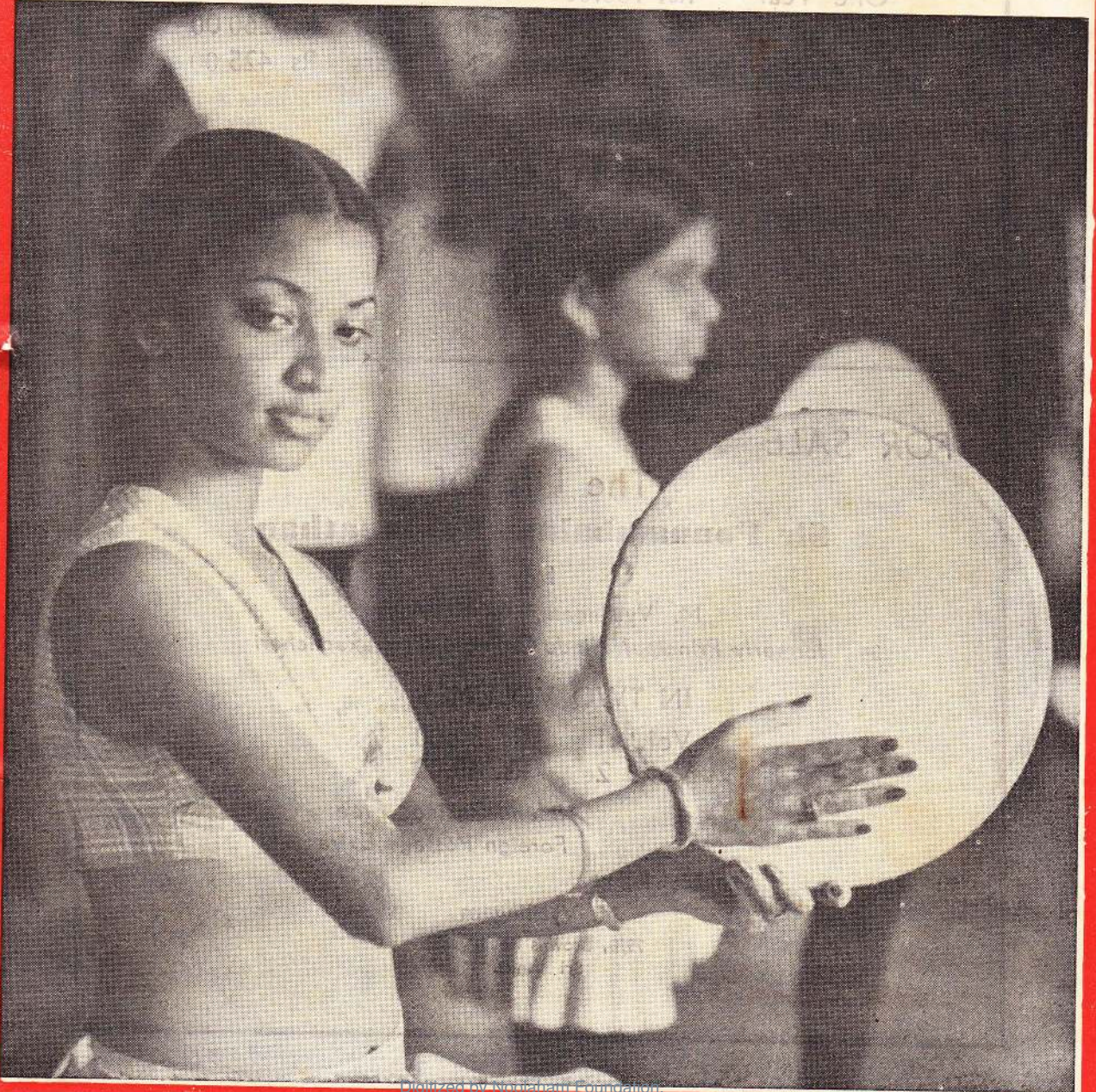


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Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER, this week, is symbolic of the times. In this country, as in many other countries in this region, the drum is used to usher in the new. And this week we usher in one of the most momentous of changes—whether for good or bad is yet to be seen—for the future of this island. The new Constitution of The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka will be promulgated on Thursday, September 7. The nomenclature chosen—unfortunately, in our view—is unnecessarily pompous and in some matters misleading. A simpler and more direct appellation like *The Republic of Ceylon*, or *The Republic of Sri Lanka* (if people have become enamoured of the term Sri Lanka), would have been far better than the sonorously long-winded title, “*The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*”. A Constitution stands or falls by what it is, and what it is able to do, and it is therefore not necessary to affix nouns or adjectives to describe the character of the Constitution. It is for the historian and the student of political science to analyse and label a Constitution according to his lights and the values he upholds. And, the term “democratic” itself is understood differently by different people. What a liberal humanist considers “democratic” will be rejected by a hide-bound Roman Catholic or rigid Marxist. And the Catholic and the Marxist hold different views on what true democracy means. If the principle of election through the ballot box is one hallmark of democracy, the way the franchise is exercised is multitudinous. Millions of dollars are necessary for a suitable charismatic politician to win or lose a presidential election in the USA whilst subservience to an ideology or the party machine brings victory in other places. Some believe that democracy cannot co-exist with unlimited private enterprise and multinationals, whereas others assert that unfettered private enterprise is the essence of democracy. And the term “Socialist” has now become all things to all men. Hitler declared that his fascism was (national) “socialism” whilst the Fabian parliamentary social welfarism of Britain was hailed as (democratic) “socialism”. We have Arab socialism, we have Idi Amin’s socialism, we have Tito’s self-management socialism, Brezhnev’s orthodox socialism, Hua’s Maoist socialism—and so on. Socialism is today a hackneyed cliché which is no more than a demagogic slogan. If, in the new Constitution, the term “democratic socialist” is intended to satisfy the aspirational yearnings of the pro-left people who sympathised and followed the SLFP, LSSP, CP, JVP etc., Government is in for a major disappointment. Sri Lanka is too politicalised and too sophisticated an electorate to be taken in by populist catch-words. The people will judge the Constitution and the Government by what it succeeds in achieving. But, there is no doubt, that the new Constitution and the political and economic policies the government has initiated, and which the Constitution is intended to safeguard, opens a totally new era in the contemporary history of the country, especially in the years after Independence. Verily, it can be said that we are on the threshold of the Jayewardene Era, and if this government is able to accomplish even a fraction of what it wants to do, J. R. Jayewardene will be long remembered as a politician, leader and statesman who was able to make this island a better place to live in. If national harmony and racial and religious accord can be established, this country will be able to take giant strides in economic development. If conditions can be created either through private enterprise or the public sector, or both, for the economy to start moving and to induce people to work enthusiastically to reach out to targets of production and productivity never before attained, this country will become an economic paradise.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

TULF's Current Politics

THE CURRENT POLITICS of the TULF continue to baffle even keen and astute observers of local scene. The TULF has willingly constituted itself as an integral part of the Eighth Parliament of Sri Lanka which was elected in July 1977. Mr. Amirthalingam, the leader of the TULF outside and inside Parliament, is the official leader of the Opposition. The TULF now enjoys all the privileges and plums of the parliamentary system. TULF MPs revel in handling and dispensing patronage—as much as the Jayewardene government is willing to permit them in the present circumstances.

What baffles many is why the MPs of the TULF who, in one part, conduct themselves as an integral component of the system trying their hardest to "be in" with the Establishment, on the other, they adopt postures of a revolutionary national liberation movement struggling for self-determination for the Tamils determined to set up a separate Eelam state in the North and East of the Island.

