boss: Let's Settle This Now As Friends: Before It's Too Late

The Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel yesterday told the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, and the TULF MP for Kopay Mr. S. Kathiravelupillai to recall their days in the University of Ceylon 30 years ago. In the days of our youth—which Byron described as the days of our glory—you Mr. Amirthalingam and you Mr. Kathiravelupillai treated me and other Sinhala students as part of one body. We trusted each other and we loved each other in University days. There was then no racial discrimination—we never even thought about it. Why can't we now sit together as friends and discuss our mutual problems.

"Our friendship and trust in each other have not changed one bit. I recall that in 1975 when I visited Jaffna just before I left the SLFP you the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Amirthalingam, in true Jaffna tradition feted me and my wife. This remains in our hearts."

Mr. de Mel said like myself the present Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene had at all times had a deep and sympathetic awareness of the problems of the Tamil people. Those problems were being

viewed by the Prime Minister like him with deep objectivity and understanding. Why cannot we therefore as friends past and present who trust and understand each other find solutions to these problems now before it is too late? I appeal to you to accept the hand of friendship extended by the Prime Minister and sit down with us and find solutions to these problems now because we owe it to the present generation. I appeal to you not to put off this matter, because then it may be too late, Mr. de Mel said.

—CDN, 24/8/77

Sinhala Tharuna Peramuna Urges Stern Action

The Sinhala Tharuna Peramuna has appealed to the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, and the Government to take the sternest security measures necessary to arrest the current wave of violence in the country and restore unity and peace in the Republic of Sri Lanka. The Peramuna which states that it is the prime duty of every elected government to protect and re-affirm the rights of all citizens has appealed to all citizens to fight for whatever lost rights peacefully through democratic parliamentary means and to refrain from looting and other violent acts and rumour-mongering. It has also stated that the majority community Sinhalese as well as minority Tamils should have the freedom to live in any part of the country.

—CDN, 24/8/77

Criminals On The Rampage

Police investigations into a number of incidents in the Northern sector of the City, including the Pettah, revealed that gangs of hardened criminals bent on looting shops and other commercial establishments, had driven in cars to the city armed with molotov cocktails, knives, swords and other weapons. A number of them were arrested, including four who were

on their way into the city when they were checked for weapons. Police, said yesterday that there had been four cases of stabbing at Pettah, four shops had been set on fire, six persons had been hospitalised and 12 had received treatment at the OPD. Meanwhile, there were a few incidents in the suburbs, but rumours and threats of violence resulted in some leaving their homes temporarily. Police said that some of the warnings had been issued by mischief makers while others were from criminals bent on looting. A few cases of assaults were reported. The Navy was called in to assist the Police in maintaining law and order in Fort and Pettah areas.

—CDN, 24/8/77

Shanti Sena Units To Be Set Up By Sarvodaya

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has decided to form small Shanthi Sena units of ten persons each in villages and towns throughout the country, in view of the present wave of violence in the country. The Sarvodaya Shanthi Sena has so far been engaged in welfare work in times of national calamity such as floods, droughts and epidemics. The decision to broaden this Shanthi Sena was taken as it was felt that responsible people's organisations could do a great deal to help the government in its strenuous effort to combat the present spate of violence. These Sena units will be organised under a selected leader and will be united as a corps under a bhikku or other religious or public leader. They will keep the nearest Grama Sevaka, Police Station, AGA and other governmental law-enforcing authorities informed of the formation of their units and their activities in curbing violence and destruction of human lives and property. Another task of these units will be the organisation of discussions, lectures, religious services etc to prevent the spread of rumours to put an end to fear and suspicion, aid the innocent and build a peaceful environment. People willing to take part in this project are requested to contact the Sarvodaya Headquarters at Meth Medura, Moratuwa.

—CDN, 25/8/77

Not Communal Says E.L.

Mr. E. L. Senanayake, MP for Kandy and Minister of Agriculture and Lands, yesterday accused an ex-SLFP Member of Parliament of having played a major role in the recent disturbances in Kandy. Making his contribution to the debate in the National State Assembly on the Policy Statement of the Government, Mr. Senanayake said he had documentary proof in support of his charge and that he had handed over all documents to the Prime Minister. He charged that defeated and disappointed candidates of the SLFP, some of whom had been arrested, were taking political advantage of the situation. This was now not a communal issue, especially in Kandy. This had become a political one. Several former MPs and even Ministers of the SLFP had taken advantage of the bullet that was fired in Jaffna to loot, rape, commit arson and murder in the Central Province, he alleged. Addressing the TULF members, Mr. Senanayake said their careless talk had cost several lives. He invited TULF MPs to come to Kandy and see for themselves the tragic situation that had arisen from their careless talk.

—Sun, 24/8/77

Social Services Bodies To Help Bring Peace

The Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Stanley Senanayake last night announced that social service associations and other voluntary organisations would help the Police from today in bringing the situation back to normal in the city and suburbs.

Speaking to pressmen at his office at Police Headquarters, the IGP said that a "Two-pronged attack" through "Moral and Physical force" would be made by the Police with the assistance of

NM off to London

The LSSP leader Dr. N. M. Perera left for London on Sunday, August 21, 1977.

the Sarvodaya Movement and social service associations, the ex-service-men's associations, retired police officers and other members of the public and the St. John's Ambulance Council who will render voluntary first aid to victims of violence throughout the island. They would give the Police much needed public support.

