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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have an excellent aerial view of the temple on top of Adam's Peak. This is a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists and Hindus. Buddhists claim that the Buddha imprinted his footstep on the mountain as a reminder to posterity of one of his legendary visits to Ceylon. The Hindus say that it is a foot-print of Siva. Whatever it be, Buddhists and Hindus have never quarrelled about worship at *Samanalakande* or *Sivanolipatham*. The same mountain has also been an object of veneration to Muslims and Christians, but they did not worship at the footprint. At Kataragama, too, Hindus and Buddhists have worshipped for countless centuries (here Muslims too have a mosque), without any quarrels, even polemical. Elsewhere, in this issue we have published an article by Dr. Hevawasam about the idols of Hindu gods in Buddhist temples in the Southern and Western coasts of the island. We have drawn attention to *Samanalakande* and *Kataragama* to show that Buddhists and Hindus (Sinhalese and Tamils), have over the centuries co-existed in this island on the basis of a consensus that diversity in religion, language and culture was no cause for quarrelling. In recent times, however, as a result of the *divide et impera* policies of the British (inspite of the unified political and administrative machinery they set up), Sinhalese and Tamils have been literally at each other's throat—primarily because of a no-growth economy that could not meet the needs of a rapidly growing population. Every government after Independence had made matters worse—this is history about which we have written a great deal in our columns—until the point of no return was reached with the cry for *Eelam* on the part of the Tamils as a result of anti-Tamil discriminatory policies. The UNP government, led by J. R. Jayawardene elected to power in July 1977, is the first since Independence which has tried to reverse the collision-course communal policies followed by Sinhala governments so far. Chauvinists and extremists have endeavoured to prevent JR and the UNP from embarking on their plans to achieve national unity. These anti-national elements staged the barbarous communal holocaust (which *Tribune* calls EXODUS '77) in the second week of August but they have failed to deter JR because he is determined to do what he set out to do "whatever the consequences". J. R. Jayawardene has already announced that the government will adopt a tri-lingual programme reversing the 1947 mistake of the segregated languages streams. Standardisation has already been abolished. Mr. J. R. Jayardene also wants a live and active Opposition. Understandably he has emphasised that the Opposition should operate within the frame-work of parliamentary democracy eschewing violence and subversion. At the moment, the Opposition in the Parliament and the country is weak. The TULF is the official Opposition, but it has no national standing as it represents only the Ceylon Tamil minority. The SLFP, although it is small, can do better as an Opposition unit, but seems to be intent to follow a negative and non-co-operative role. The LSSP, CP and PDP—the ULF—are not represented in Parliament. In the nett result, there is no serious Opposition to the UNP in the NSA. It is therefore necessary to encourage the growth of a proper parliamentary and democratic Opposition in and outside the NSA. The SLFP does not have the dynamism needed for an Opposition Party without gingering up from the Left, whether in coalition or outside. It is therefore essential that a new united broad *Left Front* based on the acceptance of a multi-party parliamentary system, has to emerge if a strong Opposition is to be a reality and a fact in Sri Lanka in the immediate future. We have published an article in this issue about the mechanics of the formation of a broad United Left Front in India. It is prompted by a Naxalite who has just surfaced into legality after many years in the illegal underground. What is said in the article has many lessons for the Left in Sri Lanka. The Left in this island is no longer the LSSP, CP and the PDP alone. Besides these three there are a large number of parties which come within the term "New Left"—The JVP and its different splinter groups, the Revolutionary Marxist Party, the "Left" Samasamaja group, the Hill Country Youth Assembly, the Peking-wing Communist Parties—two of them—and a number of other smaller factions and groups have all claims to be considered "Left" or "New Left". Some of them still believe in "revolution" as opposed to parliamentary processes, but many among them may be willing to give the parliamentary system a trial for a time to see if it works or whether it can deliver the goods. Some probably still pay lipservice to the "barrel of a gun" theory, but without Mao and the Gang of Four the Chinese Revolution is not what it was. *Tribune* will publish the views of all these "Left" and "New Left" groups to see if there is any basis for unity among them to constitute a parliamentary or even a revolutionary Opposition.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

- Trilingualism
- Democracy Up-Graded

Colombo, October 15.

OLD READERS of *Tribune* know that this paper has from its inception advocated a trilingual solution to the language problem in this country. From 1954, and more especially after 1956, we had pleaded that Sinhala, Tamil and English should be taught in our schools to all children, at different stages, so that national unity could be built in the diversity of our heterogeneous society.

We had pointed out, time without number, that the segregation of the races into three linguistic streams from 1947 was the basic cause for the growth of communalism in this country after Independence. The Sinhala Only Act of 1956 only completed the division of the country into racial groups on a linguistic basis. The major communal disturbances and violence of 1958 and 1977 were the result of the short-sighted language policies and other discriminatory practices pursued by all the governments after Independence. The fact that Leftist and so-called Marxist Parties also succumbed to this language chauvinism had only made matters worse.

In our issue of April 30, 1977 (Vol. 21, No. 45) we had drawn attention to the fact that the JVP had in its election manifesto declared, "all affairs of the state will be conducted in any of the three national languages (Sinhala, Tamil, English) with simultaneous translation. Business with the state can be transacted in any national language. Education can be pursued either in the respective mother tongue or in any other national language. No discrimination whatsoever on the basis of language. Full facilities for the study of the national languages."

After setting out some of the other salient features of the JVP Manifesto, we had in the Editor's Note Book vide *Tribune*, 30/4/77, stated: "Undoubtedly the most significant point to be noted is that the JVP wants three 'national,

languages, Sinhala, Tamil and English. No sooner the Emergency was lifted and the JVP had been legalised, its leaders had pleaded that Sinhalese should learn Tamil and vice-versa. And now, it has adopted a very rational and sensible policy that the country should have three national languages including English—and this is something that *Tribune* wanted ever since its inception in 1954. *Tribune* has also, in more recent times, pointed out that the biggest grievance among all youth, urban as well as rural, is that they were denied any knowledge of a 'world language' for them to have an opening into the rest of the world. The policy started by the UNP brown sahibs in 1947 that Sinhala and Tamil should be the two segregated streams in our schools had been religiously followed by the SLFP (and the LSSP and the CP) with the result that this country has spawned two or more generations of "ignorant" youth. Neither the SLFP nor even the Left Parties ever had the courage to proclaim a three-language policy which is the only rational policy for a country like Ceylon. (Only the leaders of political parties and the rich elite send their children abroad for their education in one or other of the world languages whilst insisting that the children of common people in Ceylon should be satisfied with their mother tongue....."

The language policy followed from 1947 not only discriminated against the minorities (the Tamil and English speaking) but also against the majority (by making the Sinhalese the prisoners of one language). Without English, the country now has many generations of students cut away from all educational, cultural, political and economic developments in the rest of the world.

We have had occasion, since the UNP came to power on July 23, 1977, to point out that not only the Prime Minister but also the Mahanayake of Asgiriya and Malwatte had declared that the Tamil language should have "equality" with Sinhala, and that Sinhalese should learn Tamil and the Tamils should learn Sinhalese. Before such sentiments could permeate all sections of the people—and create a new climate of communal harmony—anti-national and chauvinist elements had encouraged anti-social

criminals to set in motion a communal holocaust in the second week of August.

The communal violence has now been brought under control, but the climate of harmony has to be built up in order to effect a lasting solution to the communal problem. The Prime Minister has made several conciliatory and constructive statements in Parliament and outside towards this end. The Government, it must be mentioned, has done away with standardisation. And this has been done in the face of opposition from extremist ultra-Sinhala Buddhist organisations. The abolition of standardisation, however, removes the greatest single cause of frustration among the Tamil youth.

And, in an exclusive interview in the *Sun* on Wednesday, October 12, the Prime Minister emphasised that every child should learn the three languages—Sinhala, Tamil and English: "The Government has accepted, as a matter of policy, that every child in this country should learn Sinhala, Tamil and English. This should be the basis for a just and righteous society."

The Premier disclosed that he had already asked the Minister of Education to study this matter in depth and recommend at what age or grade a student should be taught a second and third language. From Grade One onwards the child would be taught the language which is the mother tongue. Inter-communal harmony, Mr. Jayawardene explained, was an essential pre-requisite for a just and right-

TRIBUNE
INCREASE OF PRICE

From the issue of *Tribune* dated November 5—Vol. 22 No. 20—the price of each copy of the paper will be Re. 1/50. This increase in the price was delayed as long as we could, but we cannot resist it any longer. Many readers have wanted us to increase our pages to 28—to extend the scope and range of our articles and features—and if, and when we do this, the price of each copy will be Rs. 2/00.

All existing subscriptions will be valid at the old rates until expiry, but all new subscriptions will be at the new rates.

eous (Dharmista) society. This harmony could be achieved only if there was a dialogue among the communities. To ensure such a dialogue, it was necessary that the future citizens of this country understood the languages of each other. It was only then that dialogue would be possible.

In answer to the question: "Are you contemplating any changes in the language policy?", he said, "Rather than thinking about the language policy, we should concentrate on steps to promote communal harmony and national unity. The present generation lacks the facilities our generations had in communicating with our Tamil community. Without mutual understanding, without communications between these communities how can one expect to have a united people?"

In answer to a further question: "What do you propose to do in order to establish a better understanding among these communities?" he said, "This problem could be solved if Sinhala students learn Tamil and Tamil students learn Sinhala. In addition both Sinhala and Tamil students should learn English, for a broader knowledge of that language is essential. For mutual understanding within the country, a knowledge of both Sinhala and Tamil is essential. Is it not a big joke to send an official who is not conversant in Tamil to the north, and vice-versa? How can such an official be a public servant? This problem should be solved without narrow racial prejudice. It is with the determination to solve this problem in the most justifiable way, that I have requested the Ministry of Education to recommend at what stage of a child's life it would be possible to introduce him to the different alphabets."

It is a matter for gratification that what *Tribune* had suggested for over 23 years is now becoming government policy. *Tribune* has always advocated trilingualism, and the JVP had openly adopted a policy of trilingualism early this year. And now, the Prime Minister has himself suggested it as the best way to re-establish communal harmony. It will also improve the content and quality of our education. There is no need to stir a hornet's nest by seeking to amend the Sinhala Only Act or add to the Reasonable Use of Tamil Act until the

climate is ripe and ready for it. It is enough if the 1947 educational system of the three segregated language streams (now only two have survived) is reversed. The Prime Minister has done well to make a start by undoing the first mistake—really the original sin in this matter—made in 1947.

EXPLAINING the Government's ideal of ushering in a Dharmista era, the Prime Minister said a righteous and just society has been envisaged in the teaching of Lord Buddha. In recent times Mahatma Gandhi had illustrated the principles of a just society and these ideas were much closer to the modern socio-political concept. In keeping with this ideal, Mr. Jayawardene said that not a single official in any of the departments under him had suffered political victimisation after he became Premier. Where absolute changes were found necessary, they were effected. However, no one suffered as a result he said. Mr. Jayawardene admitted that there were complaints of political transfers, dismissals and other forms of harassment from other Ministries. Such developments were due to pressure from MPs and other party supporters. He however, hoped that such activities would not continue. "Everyone should understand the futility of such actions and would follow my example", he said. For his part, he was advising all those concerned to forget about the pressure and to do justice, the Premier said. The unprecedented man ate the United National Party received at the recent General Elections was to solve the problems of the people in general.

This is a very salutary warning to a number of his Ministers who are already guilty of witch-hunting and have transferred and otherwise penalised officials on political grounds or on account of the tales of favourites and political supporters. The sooner this is ended the better. The UNP government should not fall into the pitfall which all previous governments fell—witch-hunting, favouritism, discrimination (for whatever cause) and nepotism. The Prime Minister's warning has not come a day too late.

Mr. Jayawardene was then asked, "What are the other measures

you propose to usher in a Dharmista era?" and he stated: "In this context it will be imperative to liberalise existing legislation governing supply and distribution. Certain laws should be completely repealed. The government is prepared to issue licences to individuals for the import of consumer goods. These will have to be sold to the consumers at reasonable prices. Our first and foremost concern is to provide the needs of the people quickly, without at the same time straining the country's economy. I must emphasise that no leader could hope to establish a righteous society without himself being a righteous man and setting an example to others. That is why I have chosen the course of setting an example to others and getting them to follow me. The pre-requisites for a free society are a just and independent judiciary, and an impartial and disciplined Police service. It is with a sense of regret that I have to speak about the past few years when the judiciary and the Police were more often compelled to work under political pressure. I will not hesitate to deal severely with any member of my party who interferes with the judiciary or the Police."

Mr. Jayawardene has done well to stress that the Police and the judiciary should be left to function without interference. In the last seven years (and even before that in lesser degree) the police and even the judiciary had been subordinated to political interference, and this had led to a breakdown of normal democratic way of life in this country.

He was also asked about the Opposition and about the 1971 Insurgency, and his replies show that he is determined to fulfil his election pledges and also make democracy a reality. In regard to the opposition, he said "I will not concede to the demand of the Leader of the Opposition for a separate State, but I have given him all privileges due to a Leader of the Opposition. For the first time in the history of the country, this Government has given the rightful place to the Leader of the Opposition. For the first time the speeches of the Opposition MPs were broadcast over the radio. I had nothing to do with the recent

English speech of the former Prime Minister and her failure to complete it. We just broadcast all the speeches."

And in regard to the Insurgents he said: "The Government's attention is now focussed on the question of repealing the law under which they were punished. We will not prevent any person from criticising the Government. But I am not prepared to allow anyone to resort to sabotage, violence or measures to prevent the government's activities."

THERE IS NO DOUBT that the Prime Minister is making a determined effort to improve the quality of political life in this country.

In this connection, the first Orientation Seminar for Members of the National State Assembly (sponsored by the Leader of the House), held at the Sri Lanka Foundation, on Tuesday, October 11 is of the greatest importance. If one looked back on the Parliament after Independence—in fact after adult franchise in 1931—it will be realised that if such Orientation Seminars had been available to the MPs, there would have been a qualitative enrichment of political life in this country.