It is true that after the adoption of the 1972 Constitution, the grievances of the Tamils assumed serious proportions. Whereas all former Constitutions were formulated in the Colonial office in Britain and handed down to Her Majesty's subjects in Ceylon, the 1972 Constitution was drawn up by a Constituent Assembly of elected representatives of the people. The ruling coalition which dominated the Constituent Assembly claimed to be a radical progressive coalition including the leftwing LSSP and CP, but in spite of this, the

Constitution provided no constitutional guarantees for the Tamils or any other minority in respect of language, race, religion. Administrative pledges were held out that discrimination would be avoided, but in the absence of fundamental rights justiciable in the Courts, the promises solved no problems.

When the Constituent Assembly was sitting, three Tamil parties, the FP and TC (representing Ceylon Tamils) and the CWC (representing Indian Tamils) came together to form the Tamil United Front (TUF). The TUF also began to attract many muslim groups and organisations to join in the demand for basic fundamental rights. The TUF placed before the leaders of the United Front a set of minimum demands to be incorporated in the Constitution. But the SLFP weighed down heavily by Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism would have none of it in spite of urgent but feeble pleas by its leftist partners.

The discriminatory actions of the United Front government in regard to employment and university education—and also in a large number of other matters ex, the issue of passports, opportunities for self-employment etc—widened the gap still more. In this situation, frustration among Tamils, especially among the educated unemployed youth and displaced elitist intellectuals grew apace and the emotional slogan of a separate state began to assume the concrete form of a demand for a Tamil Eelam. Tamil emigre groups in Britain, USA and elsewhere not only provided additional ideological arguments for a separate state but also promised funds.

The stupid attempt by the United Front government, especially the leftist partners, to by-pass the TUF through a system of patronage politics and by handing down

of crumbs (the SLFP also adopted the same method through the Durayappah-Kumarasuriar-Arulampalam trio who fell out very quickly among themselves) drove the TUF into the wilderness of Eelam. Two years after May 1972 (when the Constitution was adopted), in 1974, the Eelam resolution was adopted at the Vaddukoddai Session and the TUF became the (Tamil United Liberation Front) The CWC, with its membership firmly wedged in the midst of a Sinhalese population in the central parts of the island, could not very well support the demand for Eelam, and it therefore registered an anaemic dissent in regard to the demand for Eelam but agreed to continue in the TULF to fight for the Tamil rights which had brought them together in 1972.

At this juncture, the leadership of the TULF, especially from the Jaffna district, could not resist the temptation of lending open and surreptitious encouragement to a militant youth-wing some of whom constituted themselves to an armed unit—later known as the Tigers. The leadership of the TULF were torn between dreams of a revolutionary freedom struggle like the one carried on by the IRA, the PLO and guerilla armies in Africa, for a Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka and the machavellian calculations of minority parliamentarians who believe that their bargaining power could be enhanced by using an angry youth movement with an armed wing as a bogey to obtain concessions.

This dual tactic of emotional appeals for Eelam coupled with intimidatory blackmail (including murder) of dissidents in the Tamil areas gave the TULF a big parliamentary majority from the North and East in the NSA elected in July 1977. By a strange quirk of fate

the TULF became the largest party in the Opposition. And though the J. R. Jayewardene government promised all the basic, fundamental rights, denied to them earlier, the TULF could not break away from its Jekyll and Hyde existence that Eelam politics had imposed on the party.

That is why the TULF, in the euphoria after its July victory, began to speak enthusiastically about Eelam and moved an amendment to the Throne Speech in August 1977 demanding Eelam and reiterating that it would launch a "struggle" to establish Eelam. This ill-timed Amendment in the backdrop of the rather jingoistic pro-Eelam speeches not only in the North and the East but also in meetings in Colombo gave the Sinhala chauvinists and anti-government (anti-UNP) forces an opportunity to trigger an obviously pre-planned communal holocaust in August-September 1977.

The J. R. Jayewardene government was able to bring it under control, but at a heavy price to the national economy. The TULF leaders were much chastened but unrepentant although the CWC had no alternative but to edge away from the pro-Eelam TULF. Because of the CWC leadership's short-lived flirtation with the Eelam-minded TULF, the communal disturbances had spread for the first time to the plantation areas and there was much suffering among the Ceylon Indian community—both among registered citizens and the stateless. The hawkish pro-Eelam postures of the Jaffna wing of the TULF created major problems for the Tamils even in the Northern and Eastern provinces outside the Jaffna peninsula.

One Eastern Province TULF member crossed over to the UNP and others began to question the need for Eelam in the new situation in which the UNP Government that offered

to set right many of the grievances of the Tamils. To check this disintegration of the TULF, the militant armed youth wing, which had indulged only in bank robberies and other unlawful seizure of private and public property in the post-election period, shot at the TULF MP for Pottuvil who had crossed over to the UNP. The MP did not die, but the militant Tamil youth started a psychological war of nerves against all possible Tamil dissidents (not merely MPs). This renewed activity by the militant wing led to the murder of four police officers and the consequent hullabaloo about the Tiger Movement. The government in a series of over-kill measures came down heavily on the Tiger movement, and now except for an occasional hold-up and robbery, the Tigers seem to be quiet. Even the TULF leadership publicly disowned the Tigers.

The TULF leadership, after the August-September disturbances, did its best to put Eelam into cold storage. Any attempt by the Jaffna militants to push it forward was resisted by the non-Jaffna TULF MPs and groups. Predictably, the CWC drifted away; and even though the CWC supported the Government on the Second Amendment (creating the system of Executive Presidency) whilst the TULF had abstained, the TULF high command did not expel Thondaman or the CWC. Nothing was done, furthermore, when the CWC served on the Select Committee for the Reform of the Constitution and supported the new Constitution of the UNP. And today, with talk that Thondaman was likely to join the Government as a full Minister, the TULF is in a pickle. Can it avoid making the *de facto* defection of the CWC from the TULF *de jure* by expelling it? Or will Thondaman and the CWC oblige by resigning from the CWC?

It is in this setting that the TULF reactions to the new Constitution must be examined. It refused to serve on the Select Committee and adopted a policy of "wait-and-see". When the draft Constitution was presented, TULF leaders agreed that major concessions had been made to the Tamils (practically everything short of Eelam or regional autonomy that could be made to appear as Eelam), but they reiterated that they were precluded from supporting any Constitution that did not concede Eelam.

But this did not prevent them if gossip in political lobbies is to be believed, for TULF leaders to negotiate about District Ministers. The story is current—it may be untrue but it is apocryphal—that the TULF leadership was willing to support the Constitution if they had three District Ministerships which besides Jaffna included Mannar and Trinco. The story goes that government circles were willing to give TULF three district ministerships but not Trinco, but any other. On this, the negotiation, it is said, had broken down. The story tellers say that the negotiations were conducted fast and furiously in between the TULF July 15 meeting at Vavuniya when the new President and other officers were elected and the July 29/30 convention at Avarangal. It is possible that all this gossip may be only political folk lore, but the simple position is that the TULF is still playing a "wait and see" policy.