The Sarvodaya Movement would man the moral force by enlisting the support of the clergy and religious organisations to go round the affected areas in the city and suburbs and preach the message of non-violence both by addressing people through loudspeakers and making personal calls on them wherever possible.

The other organisations would join the Police in maintaining law and order and carry out high frequency patrols in small areas, both mobile and foot, vehicles being provided by them.

The IGP said these persons would be provided with batons, but would carry no firearms.

This type of patrolling would be highly effective as particular points would be covered at short intervals. Adequate protection would be given to houses which had been abandoned by the occupants due to the current situation, Mr. Senanayake said.

He said the scheme was already in operation in the Nugegoda area. It was being extended to other residential areas in the city and suburbs from Moratuwa to Modera, Kelaniya and Wattala, he said.

—CDN, 25/8/77

JVP Seeks Tranquility

The Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (Peoples' Liberation Front) has appealed to the working class not to get involved in destructive incidents and to refrain from any activity that would end in loss of human life and other disruptive consequences. In a statement issued yesterday the JVP said it wants the working class not to be misled by communal incitement coming from any quarter and to refrain from any terrorist action emanating from communal hatred. The JVP makes this appeal especially to the Sinhala speaking and Tamil speaking workers, farmers, stu-

dents and other sections of the people. The JVP appeal states "All the capitalist regimes that ruled this country hitherto, instead of safeguarding the rights of the Tamil speaking people, suppressed their (Tamils) rights and incited the Sinhala speaking people communally against the Tamil speaking people. It is the duty of all working class people not to fall prey to this capitalist trap."

—Sun, 26/8/77

Eight Trade Unions Call For Peace

Eight leading Trade Unions in a joint appeal have called upon the working class and other sections of the population to assert themselves as best as they can, both individually and collectively, to protect innocent people from violence and re-establish normal conditions.

In particular, these unions request everyone to discourage rumour-mongering and to refrain from repeating rumours they hear from others. The expression of views likely to aggravate the current situation should strictly be avoided.

This joint appeal has been made by the Ceylon Bank Employees Union, the Ceylon Mercantile Union, the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, the Ceylon Workers Congress, Independent Harbour Workers, Public Service Technical Officers Trade Union Federation, Union of Posts and Telecommunication Officers and the Ceylon Estate Staffs Union.

These unions deplore and severely condemn the acts of violence now taking place in various parts of the country.

—Sun, 26/8/77

Political Conspiracy, Says Federation

The Public Service National Trade Union Federation has warned that under the cover of communalism several acts of robbery and violence are taking place in the country. In a statement issued yester-

day the Union said there was an obvious conspiracy by public servants whose sympathies were with certain political parties that were attempting to discredit the Government.

It calls upon the workers to prevent anyone from indulging in any unlawful acts.

The Federation, which includes, 23 trade unions in the state sector, has also appealed to its members to end all communalism, class and caste distinction and to help in the development of the nation.

—Sun, 26/8/77

Refugee Vessels In Jaffna Today

The three vessels of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation—the Lanka Rani, Lanka Kalyani and the Lanka Ratna—carrying 1,800 refugees are expected to reach Jaffna this morning. The convoy heavily, guarded by naval personnel, left the Colombo harbour early last morning. The journey past the East coast was expected to take 36 hours. The refugees were given all their meals on board. Milk foods for the infants were also being supplied. Launches were expected to be kept ready at Jaffna for the disembarking operation. Mr. Rudra Rajasingham DIG, the co-ordinating authority is in charge of all arrangements.

—CDN, 26/8/77

Shops in Jaffna Reopen

Life is coming back to normal in Jaffna. Yesterday, shops were opened for the first time after the recent incidence of violence. A temporary market has been set-up. The hospital and the kachcheri, which had ceased to function for sometime, have resumed work. The bus services are functioning within the Peninsula. There are no long distance buses going out of Jaffna. But several buses are coming into Jaffna under heavy escort by the security forces, carrying loads of people. They are being put up at transit camps in various schools in Jaffna.

—Sun, 24/8/77

IN THE NSA

Ronnie De Mel On SLFP Socialism

Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, yesterday (23/8/77) made a scathing attack on the previous government, taking apart the amendments the SLFP had moved on the government's policy statement when the National State Assembly resumed the debate on the Acceptance of the Statement of Policy. Mr. de Mel expressing complete surprise at both the speeches of the Member for Medawachchiya and Second Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya and the SLFP amendments warned SLFPers that those in glass houses should not throw stones—"especially women in glass houses should not remain in various stages of undress", he said.

For five years he had remained as a backbencher of the previous government and criticised both Mrs. Bandaranaike and her government. At no stage did he bow his head to the Radala leader like some SLFPers had done. The Radalayas always thought they could dupe the masses for ever; but the people replied to them last month in no uncertain manner. No previous regime in the history of this country had conducted affairs as the last one: it was a Radala, immoral, incompetent, corrupt, government which catered to friends, relatives and members of one family. It was power handed down from father to mother, mother to son, to daughter and from daughter to the 'nari bena'.