In the course of his speech Mr. J. R. Jayawardene stated that the Government would usher in a new society, not one based either on capitalist or Marxist theories, but purely on new concepts that would suit our people and meet their aspirations. Mr. Jayawardene, who said the governing party was committed to break away from all forms of slavery, promised to change the society within the next six years. If it failed to achieve its objective in that period, at least the foundation for the transformation of the society would have been laid and at the expiry of the six years, people would say: "Well done." Mr. Jayawardene, who expressed pleasure at the use of the Institute after a lapse of seven years during which the Institute was denied to the Opposition, explained that the objective of the Seminar was to preserve free communication in a democratic society. Democracy had a long history, beginning from Greek society and during the times of the Buddha 2500 years ago and over the centuries it had developed and spread throughout the world. There were today the Presidential

system in the United States, the British system and dictatorial states. Among the developing countries democracy was well preserved in India and Sri Lanka.

He said that in Sri Lanka the Government was in the process of integrating the British and American systems like in France. Parliamentary democracy was based on three basic factors: Constitution and with Standing Orders of the Assembly, Conventions and Parliamentary Procedure and Practice; and the Conduct of MPs. The last one was as important as the other two. Conventions were not written laws but accepted by parliaments all over the world. For instance there was a convention that an MP who made a certain disclosure on the floor of the House could refuse to divulge the source of his information. When he, from the Opposition, refused to disclose his source a Select Committee was appointed before which he made a lengthy contribution. Unfortunately, the Committee could not continue its deliberations because the Government was defeated at the polls. He said he wished the work of that Committee could be revived. The Standing Orders then could be revised so that those Conventions could be incorporated as law in the Constitution.

In regard to the conduct of MPs it had been the experience during the last parliament of drunken behaviour of MPs inside the Chamber. There was not much the Speaker could do. Only a Select Committee could discuss those matters pertaining to the behaviour of MPs—whether they should be permitted to come into the chamber in a state of intoxication. He hoped the seminar would make its own contributions towards a better service to the people through Parliament.

Mr. Premadasa, who had organised the Seminar, in the course of his address welcome stated: "the faith of the people had reposed in the administrative system which was eroding away. The people were waiting for the creation of a new society which would meet their daily wants expeditiously, irrespective of narrow sectarianism. Mr. Premadasa said he was happy to be speaking to MPs at the Institute which he helped to establish after a visit to West Germany during the Dudley Senanayake Government in 1965 as a Junior Minister.

During the four day seminar MPs would gather information about the administrative machinery, the working of Parliament and to function in terms of the mandate given to them. It would not be a "classroom of lessons" but a friendly dissemination of knowledge. It was necessary for parliamentarians to have first-hand knowledge of the state of affairs in the country and then make positive contributions to shape the destiny of the people. It was not necessary to follow old customs and traditions merely because they had been there. Changes should be made where necessary. The administrative machinery should be amended or changed to suit the changing needs and aspirations of the people. It was foolish to remain in a groove. If obstacles, even obstacles in the law, lay before the progress of the people they must be removed. The people had given the mandate for the government to do that. As much as there were specialists in other fields an MP too was a specialist—in people's affairs. It was better to integrate the knowledge of all those experts. He said the government was pledged to establish a new society. The Prime Minister had asked from the people a mandate to change the system of society today and to revise the administration where necessary, and he received it. It was the Premier's view that there did not exist a direct dialogue between the people and the executive machinery. He said he wanted to decentralise the public administration system at both rural and electoral levels and create a free society which would give everybody an opportunity to better himself. Mr. Premadasa said if the people were getting disenchanted with the public administration system there was something wrong with it and it needed revision. MPs would get the opportunity to air their views towards the creation of a new system. He said Standing Orders in the NSA would be revised in a manner that MPs would be made closer to the administrative system."

Among others, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Amirthalingam also participated in the Seminar. In his speech he said: "At a time when many changes were taking place in the country a Seminar as the present one was very important in the fundamental changes that were being made, it would

be very appropriate for parliamentarians to analyse them and engage themselves in meaningful deliberations." In a lighter vein the Opposition leader said that in Parliament today the Government enjoyed a predominant majority while the Opposition was only a negligible quantity. Perhaps there should be Cabinet research on that matter! "Why did the pendulum swing so wildly? Was the party system of government unworkable? Those matters could be discussed at length at the seminar including the role the Opposition had to play." He was happy the Prime Minister had promised all facilities to the Opposition, but in the past two months it had only a minor role to play, with Opposition voices being drowned in the interruptions of Government MPs. He said the seminar should also study traditions and practices of the country, how to modify them and adapt them to suit local conditions; the study of Parliamentary procedure, its decorum was also necessary, he added.

BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

On Men And Matters

***ARMY CHIEF RETIRES.** The piece in the *Daily News* of October 12 about the retirement of Army Chief Sepala Attygalle by Geoff Wijeyesinghe is a brief but comprehensive account of the Attygalle saga. In many ways, the write up is an understatement of the work and accomplishments of Attygalle who retires as a full four-star General to become Additional Secretary of the Ministry of Defence. In this post, he can help his old Commander Col. Dharmapala, to get not only the army but the other Security Services, especially the Police, into shape. General Attygalle has done a great deal for this country especially in the upheavals of 1971 and 1977 and it is likely that after another strenuous year or two in this post, he may serve the country in some capacity abroad. More about him later.

***COL. DHARMAPALA.** The news along the grapevine about the doughty Colonel from Matara

is most encouraging. He did not lose time after he assumed office to get down to brass tacks. It is said that one of the first "crisis" jobs he had to tackle was the threat of police indiscipline in Nuwara Eliya. He did not waste any time in giving the necessary orders: "Sack the lot if they refuse to carry out orders or send sick notes or strike.." With this order, the Police Force, which has been slipping in discipline and integrity for sometime now came to heel. The "threats", indulged in by sections of the Force to have their way did not work for the first time in many years. After this, the Police Force were given a pep talk by the Junior Minister of Defence at the Police Welfare Association Meeting on October 6. It is said that there has been a new awakening in the Police, after this. The public must be thankful that Colonel Dharmapala set the ball rolling by putting his foot down when the cops in Nuwara Eliya wanted to have things their way. It is good that an army man is the Defence Secretary. What the Police need now is a little discipline, and also to learn to function once again without the Emergency Regulations.

***THE HYDE PARK MEETING:** It is unfortunate that the Police allowed the SLFP meeting at Hyde Park on Wednesday, October 5 to be broken up by disruptors hecklers and hooligans. The SLFP issued a statement crying "Wolf, Wolf!" The ULF bemoaned that the dictatorship was already in operation. The UNP in an official statement condemned the hooligans. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene stated that he would sack any UNPer who was involved in the breaking up of the meeting. He also stressed that he would not follow the Attanagalla Doctrine which Mrs. B. had once propounded that the people of Attanagalla were "not prepared" to allow the UNP to hold a meeting in the Attanagalla area.

G.C.S.U. UPSET: The *Daily Mirror* of October 8, is the only English daily which reported the upset at the GCSU General Meeting drawing attention to the political implications involved in the election of office bearers. We cannot do better than cite the report: "The Lanka Sama Samaja Party received a severe set-back when its nominees for key posts in the Government Clerical Service Union

were defeated at the 57th Annual Delegates Conference of the Union held yesterday at the party's headquarters. Excepting for the post of President all other key posts were won by the 'Radical Group' of the Union led by 13 rebel Executive Committee members of the Union (who are popularly known as the group led by Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara (the former MP who was sacked from the LSSP). Mr. P. A. Wanasinghe, was re-elected President by a slender majority of 20 votes. Mr. Wanasinghe polled 413 votes while his opponent Mr. G. D. Savanadasa from the 'Vasu Group' obtained 393 votes. However, all other key posts were won by members of the 'Vasu Group'. Mr. Vithanage of the 'Vasu Group' was elected one of the two Vice-Presidents while Mr. Kanesan who did not have allegiance to any group was elected the second vice-President. Mr. Gunasena Mahanama, also of the 'Vasu Group' was elected the General Secretary when he polled 439 votes as against the current General Secretary Mr. K. M. G. Ariyadasa who polled 371 votes. Mr. D. P. Pitigala the current General Treasurer who contested from the 'Radical Group' was re-elected when he polled 447 as against 318 votes polled by Mr. Shirley Karunaratne who is an Executive Committee member of the LSSP. The post of Deputy General Secretary, too, was won

IG on indiscipline

Discipline in the Police service has deteriorated, the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Stanley Senanayake admitted yesterday. Speaking at the conference of HQI's and officers-in-charge of Police stations in the Colombo division, Mr. Senanayake said discipline had gone down a great extent in recent times. There was a lack of respect for authority respect for superiors. "The foundation of any service is built on discipline as it is the basis on which all rules and regulations exist. It is therefore incumbent on all ranks to maintain discipline," Mr. Senanayake said. He pointed out that the necessity for tightening discipline was greater today, as indiscipline was seeping into society throughout the world.

—Sun, 7/10/77

by Mr. H. P. Piyadasa of the 'Radical Group'. At the time of our going to press the election of members to the Executive Committee of the Union was on. It was expected that the meeting would go on till the early hours of the morning today. The 'radical group' at yesterday's meeting charged the union's officials of preventing nearly 60 delegates of the Union's Branch at Audit Department from attending the sessions on a constitutional matter."

***ELARISM AND GEMUNUISM:** Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe of Kurunegala has a happy knack of hitting the nail on the head. He has also a capacity to coin a catchy slogan. In a speech at the Jaffna Campus, the Bishop had uttered some home truths which are worth citing for the record. Once again, it is the *Daily Mirror* which had seen the importance and significance of this statement in the present context of events. Under a front-page banner headline **ABANDON 'ELARISM' AND 'GEMUNUISM'**, the *Daily Mirror* of October 7 had reported the Bishop saying "No useful purpose can be served by idle reflection on past history. It is time that all right-thinking people of this country weaned themselves away from *Elarism* and *Gemunuisism* and moved in the direction of reconciliation and reconstruction. This was said by the Bishop C. L. Wickremasinghe of Kurunegala to a representative gathering at a dialogue held in the Tinnevely premises of the Jaffna Campus under the auspices of the South Asian Seminar Studies. Prof. S. Vaithianathan, President of the Jaffna campus presided. Bishop Wickremasinghe said that a university had a vital and decisive role to play not only in focussing a right perspective but also in presenting history as it ought to be read. Nothing should be done to whip up communal passion and activate certain memories which were best forgotten. The Bishop stressed the need for a closer acquaintance with the high ideals enshrined in Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism and bring to an understanding the Buddhist elements in Tamil history and the Hindu elements in Sinhala history and co-ordinate them with the underlying purpose of bringing about communal amity and inter racial harmony. Referring to the recent racial violence, Bishop Wickremasinghe said that he had witnessed the atrocities

committed on helpless Tamils as well as on Sinhalese who went to the aid of their fellow human beings. This violence was only a continuation of what had happened between the supporters of the major political parties immediately after the general elections. I have been a liberal supporter of most of the policies and programmes of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, but what they have done to the Tamils and the Indians is unpardonable and must be condemned, the Bishop declared. Analysing the present political thinking in the country, the Bishop said that one could not get behind the fact that the average Sinhala man and woman as well as the up and coming members of the younger generation had a genuine fear that the cry for separation by the Tamil leaders and the consequent fragmentation of the motherland could be the precursor to a possible intervention by foreign powers especially South India in the style of what happened in Bangladesh. This substantially had been the burden of utterances from the platforms of the Tamil United Liberation Front. The majority of the Tamil-speaking people were, however, not for Tamil Eelam and would not support the idea of being restricted to the narrow confines of the North and East. This, therefore, was the time when the efforts of right-thinking people in both camps should be pooled towards a deeper insight and a forward vision of forging a lasting national unity. This was a possibility because in the Rajarata area there was a mixture of Aryan and Dravidian culture. There were many factors now that were advantageous in solving outstanding communal problems. As far as the Sinhala people were concerned the recent exodus would ease the pressure in the Sinhala areas. There was also evidence of a liberal attitude within the Maha Sangha and the Buddhist clergy and Sinhala laymen. Maximum use should be made of this atmosphere. Certain people were even openly canvassing for the Constitutional provision of parity of status for the languages. The feeling of the younger radicals should not be lost sight of and they were likely to erupt at any moment due to the problems they were confronted with. They were an important pressure group. The minorities should now begin to evolve into creative minorities and

rally round leaders with vision of national integration even in the face of adversities. Bishop Wickremasinghe added." Parts of this speech deserve to be memorialised in Rock Edicts.

***FIVE ACRES:** There have been press reports that the PM and the Government were considering the imposing of a five-acre ceiling on "paddy" land. Under the law, the term "paddy" land refers to land under a tank and which has been registered at the APC Offices as "paddy" land.

What magic the number "five" has is hard to say. In the thirties the Social Justice Movement of the Catholic Church (associated with men like G. K. Chesterton in England and Fr. Peter Pillai in Ceylon) preached that economic salvation of man could come only through **FIVE ACRES AND A COW**. Like so many other panaceas, the **FIVE ACRES AND A COW** slogan disappeared with the winds.

In the 1970s when Land Reform was first mooted in Sri Lanka the LSSP had a limit of 250 acres as its ceiling. The SLFP wanted to do better and hit upon a fifty acre ceiling for highland and a

Water Search in Ghana

Canada is providing Ghana with a \$9 million grant to expand an extensive well-digging program in the northern part of the country. The current Canadian assistance complements earlier efforts to ensure safe supplies of drinking water for the nearly 900,000 residents of the region. The new grant, from allocations of the Canadian International Development Agency brings to \$17 million the total CIDA contribution for well-digging and the construction of urban water supply systems for major towns in Ghana. When Canadian involvement in the program is phased out in late 1979, about 2,500 wells will have been dug in the 11,000 square mile area, each serving from 300 to 500 people. So far, some 1,250 wells have been dug and are in operation. The Canadian assistance also provides for the training of Ghanaian workers on drill rigs and in the maintenance of the water pumps.

twenty-acre ceiling for paddy land. The Paddy Land Act of the 1956-59 period had already fixed a twenty five acre ceiling.