The TULF leadership is at the moment on the horns of a terrible dilemma and this was brought forcibly home to the High Command at its meeting in Jaffna during the weekend of August 26. A vociferous section wanted Eelam, wanted the Constitution rejected and copies ceremonially burnt. The TULF leadership advocated patience

and a wait-and-see policy. They did not want any demonstrations. Negative passivism is what they advocated similar to the tactic of keeping away at division time in Parliament when the Constitution Bill was voted on. Privately TULF enthusiasts console themselves and comfort others that they are not yet ready for a "struggle" and that they had therefore to "wait and see". But this present lack of aggressive rhetoric is no doubt due to the understandable defection of the CWC and the reluctance of non-Jaffna TULF MPs to attend meetings in the peninsula where the hardline hawks shout themselves hoarse about Eelam.

This is only a brief but critical background of the TULF's attitude to the new Constitution. The TULF MPs have now decided to keep away from the September 7 and 8 tamashas, but will creep in later and take their oaths to serve as MPs. They have asked their followers not to stage any demonstrations.

This negative neither-here-nor-there policy of the TULF, political scientists will say is only a hangover of the Boycott-Parliament policies which had been imposed on the Ceylon Tamils in 1930/31 by the Jaffna Youth Congress. From that time, even after some time non-Youth Congress Tamils sought election to the legislature, this negative boycott, non-co-operation policies has haunted Tamil politics. Today, in a different setting and on a different plane, a group of youth in Jaffna had succeeded in forcing the TULF into becoming the TULF and inhibiting all its actions by negative passivism of "wait and see". They know they are not strong enough to launch a struggle and they are also uncertain how viable the Eelam they could achieve can be, but they are not realistic or pragmatic enough to seize opportunities pre-

sented to them by the forelock to advance the cause of the community with self-respect and dignity.

This is probably because of the deep sense of suspicion, distrust, frustration, bitterness and indignation that prevails in the Tamil areas, especially in the Jaffna peninsula. The Tamils have been at the wrong end of the stick (often because of their own mistakes and actions) that they find it hard to react positively to new situations that arise. A sight of a police jeep in Jaffna sets in motion emotional reactions that atrophy proper action.

The new Constitution offers opportunities to the Tamils to charter a new course in the political history of this country. The question is whether the TULF will be able to utilise this opportunity for the advantage of the Tamil people.

Negative passivism is not good political strategy. But, it is better than aggressive postures that are suicidal. The TULF during the Throne Speech last August adopted aggressive but nevertheless negative rhetoric. For this, the TULF, the Tamil community and the country as a whole paid a heavy price. After the beating, the TULF has submerged itself in negativism. It kept out of the Select Committee. It refused to participate in the debate after the Leader had made a statement. It absented itself at voting time. It is boycotting the ceremonial inauguration of the new Constitution! What next?

Negative passivism can only lead to disintegration. Already the CWC is far away from the TULF. Many non-Jaffna TULF MPs are lukewarm about Eelam and drifting away from the Jaffna militants.

As against the negative policies and strategies of the TULF, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and the UNP are pushing forward with positive policies, wooing the Tamils with

constitutional guarantees, fundamental rights and opportunities to find employment outside and inside Sri Lanka. If the Government, by its actions, is able to minimise the suspicion, bitterness, frustration and resentment which exists among the Tamils, especially in the peninsula, then it will pave the way for national unity and the TULF may have to transform itself back to be the TUF (Tamil United Front) again.

Better still, if the Tamils, now in the TULF and CWC find themselves in national parties like the UNP, SLFP, LSSP, CPSL, JVP, CPC-(M-L) and whatever all-island parties that may emerge in the new era of proportional representation,

It is time people, especially politicians, realised that the new Constitution will slowly but surely bring about a new political era. The presidential system of executive power and the exercise of franchise through the system of proportional representation (even if the high 12½% cut-off point is later amended) will bring transformation to the politics of the thirties, forties, fifties, sixties and the seventies we have known.

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THE WORLD TODAY

SOUTH ASIA

Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India

Bangladesh: Zia's Task.

Major General Ziaur Rahman's victory in Bangladesh's 'first presidential elections' was predictable. No one has ever defeated a military ruler in a poll in the Third

World. Moreover the state of Bangladesh's post-separation politics remains as yet fractionated and bewildered, which, it must be appreciated has been managed to full advantage by President Zia and his political managers.... Those who might have introduced an element of contest were out of the field. Former President Khondkar Mushtaque, who has good political roots, is lodged in prison. President Zia's erstwhile colleague, Air Marshall (Retired) Tawab, who has the promise of making a mass leader is banished from the country.

Under the circumstances the only plausible opposition that could be put up was provided by the Awami League, the party of Sheikh Mujib. Indeed the Awami League had set a great store by the memory of its late and overthrown leader. But it is now clear that the League had seriously miscalculated. While it was able to bank on a virtually solid support from the country's sizeable Hindu electorate, its pro-Indian image also produced a Muslim lashback. A significant number of those who turned out for Zia clearly did so out of sheer dread of the Awami League's return.... The parliamentary polls are now scheduled to be held in the coming December and obviously the next six months are going to be very crucial for Bangladesh. Any serious challenge in the parliament can very soon spill onto the streets and the whole constitutional security blown to pieces. However before the new parliament comes into being the hustings themselves can generate a dangerous pitch of tension. The country hasn't seen yet the last of the Awami League though the party may be well advised to modify its secular and pro-Indian image. There is also the outlawed and now cryptic opposition, JSD (Samajtantrik Dal), which is more of an enemy

of Zia than a political opposition. Even otherwise politics in Bangladesh has been fanatically emotional and, as a consequence, easily amenable to external manipulation and liable to get out of control.....

If Bangladesh has to turn a new leaf then there has to be a change of attitude on the part of everyone. The bureaucracy has to stop its dirty game of manipulating politicians and the political process. The armed forces have to restrain their desire to do good in areas other than their own. And the politicians have (voluntarily) to purge themselves of all thoughts of political vendetta and shortcuts to power.... The first key step in this regard would be to create an atmosphere of national reconciliation.... Cases like the recent refusal of entry to the wife of a political opponent of the regime even to see her ailing father should become a matter of the past. Apart from the overriding need of bringing back decency and normalcy to Bangladesh, such pettiness is counter-productive even otherwise. However on the larger policy issues President Zia has to align himself more clearly with the Islamic aspirations of the people of Bangladesh. Though the secular label of the still-in-force Mujibist constitution is now under-played, in effective terms, the system and the polity of Bangladesh remain a-islamic if not fully secular. No doubt there is emphasis now that Bangladesh is an Islamic country, but this is confined to Muslim conferences. This, the critics say, is merely tactical, in fact hypocritical, aimed at Muslim votes nationally and petro-dollars - externally. This may sound rather unkindly, but what seems clearly missing is the lack of both vision and commitment with regard to Islam polity. On the other hand the economic, social and educational policies of the regime are so

designed and directed that, in due course, they would seriously erode the very Islamic base of the country.

—*Impact International*, London, Vol. 8:12.

Bangladesh: US Aid Going To Rich'

The billions of dollars that Bangladesh receives in foreign aid from the US benefits the wealthy, not the poor, a report says, published in Washington. The poor stay poor despite huge aid because Bangladesh's "poverty is rooted in a social order which benefits a small elite at the expense of the poor majority," said the report, written for the Centre for International Policy. "This elite holds power from the national government down to the village level, and it is through this elite that foreign aid is channelled. Under such conditions Americans can expect their foreign aid dollars to perpetuate rather than alleviate poverty in Bangladesh," it said.

—*The Guardian*, London, 19/6/78.

Bangladesh: Elite Said To Grab US Aid.