The Finance Minister said he was among those who helped to usher in the Bandaranaike era. That era did render some service to the country. But now that era was over. Another chapter in our history had come to a close. There was once the Senanayake era. But that had ended. But D. S. Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake and Bandaranaike deserved respect. Today it was the people's era. The present government hoped to learn the lesson the SLFP was taught and would work towards the establishment of a free, sovereign, moral and righteous regime. He asked the SLFP whether it had washed away the sins committed

to come up now and preach socialism. What was the socialism that existed during the past seven years? It was a socialism of the Dasas, Piyadasas, U. K. Edmund, the gem merchants; it was a CRA socialism. It was the socialism of Rosemead Place and Horogolla. It was a fake socialism.

Before 1970 there were capitalists in this country—people who could be called 'mildly rich'. After 1970, thanks to the SLFP socialism, a new band of super capitalists—hundred per cent richer than those during the pre-'70 period—was created. To this group belonged some ministers, MPs, co-op managers, estate managers, relatives of the Radala clan, Dasas and their like. They amassed wealth at a stunning speed through corrupt practices with full patronage of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Dasa donated millions to the SLFP in one year. And S. D. Gunadasa openly boasted that in one year he had made Rs. 640 lakhs under the socialism of Mrs. Bandaranaike. He made that money by fleecing the poor consumer jacking up prices of textiles to astronomical heights. He always had a reserve fund of Rs. 500 lakhs put away. That was the money spent for the election campaign of Mrs. Bandaranaike, her son and Dixon Silva. A shirt that cost Rs. 10 was priced by Dasa at even Rs. 95 and sold to the people. But in one stroke the present government brought the price down to around Rs. 25. J. P. I. Piyadasa the SLFP's deputy secretary, was the one who sent a bottle of milk to the former Prime Minister by a Benz car.

A Govt. Voice: Was the milk fed through a soother?

Mr. de Mel said J. P. I. Piyadasa made his money through the food of the people. He owned the fleet of lorries that transported food throughout the country and jacked up transport rates twenty times over. He was the man behind every tender in this country during the past seven years. He made fantastic commissions and the commission earned over the sale of sugar—a ton was bought for the government at £ 564—at a time when everybody was aware that the price of sugar was plummeting in the world market. A ton came down to £ 300 soon after. Sugar prices went up locally as a result of the deal of J. P. I. Piyadasa. The last

government imported practically every commodity through Piyadasa.

Then there was U. K. Edmund who was the person who converted one hotel into two. He bought Mt. Lavinia hotel for a song and made it two hotels to avoid income tax.

The Minister said that the government was probing all tax evasions and those found guilty of indulging in them would be severely punished. Already one had been caught but some documents were missing. But they would be dealt with too. A comparison of the assets of Bandaranaike, Ratwattes and Wickremarajane in 1970 and in 1977 would show that they were all 'true socialists'. He would show how the take-over of land was averted by setting up tourist resorts, how land was sold to the Marketing Department, how the Ratwattes produced films, how after the Land Reform Bill was passed in the House, land was sold. He would give all the details. He had six years before him. Wanting to pulverise the SLFPers who talked about socialism he warned Mrs.

Armed guards escort long-distance trains

All long distance trains are now being escorted by armed guards with a view to protecting the passengers and the trains. The Operating Superintendent of the Railway, Mr. G. P. S. Weerasooriya, told the *Daily News* yesterday that the scheduled times were also changed for the convenience of the people who were travelling to Jaffna, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and other areas. Yesterday the morning 5.45 train to KKS left at 7 am while the Batticaloa left at 7.10. Today too these trains are scheduled to leave according to the new timetables. In the meantime the Railway authorities have made arrangements to operate goods trains as well as the office and suburban train services as usual. The Chief Operations Manager of the CTB said yesterday that only Jaffna, Mannar and Trincomalee bus services were completely cancelled. Other bus services were operating as usual he said.

—CDN, 24/8/77

Bandaranaike to speak about socialism in his presence. He had all the files pertaining to all those illegal transactions. That was how 'parlour socialism' operated. Finally the word socialism itself became a dirty word. On one side there was a socialism practised to enrich Dasa and other mudalalis and on the other there was a socialism which forced the poor people to turn over dustbins looking for food.

But, the Minister said, the socialism of the present government would be different and would not be confined to words only. It would be transferred to deed within the next six years under the leadership of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene.

Already cheaper foodstuffs had been given to the government cheaper textiles and other essential consumer items. The package deal would involve Rs. 700 million; but the 'magula' Mrs. Bandaranaike had last August cost the country Rs. 2000 million although Mrs. Bandaranaike claimed the cost was only Rs. 800 million.

He said that the government has already appointed to directorates workers—real workers not those who pretended to be workers as in the last government. The government had already demonstrated that it was with the workers not with the employers when there was an industrial dispute.

He asked the SLFP not to talk about other people's fascism. During a seven year period the past government proved itself more than fascist by the atrocities committed—a repressive rule of 72 months, killing of youth, jailing another 18,000; extending life of parliament to seven years and then contemplating a postponement of elections. Hitler would pale into insignificance by the performance of Mrs. Bandaranaike. It was fascism of "Hitlerwathie".

Mr. de Mel said that he would ask the former Prime Minister and the crescent MP for Attanagalla, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who was responsible for stalling justice being done in the case of the killing of the youth Mr. K. M. Douglas at Devinuwara.