Tribune has always criticised the imposition of a mathematical uniform all-island ceiling. It was unrealistic and unjust. One acre of highland in Jaffna with well irrigation produced far more than 50 acres of highland in Bibile. One acre of "paddy" land in X can never be the same as one acre in Y. Tribune had always suggested that land ceilings should be qualitative—district, area and region-wise,—dependent solely on potential utilisation. The Land Reform Law of the SLFP and the UF had backfired

and boomeranged because the ceilings were uniformly mathematical and not qualitative—and also became even the unrealistic laws were "waived" too often to help favourites and relations or victimise political and other opponents.

And now, the UNP Government seems anxious to outdo the SLFP by reducing the mathematical ceiling. There is no doubt that under conditions of intensive sophisticated cultivation, a good well-irrigated five acre plot should produce an average of 150 bushels for one season and another 750 for a second crop. Where the water is plentiful the third crop is possible. The yield of 150 bushels

per acre is easily attainable. But there are paddy fields where adequate water even for one season is uncertain—and in some places the water is distributed seasonally either by rotation or by drawing lots. By what stretch of imagination can an all-island mathematical ceiling of five acres be considered just and fair? Will such a ceiling without qualitative considerations help to increase production? Or will it act as a damper on production?

The UNP will have only itself to blame if it falls for populist gimmicks like FIVE ACRES of paddy lands (with or without a cow).

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Oct. 10 — Oct. 13

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—Janadipa; DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Department Press Release

MONDAY, OCTOBER 10: The Ceylon Chamber of Commerce has offered the Ministry of Agriculture and the Paddy Marketing Board to organise private sector building resources to construct urgently needed paddy stores. The government will shortly begin recruiting 1500 'community health aides' (something akin to barefoot doctors) to meet the shortage of 500 doctors and an equal number of para medical staff in the State Health services. The Sri Lanka and Indian governments will shortly hold discussions to further streamline the repatriation of Indian nationals; SL, Foreign Minister will stop over at New Delhi on his way back from New York and discuss this with his counterpart, Mr. Vaypayee. 'Road Safety Week' begins in the city today. Legislation on the Free Trade Zone will come in December and work will commence in January said the PM; he also said that it would help to put an end to our being dependent on foreign aid to build our economy. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands intends sending agriculture graduates abroad for training, to boost the canned fruit industry and dairy production; he will also increase loans to cultivators from Rs. 800 per acre to Rs. 1500. Already 42 persons have sought UNP candidacy to the Dehiwala seat at the forthcoming by-election. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, president of the SLFP, left for Yugoslavia to attend an International Women's Conference—CDN. Large-scale frauds and irregularities in the public sector will be dealt with by the NSA in future; standing order of the NSA will be

amended to enable the Auditor General to place instances of grave financial malpractices in the Administration before the Public Accounts Committee of the Legislature. The first orientation seminar for members of the NSA will be held tomorrow at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute. Over 25,000 appeals have been received by the Special Unit set up by the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs to inquire into the political victimisation during the previous regime. Preparatory work connected with the implementation of the District Ministers Scheme will get under way this week. The UNP's programme of action under the presidential form of government will be announced at the party's annual sessions on December 3. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has decided to meet the farmers personally for discussion on the problems they have to face and the solutions that could be found. A total of about Rs. 250 million is due to the People's Bank and the Bank of Ceylon from farmers who obtained loans from these two institutions. Productivity Committees and Cultivation Committees appointed by the former government are to be scrapped forthwith and a cultivation officer appointed to each grama sevaka area in the country, according to a decision taken by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. A World Bank team is now in Sri Lanka for a study of development projects and matters connected with the distribution of 700 tractors which the government has obtained through the 10 million-rupee loan from the bank—SU. Work is at a standstill at the State Plywood Corporation and the State Film Corporation because the Board of Directors has not been appointed as yet—DM. According to the Minister of Agriculture, many countries are willing to give aid to set up a new milk factory, and this will be done soon at Pollonnaruwa.—LD During the week ending 25 September the CTB had put five thousand and sixty two buses into operation; this was an increase of 29 buses over the previous week—IDPR no. 21. Up to the end of August this year the railway security services have apprehended 5161 violators of railway regulations; penalties were imposed on these offenders either through courts or under railway regulations—IDPR no. 20.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11: The Political Victimisation Investigation Unit set up by the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs will this week begin interviewing 15,000 persons with a view to granting

them redress and compensation. A new joint police and armed forces security operation commenced in Jaffna yesterday to flush out three groups of Tamil youths who have been terrorising residents in the district for the past few months. The Deputy Minister of Defence will meet senior police officers to discuss a new scheme to fight crime in the city of Colombo and the suburbs. The Secretary of Defence yesterday advised parents to have a close watch on their children because 'revolutionaries' were engaged in activities and were using innocent youths as pawns. The Ministry of Labour has decided to set up a vocational training centre in each electorate from January. Mr. T. B. M. Ekanayake will head the Commission of inquiry to probe the SLBC. A shop owner returning from a bank was stabbed and relieved of Rs. 75,000 cash by an armed gang at Grandpass yesterday morning police said. Arrangements are being made to recruit around 3000 teachers shortly. The Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways has finalised plans for the Lunugawehera Reservoir Project to develop nearly 30,000 acres of land in the Tissamaharama electorate. A new organisation representing people of Indian origin here has been formed under the sponsorship of the National Union of Workers—a prominent plantation sector, trade union—CDN. The Sri Lanka-China Rubber Rice pact completes 25 years this year; the Minister of Trade is expected to go to China shortly to sign the pact for the coming year. The private sector will soon be asked to fall in line with the government's policy in regard to recruitment; according to ministerial sources this would ensure that there was uniformity in recruitment policy both in the public and private sector—CDM. The government's policy of introducing a single trade union for each trade will be made effective firstly in the country's Corporation sector. The PM yesterday announced that the government would implement several recommendations made by the Hema Basnayake Commission to improve the country's police service. Handicraft centres will be opened shortly in every electorate. The two major banks in Sri Lanka, the Bank of Ceylon and the People's Bank have decided to allocate Rs. 170 million as cultivation loans for this year. Lieutenant General Sepala Attygalle, Commander of the Sri Lanka Army will assume duties as Additional Secretary (national security) in the Defence Ministry on October 15. The Bank of Ceylon has decided to recruit 400 Agricultural Officers for the purpose of expediting the implementation of the country's agricultural projects. Special Criminal Intelligence Units are to be set up in 52 Police Stations in the city and the suburbs—SU. There is discussion going around in government circles that the former Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa is trying to rally forces around him to establish a strong opposition to the Government outside the parliament as they do not have sufficient strength in the NSA—VK. All employees earning under Rs. 500 are likely to get a raise of Rs. 100 both in the public and private sectors, when the new budget is introduced according to Finance Ministry sources—DP. A third class train ticket from Colombo to Madras will cost Rs. 99.40 the Minister of Trade announced yesterday—CO. The Minister of Trade will be leaving for the People's Republic of China tomorrow, as a special envoy of the PM, for the renewal of the Trade and Payments agreement between Sri Lanka and China—IDPR no. 23. On a recommendation made by

the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs, service bands will play at Galle Face Green and outstations regularly—IDPR no. 26. A delegation consisting of officials from the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany arrived in Sri Lanka over the weekend to conduct talks for the revision of the double tax agreement between the two countries—IDPR no. 28. The foundation stone for the Pilgrim's Rest at Kataragama will be laid by the Minister of Transport on the 14 of this month; the building which will have 100 rooms is expected to be completed within an year at a cost of Rs. 2.8 million—IDPR no. 29. In the Minneriya district a textile factory with Chinese aid has been put up at a cost of 60 million rupees and it will be opened in January—DW. Stricter customs regulations are to be introduced soon whether it be parcels or persons as there has been an increase in smuggling—DM.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 12: The government would usher in a new society, not one based either on capitalist or Marxist theories, but purely on new concepts that would suit our people and meet their aspirations the PM said yesterday. A crisis in the coconut mill industries affected around 30,000 workers; more than 40 coconut oil mills in the country are perturbed over the continued import of tallow and the strict control on the export of coconut oil. The Iraqi government, the third largest importer of Sri Lanka, tea has agreed to purchase more tea from Sri Lanka, a spokesman for the Ministry of Trade said yesterday. The Ceylon Communist Party in a press on the Second amendment to the constitution has stated that as the economic crisis in the country gets sharper the bourgeoisie can tighten the forms of repression and introduce more forms of dictatorial rule in order to prevent opposition and rebellion by the masses. A new complex of buildings is to be put up at the Air Force base at Pallaly soon—CDN. Income tax payers who suffered losses during the recent spate of communal violence will soon receive relief from the government by way of an extension of time to pay up their dues. Several thousands of NCGE qualified youths are today facing the grim prospect of being disqualified for jobs in both the public and private sector institutions. Two youths who robbed the Agricultural Bank at Elayapattu in the Anuradhapura district at gun point last Friday got away with over Rs. 5,000 in cash. The External Resources Division of the Ministry of Planning will allow the import of small vehicles for the use of the tourist industry—CDN. The government has accepted, as a matter of policy, that every child in this country should learn Sinhala, Tamil and English; this should be the basis for a just and free society, the PM said in an exclusive interview with the *Sun* yesterday. The government has decided to set up co-ordinating secretariats in every district. Brigadier Dennis Perera, Chief of Staff of the Army has been promoted Major General and appointed to command the SL Army in succession to General Sepala Attygalle who will relinquish command tomorrow. Only four parties—UNP, SLFP, LSSP and MEP have indicated to

the Commissioner of Elections that they are contesting the forthcoming Dehiwala by-election—SU. Two big Western combines want to invest in Sri Lanka's sugar and bananas and talks are now on; Tate and Lyle of England one of the world's sugar giants has expressed interest in collaborating with the sugar corporation to open up 25,000 acres in Kantalai. The government has decided to provide free passage and Rs. 500 in foreign exchange to all Indian passport holders now in the four refugee camps; they will also be permitted to take away their earnings, EPF money and gratuities. A greater emphasis will be placed on the teaching of religion in schools; the Education Ministry is conducting a number of seminars for teachers of religion—CO. At the re-orientation Seminar for members of the NSA held recently, the leader of the Opposition stated that as he was not only the leader of the Opposition but also the head of a movement that was demanding racial freedom it was doubtful whether he would be faithful to this country—EN. The Embassy of the Republic of Sri Lanka in Italy organised a Sri Lanka Foods Exhibition in Rome between 18 and 20 September; the purpose was to give some idea of the cultural side of life in this country—IDPR no. 182/77.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13: A special meeting of the Ministers yesterday presided over by the PM decided to expedite the execution of the Mahaweli Development Plan on the recommendation of the Mahaveli Development Board; Phase I which would have taken four years will now be completed before the end of next year while work on the Moragahakanda and Victoria Reservoir projects will be completed in two years. Thousands of bags of imported and locally produced rice lying in one of the country's biggest food stores—the Welisara rice stores—are infested with weevils and other vermin. The Secretary of Defence is holding discussions with the IGP to arrange 'national instruction classes' to counter insurgent classes and save youth from being lured into subversive activities. The Army Commander Maj. Gen. Sepala Attygalle, has been promoted a four star general with effect from midnight yesterday. The Air Force plans to renovate a number of disused airstrips scattered throughout the island; this will be of vital importance in the forming of an efficient security network covering the entire country. The PM will take up residence in Panduwasnuwara—the seat of ancient Sinhala kings—on October 26 and 27 for the Vap Magul ceremony, the ancient ritual held before the commencement of sowing for the Maha season; this will launch the government's food drive where the greatest emphasis will be placed on paddy cultivation—CDN. A Committee appointed by the Ministry of Trade has expressed the view that certain items of motor spares manufactured locally are not up to the required standard and in some cases not produced in sufficient quantities; in such cases, the Committee has recommended percentages of the total requirement for import. The Minister of Fisheries has issued an ultimatum to the heads of departments of the Fisheries Corporation that unless the corporation is made to operate as an economically viable entity he would be compelled to close it down—CDM. The PM has decided that the people themselves should in future decide on national issues through referendums. Police have intensified their surveillance on some of the hard core

insurgents scattered throughout the country. The government has proposed a multimillion rupee Fisheries project in the eastern coastal region; the project will go into operation this year with a loan of 4.5 million Dutch Guilders. The government has decided to set up a public cum private sector Joint Stock Insurance Company; the state will hold 51% of the shares in this corporation, while the private sector will be allotted 49%—SU. An identification parade of the six youths who had been arrested in connection with the many of the fearful incidents that took place in Jaffna from the 17 August to 10 September, was held in Jaffna yesterday but none of the witnesses could identify them—VK. The split in the Jaffna branch of the Communist Party (Moscow wing) is widening; there is a likelihood of many (including executive members) breaking away and joining Mr. V. Ponnambalam—VK. The Dutch government has agreed to finance the working of a Sri Lanka Trade Centre in Rotterdam for three year period; this centre which will be the first of its type to be operated in Sri Lanka will include a permanent exhibition of this country's produce and goods manufactured here, a small investments office and a facility for the placing and acceptance of orders. A recent survey conducted by the Department of Industries has revealed that there are over 96,000 handlooms in the country, a large number of which are lying idle owing to the lack of raw materials or faulty machinery—CO. The Frauds Bureau has discovered a fraud to the tune of Rs. 26,000 investigations are continuing—DM. The Minister of Trade said that the government will import food and such other goods into the country according to the ratio of the population. The CWE Chairman has revealed that a consignment of 4,000 cwts of dried fish from Pakistan was spoilt when it arrived—LD. The Commissioner of Land Development has instructed the GA's in all districts to enable people who are on land leased by the Land Development Act, to buy the land. From January next year school children will be given a free midday meal—DW. Mr. Takeo Fukuda, PM of Japan met Mr. Ronnie de Mel this morning; the talks centred on closer economic co-operation between the two countries and extended aid by Japan for Sri Lanka both in the form of Project and Commodity Aid Grants—IDPR no. 189/77. Representatives of the Sinhala students have assured protection to the Tamil students when they return to the Campuses on September 17—EN.