The wealthy elite, not the poor majority, are benefitting from the billions of dollars the United States is pouring into Bangladesh, a news report says. "This elite holds power from the national government down to the village level, and it is through this elite that foreign aid is channelled," the report said. "Under such conditions Americans can expect their foreign aid dollars to perpetuate rather than alleviate poverty in Bangladesh." The report was written by Betsy Hartmann and James Boyce for the Center for

International Policy, a project of Stewart Mott's The Fund for Peace. They were in Bangladesh from 1974 to 1976 on grants from Yale University, and spent part of the time in a small bamboo house in a north-western Bangladesh village, speaking Bengali and wearing native clothes.

Bangladesh, with 83 million people in an area the size of Wisconsin, is the world's eighth most populous nation. Per capita income is about \$ 100 a year, life expectancy is 46 years, and the literacy rate is less than 25 percent. The report said that a small minority of families own more than half the land. Those wealthy land-owners and an urban elite are prejudiced against poor villagers, a major reason for the failure of foreign aid to reach the needy, the report's authors said. They noted a case in which family planning extension workers distributed birth control pills only after the report's authors requested them to visit the village from a town only five miles away. "Wearing expensive jewellery and silk saris, the extension workers were educated, middle-class town women, separated from the village women by a gulf of arrogance and indifference," the report said. "They addressed the villagers in upper-class Bengali and in their presence asked us how we could stand the 'inconvenience of living in a dirty village.'" After they left, the villagers inquired if they were our sisters from America." The report said much food aid ends up in the black market, where merchants hoard it and sell it at exorbitant prices.

—*International Herald Tribune*
Paris, 28/6/78

Pakistan Remarkable Recovery

The first important indicator is the 6.5 per cent rise in the Gross Domestic Product which inched up by a tardy 1.4 per cent during 1976-77. There has been a similarly encouraging increase in the Gross National Product. It went up by nine per cent, which is almost four times the figure recorded in the preceding year. The gains in the industrial and agricultural sectors are no less significant. As against the negative growth recorded in 1976-77, industrial output during the current year has increased by 5.4 per cent. In agriculture the rate has been better still—six per cent. From the common man's point of view, however, the most important gains made during the last 10 months relate to the price sector. Inflation which has played havoc with the national economy has been successfully contained and price increases kept within reasonable limits.

In 1977-78 the wholesale prices have risen by 4.5 per cent, consumer prices by 3.4 per cent, and the price index of 28 essential items like wheat, tea, rice, mutton, beef, milk, kerosene, onions and potatoes by 3.35 per cent. The real import of these figures can be understood only in relation to the dangerously wayward movement of market forces between 1972 and 1977. Prices rose by an annual average of 18 to 19 per cent during this period. The recovery is attributable to the series of remedial steps taken by the present Government during the last 10 months... Agriculture remains our Achilles' heel. We have kept chasing the goal of food self-sufficiency but without any success... Some experts trace the stagnation in agriculture to the inability of small farmers to benefit from modern

facilities. The matter calls for a thorough investigation. We cannot remind ourselves too much that ours is basically an agrarian economy, and it will remain so for many years to come.

—*Pakistan Times*, Lahore 17/6/87

Pakistan Plans For \$21 bn Investment And 7% Growth.

Pakistan's five-year plan for 1978 to 1982 to be published soon envisages a growth rate of 7 per cent a year and a total investment of \$ 21 bn. The previous rates of growth were 1.2 per cent in 1976-77 and 4.3 per cent in 1975-76. A summary of the draft plan says it was necessary because since (the period of the Bhutto regime) 1972 investment commitments were made without reference to a plan. These commitments, it goes on, are now clearly perceived as having been in excess of the non-inflationary resources which could be mobilised. It blames this inflation which is believed to have reached 30 per cent on the too heavy concentration in long-term projects, capital intensive projects and mentions the new Karachi steel mill, fertiliser and cement factories. The draft plan, which was also made available to the Western nations and Japan before the recent Aid to Pakistan Consortium meeting in Paris, is to be amended and formally approved here on June 12 in time for the next year's budget. Observers describe the plan as inevitably over-optimistic in its forecasts particularly in relation to industry and agriculture but welcome the moves it recommends in rural development. On agriculture, the plan envisages self-sufficiency in food to be reached by 1983 by the admittedly ambitious target growth

rate of 6 per cent. The plan expresses determination to delay costly new projects. It is known the Karachi steel mill, being constructed with Russian assistance, has been delayed. The industrial growth rate of 10 per cent is to be partly reached by the establishment of a more favourable climate for private investment. The plan says there is a continuing need for debt rescheduling. Unless rescheduling is achieved commercial borrowing will be necessary which will worsen balance of payments pressures.

—Simon Henderson in the *Financial Times*, London, 9/6/78

* * *

Pakistan: High Way To China A Supply Route For Pakistan.

Pakistan's growing bonds with Peking were symbolised in the inauguration yesterday of the strategic 500-mile Karakorum Highway to China. The opening ceremony was performed jointly, by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, the Pakistani Military ruler and Mr. Keng-piao, the visiting Chinese Vice-Premier. The highway, Gen. Zia suggested would become the eighth wonder of the modern world—something that may well be true—given the spectacular engineering feat that it involved. It was, he said, a "highway of friendship" that would have enormous economic repercussions on the barren and underdeveloped frontier regions of Pakistan. It would also encourage fruitful trade from Sinkiang, and lead to even closer economic co-operation between China and Pakistan. The highway was built at great cost, and Gen. Zia spoke yesterday of some 400 deaths during 10 years of construction.... At its height, work on the highway was carried out by an army of 25,000 men—

more than 10,000 of them Chinese. Most of the equipment was Chinese and all bridges are Chinese designed, but this does not minimise the role played by the Pakistani engineers.... The ceremony took place on a Chinese-built bridge across the River Indus at Thakot overlooked by the bleak Karakorums and the Himalayas. But nothing was said about the most obvious importance of the highway—its military significance. Pakistani officers approached were in no doubt about the potential value of the highway at a time when Pakistan felt increasingly threatened by named Russian designs in the region and Soviet ambitions in the Indian Ocean. Apart from concern over the recent Soviet-backed coup in neighbouring Afghanistan, the Pakistanis are ever conscious of the old Tsarist ambition to achieve a warm water port. Karachi is generally considered the most likely target. There is too, the ever-present possibility of another struggle with India over Kashmir. The 500-mile highway, stretching virtually from Abbottabad, home of the elite Pakistani Military Academy, to the Khunjerab Pass, on the Chinese frontier, would be a vital factor in resupplying Pakistan in the event of war, since the country is now reliant on China for the weaponry. On paper the highway and its many bridges, the result of almost two decades of planning and construction, would appear highly vulnerable to aerial bombardment. But, as I found when I became the first British correspondent to travel along the highway since its inauguration, it clings tightly to the edges of the imposing mountain faces, and the hundreds of massive peaks in the area would make air strikes virtually impossible by any but the very slowest of aircraft. Strategic considera-

tions aside, one cannot minimise the obvious economic importance of the highway in opening vast areas of Pakistan ignored for years simply because they were inaccessible.....

—Bruce London in the "Daily Telegraph," London, 19/6/78

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Pakistan: China To Help Fight Foreign Interference, Subversion.