He said that although the killing was committed in front of over 100 police officers including Inspectors, no action had been taken for 4 months.

"These are the people who are today bringing amendments before

the NSA speaking of fascism. These are the very people whose supporters had arsenals of bombs on July 21 to kill UNPers if they won even 30 seats", Mr. de Mel said.

Referring to the financial situation of the country, the Finance Minister said that the money supply situation under Dompe had increased by 60 per cent, which is unprecedented in the world. The "Dompe financial wizard's" only solution to revenue problems was to have a printing press to print notes. What the former Finance Minister had done will affect the economy of the country for years.

In addition to this the past Government has completely drained the country's plantations and further affected the economy. He said that steps have already been taken to correct the fantastic blunders of the past government.

He said that unlike the last government which appointed dry fish mudalalis like Alavi Moulana as worker representatives, he had appointed real workers to high posts in Banks and Corporations. This Government could be called a workers' government because it was its policy to get the genuine worker to participate in production and distribution and enjoy the profits of trade, commerce and industry, Mr. de Mel said.....

—CDN, 24/8/77

IN THE NSA

SLFP And A Teacher

Miss Renuka Herath (UNP—Walapane) who was lustily cheered when she rose to speak said whatever anyone might say or do, the people of this country had given an unprecedented victory to this Government. This was because the people had got sick of nepotism and the suffering imposed on them for the past seven years.

She said as a rural school teacher she had been the victim of political revenge by the last Government. Just because she was mentioned as a likely UNP candidate for Walapane she was immediately transferred to Haputale. This was not the end, she was repeatedly

transferred into 10 different districts. But today as elected MP for Walapane she had not caused the transfer of a single teacher from her electorate and she would never do so. Political victimisation had reached a peak in her electorate. In fact just because certain poor workers who had been working on a road-building project wore green caps 35 of them lost their jobs. Even today they were unemployed and she hoped that this Government would grant them redress.

She said that a large number of persons belonging to the SLFP had planned bomb attacks if they had won. In fact the last UNP MP for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways could tell the NSA about these incidents.

Government MPs: "What about the 2nd SLFP MP for this electorate?"

Miss Herath: Yes, he might be more competent because he was behind all this.

Mr. Anura Bandaranaike: (2nd SLFP—Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya) I deny that. In any event I won't come with bombs to your electorate.

Miss Herath: I know about you. You have been named "bomb king" not for nothing.

Continuing Miss Herath said that as a rural teacher she was deeply concerned about rural education. The last Government had completely deprived rural school children of higher education whilst the Sirima Government thought it socialism to educate her son at Oxford. With regard to the distribution of land Miss Herath appealed to the Government to help to solve the problem on behalf of the people of her electorate. Today four Ratwatte were owning the largest portions of land in Walapane, Miss Herath said.....

Closed

All taverns, bars and liquor shops were closed yesterday. They will remain closed until further notice. This follows an order made by the Government Agent, Colombo. This order will however not apply to Tourist, Hotels and Guest Houses approved by the Tourist Board.

CDN, 24/8/77

THE ULF

On Communal Harmony

— What to Do —

The United Left Front yesterday appealed to all its supporters, progressive forces and especially to the organised working class, to do all they could to see that normal conditions were restored as speedily as possible relating to the violence prevailing in the country. In a statement issued yesterday the U.F. advocated the formation of Peace Committees in villages and city wards throughout the country and especially in affected areas as a positive step in this direction. It urged the Government to issue prompt instructions to the Police, armed services and other state authorities to extend their co-operation to these Peace Committees in their formation and functioning.

The following is the full text of the statement by the United Left Front issued under the names of the respective Presidents: Dr. N. M. Perera, Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, and Mr. T. B. Subasinghe.

The speediest restoration of normal conditions is the main task at the moment. Only the most reactionary circles can profit by any continuation of the communal violence experienced in the past few days. Such violence can only harden feelings on all sides and disrupt national unity still further. Although the United Left Front considers that the Government's handling of this situation is far from satisfactory, it refrains from taking up these matters at this time. The United Left Front appeals to all its supporters to all progressive forces, and especially to the organised working class to do all they can to see that normal conditions are restored as speedily as possible.

A positive step in this direction can be the formation of Peace Committees in villages and city wards throughout the country and especially in affected areas. These Peace Committees should include people who despite any other differences, desire to assist in maintaining the public peace in this difficult situation. The Peace

Committees can also seek to promote inter-communal amity both collectively and individually, and to help any persons in need of protection and relief. The task of forming such Peace Committees and getting them to function needs the co-operation of the authorities. We therefore call upon the Government to issue prompt instructions to the police, armed services and other state authorities to extend their co-operation to these Peace Committees in their formation and functioning.

—CDN, 24/8/77

EXCERPTS

Premadasa On The Communal Problem

We publish a few excerpts from the speech Mr. Premadasa made in the NSA on August 23, winding up the debate on the Government's Policy Statement.