FOR THE RECORD

The Police And The Public

P.M. IN THE U.S.A. ON THE POLICE

The Prime Minister replying to Mr. Sellathamboo said the Government did not condone the suppression of democratic rights of the people by the Police or the Army. Police officers were only investigators, not judges. Earlier, the Prime Minister said the documents relating to the complaint made by the Member for Mullaitivu were received by him only yesterday, and both he and his deputy had no time to go into it fully. Referring to the complaint that the Mullaitivu police had locked up a complainant but released the accused, the Prime Minister said incidents of that nature had spread like an illness throughout the country. It was not a racial question. A similar complaint had been made to him during the Sirima Bandaranaike Government by a Sinhala man in Mirigama. That complaint went to the DPP and it was still lying with the DPP. Those things happened because of the special training given to them by the Bandaranaike Government. A large number of police officers were recruited during her time. It might be that those officers started the disturbances in Jaffna. Police officers had stood by while people were looting. It was an illness that had to be cured. There was no point blaming him. He could not send the entire police force home though he liked to do that! Police officers had been trained to be like party members.

There were problems about Tamil people not being able to communicate with Sinhala officers. It was not a racial issue. The Mahanayakes of the Malwate and Asgiriya Chapters had told him that Tamil officers must learn Sinhalese and Sinhala officers Tamil. That could be done but officers must learn English, too. It was better to know all three languages and the learning must begin in childhood although it might be a little problematic for a child to learn all the three languages. The Government would consider whether this practice should be implemented to end administrative difficulties. The Government did not accept the position that only Tamil officers should be posted to serve in Tamil areas. The Government wanted Tamil officers to remain in Colombo. And the government would deal with every instance of police excesses, he said, whether the complaints had been made by the UNP or any other political party.

The NSA adjourned till October 20.

—Daily News, October 8

We publish below the reports that appeared in the three English dailies on October 7, 1977 about the advice given to the Police Force by the Junior Minister of Defence, Mr. T. B. Werapitiya.

—Editor.

From the Sun:—

The situation arising out of the recent disturbances could well have been averted if all ranks of the Police service had responded promptly to enforce law and order, Mr. T. B. Werapitiya Deputy Minister of Defence told Police officers yesterday. Addressing Headquarters Inspectors (HQIs) from all over Sri Lanka and officers-in-charge (OICs) of Police stations in the Colombo division. Mr. Werapitiya said that from public

complaints he received, it appeared that the Police had not acted promptly. Hence atrocities were committed all over in Colombo in the suburbs and the outstations. This conference, the first of its kind, was held at the Police Pavilion at Havelock Road. Among those present were Mr. Stanley Senanayake, Inspector General of Police, and DIG's Mr. Rudra Rajasingham, Mr. G. A. D. E. A. (Aya) Seneviratne, Mr. S. S. Joseph, Mr. Merrick Gunaratne, Mr. Herbert Weerasinghe and SP Mr. A. Mahendran.

Mr. Werapitiya reminded the Police officers that the people had given the Government a clear mandate and it was the Government's responsibility to ensure that the confidence reposed in it by

the people was not misplaced. "We have a duty to ensure that all people are able to live in this country without harassment or pressure and to thwart any attempts to overthrow the government by undemocratic means," he said. Outlining the extent to which law and order had broken down during the recent disturbances, Mr. Werapitiya said that while in certain smaller Police stations preventive action had been taken and law enforced, in most stations by and large, there had been a serious breakdown in law enforcement. The Government, he said, had worked out plans to develop the country on a sound economic footing to ensure economic emancipation and to put these plans into operation, the enforcement of law and order was important. That task was entirely in the hands of the Police. We don't want a repetition of the recent acts of violence. We want to find out the root cause for this and eradicate it. Government is not prepared to tolerate this type of activity which could hinder economic progress," Mr. Werapitiya said.

Dealing with the probable causes for the recent holocaust, Mr. Werapitiya said that it could have been the result of the massive and hasty recruitment of hands during the past few years, or the inadequate training given to those recruits. This was based on his belief that an inadequately trained policeman was a potential threat to society. Other reasons, he said, could have been a breakdown of supervision during this period and prior to it, and a lack of liaison between the lower and upper ranks of the service. The breakdown or the lack of communication between senior officers and recruit constables was another contributing factor. If the problems and hardships of the recruits were not given cognisance, then they would have no alternative but to vent them in other forms. Maybe that was the reason why they took the law into their hands, he said.

Mr. Werapitiya told the Police officers that he knew there was political interference. It had happened in all previous governments and was happening with this government too. "But it must be emphasised", he said, "that the Prime Minister wishes to discuss this with the IGP and some senior Police officers to ensure that political

The Werapitiya Sermon

interference is brought to a minimum, to enable Police officers to discharge their functions impartially." Mr. Werapitiya pointed out that when senior Police officers became OICs and HQs their next line of promotion was to the gazetted ranks. Therefore most of them played safe and did not show there was trouble in their stations. This kind of attitude, he said, could not be tolerated and he warned such officers that they, "are heading for trouble." Like in other countries we in Sri Lanka expect the Police to be in the first line of defence and rally round the Government. This is not politics but their duty. We intend to see that the Police service is streamlined and permitted to discharge its functions according to the law. But we cannot tolerate inefficiency. If Police officers do not toe the line, we will not hesitate to deal with them", he said.

From the Daily News:—

The Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene will ensure that there is no further political interference in the Police Force, said the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, addressing the Headquarters Inspectors and the senior OICs of police stations at the Police Pavilion, Bambalapitiya yesterday. The Deputy Minister said there was political interference in all previous Governments. There was political interference in "our Government also". The Prime Minister wished to discuss this matter with the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Stanley Senanayake in order to ensure that there was no political interference. At the outset the Deputy Minister said there was a breakdown of law and order during the recent communal disturbances. It was left to the Police, the prime law enforcement agency in the country, to rectify that situation.

"This country is our birthplace and the Police have a duty by the Government elected by the people to ensure a life devoid of attempts to overthrow the Government by undemocratic and subversive forces." The people had given a very clear mandate to the Government to govern this country. The trust reposed by the people should not be misplaced, said Mr. Werapitiya. He said the Government had a plan for the economic emancipation of the people and law and order were essential in carrying

out that plan. Referring again to the recent disturbances he said there was one thing common and that was that the Police had failed to take proper action. Some smaller stations had taken preventive action, the discipline in some bigger stations had been good, but on the whole the Police Force had been found wanting, and there had been a breakdown in law enforcement in most Police Stations.

The Deputy Minister said some offences had been committed in the presence of police officers. He had received a spate of telephone calls regarding atrocities, not only in Colombo, but throughout the country. Harking back to the communal disturbances of 1958 Mr. Werapitiya said that there was a time he was in the Police Service and it stood to the credit of the Service that everyone responded magnificently to the call to restore law and order and that was done swiftly. The emergency had not been enforced this time like in 1958, but nevertheless to some extent they had succeeded in bringing the situation back to normal. The Headquarters Inspectors and the Officers-in-Charge of police stations should act impartially, and they should have the support of their men.

It was useless, an officer in charge of a Police Station working round the clock unless he had the support of his men working along with him. He stressed the need for added supervision and that the Sergeants in a police station were the officers who served as a liaison between the officer in charge of a police station and his men. Mr. Werapitiya said he was sorry to say that a Sergeant was today a glorified PC. There had been hasty recruitment during the past four or five years and that had resulted in inadequate training of personnel. Policemen who were not properly trained and who had to perform law enforcement work for the next 20 to 30 years were a potential threat to society. There had been a breakdown of supervision at all levels.

There was a great burden on the Police to maintain law and order. There were reports of subversive action of subversive elements and various intelligence reports of anti-Government activity, but if the Police reacted correctly to these situations and

took proper action "we can contain anything" said the Deputy Minister. There were instances where Headquarters Inspectors and officers in charge of police stations played it safe owing to promotional prospects supposedly being endangered. That was not correct. They should act according to the law. The Police Force was the first line of defence and should be on the scene of a crime first. Many sub-Inspectors, Inspectors and even Headquarters Inspectors, ASP's and SP's did not seem to understand the policies of the government and the problems of recruit police constables. These constables had their problems, their grievances.

He said the Government proposed to give full co-operation to the Police, to streamline it and to allow policemen to do their duties according to the law. However, the Government could not tolerate inefficiency. Any Police officer who did not toe the line would be dealt with firmly. They should have no other thought, but the enforcement of law. The Government would co-operate to that end. If, said Mr. Werapitiya, a police officer became a burden to the service and society he could not be tolerated any longer. The Deputy Minister reiterated that the Government should be allowed to carry on without any hindrance by anti-democratic institutions or parties.

From the Daily Mirror:—

The recent disturbances in the country were positively due to a breakdown in police efficiency. The police had to maintain law and order and the Government would not tolerate any form of inefficiency in future. This was said by the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr. T. B. Werapitiya yesterday when he addressed all Headquarters Inspectors and OICs of Colombo stations at the Police pavilion. Mr. Werapitiya said that policemen had to co-operate with the government in power to maintain law and order which was the primary duty of the police service. If policemen failed to toe the line because they held different ideas, then the government would not hesitate to deal with them in the appropriate way. Mr. Werapitiya outlined his address saying that the people had given the present government a mandate to carry out a policy of developing the country with certain social changes. The government therefore, had to ensure that

every citizen in the land received protection from lawless groups and any form of tension that existed was promptly eased.

The Government resented any type of indifference by those policemen who held opposite views and so caused embarrassment to the Government. He had received numerous complaints of policemen playing inactive roles in the recent communal disturbances. It was necessary, to analyse the reason for this breakdown in law and order. He personally felt that if all ranks had responded spontaneously when the troubles broke out, the situation would have been brought under control within a day. The recent crisis clearly showed the important role Inspectors could have played in supervising the tasks constables had to perform in their day to day duties. There was a breakdown in supervision at all levels—from officers to rankers. No one seemed to know what he had to do when the situation had reached disturbing extents. The recruits to the constabulary in the past four to five years were of a poor quality. They had to be given adequate training otherwise they would become a potential threat to society. He asked the Inspectors not to depend on sergeants to train those recruits. "The sergeant of today is a glorified constable" he said.

"The police had to rally round the Government. It was not a political function but a duty. To see that the Government goes on", he said. Commenting on subversive activity, he said that if each police station was alive to its duties, any subversive operation could be contained. The Government would give its full co-operation to the police and take steps to streamline the service. "But one thing", he warned "we can't tolerate inefficiency. Police officers were first policemen and no other ideas should enter your heads. If you can't accept responsibility, you shouldn't be in the service. You become a burden to the Government and society. As a Police Service you all must be prepared to deliver the goods" he said.

He wanted police officers to give some thought to the problem in view of the recent disturbances as it was their responsibility to maintain law and order. "This was necessary", he said "for the Government to carry out its policy

for the emancipation of the people in a democratic way. So re-think and do your duty," he added.

In other countries the sergeant was an important person because he held the rung between the officer and the ranker. He blamed some of the officers for not taking a personal interest in the problems confronting the lower rungs in their stations. If there was a better liaison many of the constables would not be disgruntled and would realise their duties in a proper perspective. Regarding political interference, Mr. Werapitiya said that there were complaints even today and the Prime Minister would discuss this matter with the Inspector General and other Senior Officers, but he could assure his audience that it would be brought down to the minimum.

He warned OICs who tried to play down troubles in their stations merely because their promotions were ahead. Serious notice would be taken of those Inspectors who failed to bring to light any situation in his station area. In any situation, the police should be in the front line of defence.

IN THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN COASTS OF CEYLON

Images Of Hindu Gods In Buddhist Temples

by P. B. J. Hevawasam

B.A. (Hons), London: P.H.D., Sri Lanka

The following is a Paper entitled "How The Images Of Hindu Gods Found An Abode In Buddhist Temples In Southern And Western Coasts Of Ceylon" read by Dr. Hevawasam of the University of Sri Lanka at the Second International Conference Seminar on Asian Archaeology held in Colombo in 1969.

It is incongruous to find images of beings held sacred by the followers of one religion, in the temples of the followers of another religion. But that is exactly what one will find if one were to step into a Buddhist temple in the Southern and Western coasts of Ceylon. There is at least the image

of the Hindu deity *Visnu* in almost every one of them. These images are very often housed in the same building as the one set apart for the image of the Buddha. Sometimes they are accommodated in smaller buildings in the temple premises close to the Bodhi tree, so called because it represents the fig tree under which the Buddha Gautama attained bodhi, realisation (of the truth). After making obeisance to the Buddha it is customary for the Buddhists to transfer the merits thus gained to other beings who are capable of benefiting by them.

The other Hindu deity who finds an abode in the Buddhist temple is *Skanda Kumara*, popularly known as *Kataragama*, from the name of the place where the chief temple dedicated to him is situated. He is also variously known as *Sanmukha*, *Kartikeya*, *Subrahmanya* and *Mahasena*. In addition Tamils use other names such as *Murugan* and *Kadiravelu*.

In some Buddhist temples there is an image of *Pattini* too, venerated by Hindus. There is even a painting of the god of love *Kama*, also known as *Ananga*, right inside the Totagamuwa temple on the wall by the left door-post at the entrance to the inner chamber where the Buddha reposes.

All these images and murals, however, cannot date from before the commencement of the 19th century A.C. The present image house at Totagamuwa temple was built in the beginning of the 19th century. All the temples which existed prior to the 16th century, were destroyed by the Portuguese in their greed for wealth.

Yet in most probability such images were not found in the Buddhist temples prior to the 16th century, for if there were any, the Sandesa poets who generally made it a point to advise their messenger to worship at every important image in the Buddhist temple, would not have failed to mention them. There are however several references in Sandesa poems to images of Hindu gods housed in temples of their own, such as *Skanda*, *Siva*, *Ganesa* and *Kali*, not far away from the Buddhist temples.

In the past the images of deities, other than those of the Buddha and his disciples, admitted into the Buddhist temples, were those

Hindu And Buddhist

of the guardian deities of Ceylon, *Saman* or *Sumana*, *Upulvan* or *Up-palavanna*, *Vibisana* or *Vibhisana* and *Kataragama*. In the area selected for this inquiry the images commonly found were those of *Upulvan*. There was an image of *Vibhisana* at Kelaniya Temple.