Vice-Premier Keng Piao today reiterated in clear, lucid terms China's firm support to Pakistan's struggle to safeguard her national independence and state sovereignty against foreign interference and subversion. Speaking at a civic reception hosted in his honour at the lush green Sherpao Gardens this evening, Vice-Premier Keng Piao declared: "The Chinese Government and people will unswervingly give firm support to the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and State sovereignty against foreign interference and subversion." At the same time he added: "We resolutely support you in your efforts for the self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir". Mr. Keng Piao said the international situation was developing in a direction favourable to hegemonism. The anti-hegemonist struggle with the Third World as the main force was "surging ahead vigorously and dealing heavy blows at the wild ambitions of the superpowers to dominate the world." Facts proved that the main international trend of countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and the people wanting revolution was not to be held back by any force on earth. The future of the world was infinitely bright,

he said. The Chinese Vice-Premier noted that the people in South Asia had perceived more and more clearly from the stern realities over the last few years that the rivalry between the hegemonist powers constituted the principle threat to the independence, sovereignty and security of the countries in this region... Vice-Premier Keng Piao said over the years the Government of the people of Pakistan had made unremitting efforts and scored gratifying successes in defending and building their country." The Chinese people "have always regarded your achievements as their own and sincerely wish your country stability, prosperity and strength."

—Pakistan Times, Lahore, 21/6/78

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New Era Of Sino-Pakistan Friendship

Vice-Premier Keng Piao's five-day visit to Pakistan heralds a new era in Sino-Pakistan friendship. The two countries have forged very close relations over the past few years. This phenomenon has found tangible expression in the diplomatic and political support they have extended to each other, especially in their hour of need, and in the joint projects they have undertaken together. But Mr. Keng's visit has assumed special significance in view of the changes that have taken place on the domestic scene of the two countries, as well as in the international politics of South and Central Asia. The Vice-Premier's reiteration of the Chinese desire for the further strengthening of Sino-Pakistan friendship testifies to the mutuality of interests of the two countries in consolidating further their political and economic bonds. This is quite meaningful in the context of the change of leadership in both

Peking and Islamabad... Equally significant is Mr. Keng's reiteration of unequivocal support for Pakistan. This no doubt has been a stable factor for over a decade in otherwise fluid state of political affairs in South Asia. But at a time when regional alignments appear to be undergoing a change and new diplomatic moves capable of exerting a profound impact on the pattern of international relationships are afoot, China's forceful reaffirmation of its close ties with Pakistan is indeed a very important development. Hence Mr. Keng's statement that China firmly supports Pakistan's proposal for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, as well as its stand on the self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, underlines the continuity in China's basic policy towards Pakistan.

—Dawn, Karachi, 1/7/78

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Afghan Mystery.

THE LATEST EVENTS in Afghanistan are mysterious. The official explanations put out by the head of the revolutionary regime, Mr. Noor Mohammed Taraki, and the politburo of the ruling People's Democratic Party, talk of "anti-people and anti-national and anti-revolutionary activities as a result of instigations of foreign and domestic enemies." What is intriguing is that the most important leader to fall was none other than Maj. Gen. Abdul Qader, Minister of Defence, who had led the military action which resulted in the ouster of Daud Khan on April 27. Another top figure to be purged and arrested on August 15 was the Army Chief of Staff. Since then, two more Ministers have been dismissed.

Even immediately after Mr. Taraki assumed office as the President of the Revolutionary Council

and Prime Minister, political differences had begun to surface. The party which took power was a coalition of people who once belonged to the Parcham and Khalq groups. The Parcham leader, Mr. Babrak Karmal, was originally appointed Vice-President and Deputy Prime Minister, but was soon packed off to Prague as Ambassador. Mr. Nur Mohammed had to give up his job as Interior Minister and go as envoy to Washington. Early in August, the President of Afghanistan, who continues to be Secretary-General of the People's Democratic Party, had told commanders of army units in Kabul that the party was in full control of the defence forces. Mr. Taraki claimed the loyalty of even the commanders of the smallest army units, but soon afterwards he had to act against the Defence Minister and the Chief of Staff. From the beginning, Mr. Taraki has been somewhat enigmatic about the ideological orientation of the party, repeatedly emphasising the national nature and origins of the revolution. It is strange that prominent leaders of the revolution have been branded traitors so soon after the event. For some weeks past, there had been a widespread campaign to propagate the acceptance of the Khalqi ideology by all officials—from provincial governors down to the lowest village officials. While a foreign bogey is always convenient as an excuse, it is more likely that an intense power struggle is taking place in Afghanistan. It is anybody's guess how much of it is due to ideology and how much due merely to differences among leading personalities. What is clear is that Afghanistan is no better off for the "revolution" it is said to have gone through.

—Hindu, 20/8/78

India: Trouble In The Hills.

The Central Government and the national media would have the world believe that after the Shillong Accord of 1975, the 20-year old Naga rebellion was dead and a decade of Mizo insurgency almost 'over' after the thumping victory of the Mizo People's Conference in the last month's elections for the state assembly. But the picture of political stability is far from rosy in the 6,00,000 sq. km. of India's hilly north-east frontier. There are signs of renewed fighting in the states of Nagaland (pop 516,000), Manipur (pop. 1,072,000) and the union territory of Mizoram (332,000). Said a Naga politician in Kohima, "everyone is talking of peace, but the pendulum of time is ominously said in slow motion moving back towards war". A lecturer in political science in Imphal said, "Unless New Delhi gives up this ad hoc solution complex, this area will continue to remain India's Vietnam".

For the past two decades, India's eastern border regions have lived in the shadow of the insurgents. The Nagas, a nation of 26 fiercely independent tribes took to arms in 1955 under the leadership of the Naga National Convention (NNC). Led by Z. A. Phizo, they established an underground government. Phizo is adamant. He would not talk to the Indian Government if it imposed "any conditions" for the talks. He holds a British passport and the Indian Foreign Ministry treats him as a non-Indian. The Governor of North-Eastern States, I. P. Singh, is on record as saying that "we do not discuss our internal affairs with the foreigners." A similar statement has been made by Prime Minister Desai.

Phizo told *India Today*: "This is a condition. I am not an Indian. I am a Naga. Why should I give up my British passport. I will not go to a negotiating table with any pre-conditions. I am prepared to talk peace. But it must be without any conditions." In Mizoram, a rebellion demanding freedom from India began in 1966. The insurgent Mizo army, under the leadership of the Mizo National Front president Laldenga, rapidly "liberated" almost the entire Union territory (then a district of Assam) and held it for several days before massive Indian Army intervention gradually pushed them back. Although the Army was able to re-establish Indian authority all over Mizoram, the fighting continued until 1976 when Laldenga flew into Delhi to negotiate a peace settlement with the Indian Government.

Since then there has been an uneasy truce in Mizoram which has lasted through the Government's unilateral decision to break off talks with Laldenga and order assembly elections in Mizoram. There are between 80-120 thousand armed personnel in the five states and two union territories of the northeast. Several army divisions (including the "bigger than normal" elite mountain division in Nagaland), and numerous para-military forces (the Assam Rifles, the Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police Force) are stationed here, ostensibly for border security duties but also involved in "counter insurgency operations." This mind boggling collection of soldiers and spies is there to contain an equally wide ranging cluster of separatists. Besides the Nagas and the Mizos, there is also the Kuki National Assembly demanding a separate identity for the Kuki tribes living in northern Mizoram and southern Manipur. In Manipur, there was the short-

lived fairly popular Revolutionary Government during the late 1960s demanding cession from India. "They were brave people but unfortunately their ideals were not based on reality," said a lecturer of political science in Imphal. Compared to the Naga and Mizo insurrections, this rebellion is little known in India. Yet it affected thousands of families in the border state of Manipur.

—*India Today*, New Delhi,
Vol. III : No. 12.

India: Relevance Of Phizo.