Mr. R. Premadasa, Leader of the House, replying to the debate on the Policy Statement on Tuesday in the State Assembly on behalf of the Government said that it was clear the amendments moved by the TULF and the CWC could have an impact on the present situation in the country. An incident which originated in Jaffna was being exploited to the full by three elements; criminals, opportunists and others trying to thrive on the situation for political advantage. The Leader of the Opposition should bear that in mind that all those three forces were in action today. They were responsible for what was happening in the country today. It was the duty of everybody to protect the country from the present situation. The TULF and the SLFP and others had their political problems but the UNP had its objectives too. The program of the UNP had been accepted by the people clearly. There was no rigging at polls. People voted 139 persons of the UNP to the Assembly under the program announced by their leader, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. If the Leader of the Opposition

careed to read the policy statement of the Government he would see that special mention was made about the problems of the Tamil people. However, much the Tamil leaders threatened the government it would not deviate from the statement of policy. The problems of the Tamil people had to be solved and would be solved. And it would be done at an all-party conference. What more could the Government say? The UNP had gone to the people on such a mandate. And after assuming power on the stroke of a pen abolished standardisation.

The Leader of the Opposition delved into history. It was a history that everybody should forget. A new history should begin. People could not live basing their lives on past history and develop a country. A country changed and its people changed. What happened in 1815, 1956 or 1960 was not relevant today. The country had to progress in accordance with the conditions existent today. When the Member for Gampaha—once known as the Imbulgoda Veeraya—lauded the Prime Minister for the Premier's intention to usher in a Dharmista Society that Member was being progressive in politics. Actually the Member for Gampaha had dealt a resounding slap at the SLFP; it was a blow dealt at 'her'. The need of the hour was to march towards a new era. No party had gone to the masses for a mandate to set up a separate state. Everybody had to find a solution to the problems that faced the nation. The contention of the leader of the Opposition was that every time one government or party wanted to solve their problems others opposed or sabotaged the attempt. That was why the present government had taken positive steps to solve the problems. If the country had faced a dark history then let everybody forget that and make the future a bright one. A delving into history would only end the nation in the Stone Age and would only be a waste of time.

The UNP under the leadership of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene would never allow a separation of the country. All races—Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers—must live equally, being not inferior to one another. That was the objective of the UNP. Somebody was a Tamil or Sinhalese due to an accident of birth. What

was the necessary to look up history? The main thing was to think anew and create a new society in the country permitting every human being to live like a human being. One single incident could ignite the country and envelop it in a conflagration.

The Government would have a Commission of Inquiry to probe those incidents. Through the present dark cloud he could see a silver lining. It would give them the strength to find solutions. The present Prime Minister did not react to those problems in the way the previous Premiers did. The last Prime Minister jailed members of the TULF when similar incidents occurred and the UNP fought for those jailed. If the present regime followed the steps taken by the last government most of the TULF leaders would have been in jail languishing in dark cells. The government did not wish to declare an emergency although some asked: 'Why not?' It was because the Government valued human lives. No previous Prime Minister took to the streets like Mr. Jayewardene and went around surveying troubled spots in the City. In a crisis the previous Premier went into hiding. Mr. Jayewardene went around—sometimes to places considered dangerous—and he was welcomed by the people.

He said the discipline in the country had hit rock bottom mainly due to the activities of the last government. During the past seven years there was a sharp increase in crime and the Member for Attanagalla must be held responsible for that. It was not necessary to remind the House about the Attanagalla doctrine—how the UNPers were baton charged in that electorate, until they bled. The people who were responsible for those atrocities were today talking about peace and discipline. The previous Prime Minister once bathed Attanagalla in blood and then was campaigning to have the Indian Ocean declared a peace zone. The last regime recruited their own persons to the police and today the police were restless. The same thing happened in the Army: high rank posts had been given to the dear and near ones. They even interfered with the judiciary and declared an emergency to repress the people. SLFPers were complaining about the curfew today but the real com-

plaint was that the present government refrained from shooting the people like they had done.

India's Indira Gandhi too was spoilt by Mrs. Bandaranaike. Mrs. Gandhi was a patriot and a good woman but she met our own lady several times and that was the end! Mrs. Gandhi followed everything Mrs. Bandaranaike did and lost her electorate and the general elections before our own one faced defeat. Mrs. Bandaranaike could well be described as a person who had left a permanent blotch on the history of Asian politics.....

—CDN, 25/8/77



POINT COUNTERPOINT

On Communal Violence

MRS. BANDARANAIKE.

The President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike has appealed to its members and supporters and the general public to act calmly and with restraint and help maintain law and order. Mrs. Bandaranaike was critical of both the government and leaders of the TULF. The following is the full text of her statement:

"In my letter to the President, Mr. William Gopallawa, dated 27th July, 1977 and the Press Communiqué issued thereafter on 12th August, 1977, I have, on behalf of my Party, drawn the attention of the public to the failure on the part of the present Government to preserve law and order in the country. I would like to state once against that the present Government shall be held responsible for the current situation, for, it has failed in its prime duty by the people, which is to maintain law and order without fear or favour. Ever since the new Prime Minister assumed office on the morning of July 23rd, supporters of the UNP were allowed to storm CTB depots in gangs, seize buses and other vehicles, go on the rampage freely resort to violence and intimidation to their political opponents and cause damage to their property. In many areas Police failed in their duty in this regard, and even re-

fused to entertain complaints, probably due to pressure from above.