There were also images of God *Natha*, *Avalokitesvara* or *Buddha* to be, of the Mahayanists in some places. The most famous of them was at the Totagamuwa Temple. The *Avalokitesvara* worship in Ceylon goes back to very early times. There are references to it in the *Tiriyay* and *Kuccaveli* inscriptions.

It is not unlikely that even prior to the advent of Buddhism in Ceylon idolatry was practised there, for primitive men all the world over were in the habit of making offerings to the elements and the heavenly bodies some of which were later given a definite form by means of paintings and images.

Therefore even after the embracing of Buddhism by the vast majority of the inhabitants of the island, in spite of the fact, that Buddhism denies the existence of an immortal being, such as the deities of the Hindu pantheon, the concept of such a being to whom offerings could be made for the grant of wishes for one's success and prosperity or for the failure and undoing of one's enemies, lurked in their minds. This idea was so ingrained that whenever the people were in trouble they sought their assistance in addition to that of the Buddhist gods, between whom they saw no difference.

But there are fundamental differences between the two Verities, one of which has already been mentioned. Hindu Gods are immortal while the Buddhist Gods are not, though the latter too are called *amara*, 'immortal', in consideration of the fact that they do not die in the sense that they leave behind a dead body. They are supposed to disappear when the time determined by their previous *Kamma*, 'actions', expires, and to be born in some other place. Then the Hindu God is both a benevolent and vindictive one, while the Buddhist God is only benevolent. One could not appeal to the latter for the destruction of one's enemies. This may be one of the reasons why people went to the former in preference to the latter. They were not satisfied with getting benefits for them and their dear ones; they

wanted their enemies to be visited with disease and destruction.

The guardian gods *Saman*, *Upulvan*, *Vibisana* and *Kataragama* whilst being Buddhist were similar in character to those of the Hindu pantheon, and being Ceylonese, must have had a greater appeal to the people of Ceylon than any other category of gods.

As time passed there were many Hindus in the island, and considerable numbers of them even along the Southern and Western coasts. They had come as counsellors or soldiers on invitation or as mendicants or fortune-seekers and even as conquerors right through the centuries, and settled down in various parts of the country. That there were quite a few of them, in the Southern and Western coasts permanently settled down is evidenced by the presence of a number of Hindu temples there as late as the 15th century. In Kotte, the capital of Parakramabhu VI (1412-1467 A.C.) there were at least a temple of *Siva* and another of *Mahasena* or *Skanda*. At Panadura there was another of *Mahasena* or *Visnu*. At Bentota close to the Vanavasa Vihara there was a temple of *Kali*, spouse of *Siva*, and at Vallemadama not far from the Buddhist temple and at Kalutara South there were temples dedicated to *Ganesa*, brother of *Skanda*.

It is most likely that Buddhists too worshipped at these temples, for otherwise the *sandesa* poets would not have mentioned them in a complimentary manner, and even if they had, would not have selected those places for their messengers to rest.

There were Hindus employed in the court of Parakramabahu and there were quite a few Hindu young men studying in some of the Pirivenas where Hindu texts were taught.

And with their close association with Hindu Gods the Buddhists visited them much oftener than in the past. The Buddhist monks, a good many of whom were themselves admirers of those Gods, must have given the abode in their temples.

Visnu could easily find accommodation there because *Upulvan*, the Ceylonese God, and he were of the same complexion, blue. And as time passed the two were identified as one and the same, and in course of time the name

Upulvan dropped out altogether. Then *Visnu* monopolised the veneration of the devotees of *Upulvan* in addition to that of his own. All new Buddhist temples therefore had images of *Visnu* and none of *Upulvan*. Today *Upulvan* is heard of only in books.

The Ceylonese God *Kataragama* too has become one with the Hindu God *Skanda*, and thus has lost his identity altogether. The latter has thus ousted the former, and is in complete mastery of the entire domain over which the local deity had his sway.

Today more and more people are being drawn to *Skanda* and in consequence many Buddhist temples are making arrangements to admit him there. The greater the number of devotees drawn to the image of a God, the greater the income received by the temple, for people go to a God either to make a vow binding them to make certain offerings to the God when their wish is fulfilled or to redeem a vow by making an offering after the fulfilment of the wish. No such vows are made before the image of a Buddha or that of a disciple of his.

There are a few Buddhist temples, however, which have scrupulously kept away the Hindu Gods from their premises. They are such as belong to the Ramanna

Policemen acting in good faith need have no fear

The Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene and the Deputy Minister of Defence Mr. T. B. Werapitiya had both given an assurance that no police officer acting in good faith would be punished, the IGP Mr. Stanley Senanayake told senior Inspectors of Police who gathered at the Police Pavillion, Bambalapitiya yesterday, to be addressed by the Deputy Minister of Defence. The IGP however said that discipline in the Police Service had deteriorated to a great extent. He said there had been a view that there should be less stress on parades and saluting but he thought, there should be a return to them in order to tighten discipline in the Police Force.

—Ceylon Daily News, 7/10/77

Nikaya and the Amarapura Saddhammayuttika Nikaya popularly called the Matara Nikaya. No image of any god, local or foreign, are found in them. In spite of the clamour in some quarters for the abandonment by the Buddhists of the craze for begging favours specially from Hindu Gods, who they aver are non-existent, or at any rate are inferior to human beings in certain respects, and are incapable of helping anybody, with modern facilities for travelling, more and more Buddhists are being drawn to the shrines of Hindu Gods. Therefore the possibility is that the authorities of the Buddhist temples may throw their doors open to more and more Hindu Gods, eg. Siva, Ganesa and Kali, in the near future.

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REPLY TO FR. BALASURIYA

Tamil Mandate For Eelam

by S. Sri Kantha

In the article on 'Tamil Mandate for Eelam' by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya (*Tribune* of 24.9.77), I have to draw attention to some wrong inferences made by the Reverend Father in his analysis. As he himself had noted in his article that it 'is subject to correction', I am sure the Father will take my comments in the spirit they are made.

Firstly, the learned Father should not have depended on the 'expected figures' (like the total electorate), to reach his conclusions, for instance the TULF votes as a percentage of the total electorate. In a democratic system of election, we simply cannot expect 100 percent polling, and there would also be "absentions". Only in the countries like UAR, USSR and so on, we find the President-elect polling 99.99 percent of the votes. There, they do not even divulge the names of the candidates who contest the 'ready-made' Presidents. Here, in Sri Lanka we adopt an open-ballot system, where we are yet to witness a 100 percent polling, in the elections.

In an electoral list that has been compiled in June 1975, how can we expect every single individual to cast his vote on July 21, 1977? I would like to point out that, within this intervening two-year period, a certain number of people must have died; a certain number of people would have gone abroad; a certain number of people would have been incarcerated; a certain number of people would have become invalids due to old age; a certain number of people would have become premature invalids, due to the high cost of living and other reasons; a certain number of people would have been displaced. All these numbers would have missed their opportunities to exercise their civic rights. Therefore, I feel that, it is not correct to categorise all these people as 'mere abstentions.' Hence, the abstentions and spoil votes should not be taken into account, when calculating the popularity vote of TULF, i.e., TULF votes as a percentage of the total electorate.

Secondly, how did the Father come to the assumption that, 1/5th of the Peninsular population which have not voted, are anti-TULF? Has he received written statements from these 131,711 abstentions that all of them are anti-TULF? Can he vouch for this? I am of the opinion that only a minor fraction of this had deliberately abstained from voting for the TULF and that the rest had not been able to cast their votes owing to one more of the above-mentioned possibilities.

Thirdly, it seems that, the learned Father had been ignorant of the happenings in the NP during the campaign period of the Election. To enlighten him, I wish to point out that, not only the TULF, but also some other unrecognised parties, and some Independents candidates asked the voters a mandate for Tamil Eelam. The votes polled by the other elements are given below for the sake of information.

1. "Thamilar Suya Aatchi Kazhagam" (Tamil Self-Rule Party), led by Mr. V. Navaratnam, a dissident FP member, who contested the Kayts seat. This party collected altogether 10,740 votes. Please refer to Sun (16.6.77) for this party's pledge to Tamil Eelam.
 2. "Tamil Eela G. G. Congress", a mushroom party led by Mr. V. Kumaraswamy (ex-MP for Chavakachcheri), who contested the Chavakachcheri seat. This unrecognised party attracted 10,810 votes in its favour.
 3. TULF — "rebel" candidates, who when rejected by the TULF Nomination Committee came forward as Independents, also carried the placard of Tamil Eelam. The votes polled by these candidates are as follows:
- | | |
|--|-------------|
| Mr. Veeravagu (Ind. Point Pedro) | 3,065 votes |
| Mr. Sandrasegari (Ind. Mullaitivu) | 7,632 votes |
| Mr. John Mark (Ind. Mannar) | 663 votes |
| Mr. Satha Nadaraja (Ind. Chavakachcheri) | 111 votes |

Another candidate in this category, was Mr. G. G. Kumar Ponnambalam (Ind. Jaffna), who polled 6,960 votes. He also claimed that the votes cast for him "could also be counted as the votes for a separate Tamil State" (vide Sun 7.6.11). Although in the latter stages of the campaign, Mr. Ponnambalam criticised the

Wrong Inferences

stand of the TULF and there was a sort of repugnance on his part, he did not repudiate the news report of Sun.

All these Anti-TULF votes, were in fact pro-Eelam votes (although these TULF opponents failed to win any seat!). The learned Father had nevertheless concluded that "one-third of the votes was against the TULF and that has some significance". It is a wrong inference by any point of view. When an impartial analysis on the "Tamil Mandate for Eelam" is made, even these votes polled by the candidates (not representing TULF) for the cause of Eelam, have to be taken into account.

Fourthly, in the Eastern Province, the FP candidate—a young poet Mr. Kasi Aanandan, as all Tamils know, was the official 2nd TULF nominee for the Batticaloa constituency. Hence, his votes also should be added to the TULF votes, making up a total of 103,384 votes for the TULF in the E.P and not 92,163 as depicted in the chart presented by the Father.

When analysing the electoral verdict of the Eastern Province on the whole, it will be better to understand the crux of the deepening problem the TULF had to face in the Eastern Province (which did not exist in the Northern Province. The TULF's manifesto itself is self-explanatory regarding 'colonisation'. (It is heartening to see in the UNP's Manifesto that solution will be found for this problem, but who is there to answer for the damage done, during the last thirty years?) This has altered the voters' representation in several areas in the EP within the last three decades.

To quote the relevant portion from the TULF manifesto: "... The Eastern Province where, when the British left in 1948, there were hardly a 10,000 Sinhalese, is now flooded with some 180,000 Sinhalese people. The extent of this damage to the political power and influence of the Tamils is reflected in the newly created Parliamentary constituencies of Amparai and Seruvila, which have engulfed some 1,500 square miles of Tamil territory. And this constitutes a 2/5th of the land area of the Eastern Province" (Tribune Aug. 6, 1977).

Amparai (the name itself is changing and now it is widely used as Ampara) electorate was carved out in 1960; and Seruvila in 1977. It should be recollected that in 1947, 1952 and 1956, all seven electorates in EP returned Tamil-speaking candidates. In 1960, 1965 and 1970 of the 9 electorates one returned a Sinhalese member. Now in 1977 of the 10 electorates, two had returned two Sinhala members.

These two "Sinhala" electorates were not contested by the TULF. Neither the UNP nor the SLFP-nominated Tamil-speaking candidates for these electorates, although, Seruvila has 33% Tamil-speaking population (Amparai has a mere 4% Tamil-speaking population. Due to these two reasons, the votes polled in these two electorates should be deleted from the figures of the EP when making an impartial analysis for the Mandate of Tamil Eelam. I sincerely hope, the learned Father will concede this point.

When taking a count of the total votes polled in the EP (excluding Amparai and Seruvila for the reasons cited above), TULF tops the list with 103,384 votes; followed by UNP with 96,789 votes; SLFP with 54,823 votes; LSSP with 5,663 votes. Hence it can be seen, party-wise, TULF had polled more than the UNP in the Tamil-speaking electorates of EP.

I leave it to those who read this article (as well as the previous one of mine which appeared in Tribune earlier) to arrive at their own conclusions, whether TULF had got the mandate for Eelam or not.

At this juncture, I am constrained to make some comments also, on the speech of Mr. M. I. M. Aboosally (UNP MP for Balangoda) reported in the Hansard (23rd Aug. 1977). Analysing and working out the votes cast, for TULF at the last General Election, Aboosally has stated:

"Even if they had received 50% of the votes, they represent only 50% of the Indian and Ceylon Tamil population in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, which works out to 575,000 people. 575,000 of 3 million is less than 20 percent of the Tamil-speaking people in this country."

Mr. Aboosally seems to think that all the 3 million Tamil speaking

people had the voting rights in the last General Election. It's not so. Three million is the population; but the number of Tamil voters is about half. To illustrate the point further, the population of Sri Lanka is nearly 13 million. But the estimated number of voters is 6.6 million only. So, Aboosally's arithmetic is wrong there.

Similarly, Mr. Aboosally's statement, "I would like to tell you that the TULF actually represents less than 20% of the Tamil-speaking people of this country", will not hold water, because on this same

REPLY

Sir,

Mr. A. C. Joseph finds fault with my article on the Tamil mandate for Eelam.

As I mentioned in my article, if my data or analysis is wrong I am subject to correction. Thus I accept a comment made by a writer in the Sunday Times. It does not, however, change the substance of my argument.

If Mr. Joseph will show where I am wrong, I shall correct myself. If he only insinuates that my article is not "reasoned and unprejudiced," it does not add much light to the question.

Surely it is not unfair to the Tamils to try to understand what their voting pattern indicates. The demand for Eelam is a serious issue and as such merits study and reflection. It concerns and affects us all. May I mention that the title "Fact or Fiction" was not from me. The second part of my article giving positive suggestions appeared in the Sunday Times on 25th September.

The issues of race are sensitive and delicate. Let us try to deal with them as objectively and fairly as possible even while we may bear within ourselves limitation of this accident of birth and of our own consequent cultural and social conditioning.