Phizo's participation in any future talks on the Naga problem has of late been suggested by no less a person than the Nagaland Chief Minister, Mr. Vizol. The Chief Minister's suggestion, so far as it goes, is realistic enough. The political prestige that Phizo enjoys among Nagas even after two decades of his exile is evident from the Naga National Council's (NNC's) affirmation of faith in his leadership at its Khonoma session last month. Writing of his influence on the Nagas will, therefore, be as unwise as ignoring Laldenga in Mizoram politics. The successful holding of elections in Nagaland or Mizoram should not create any illusion on this score. Obviously, Phizo's presence at any future talks will not by itself produce the desired result, unless there is greater awareness on the part of all concerned of the Naga consciousness of a separate identity, rooted in the region's geography, history and culture. We all know that the Indian Prime Minister's meeting with Phizo in London last year during which the Gandhian, vegetarian leader talked of exterminating the rebels was not particularly constructive... This explains why Phizo's name is, to quote Mr. Vizol, a household word

in Nagaland and why his participation in any future talks is so very important. The Chief Minister's remark that Nagaland had at present only a 'semblance of peace' again underlines the necessity of early resumption of talks. There is stated to be increasing unrest among Naga youths because of economic problems, a feeling of having been suppressed both in the urban and rural areas in the past. The NNC's Khonoma session has also urged early negotiation for "a peaceful political solution."

—Frontier, Calcutta, 24/6/78



CARAVAN FAMILY—19

In Mannar

by Inna Trimmer

On flew Jason eating up the straight white road; on through Korikamam and Pallai with its coconut plantations purring happily along. He alone was glad to be facing homewards. But his occupants were silent, even the children. With eyes fixed on the flying landscape now scrub-land and sandy, or green with coconut groves interspersed with vast tracts of palmyrah.

The little gem of old Dutch architecture, the Fort on the shores of the Elephant Pass lagoon, they passed on the left and entered the causeway over the lagoon, the gateway to the Jaffna Peninsula. Then only, "Daddy, why is this place called Elephant Pass? Is it because the elephants cannot pass over?" Ranjit spoke.

Daddy laughed. "That's not a bad idea, but elephants do pass over, through very occasionally. One was found on the beach of this lagoon some time ago. Where would you like to lunch children?"

"I don't care," answered Mummie.

"You must choose daddy."

"Since we are making such good time let's see if we can't get as far as Giant's Tank. We must reach Mannar before dark."

"The last of the lagoons," said mummie sadly, as they left the causeway behind and entered the great north road that led from the south of Ceylon to the Jaffna Peninsula. Soon, the forests stepped up close on either side, to the very edge of the narrow cleared grassy track that bordered the road. Peering into the green depths of the jungle sea through which they were, speeding, Ranjit wistfully observed, "I wish I could go right in amongst those trees."

"You wouldn't last long my son" said daddy. "If you weren't killed by wild animals you'd soon be lost and you won't know how to return to the road. I lost my way once in the forest when I was the officer up in Anuradhapura. Thought I was a real jungle wallah and went out shooting by myself. Before I could say 'knife', I didn't know where I was. Every group of trees in each little passage looked alike. All sense of direction left me. My heart thumped hard. No one knew where I had gone. Determined not to panic and rush wildly looking for an exit, I stood still and listened because I knew I hadn't penetrated far into the maze of trees. For some time I heard nothing. Then in the distance, was the faint sound of a motor horn. Quickly I moved towards it. Then again I stood still—waiting—listening. "Then at long last when I despaired of ever getting out before nightfall, came another faint sound from the world to which I belonged. This kingdom of Pan was not for me. With a bound I followed the direction from where that call came. Then slowly, slowly, I got myself out of the mess

which I had so foolishly sought— but where shall we have lunch Villia?

"I don't care."

"All right then; we'll say Giant's Tank."

Mummie looked up inquiringly.

"To the coast," said daddy, "To Mannar and Talaimannar."

The jungle stayed with them, if anything reaching up closer. Past Murunkan with its lovely little resthouse, they flew hurrying on, for everyone was hungry. Then the bund of Giant's Tank appeared, running parallel with the road, rising high above it, a great bund, three hundred feet at its base, a legacy to the people of Ceylon from her ancient kings. Fifteen miles it can be traced, this monumental work of engineers long dead and forgotten, built to conserve water for one of the most arid parts of Ceylon.

It was not possible to park Jason by the tank because the bund was so high and so wide, but they drew up on the opposite side under a cluster of giant palm trees. No sooner did Jason come to a halt, mummie and the children ran across the road and clambered up the grassy slope of the bund to stand on its wide summit and survey what was once the largest tank in Ceylon and the fourth largest artificial lake in the world.

"It's disappointing," said mummie at last.

"It's disappointing," repeated Mummie.

"Why?"

"There's nothing to it, Richard! No backdrop, no beautiful background like Kalawewa for instance, and the sea of Parakrama; only a flat expanse of water and weeds."

"Don't forget we are away from the mountains. We are not in the interior of Ceylon but close to

the sea coast where there are no mountains."

"The Manil alone are lovely", observed Mummie.

"And look there are three different colours in bloom, the white which we usually see and pink, and faint blue. But even these are fading fast in this heat and sun.

"Now folds the lily all her sweetness up. And slips into the bosom of the lake."

Daddy smiled. "Quoting Tennyson are you? But to be materialistic, this lake or tank that you are so disappointed in was once and not so very long ago, the fourth largest artificial lake in the world, and it used to be the largest tank in Ceylon."

"But it looks neglected."

"It was an ill-starred undertaking from the beginning. No one knows who built it, nor has it been ascribed to the reign of any particular king. Grandiose in concept but a gigantic failure because it's said that those ancient engineers for some unaccountable reason failed to get the levels right."

"Isn't that strange? Weren't our ancient engineers famous for their skill? Think of the stupendous works that belong to that era when kings reigned in Ceylon."

"Yes, indeed! Their renown had spread so far that when the King of Kashmir wanted a lake for his country he sent to Ceylon for men to construct it."

"Then why should Giant's Tank have suffered this fate?"

"Because, perhaps, gradually the excellence of their work and knowledge declined. It's said that in the case of Giant's Tank the levels were wrong and instead of the water flowing into the tank that was waiting to receive the life-giving stream, it returned back to the river from where it came."

"Which river?" asked Ranjit.

"The Malwatu Oya which flows not far from Anuradhapura."

"But there's water now" remarked Varuni.

"Well, various people have tried from time to time to remedy the original mistake and it has even been said there was no mistake. In 1882 it was discovered after extensive investigation that the works of the ancient engineers was up to their usual standard of excellence and that nothing was wrong with the levels."

"Then why did they leave it? Why didn't they complete the job?"

Daddy shrugged his shoulders.

"Who can say what happened years and years ago; what frustration and disappointment filled the hearts and minds of those long dead engineers. At one time so dried out was this tank that several villages sprang up in the bed where water should have been flowing".

"Mummie, I'm hungry" wailed Nila.

"Poor old dear! So am I."

"Yes, yes, lunch quickly, and then we hit the road for Mannar," called Daddy as he ran down the bund.

"Please," shouted Ranjit, chasing behind him. "Can't we stay the night here? I don't want to go to Mannar. I want to watch for cross in the night. I'm sure there are heaps in the tank. I saw ripples and ripples. I think I saw a black snout also."

But Daddy's ears were deaf to his pleading.

Lunch was a pleasant meal under the Palu trees though daddy kept on urging to hurry. "I've no idea where we are going to park in Mannar, so we must not dawdle" he said.