"Once lawlessness was tolerated and allowed, certain elements in society believed that the Government lacked either the strength or the will to maintain law and order impartially. It is this situation that led to the unfortunate developments culminating in communal disturbances arising out of the incident in Jaffna and other acts of violence, arson and looting that followed.

"The tragic incidents that now occur throughout the country could well have been avoided if action had been taken immediately to go into the circumstances that led to the alleged incident between the Police and some people at a carnival in Jaffna and if those responsible had been properly dealt with. Instead, the Government's lack of interest or shirking of responsibility allowed the situation to grow into uncontrollable proportions. Certain statements made by Government Ministers and MPs and leaders of the TULF in the National State Assembly created new fears and feelings in the minds of the people. Moreover, the undue publicity that was given to such statements over the Radio and the Press made matters still worse.

"While the curfew is imposed day to day in varying periods, violence, murder looting and arson continue to take place both during curfew hours and at other times. The situation does not appear to

Unfounded say police

Rumours that Sergeant Bandara of the Jaffna Police Station and the ASP Kankesanthurai Mr. Sumith de Silva had been killed were absolutely false, a Police spokesman told the *Daily News* last night. He said that the Sergeant was wounded at the Police Hospital, Colombo and recovering from a gunshot injury he had received just before the current security operation began and that Mr. Sumith de Silva was in good health and performing his normal duties. The IGP, Mr. Stanley Senanayake, stated in a message to all Police Station yesterday that not a single policeman or Service personnel had been killed during the current security operation.

—CDN, 24/8/77

have been fully controlled. Although the leaders of the TULF undoubtedly realize that the prime duty of the Government is to maintain law and order, some of their utterances have also contributed to the present situation. If they do not decide to act with restraint and statesmanship even at this late stage, they cannot escape the responsibility for the tragic incidents that now take place.

"Having mishandled the situation, and failing to maintain law and order, the Government is now looking for scape-goats. Certain Ministers and leaders of the UNP who prepare lists of names of their political opponents, hand them over to the Police with instructions to arrest them or to keep them under house arrest. Though the Police know that these arrests are unjust, they have become helpless and are unable to act fairly. Last Tuesday, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake and I made representations personally to the Prime Minister against the manner in which the Government is acting without paying heed to the law, making illegal searches of residences without warrants, taking persons into custody, and placing persons under house arrest and restraining their movements without lawful authority.

"Both the Government and the people know very well that on behalf of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party I myself openly accepted the verdict the people gave in the last General Elections. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has always advocated national unity. It has firmly stood against communalism not only in the recent past, but also 19 years ago when other political parties fanned flames of communal disharmony.

"As the President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, once again I call upon all members and supporters of our Party as well as the general public act calmly and with restraint and help maintain law and order on this occasion when a wave of violence, murder, looting and arson has endangered peace and harmony in the country."

Mr. R. PREMADASA

Mr. Premadasa, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction and Leader of the National State Assembly has told the SLFP leader Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike that the new Government does not wish

to follow the highly-partisan procedures that were so characteristic of her Government between 1970 and 1977.

In a reply to a statement issued by Mrs. Bandaranaike last Friday, Mr. Premadasa states that the situation in the country is now very near normal, and that as the Government proposes to appoint a Presidential Commission on the incidents, it would not be desirable to anticipate its inquiries or to suggest causes or remedies. Following is the full text of Mr. Premadasa's statement:—

"It is not unusual for people who receive an acute an unexpected shock to suffer from amnesia. Amnesia is often followed by hallucinations. In Mrs. Bandaranaike's case amnesia following the shock of defeat has obviously led to acute hallucinations. How else can one explain her latest statement to the Press, blaming everyone except herself and the SLFP for the incidents that took place during the last few weeks?

"Mrs. Bandaranaike, in her campaign during the last General Elections persistently asserted that she would be Prime Minister again. Indeed she could not imagine a Government in Sri Lanka that was not headed by her. Was she not the leader elected by 87 countries of the Third World? How dare the people of Sri Lanka reject her! Her attitude then was reminiscent of Goebbels' statement 'Hitler is Germany: and Germany Hitler'.

"The people of Sri Lanka, who knew her best however, thought otherwise. Given the 'imperial' mood in which she was on the 21st of July, the shock that she received on the 22nd must undoubtedly have been devastating and if she, as a result, has suffered from amnesia followed by hallucinations, it is a condition more to be pitied than censured. At the General Election the People, expressing their disgust with her period of rule reduced the once mighty Sri Lanka Freedom Party to 8 seats. Mrs. Bandaranaike herself was relegated to the position of a backbencher in the Opposition. We can only hope that the quotation 'when they fall, they fall like Lucifer; never to rise again', will not be relevant to her, but be applicable only to that other Satan.

"The leader of the SLFP places the entire responsibility of the

immediate post-election incidents on the UNP Government that took office on the evening of the 23rd July. The incidents referred to started on the 22nd of July and continued thereafter. No doubt the state of shock that Mrs. Bandaranaike was in prevented her from taking timely action. In a matter of days after the 23rd the situation was brought under control. The action taken by the UNP Government to quell the post-election disturbances has been described by the Prime Minister.

"It was also discussed in the National State Assembly during the debate on the Statement of Government Policy. It is strange that Mrs. Bandaranaike did not feel it necessary to take this matter up at that time in the most appropriate forum—the National State Assembly. Indeed, she was then conspicuous by her silence.