Tissa Balasuriya O.M.I.

281, Deans Road,
Colombo 10.
13.10.77

kind of logic, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene cannot claim to be the PM of the entire Sri Lanka, as the UNP had polled only 51.2% of the voters total population.

If we accept Mr. Aboosally's argument JRI is the PM only for 51.2% of the population; Mrs. B is the PM for 30% of the population; Amirthalingam is the PM for 6.4% of the population; N. M. Perera is the PM for 3.6% of the population; Pieter Keuneman is the PM for 1.9% of the population, Thondaman is the PM for 1.0% of the population and so on.

What a fallacy?

Before concluding my article, I just want to comment on another point where wrong impressions might have been created in the minds of the readers after perusing the learned Father's analysis. In the first State Assembly, there were 19 elected Tamil representatives and 15 of them boycotted the Constituent Assembly in 1972. There were only 8 elected Muslim representatives. Included in this number were, members like Mr. I. A. Cader (ex-MP for Beruwela), who represented a majority Sinhala electorate, and hence not representing solely, the interests of the minority community he belonged to.

Even if we accept the fact that, these 8 Muslim members accepted the Republican Constitution, then altogether 12 elected members representing the minority interests had accepted the Constitution, whereas 15 of them had not accepted it. Hence, we have to come to a conclusion that, on a majority decision the Republican Constitution of 1972 was rejected by the Tamil speaking people. This Constitution which was unilaterally imposed in May 1972, by Mrs. B's Government, took away even the meagre safeguards for minorities, provided in the Soulbury Constitution. (It is interesting to find Comrade Colvin shedding crocodile tears now and expressing doubts about the UNP's credibility, regarding this issue). And the refusal to include even the meagre safeguards of the Soulbury Constitution in the Republican Constitution of 1972 was the most important cause for the demand for Eelam.

IN INDIA

Need And Opportunity For Broad Left Unity

by A. B. Bardhan

We reproduce an article from the Delhi daily Patriot on the question of Left Unity in India. We publish it in order to initiate a discussion on Left Unity in Sri Lanka. Though there is much in common between conditions in India and Sri Lanka there are also striking and vital differences between the two countries especially in regard to the way political parties and parliamentary institutions have developed. The article by A. B. Bardhan offers some guidelines about the "Need and Opportunity for a Broad Left Unity" in India, but what he says should provoke a great deal of thinking in Left circles in Ceylon.

—Editor

Mrs. Jayshree Rana, a Naxalite leader of West Bengal and secretary of the Legal Aid Committee, has in an interview to the press (Patriot, 20, July) stated that "a few questions are agitating the Naxalities' minds like: What is leftism? Who make up the left in India? What should be the criterion in characterising a party as left?"

In the same interview she admitted frankly that she and a number of her colleagues in the party were opposed to what Mr. Satya Narayan Singh (a leader of one of the Naxalite groups—Ed.) was saying and doing. As is known, Mr. Singh seems to have developed some sort of a special equation with Mr. Charan Singh, the Home Minister of the Janata Government. But perhaps with the passage of time, even this may change.

The questions raised by Mrs. Rana are indeed very valid and timely. They call for a frank discussion and clarification.

Lenin defined left parties thus: "The Left parties are really left, and deserve that name, only in so far as they express the interests and reflect the psychology, not of 'society', not of a bunch of whining intellectual trash, but of the

lower, strata of the people, the proletariat and a certain section of the petty bourgeois mass, both urban and rural. The left parties are those whose audiences are never indifferent to social and political problems any more than a hungry man can be indifferent to the problem of a crust of bread." (Collected Works: Vol. 12, P. 381)

While this defines the class basis of the "left parties" and of "leftism" in general, the precise political characteristics and the tactics that distinguish the 'left parties' in a particular country depend on the concrete conditions within the country at the given period.

Lenin looked at the "left" always from a broad angle, including within it the smallest trend that arose from and expressed the interests of the lower strata of the people, while carrying on a principled struggle against any mistakes, any wrong direction betrayed by any left trend that could harm the interests of the proletariat and other sections of the common people.

In Europe, today, the interests of the lower strata of the people as a whole demand a course of development, a policy, which is opposed to the aims of the main exploiting classes in their varying manifestations. Together, these classes determine the specific path of capitalist development pursued in our country, and keep up the edifice of exploitation and oppression of the common people. The influence and pressure of the World Bank and the IMF in shaping the country's policies along this path have become more and more pronounced during the last few years, and more so in the last few months.

To the extent that any party claiming to be "left" consciously expounds and pursues policies opposed to the path pursued by the exploiting classes and upholds the interests of the lower strata of the people and to the extent these parties mobilise the masses behind them in the struggle to resist these classes, to that extent their left character becomes more pronounced and self-evident.

What is the aim of the "left" in India today? It is to take the country away from the path of capitalist development—which is res.

possible for the deep crisis in our economic and social life, for unemployment and high prices, for hunger and misery and for the incredible and intolerable exploitation of the overwhelming mass of the people. Positively, its effort must be to carve out a new path of development, a path that is not only non-capitalist but is anti-capitalist and socialist.

The experience of the masses for the last three decades has exposed the bankruptcy of the capitalist path of development pursued by the Congress. Similarly, the experience of the Janata Party rule in the last four months has been enough to reveal that it is bent upon pursuing the capitalist path more openly and reverse or weaken nationally accepted policies that were intended to ensure independent economic development of the country and strengthen its economic base.

The people are fast realising the futility of reposing any hope on the Janata Party in solving the basic issues confronting them. Therefore, the experience of the people can lead them only to one conclusion—that neither the Congress nor the Janata Party, the two major bourgeois parties, can be the instruments of their deliverance.

This is the challenge that the Left in India faces today. The Left forces can provide an alternative, show a new path, provided they can get united and also rally round the other democratic sections and elements no matter where they may happen to be today. This is valid both in the context of immediate mass struggles over vital issues affecting the people's life, as well as in the parliamentary arena. It is clear that the challenge cannot be met by any left party singly by itself. Only a united Left can do it.

To see that such a polarisation does not take place in our political life, the Congress and the Janata Party are working overtime to project a so-called two-party system. An ideological barrage has been let loose to sell the idea that only this can safeguard our parliamentary democracy. As to the "Left", it is suggested that it is too weak, too fragmented, with only pockets of local or regional influence; at any rate, it is irrelevant and undesirable in India's condition.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has come out openly in support of two-party system, that the Congress minus Mrs. Indira Gandhi is the only national alternative to the Janata Party and so on. Indeed, what we see in the parliamentary context today is the gradual unfolding of this two-party system. Notwithstanding the clashes between the Janata Party and the Congress, to which the people are being systematically treated, there is considerable accommodation between the leadership of the two parties on sensitive issues.

If anything this underlines the urgent need to project the alternative of Left and democratic unity, based on the unity of all Left parties and forces. Some Left parties have entered into temporary adjustments or understanding with this or that bourgeois party—the Congress or the Janata. In the parliamentary context and sometimes even in the interests of pro-people struggles on specific issues, the temptation or urge to reach such adjustment is always present.

The bourgeois parties manage to exercise a traditional hold over considerable sections of the democratic masses, and many of their policies and actions are even determined by the needs of such democratic sections. The Left parties are therefore even required sometimes to establish bonds with them, in the interests of the mass movement.

But the permanent task of the left parties consists in the struggle against all exploiting classes and parties which reflect their interests, and to forge a common front of the left and democratic forces, winning over those sections of the lower strata who continue to be under the influence of the bourgeois parties.

It is not very hard to identify all such Left parties and groups. No amount of oppression, terror and slander by the bourgeois state machine and its mass media has succeeded in wiping them out. Some of them are indeed regional and local groups, but even they have displayed unusual tenacity, a capacity for survival against all odds.

It is unfortunate that most Left parties are today ranged against each other. This accounts for their weakness as an alternative in the eyes of the disillusioned masses.

But it does not make the Left parties cease to be "Left". It only underlines the difficulties in the path of forging Left unity, and at the same time the necessity of doing so no matter what the difficulties.

The appeal of "Leftism" properly so called, is a hundred times wider than the organisational framework or the practical reach of the Left parties, taken singly or together. There is in India a very big Left mass. This is a measure of the radicalisation of the mass mind as a result of the impact of national and international politics, the powerful pull of socialist ideas and example the disillusionment arising from, the obvious bankruptcy of the capitalist path and so on. Tens of thousands of workers, employees, intellectuals, rural poor belong to this left-oriented mass, though most of them may not belong to any left political party as such. The disunity within the Left keeps them away from being members. On the other hand, Left unity will exercise a powerful pull on this left-oriented mass, and activate it in our social and political life and make its weight felt in national affairs.

We are going through a fast-changing period. Given a correct approach and immediate proper steps, political and organisational aims which would have ordinarily taken years to achieve in the fifties or the sixties can now be achieved within a year or two.

There is a good deal of re-thinking and churning of ideas within the ranks of the Left. Indeed, even within what was loosely known as the "new Left", there is considerable rethinking. The change is in a positive direction, though the hangover of the past continues to inhibit this quest for a correct solution. Wrong ideas, even arrogant sectarianism arising from temporary successes, clouds thinking in some cases.

Mrs. Jayshree Rana has spoken of the need for a reappraisal, a self-critical review to be undertaken by the left. In the ranks of the Communist movement, which is the largest segment of the Left forces—even the decisive segment—we see that the CPI is making serious efforts at such a reappraisal. Since sections of the Naxalities are now orienting themselves to the working class movement and abandoning their penchant for individual terror-

rism (not to be confused with revolutionary violence), it is to be presumed that they too are undertaking a painful reappraisal.

What about the CPM? Do they wish to maintain that they have been proved correct, that in retrospect all the twists and turns they took in national and international affairs have also been justified, and therefore they need to undertake no re-appraisal? Is it being asserted that unless certain preconditions are met, the efforts for left unity and a united struggle on mass issues cannot start? In that case, the Left will miss its tryst with destiny.

—Courtesy Patriot, New Delhi



TRIBUTE

• Senaka Bibile

Prof. Senaka Bibile who died in Guyana a few days ago was one of the many gifted people who came forward in 1970 to participate in, and contribute to, the process of social change. How the good intentions of many such people were check-mated, and why it happened, we will leave to the historian and political scientist respectively. What we endeavour to record is the fact that a person like Prof. Bibile, was ahead of his time in his ideas, intentions and solutions. Nevertheless his contribution is immense.

The orbits of a pharmacologist and a journalist crossed when Prof. Bibile was setting up the Pharmaceuticals Corporation. The threat that the introduction of generic names and the rationalisation of drug manufacture represented to the multi-national drug firms triggered a vicious campaign to vilify the schemes put forward by Prof. Bibile.

At the outset, what fascinated me about Prof. Bibile was the tremendous enthusiasm he had, and his determination to see to a finish the fight with the MNCs. Later, I became aware of the sincerity and warmth that went to make up his relationships with people.

Others will testify to his abilities as a pharmacologist, as a lifelong teacher, as the architect and founder of the Pharmaceuticals

Corporation and as UN consultant. I can only testify to his vision, his faith in people, his socialist ideals and the intense humaneness that characterised this remarkable personality.

In spite of opposition to his ideas and schemes, Prof. Bibile pressed on undaunted. His efforts cannot be assessed today, only in the future will we be able to figure the magnitude of his contribution to social medicine in our country.

The UN appreciated the value of his ideas and drew on his services. The fact that his schemes have come to stay is attested to by the continuity regards policy on drugs that the new government has adopted.

Now that Prof. Bibile has left the scene of time we can echo Leon Trotsky's words: it is victims who move humanity forward. And he could say with confidence: I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course.

Jayantha Somasundaram

* *

• Murugupillai Karthikesan

Comrade M. Karthikesan is no more. In his death the left movement loses one of its stalwarts from the North. His pioneering activity, along with a few other dedicated comrades helped to awaken the class consciousness of the working peoples of Sri Lanka in the forties and the fifties.

Karthi, as he was popularly known, was one of the founder members of the Ceylon Communist Party. A down to earth political worker bitterly opposed to Trotskyite romanticism, he was one of those who led the break away movement from the Sama Samaja Party. After a distinguished career at the University, where he read English, Karthikesan opted to become a full-timer in the Communist Party. That was at a time when the brighter young graduates were attracted to the more prestigious Civil Service. Nor did he follow the examples of other left careerists who sought a secure base in the legal profession. Instead he dedicated himself to serve the cause of the working peoples full-

time for a meagre allowance with no guarantee of regular payment. That was Buddhist and Hindu asceticism of the mid-twentieth century Sri Lanka. And the Communist Party emerged as a strong force in the national scene. Comrade Karthikesan took charge of editing the Party English weekly. He was writer, editor, Press-worker and salesboy all combined. That was how he and his fellow comrades sweated to build the movement. And the CP—at least then, was treated seriously by its opponents.

Karthikesan was born in Malaysia and he received his secondary education there. He had just missed the coveted All-Malaya Queen's scholarship by being placed second. He then proceeded to Sri Lanka, where he entered the University of Ceylon. His father, he'd say, was keen that he should enter the CCS but he opted for the CCP instead. This was a turning point in his career. He took to a modest existence with no publicity whatsoever for his immense contributions to the working class movement in the country.

The later forties saw Karthikesan move to the north. Ambitious elements were increasingly creeping into the party cadre. It also gave him the opportunity to carry the message to the north, where he accepted the post of an Assistant Teacher at Jaffna Hindu College. Here was a young intellectual fired by a great deal of idealism carrying the message of national unity to his homeland—and that at a time when those moving in the opposite direction pioneered racialist and divisive politics. What is tragic is that Karthi and his fellow workers were often branded as traitors while those Tamils of the affluent quarters of Colombo emerged as champions of the Tamil race or so it was made out to be. Developments in the South contributed in no small measure in the unfolding of such a tragedy.