Mummie joined in the children's pleading for a night by Giant's Tank but Daddy was adamant so by 2 o'clock they were on the road again.

"I can hardly imagine that only this morning we were by that lovely little bay on the further sides of Velanai Island. Oh! how I wish we were still there!" she sighed.

As they packed themselves into Jason Daddy repeated "Hurry! I've no idea where we'll spend the night. Perhaps even the Rest House." "Oh no! Surely not!" was Mummie's reply.

Jason set out happily and turned his nose towards Mannar and the coast.

"He's a good old dog for the road", said Daddy. "See how he purrs along."

Ranjit shouted with laughter. "Daddy, is he a dog or a cat. I didn't know that dogs purr."

"You're too clever my son, picking up your old Dad like that, who can tell me something about Mannar?"

"It's an island", answered Varuni.

"But it has a causeway now, hasn't it, that joins it to the mainland?" asked mummie.

"Both are right, it's true there's a causeway but Mannar is really on island on the northwest coast of Ceylon. Does anyone know of historical associations connected with Mannar?"

Silence for a few minutes, then from Mummie, "The Dutch held it and before them the Portuguese."

"Quite right. But I was thinking of the little Sinhalese princess Dona Katherina of Kandy whose father had gone to the Portuguese for protection taking his little daughter with him when he heard that the wicked Prince Raja Sinha was marching with his army to take his kingdom of Kandy. They

came as far as Trincomalee but there the king died of smallpox and the poor little princess was left an orphan, so frightened, alone with strangers with those Parangi or foreigners, the Portuguese. Can't you imagine her terror and misery?

"For safety they sent the child to Mannar where she was more or less imprisoned in the Fort for years. Later she was taken by ship to Colombo, but more of this when we visit the Fort and see the little room she lived in.

"Now we turn right to Mantota, today called Manthai but in very ancient times, Mantitha of the Great Port where the bride of Vijaya, the original conquerer of Ceylon, landed with her entourage of several thousand men and women from India."

They turned down a sandy road and Jason groaned till he reached a place of sand dunes where Daddy asked Simon to halt.

"Here we are at the ancient port of Mantota or as the Manavamsa calls it Mantitha."

"But where's the sea?" asked Mummie and the children together.

"Silted up long ago with these great sand dunes, a lot of excavation is being done here and all sorts of interesting finds have been uncovered turning back the pages of a past long dead and forgotten."

"What have they found Richard?"

"Lovely pieces of ancient Chinese pottery, not bits only but whole jars and bowls of celadon, glazed pottery something like the ginger jars of old. Roman coins have also been found, so one can gather that the great nations of other ears have called here.

"We'll now go on and visit another site in Mantota, the Tiruketisvaram temple with its Nandi or bull of granite, both so ancient that no one knows their history or beginning."

"Wouf! Wouf!" howled the wind, picking up the sand and driving it along.

Mummie shivered though the heat was blistering and the white sun glared down on the white sand dunes.

"Only ruins! And not even ruins! Just sand only! Once the greatest port in Ceylon! Impermanence!" she said softly.

"Yes!" replied Daddy. "So are all things! So is life!"

This worldly hope men set their hearts upon turns ashes—or it prospers and anon, Like snow upon the desert's dusty face, Lighting a little hour or two—is gone.

THE END

ENCOURAGING NEWS FOR ENERGY FUTURE

Unique Fusion Experiment

by Everly Driscoll

Washington,

U.S. scientists have passed an important milestone on the road to achievement of controlled nuclear fusion, the same process fueling the sun and other stars. Fusion, the melding of atoms, as opposed to fission, the splitting of atoms, is called the "inexhaustible" energy source because the process uses as fuel hydrogen, the most abundant element in the universe and in sea water. Conventional nuclear fission power plants use elements such as uranium. Not only is the fuel available, it is efficient in small amounts. The entire electrical power needs of the United States could be met by 10 kilograms of hydrogen per hour supplied by one small plant. Extracting the hydrogen from sea water poses

none of the environmental problems associated with other fuels, nor can the radioactive wastes be converted to bombs. The one radioactive product, the wall of the reactor, can be more easily managed than can, for example, hundreds of fuel rods from conventional nuclear plants. "A year ago" says Dr. John Clarke of the US Department of Energy's (DOE's) Fusion Office, "our hopes for fusion energy were based on faith. Now they are based on experimental fact."

The fusion milestone occurred, at Princeton University where scientists, using an experimental device called a "tokamak", created temperatures required for producing sustained nuclear fusion. They heated hydrogen atoms to a record 60 million degrees Celsius (C)—35 million degrees hotter than previously attained in a tokamak reactor. In one-tenth second at those temperatures, seven million-million hydrogen atoms fused, creating atoms of the heavier element helium, and in the process, releasing energy. "At those temperatures the hydrogen plasma (a gas of electrically-charged atoms) could take off on its own, continuing the reactions," said Dr. Melvin Gottlieb at an August 14 Washington press conference announcing the results of the August 1 experiment. Dr. Gottlieb is Director of the Princeton Plasma Physics Laboratory where the experiment was conducted. "In a larger fusion reactor, we could have turned off the heat source and the fusion reaction would have continued," he said. A kind of chain reaction is set off by one fusion reaction which releases energy inducing yet other reactions. This is called sustained nuclear fusion, which when accomplished, will produce 180 times more energy than is required to get the process started.

The 60-million degree temperature achieved was a turning point in fusion research, for it surpassed two transitional zones—one at 44 million degrees when self-sustaining fusion can occur in very large reactors, and one at over 50 million degrees where fusion can occur in smaller reactors. Scientists at other laboratories using different techniques for fusion, such as lasers and mirror-type fusion devices, have achieved higher temperatures than in the Princeton experiment, but have had trouble containing the hot plasma. This experiment occurred "much sooner and the results were much better than we ever dared anticipate," said Dr. Gottlieb.

In 1970, scientists created temperatures of five million degrees in the tokamak. In December, 1977, they created 25-million-degree temperatures. "It took seven years to go from five million degrees to 25 million degrees. It has taken us six months to go the last 35 million degrees," said Dr. Gottlieb.

Dr. Gottlieb attributes the success of the experiment to the method of heating the plasma—with a "neutral beam injector" developed by DOE's Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee. The device is a type of gun that injects, into the hydrogen, deuterium atoms that have been accelerated to high energies. The deuterium atoms, in turn, transfer their energy to the hydrogen atoms, heating them up to fusion temperatures.

The Princeton tokamak is a three-meter-wide, 90-centimeter-high reactor in the shape of an automobile tyre. The circular structure encloses a smaller container with the hydrogen atoms that, because they are charged, can be controlled by a surrounding magnetic field. Without the magnetic field, hydrogen atoms heated to fusion temperatures would hit the

metal wall of the reactor, be cooled, and drop below fusion temperatures. The experiment proved certain scientific theories correct and validated the Princeton tokamak laboratory model, said Dr. Gottlieb. "We are on the right track now. Our theories about how to build large reactors were correct. We can now demonstrate fusion," he concluded.

The experiment was the first successful one with a "scale model"—an instrument that when enlarged to scale, can be expected to produce the same results. Fusion demonstration is likely to occur after 1981 when Princeton's tokamak fusion test reactor, two times the size of the scale model, begins operation.

While other methods to achieve fusion are being explored around the world, the tokamak idea is the most developed. However, there are difficult engineering and materials problems yet to be solved—such as the manufacture of tritium, an isotope of hydrogen—before fusion power becomes commercially available. Depending on engineering—and budget considerations—a demonstration power plant could be operational in 20 years or so, and an operational commercial plant working by 2025. "These projections are conservative," admits Dr. Edwin E. Kintner, chief of DOE's Fusion Office. "This is the most difficult technological development ever undertaken by man for non-military purposes," he says.