"Now, belatedly, in her statement she traces the incidents of the last two weeks to post-election disturbances. Her argument is that an alleged leniency of Government in dealing with post-election disturbances encouraged lawless ele-

Bank protection for its employees

The People's Bank will give maximum protection to its employees, their families and property affected by the current disturbances, the Bank's Chairman, Mr. H. A. Kottegoda told the *Daily News* yesterday. The Chairman said those employees needing financial assistance will be given advances only a part of which will be recovered. The Bank will also consider applications for financial assistance from members of the general public who have been affected in the present situation, the Chairman said. Mr. Kottegoda said not a single branch of the Bank had been closed because of the curfew or disturbances and no complaint of any trouble had reached except from the North where certain employees had been sent elsewhere to ensure their protection. The Bank has also asked co-operatives and other outlets serviced by it to maintain normal services to the public, the Chairman said.

—CDN, 25/8/77

ments to create the recent incidents. Amnesia affects people in curious ways! The people of this country will not however fail to recall 1957, 1958 and 1971, and the tragedies wrought thereby.

"The Prime Minister in his statement in the National State Assembly on 18th August clearly stated the facts regarding the recent incidents. He also described the very prompt action that was taken by Government. As soon as the news of the situation that had arisen in Jaffna was known, the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, the Army Commander and the IGP—all officers in whom Mrs. Bandaranaike had faith—were sent to Jaffna to deal with the situation. In fact, the situation in Jaffna came under control a few days thereafter.

"It is therefore incorrect for Mrs. Bandaranaike to allege that no timely action was taken regarding the Jaffna incidents. In fact, the Prime Minister in the National State Assembly stated categorically that a Presidential Commission would be appointed to inquire into the whole matter. To reduce the genesis of the incident in Jaffna to a simple squabble in a carnival is naive in the extreme. Mrs. Bandaranaike refers to "the failure to take immediate action". A significant omission in her statement is her failure to indicate against whom such 'ACTION' should be taken? Is it not proper that such action should be taken only after a full and fair inquiry? If the Government prefers to follow this course it is because of its commitment to justice and fairplay. This Government does not wish to follow the highly partisan procedures that were so characteristic of her Government between 1970 and 1977.

"Mrs. Bandaranaike's next complaint is that undue publicity was given over Radio and Press to certain statements made by Government Ministers and MP's and leaders of the TULF in the National State Assembly' creating new fears and feelings in the minds of the people.' Has Mrs. Bandaranaike forgotten the highly communal statements made by the Ministers and Members of her Government during the period of her office as Prime Minister? Has she forgotten her lack of enthusiasm for solving the communal problem which encouraged a section of the Tamil speaking people to support even a demand

for a separate state? Let her recall the incidents of January 8th, 1966 when she took a vow before the statue of Vihara Maha Devi that she would rescind the regulations made under the Tamil Language (Special Provision Law) plunging the country into a communal turbulence. A more vicious example of extreme communalism can hardly be found in the recent history of our country.

"As far as the UNP Government is concerned it stands for the freedom of the Press and the right of people to express their views, provided that it does not contravene the law. There is no censorship today. Is this her grievance? She, perhaps, regrets that Emergency Regulations which would have permitted censorship has not been invoked. It may have given her macabre satisfaction that this Government too was compelled to use the same measures that she so liberally used during her period of office!

"We now come to the cause of her dissatisfaction. She says that political opponents have been arrested and remanded. Any arrests that may have been made were under the normal process necessary for the maintenance of law and order. Has Mrs. Bandaranaike forgotten her own period of office? How many thousands were arrested and detained under Emergency laws and other pernicious laws enacted by her? Innocent people were held in custody without trial and legal remedies were denied to them. This new piety ill becomes Mrs. Bandaranaike.

"The situation in the country is now very near normal. As the Government intends to appoint a Presidential Commission to investigate fully all matters concerning the outbreak of violence during the past two weeks it is not desirable to anticipate its inquiries or to suggest causes or remedies. Let the matter be comprehensively investigated so that the public will know the full facts.

"While awaiting the findings of the Commission, recent events must compel us all to make a sincere and serious effort to solve the communal problem in our country. None of us could predetermine the race we were born into. Membership in different races is merely an accident of birth. We cannot allow such fickle fortunes to obstruct the forward march of our country. This land belongs

to all its citizens no matter what race, religion or creed they identify with.

"It is in that spirit that we should approach this problem. This is not the time to be petty or uncharitable. Our people have affirmed in no uncertain terms, their faith in the democratic way of solving problems. This means that we have to tread the path of discussion, reconciliation and non-violence. We have so much to do. We have to solve problems of poverty, unemployment and providing equality of opportunity for all our citizens. Hunger, lack of employment and the loss of human dignity knows no barriers of race, religion or creed. We must go beyond these dividing lines and appeal to human compassion and plain decency.

"I am confident that under the wise and sincere leadership of the Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayewardene we will overcome the problems before us and that all our people will unitedly build a prosperous and just society."

NEXT WEEK

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

—SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD

Armed guards for food shops?