The unkindest cut of all was neatly executed from within the party itself. One remembers the Sixth party congress (1960) where Comrade Karthikesan castigated the members of the Party Politbureau for ignoring the task of building the Party. Lethargy had set in and high living was sought after. The Leaders and their cronies were

often ready with their passports to attend any conference anywhere in the socialist world. Patronage politics had set in within the party. The bulk of the funds remained unaccounted for. The party organisation was all shambles in consequence.

Came the offer of a few seats in Parliament via the Left and later SLFP alliance under Srimavo's leadership. The party seized upon it as if it were the only hope of survival on the political plane. In the process there was a frantic search for Walawua elements within the party to socialise with the Ratwattes. All criticism was suppressed and when this was led by men like Karthikesan and Shanmugathasan the "Demala" cry was conveniently raised. It was not very many steps before the now infamous *masalavade* line was plugged in. The Party split in two factions and later into several sub-groups. Comrade Karthikesan strove hard to activate one of these groups into a national organization.

Post independence politics in Sri Lanka saw the emergence of a great deal of parochialism as a significant trend. Few stood up against the main current. Comrade Murugupillai Karthikesan certainly was one of the courageous few. His life was one of poverty and this is no source of suffering for a soldier in the peoples' cause. A cultured gentleman he was and all those who learnt to know him also learnt to love him.

Alas! Karthi is no more. All those of us who worked with him mourn his loss. We salute the martyr.

V. Rama Krishnan

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

A Working Paper On The Second Amendment

1. *Subject.* The proposed Second Amendment to the Constitution, presented by the Prime Minister on September 22 19 77.

2. *Function of a Working Paper.* Working papers are issued by the CRM for circulation among its members and, on occasion, among a wider audience. A working paper is pre-

pared after a preliminary study only. Its purpose is to promote further thought and discussion, and it does not rank as a resolution or statement of the Movement. Reproduction of a working paper in whole or in part must include this explanation.

3. *Context.* There is no doubt that the present Constitution is sadly defective as regards the protection of civil rights. This is and always has been the view of CRM. Apart from the Constitution, there are several other laws which are inimical to civil rights, and which the CRM has consistently opposed. The proposed amendment to the Constitution must be examined by us in the context of our basic commitment to the need for effective protection of the citizen against actual or possible misuse of power, which has been the basis of the position taken up by CRM on numerous Bills, Laws and regulations since our inception in 1971. In other words, the question at issue now is not the many admitted and serious defects in the present Constitution, but whether the proposed amendment improves or worsens the situation from the point of view of the democratic rights of the people.

4. *Powers of the President.* Under the present Constitution the President does not wield any real political power. In name, he wields immense power, for under the Constitution he is the Commander in Chief of the armed forces, he declares war and peace, he appoints Judges, he commutes death sentences, he declares a State of Emergency and makes emergency regulations. But in fact he is little more than a figurehead, on account of section 27 of the Constitution and similar provisions elsewhere which require him to act on the advice of the Prime Minister or other appropriate Minister. The Prime Minister and Ministers can therefore always be questioned in the National State Assembly as regards the acts of the President. However the proposed amendment, while retaining (and indeed adding to) the various powers now vested in the President in name, repeals section 27 of the Constitution. Henceforth in the exercise of all his powers under the Constitution, the President acts entirely in his own discretion. The amendment also provides that in all existing laws the words "Prime Minis-

ter" shall be read as "President". Therefore, wherever a law says that the Prime Minister may advise the President to do something, in future the President may advise himself! An example in point (and a very important one) is the Public Security Act under which the Prime Minister advises the President on the making of emergency regulations.

5. The proposed amendment not merely vests immense political power in the President by permitting him to exercise at his own initiative powers which he earlier exercised on advice. It also vests new powers in him. The President will not only appoint the Prime Minister and all the other Ministers, but he will also be a member of the Cabinet and will preside over Cabinet meetings. What is more significant, he may assign to himself any subject or function and may determine the number of Ministers to be in his charge. In such event the President will be deemed to be the relevant Minister in charge of such subject or Ministry. However, the President will NOT himself be a member of the National State Assembly.

6. Another new power vested in the President is to appoint such officers and advisers as he considers necessary to assist him. The terms and conditions of service will be decided by the President, who will be responsible for their dismissal and disciplinary control. Their salaries (the amount of which will be decided by the President in his complete discretion) will of course come out of public funds, and the amendment provides for them to be charged on the Consolidated Fund, which means that no vote is necessary in the National State Assembly. The ideal result of this provision, and doubtless what is intended, is that the President will be able to secure the assistance of the best brains in the country, the most competent scientists, technicians, and administrators, paying them whatever is necessary to secure their services without being hamstrung by salary scales, financial regulations and the like. On the other hand, can one say with confidence that in Sri Lanka the reality is never likely to depart from this, and that the provision is not fertile soil for the growth of many family trees in future years? And one will not be able to ask and secure a reply—as one can with regards to

any appointment in the public service or in government corporations today—to questions such as why was X appointed? What are his qualifications? What are his hours he works? Is he not engaged in full time business elsewhere? How much is he paid? What exactly are his functions and what is the service he performs? Is he so-and-so's brother-in-law? and so forth.

7. The sum total of all this is that under the proposed amendment the President will be in fact exercising all the powers presently exercised by the Prime Minister, as well as some additional powers. However there will be a major difference in that he will not be subject to the restraints that the Prime Minister is at present subject to. These are two fold—answerability to the National State Assembly, and control by the Courts.

8. Answerability to the National State Assembly. Although the President may assign any Ministry to himself, unlike other Ministers he will not be available to be questioned in the National State Assembly as to the way in which he performs his function either as President or as Minister. The President will have a right of audience in the NSA which only means that he can address the NSA whenever he wishes. But as regards the President there will be no question time!

9. At present the President declares war—but he does so on the advice of the Prime Minister, who can be asked in the House why he has thought fit to ask the President to take this step. The Prime Minister can be asked why he advised the President to declare emergency, the Minister of Justice can be asked why a pardon was granted (or not granted) to a convicted person. The Prime Minister or appropriate Minister knows always that he must be able to face the House and account for his actions. Now, the exercise of these powers will be taken outside the purview of this open examination which we have always considered essential for the democratic process. Furthermore, where the President also chooses to function as a Minister, the area which is taken away from public scrutiny will be wider still. For, unlike other Ministers, the President will not be there in the House to answer questions relating to his Ministry or Minis-

tries—and these may well be very important ones.

10. It may also be noted here that this provision enabling the President to assign Ministries to himself appears to be contrary to the UNP's own 1977 election manifesto which said "The Constitution will also preserve the Parliamentary system we are used to, for the Prime Minister will be chosen by the President from the Party that commands a majority in Parliament and the other Ministers of the Cabinet will also be elected Members of Parliament."

11. Control by the Courts. As regards control by the courts in the case of illegal acts—the present constitution provides that a person holding office as President shall be immune from civil or criminal proceedings. (Section 23). This is understandable in the constitution as it now stands where the President is only a figurehead and where real political power lies in the Prime Minister and other Ministers. The proposed amendment, however, while giving the President tremendous and very real political power, retains the provision giving him immunity from action in the courts. This is not acceptable. True, it may still be possible to attack on illegal act of the President in other ways, for instance when an official seeks to enforce an illegal order by the President. For the immunity conferred by the Constitution is as regards the person of the President, and not as regards his acts, which remain open to challenge in the courts so long as you can frame the action without making it directly against the President. But there may well be instances where the only convenient, effective or possible remedy requires that the President be made a party. It is also true that under the present law as amended by the last government (see the Interpretation Amendment Act of 1972) there are already certain difficulties in the way of suing a Minister who acts contrary to law. This, the CRM resolutely opposed at the time it was passed. The re-establishment of the Rule of Law specifically promised in the UNP manifesto would seem to call for the repeal of such provisions, rather than the extending of a blanket immunity from judicial action of a President who is going to wield extensive political power.

12. The President and the NSA—checks and balances. The control that the NSA can exercise over the President is minimal. We have already noted how his actions cannot be questioned effectively in the NSA. It is true that the NSA has to vote funds for the business of government (except, as we have seen, for the President's advisers). However, the President will always have the whip hand over a recalcitrant NSA, because he can dissolve it at any moment for any reason, and carry on himself. There is provision for funds to be available in the period until a new NSA is elected—and if that is no more co-operative, the President can always dissolve it as well! When a Prime Minister decides on dissolution under the system we have known till today, he always faces the possibility of being swept out of power himself, and so the threat of dissolution is not one which he will implement lightly. But under the new system the President will have nothing to lose for he continues in office. True, the NSA can remove the President. But see how disparate the power is. The NSA can do this only by a two thirds majority, on a motion signed by at least half the members. (Section 26). While this procedure is taking its course, the President can pre-empt the NSA by dissolving it—with one stroke of the pen, one individual can remove from office some one hundred and sixty elected representatives of the people! Something has gone seriously wrong with the concept of "checks and balances" here, the scales are heavily, weighted on one side. They must be put right by strictly defining and circumscribing the circumstances under which the President may dissolve the NSA.

13. The Manifesto—and the total picture. A look at the UNP's 1977 election manifesto is very helpful in considering the true import of this amendment. Two contradictions between the Manifesto and the proposed amendment have already been pointed out (see paras 10 and 11). However a much more important question emerges from the Manifesto. The part of the manifesto headed "Constitution" is reproduced in the appendix to this note—and must be read. It will be seen that the whole tenor of the manifesto is that the present Constitution is unsatisfactory (which is CRM's

position too), and that a new Republican Constitution will be drafted and adopted which will guarantee the peoples fundamental rights and freedoms, re-establish freedom of the press and the judiciary, ensure the rights of minorities, and re-establish the Rule of Law. The whole emphasis is on a new Constitution which will secure democratic rights (which CRM certainly will welcome). The sentence "Executive power will be vested in a President elected from time to time by the people" is preceded and followed by these references to democratic rights. Furthermore, the very next sentence seems to explain the reason for this particular proposal—"This will ensure stability of the executive for a period of years between elections." It is difficult to understand why, before starting to draft the promised new Constitution with its pledge of securing fundamental rights and so on, this one element regarding the President which does not seem to be of any particular urgency (and which, if the intention is "to provide stability of the Executive for a period of years between elections," definitely seems the least urgent of all the ingredients at the present moment), has been now singled out for implementation as a matter of urgency, while the rest may wait.

14. In this note several unsatisfactory features of the proposed amendment have been pointed out. In addition, we now stress that this sort of piecemeal change is not satisfactory in itself. The most important thing in any democratic Constitution is that there must be a carefully worked out system of checks and balances to ensure that the possibility of misuse of power is minimised. This is not easy, but one thing is clear—to achieve success one must be able to look at the totality. The government has promised a totally new Constitution which will safeguard democratic institutions and guarantee the peoples rights. We must be able to look at the draft of this entire new Constitution and see how the pieces fit together. We must be able to stand back and take a long look at the whole picture if we are to see whether the checks and balances have been placed properly, whether this arm of government needs a little more weight or that one a little less. The functions, powers and privileges

of the President in whom executive power is to be vested must be worked out and examined in terms of the whole. The way they have been provided for in the present amendment, which concentrates immense power in the President while protecting him from control by the NSA or the Courts, simply upsets whatever checks and balances exist in the present Constitution, without taking us any nearer the promised land where the Constitution will emphasise the rule of law and secure democratic rights.

15. *Public debate.* In any event, time for study and debate by political parties, organisations, and the public at large is essential for this measure which alters radically the whole nature of the constitution, and which contains several elements which are of special import as regards the democratic rights of the people. The Bill was presented on September 22nd and the debate is due to start on October 4th. One of our members who tried to purchase a copy of the Bill on September 30th at the Government Publications Bureau was told that it was sold out and that only ten copies in each language had been sent for sale to the public! It is also surprising to note that the government has resorted to the infamous Section 55 (1) of the Constitution and resolved that this Bill is "urgent in the national interest" thus circumventing the need for publication in the Gazette in all 3 languages at least seven days before being placed on the agenda of the NSA. The reason for this haste is not at all apparent. Subsequent newspaper reports that the Bill is to be referred to a Select Committee and that parties outside Parliament too will be consulted, are however to be welcomed. An opportunity for representations by the public and by interested organisations should also be given.

NEXT WEEK

- ① PADDY CULTIVATION
- ① FROM KATTANKUDI
- ① GOSSIPY TIDBITS.
- ① C. W. C.

FROM THE KERALA SAMAJAM OF SRI LANKA

Memorandum To The Prime Minister

The following is the full text of the memorandum of the Kerala Samajam of Sri Lanka sent to the Prime Minister on September 26, 1977. The President of this organisation is Dr. Abraham T. Kovoor.

The Managing Committee of the Kerala Samajam of Sri Lanka, a social and cultural organisation of the citizens of Sri Lanka of Kerala origin, decided at a special meeting on September 18 to submit this memorandum to you for your kind consideration.

Although we are non-Tamils, and strongly opposed to the division of this country into Tamil and Sinhalese States, numerous families belonging to our community residing in suburban towns and villages were brutally attacked during the recent communal riots. They are now stranded in various refugee camps with no place to go to as they have lost all their possessions by loot and arson. Some of these refugees who suffered similar mental trauma twice—in 1958 and 1977—have lost their confidence in their future security in this island. They have expressed a desire to relinquish their Sri Lanka citizenship and to go India, provided they are allowed to take with them the remnant of their assets, leaving behind what they have lost by loot and arson.

We are appealing to the Governments of India and the State of Kerala to help these unfortunate victims to start their life anew there. We are, therefore, appealing to you to allow them, on humanitarian grounds, to take their assets with them if they have anything left behind after the two holocausts. It would be an ideal act of compassion if the Government of Sri Lanka would compensate their loss—suffered for no fault of theirs.

As the majority of our people wish to continue living in Sri Lanka as its loyal citizens, we take this

opportunity to suggest certain measures to be adopted by the present Government to ensure amity between the various communities living in this Country, and to prevent the repetition of similar riots and killings. The Sinhalese community should know that Sri Lanka does not belong to them only. It is wrong for them to think that their community and their religion alone should have special privileges in the Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

Like the Tamils, all the other minority communities of Sri Lanka also have suffered similar disabilities and discriminations for the last 30 years. Most of the Sri Lankan Burghers have migrated to Australia, Britain and Canada because they realised as a result of our wrong language policy and educational segregation, that their children had no future in this country. The fact that none of them migrated to Holland, the country of their origin, shows that they had no divided loyalty. For them Sri Lanka is their mother country as it is for the Sinhalese, who also came to Sri Lanka from a foreign country. If Burgher children were allowed to continue their studies in English, they would not have migrated on a mass scale.