The Ministry of Trade is examining the possibility of giving Police protection to closed Pettah trade establishments dealing in essential food items to open their premises for business, and also of sending Food and Marketing department lorries with armed guards to various parts of the country to get down the daily needs of essential food items which are now in short supply in the city. The Deputy Minister of Trade Mr. M. S. Amarasiri made close observations yesterday at a conference he had with Mr. Leslie M. Wijesekera of the Colombo Municipal Traders Association regarding the resumption of normal business by Pettah trade establishments, which are now either totally closed or do limited operation owing to the present situation in the country.

—CDN, 24/8/77

Confidentially

On Rumours

IS IT NOT A FACT that rumour and scare stories about Sinhalese being massacred and mutilated in Jaffna was the main and often the only cause of the communal conflagration that has played so much havoc in this country from August 16/17 this year? That one week of communal violence has set the country back one decade or more in growth and progress—unless strenuous efforts are made by all men and women of goodwill interested in the future of Sri Lanka not only to heal the wounds quickly but also to help economic growth? That it is a happy augury that many people from the Sinhalese and Tamil communities have taken the initiative to resolve the communal problem by establishing communal accord as the first step towards finding a lasting solution? That what is more important is that everything must be done to prevent a recurrence of this unhappy calamity? That this can be ensured only if the Government knows how to deal with rumours? That it is best done by anticipating the rumours and meeting the thrust of the poison inherent in each piece of rumour with advance "information" of an appropriate nature? That in this connection the Daily News published two letters-to-the-editor which the Government, especially its Information Services, should pay the greatest attention? That these two letters should have been given far greater prominence than was accorded to them? That Tribune is reprinting both letters? That the first letter was written by Mansoor Ghouse from Nawala? That it read: We are witnessing the tragic and senseless loss caused to innocent people by actions resulting from the spread of rumours. Basically, rumours arise because of lack of information to meet people's needs at any given time. These needs create certain pre-dispositions. When these needs are linked with emotions such as anxiety, fear, insecurity, etc. there is fertile ground for the rampant proliferation of rumours. Like weeds growing wild, rumours soon choke out the truth and indeed leave little

or no room for its implanting. Besides, when rumours spread uncontrolled, attempts to feed correct information often fail; this is referred to as Crisis Communication! Rumours have other interesting characteristics. They spread lightning fast; they are usually unreliable; they cut through formal channels; their source cannot usually be traced; they are irresponsible; they are liable to carry a high distortion content, as people, in passing them add to, delete, selectively emphasise and sometimes, out of mischief, manipulate them. There is really only one effective way to deal with this problem. Try to prevent rumours arising in the first place by giving out factual and appropriate information in advance. Keeping everyone informed of the truth through a sensitive appreciation of the information needs of the public, is the hallmark of the effective communicator. Once rumours start flying, there are a few rules to observe. Don't leave an information vacuum. This happened on Sunday 21st when the public was without newspapers and had to rely on the SLBC which barely filled the vacuum! Never attempt to contradict or correct a rumour by repeating it prior to the correction. Studies have shown such repetition has a tendency to confirm the rumour in the perceptions of many people. This is especially true of oral communications. The contradiction or correction should be expressed in positive terms. State what the actual position is and not what it is not. The circulation of objective information should not be explicitly tied to the rumour itself. Just state the facts. It was clear that the administration's communication agencies were not knowledgeable in this specialized field and needed help?

IS IT NOT TRUE that the suggestions made by Mansoor Ghouse as to how these rumours can be checked ab initio should be examined by our Information Bigwigs? That the second letter was by Chummy Perera from Colombo 4? That it is a shorter letter which points out the need to contain and check these rumours before they do any damage? That this letter read: The Government has to deliver the goods but it will not be in a position to do so if there is unrest in the country. It is grossly unfair that within a period of three weeks in office the Government should be called upon to deal with a grave situation of looting, arson and murder, when it

should be free to deal with matters of national importance. This state of affairs has been caused by careless talk and rumours by certain interested people for personal gains or political reasons. It is an opportune time for the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition to broadcast to the nation the true nature of these incidents, so as to squash immediately the ill-intentions of troublemakers and save people from the violence of 1958. Politicians should refrain from making statements which incite communal or religious hatreds. Let us, Sinhalese, Tamils, Moors, Malays and Burghers live in peace and harmony in this beautiful land of Sri Lanka. "Live and let live."? That after the recent communal holocaust it is time that the Information Department wakes up to the realities of the day? That the only discernible contribution the Information Department made to the communal outburst was to release under its stamp a statement by a buddhist monk who spoke the un-buddhist language of a Sinhala conqueror determined to subdue and rule? That there were a large number of other statements and appeals by buddhists and others which the Department of Information should have also sponsored—if it sponsored this? That even if the Government wanted to use the Information Department to indicate to the Tamils that it has to contend with bloodthirsty Sinhala chauvinists, it could have made the Information Department also sponsor other more reasonable, humane and realistic statements? That by making this statement the sole political contribution of the Information Department, to the political literature of Communal Carnage 1977, the Government has created the impression that the pressure from those who want to use the Big Stick against the Tamils has begun to weight heavily upon it? That this one solitary Information Department Release has left a bitter taste and will undo much of the good the Government has done? That whilst TULF leaders must be blamed for opening their mouths too wide (out of turn) and uttering words which might have been best left unsaid, it is necessary for the Government to realise its own responsibility for letting rumour devastate the country to the extent it has?

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