Of all the minority communities of Sri Lanka the Tamils alone want to form a separate State because their leaders think that is the only way open to them for the future prosperity of their people. Unlike the other minority communities of Sri Lanka, the Tamils know that if they can form a separate State for them now, sooner or later they will be able to merge with the neighbouring Tamil Nadu in India, and make their territory viable.

The binding influence of the saintly Gandhi and the humanist Nehru is more there to keep the Indian sub-continent as one. The last Indian general election clearly showed how the political trends among the Hindi-speaking people of the North and the Dravidian people of the South differ. Due to ethnical, cultural and linguistic differences there is a possibility of the Indian sub-continent dividing sooner or later into Hindustan and a Dravidistan.

If, through the shortsighted policy of the leaders of the majority community in Sri Lanka, the country is forced to divide into a "Buddhist Republic" in the South and a "Hindu Eelam" in the North, it may be that at a distant future the Dravidastan will have the Vindhya Mountains as its northern boundary, and the border between the Hindu Eelam and the Buddhist Republic as its Southern boundary, with Trincomalee as its Naval Base. It is because of this potential danger that we, the Sri Lankans of Kerala origin are opposed to the division of the country.

Like all sensible citizens, we too are concerned about finding ways and means to avoid the division of the country. We deplore the suggestion made by some Buddhist leaders to station a contingent of army in Jaffna to suppress the agitation for a separate State. This, we are afraid, will only result in destroying thousands of lives, and expediting the birth of the Tamil Eelam. West Pakistan wanted to thrust their official language Urdu on the Bengalee-speaking Muslims of East Pakistan by sending the army. The military action of Yahia Khan only expedited the birth of Bangladesh.

Let us learn from the mistakes we made during the last 30 years. Thirty years of educational segregation, and ethnical, cultural and religious discriminations have culminated in massive brain-drain, emigration of Burghers, and the demand by the Tamils for an *Eelam*. The future progress and prosperity of this country depend on the loyalty of all its citizens. This can be achieved only when there is absolute equality of opportunities for all its citizens irrespective of their religion, language or race.

Language and religion are two highly emotional and inflammable subjects eminently suited for opportunist politicians for their election campaigns. Only statesmen can visualise the dangers in them. After all there is no sense in a Buddhist, who believes in rebirth, bargaining for special privileges for him and his religion, because there is nothing to prevent him from being reborn as a member of one of the minority communities to undergo the disabilities and discriminations he himself was instrumental in imposing.

If, as you have stated on several occasions, your aim is to provide justice and equality of opportunities for all the citizens irrespective of their race, religion, language

and caste, we are of opinion that it can be achieved by adopting the following measures:—

1. Let us be trilingual. Let our children learn together as they did before the independence.
2. Let the Government of Sri Lanka be fully secular. The religions of our citizens can be left as their private affairs as in India.
3. Let there be no religious instruction in our public schools. Ethics could be taught instead of the scriptures. Parents who want to give religious instruction to their children may do so by sending them on Sundays to religious institutions.
4. State funds should not be spent to support any religion or religious institutions.
5. Encourage national integration by promoting inter-communal marriages. As an incentive for this, preference should be given to the children of mixed parents, other qualifications being equal, for employment and admission to institutions.
6. Merit should be the only guiding factor for selecting personnel to public institutions.
7. Apart from a person's nationality and qualifications a Sri Lankan should not be asked to mention his or her race, religion, community or caste while filling up official forms.
8. All citizens being equal, a Sri Lankan should not be asked to state on official forms whether he is a citizen by birth or registration.
9. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs should cease to function as a Ministry of Buddhist Affairs.

We conclude this memorandum by pointing out the danger of trying to solve this burning problem temporarily by half-hearted patch-work adjustments and political bargaining. Since the future of our country depends on communal amity, let us solve it once and for all as statesmen and not as politicians. In a democracy provisions are made in the constitution if needed, to safeguard minority interests, and not majority interests as seen in the preamble of the present Constitution.

REMINISCENSING

Of Crows And Men

by Nimal Sarathchandra

No one would care to look at a crow for the second time, not because it is a common and ubiquitous bird, not because it is black and does not have colourful plumage but for the simple reason that it is a crow.

Not very long ago when I was in Trincomalee, undergoing a sentence of two years r.i. as my friends told me then, crows were my best companions. Early morning before I and most of the men in town would get up, crows would congregate outside my room and eagerly await the opening of the window to greet me for which in return they expected me to feed them. I would cut a few slices of bread, cut them into still smaller pieces and feed them but not with crumbs.

One of the most unusual and emulating things I have seen among crows is that unlike men and dogs, crows when they get something worth eating, they would not grab at and have it alone; they would with their incessant cawing invite their kith and kin to participate and share in whatever things they have been able to get.

Very often crows are compared to men because of their insatiable and hard-to-satisfy nature. According to popular belief the crows fall several times during the night because of starvation and they could never be satisfied however much you would feed them unless of course you feed them with rags dipped in ghee.

Like men, crows are easily flattered. It is because of this shortcoming that one of their species had to lose a piece of cheese to the fox who was both scheming and cunning. Crows are classified as the ordinary crow (Kakka) and the Colombo Crow (Colombo Kakka). Unlike the ordinary kakka, the Colomba kakka has a few grey or white feathers but the main difference between these two types of crows is that the Colomba kakka is more sophisticated, cannot be easily flattered or scared and has all the characteristics of a city thug.

"Be careful of the flatterer they say, "because he feeds y with an empty spoon." A Colomb kakka will never lose a piece of

cheese to a fox even if flattered. It would tuck the piece of cheese under its foot and cawing as if cynically fly away with the piece of cheese still safe, leaving the fox frustrated and desperate. Another peculiar feature of the Colomba kakka is that it is not easily scared though a village kakka could be easily scared and kept away with the help of a few crows feathers kept dangling near the window or wherever you would like to keep free from crows.

No one, not even men, could beat the crows in their stoic strength and capacity to undergo hardships. It was a crow who saw a little water at the bottom of a pitcher and because of its persevering nature, filled it with pebbles and had the water coming up to quench its thirst. Men on the other hand would have dashed the pitcher and cursed the womenfolk for their callousness.

I have seen not one crow but several of them working with unusual patience and perseverance, cutting open with precision the tough hide of a dead buffalo, their scalpel-like beaks and after opening the belly drawing out the intestines like skilful surgeons.

I have seen crows more often in numbers travelling on the roof of a train or bus or lorry which only reminds me of the ticketless traveller.

Like men who keep on talking endlessly crows are a nuisance when they continue cawing incessantly, but to the farmers the crows often serve as faithful friends killing pests and other harmful insects.

Sri Lanka had in 1902 obtained valuable foreign exchange from exporting crows to the Malay Peninsula. Those crows were used to reduce the outbreak of caterpillars on the coffee plantations in the Straits (Spoha Zeylanica vol I pp. 22-23).

The crows may have indirectly helped in the suppression of the Cummingi pest which ravaged the coconut plantations a few years back.

Crows more often than not live near towns, villages or human habitations, where there is plenty of food to eat. In the towns they act as scavengers. I have seen crows snatching a small fish or a ripe fruit from a pingo woman's basket with the skill and tact of a pick-pocketeer.

Crows resemble men in certain respects yet they are hated for the nuisance they create and the

mischief they do. Crows do at times help the society but there are men amongst us who are not as useful to society as much as the crows.

Irrigation by sewage

An unexpected chain of events during a research project in Swift Current, Saskatchewan may have uncovered a means of economically treating raw sewage. Wally Nicholaichuk and Volkmar Biederbeck, two scientists at the Agriculture Canada Research Station there, have spent much of the past three years investigating possible hazards of irrigating farmland with sewage from the city of Swift Current. So far, their research has shown that no ill effects have resulted on either soil or on animals that eat crops produced on the sewage-irrigated land. One of the potentially more dangerous components of sewage—bacteria that originate in the intestines of humans and other mammals—was noticeably reduced in field tests after irrigation with sewage. The researchers simulated field conditions in the laboratory. "We found that the coliform bacteria were killed as they passed through the main pump lifting the sewage from the lagoon to field level," Dr. Biederbeck said.

The researchers concluded that sudden pressure changes in the pump subjected the bacterial cells to extreme physical stress, killing up to 90 per cent of them. The scientists also found that addition of very small amounts of chlorine to the sewage before pumping—less than 1 per cent of that normally used for chlorination—resulted in an even greater kill of coliforms during pumping. Work will continue for two years into possible practical uses of this phenomenon as the researchers prepare a handbook on crop irrigation with sewage effluent. Negotiations have begun between the city and four area farmers for disposal of sewage. Up to 750 acres will be irrigated with sewage, with the city delivering it by pipeline to the contract farms. The majority of the land now is seeded to alfalfa and other forage crops.

Confidentially

Nuwara Eliya

IS IT NOT TRUE that Minister, Gamini Dissanayake (the first Member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya) has turned the spotlight on Nuwara Eliya with an integrated plan for the development of this town and its environs? That in this plan Mr. Dissanayake has endeavoured not merely to make the town attractive but to give the best fare for the foreign exchange the tourists bring in? That in the Gamini Dissanayake Plan there are detailed proposals for better accommodation in luxury hotels, for water sports, fishing (including trout fishing), boating, horse-riding, hiking, camping and nature trails? That the Plan has a scheme to dredge Lake Gregory, which since British times has been the main attraction in Nuwara Eliya and to have floating chalets, in it? That provision has also been made for expanding the Tourist Board's holiday complex to increase accommodation for foreign as well as domestic tourists? That existing estate bungalows in the region which can be utilised as accommodation units for tourists will be brought within the Plan? That similar use would be made of circuit bungalows belonging to Government Departments and Corporations? That a fifty-roomed luxury hotel with foreign participation was also on the cards in addition to improving the Municipal Tourist Rest House? That Gamini Dissanayake has already appointed an Area Development Authority headed by the Government Agent to implement this integrated plan for the development of the Nuwara Eliya region as a top-grade tourist resort?

IS IT NOT A FACT that whilst all these plans are excellent (on paper) there are a great many things to be put right in Nuwara Eliya and its environs if the Plan is to be implemented? That during the last two years *Tribune* has drawn attention to many horrors perpetrated in the Nuwara Eliya area? That not merely were the forests and jungles around Nuwara Eliya ruthlessly cut down—thus removing the foliage cover in the watershed

area of all the big rivers in Ceylon—but that the very large trees in the town of Nuwara Eliya itself, especially round Lake Gregory, had been cut down (often only to provide firewood for the Municipal Rest House)? That in spite of all the hullabuloo about this wanton cutting down of trees, this vandalism continues to this day? That there is, however a good reason why trees are cut? That there is such a shortage of firewood and fuel in Nuwara Eliya and its environs that people have no alternative but to cut down trees—now more surreptitiously than ever? That unless Government makes some alternative arrangements for fuel and firewood trees will continue to be cut down? That the cutting of the trees for firewood for local needs would not have denuded the area so completely as has happened now? That it is cutting of trees for timber (including export) and firewood elsewhere in Ceylon that has devastated the area? That it will be recalled that there was an official campaign to grow more trees in the days of the last government? That like all tree growing campaigns initiated by the SLFP, the Nuwara Eliya campaign also proved a failure? That whilst in other areas no attention was paid to the seedling after planting, in Nuwara Eliya the organisers had forgotten to remove the seedling plants from the cellophane bags—with the result that the roots never reached mother earth? That, whatever the reason, the results of all tree-planting campaigns initiated as political gimmicks have proved to be failures? That in Nuwara Eliya land which had been reserved as forest cover and which should have been maintained as reserves, were farmed out—after the trees and forests were cut—for potato and vegetable growing? That one result of this is that many public servants spend more time looking after their vegetable plots than do the jobs for which they are paid? That it would be invidious to spotlight the activities of particular public servants at this stage, but if the government does not put a stop to this, at the least by transferring those officials who have acquired vested interests and have become permanently “permanent” there, *Tribune* will publish particulars of a few of the more notorious cases which are already the talk of the town? That, as a warning, it is

necessary to say that the axe-in& should begin at the top? That, for instance, the VIP in the Municipal pal Office, who spends more time in his vegetable and potato plot in a choice section of the “reclaimed” part of Lake Gregory than in attending to his duties in his office should be transferred post-haste? That this would be better than the long interminable process of interdiction, inquiry, report, recommendation and official action? That in spite of all the vegetables grown in this area, vegetables cost more in Nuwara Eliya than in Colombo or other towns? That a gang in the market—like the protection gang in the Pettah (vegetable) market in Colombo—jack up prices on the footing that visitors, tourists and others who go to Nuwara Eliya can afford to pay higher prices? That Seminars have been held to improve Nuwara Eliya where *Tribune* articles were also cited? That in spite of this, and in spite of Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, things are reported to be as bad as ever at the grass roots? That the vested interests are only waiting until Gamini Dissanayake gets more fully immersed in his duties as Minister for them to start on their old tricks again and complete the total destruction of Nuwara Eliya and its environs—to enable them to make quick money in a short time? That the Nuwara Eliya goose that laid golden eggs has already stopped laying? That all that is left is to kill the goose? That with the kind of educational experimentation that has been inflicted on this country after Independence, it may be necessary to hold a Seminar at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute (Leader of the House, Mr. Premadasa, please note!) to explain even to many in the top brackets what this oft-quoted cliché about the goose that laid golden eggs was really all about? That goose or no goose, golden eggs or no golden eggs, things are in a bad way in Nuwara Eliya—tourist-wise, firewood-wise, tree growing-wise, vegetable prices-wise etc.—and Gamini Dissanayake has a giant-size job in cleaning the dirt and corruption of a gigantic Augean stables proportions before his plan can get off the ground? That it is only hoped that he knows what he is up against?



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