Several nations have fusion research programs. The United States, for example, spends only one-third of the 1,000 million dollars yearly invested in the research. Working as visiting staff members at Princeton, for example are scientists from Great Britain, Italy, Japan, France and the Soviet Union, all of which have fusion programs of their own. The tokamak was

built on a concept originally developed by Soviet scientists. "Fusion is uniquely international—too big for one country", says Dr. Kintner, "We will need to use the intellectual and material resources of the entire world to bring fusion power to reality as quickly and as wisely as possible."

—USICA

FOR THE RECORD

TULF Politics

From THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS
31/7/78

Why TULF won't participate in debate on new Constitution

The Tamils at the last general elections gave the TULF a clear mandate to set up a separate state for them. To drive home that verdict of the Tamil-speaking people the TULF parliamentary group brought an amendment to the policy statement presented by the Government in the NSA. Had the government the slightest interest in the aspirations of the Tamil speaking people it would have embodied them in some form or other in the new constitution. But the government had failed to do this and as such they would not be participating in any debate pertaining to the new Constitution which was tabled in the National State Assembly last week.

This was stated by the President of the TULF Mr. M. Sivasithamparam MP, when he delivered his presidential address at the second regional convention of the Front, held at Averangal, Jaffna yesterday.

Mr. Sivasithamparam said that they were aware of the opinion that prevailed in the island and in certain other countries that the TULF should give a chance to the government to grant the Tamils

their due rights. But from their bitter experience of the past they knew that all the big talks and assurances made by the government were mere eye-wash. In order to respect those feelings expressed with good intentions they waited until the new Constitution was framed. Their friends would agree with them that although some concessions had been granted in respect of the Tamil language, no provision had been made for the decentralisation of power and to give autonomy to traditional Tamil areas and to preserve the ethnic composition of their areas. Even if any concessions been given to the Tamil language, it was an undisputed fact that it was due to the heroic struggle carried on persistently by the TULF representing the Tamils and the Tamil political parties. Any concession granted to the Tamil language without autonomy to work out the administrative machinery to implement the same would not be worth the paper on which it was written.

In the last polls the Tamils gave an unprecedented victory to the TULF. Accepting that mandate the TULF members of the NSA ventured towards the fulfilment of their goal.

It was evident that there did exist a calculated plot to strangle the economy of the Tamils and destroy their properties.

Mr. Siyathamparam said that the first convention of the TULF held in 1976 at Vaddukodai gave a new dimension to the political thinking of the Tamil people whereby they resolved that only under an independent sovereign Socialist Republic of Tamil Eelam would it be possible for the Tamil-speaking people of the island to live with honour and self respect.

He further said that in 1946 Messrs Chelvanayakam and Ponnambalam were accepted as un-

disputed leaders of the Tamil-speaking people. Although at the beginning they were separated for sometime, during their last days they became joint leaders of the TULF. Their sudden demise was a great loss to the Tamil nation. They who were following their footsteps were now maintaining that unity that was created by those great leaders.

The landslide victory at the last general elections of the TULF and the elimination of those who were against that unity from the political arena evidently showed that the people wanted unity. Today a handful of elements and a few forces functioning sporadically were out to wreck that unity. The TULF was venturing towards a much nobler and unique task of liberating the Tamil nation. Therefore he wished to appeal to each and everyone to join hands with them to work with them jointly to achieve that noble end.

He said that in 1972 the Sirimavo Government proceeded to draft a Constitution for Ceylon. Their leaders realising that the Constitution was detrimental to the interests of the Tamil nation which would make the Tamils permanent second class citizens in the country formed the TULF. The Front tried its best to win back at least a few rights of the Tamils, but the government not only did not grant those rights, but also made use of the Emergency Regulations to crush Tamil resistance.

Realising the indifferent attitude nursed by the then government towards the problems of the Tamils the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam made use of the forceful weapon of resigning and recontesting his seat in Parliament thereby seeking a referendum from the people on a grave issue. The government delayed the holding of the by-election for 2 years. When

the by-election was held the Tamils gave their verdict to Mr. Chelvanayakam and the TULF to carry on the struggle for the setting up of a separate state. After the elections Mr. Chelvanayakam proclaimed to the Sinhala community and the world that the Tamils had resolved to use their inalienable right of self-determination to win back their sovereignty which they lost to the Portuguese in the 16th and 17th centuries. The government turned a deaf ear to all their pleadings. Only after deep thinking and prolonged deliberation the first national convention of the TULF which was held at Vaddukodai in 1976 proclaimed that it had become inevitable for the Tamil-speaking nation to work for a sovereign secular socialist Tamil Eelam using its rights to self-determination. In accordance with the proclamation and keeping with the tradition of the national liberation movements the world over, the Tamil United Front changed its name to TULF.

They contested the last general elections under the name of TULF and they had been functioning under that same name. Expressing the need for a more rigid discipline, code of conduct and affiliation expected of a liberation organisation, a new constitution was framed and today they were conducting the proceedings of the Second National Convention of the Front under its new constitution.

From the Madras HINDU, 1/8/78

Sri Lanka Tamil's Stand

THE DECISION OF the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), not to participate in the debate on the new Constitution Bill in Sri Lanka's Parliament will cause disappointment to all those who had been hoping that a new era of amity between the Tamil minority and the Sinhala majority was about

to begin. This hope was fortified by a series of steps the ruling United National Party had taken during recent months to allay the fears that had crept into the minds of the Tamils especially on the use and role of the Tamil language in the country. The TULF President, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, who is himself a Member of Parliament, pointed out at the party's national convention during the week-end that the demand for a separate State for the Tamils had not been conceded, and so it would not be possible for them to take part in the discussion on the new Constitution, though he conceded that "it conferred certain rights in regard to the use of Tamil language in state correspondence". Under the proposed changes in the Constitution, Tamil is to get the status of a national language. This will make it mandatory for all orders, proclamations, rules, regulations and notifications as well as all official documents to be published in Tamil too, besides Sinhala. A person wishing to enter public service is entitled to be examined through the medium of Tamil though he must acquire a knowledge of the official language (Sinhala) within a stipulated time. President Jayawardene also announced the other day that steps would be initiated to ensure that all children would be made to learn Sinhala, Tamil and English compulsorily.

If the TULF has not cared to respond positively to the gesture made by the ruling party, thus leading to a total boycott of the proposals, it would seem to mean that the militant sections in the organisation are having the upper hand. There have been indications that one group among the TULF members was of the view that they should accept the rights and guarantees granted by the new Constitution and co-operate with the Government to make the Cons-

titution work. It is the younger elements, backed by the youth wing of the party that want total rejection of the new proposals. It is true that the party fought the elections last July on the plank of a separate State for the Tamils. But the political climate has changed with the advent of the UNP Government. Commenting on the Tamil's stand on an earlier occasion *The Hindu* had urged that "the TULF leaders should forget, once and for all, the idea of a separate State and work peacefully with the Sinhalese". This advice is even more valid to-day in the context of the meaningful concessions that have been made to meet the just aspirations of the Tamil minority. Mr. Amirthalingam, the new general secretary of the TULF, has said that the Front would go ahead with its non-violent programme for the establishment of a separate Tamil State. All this will not be of real help to the Tamils who should recognise that their interests lie in joining hands with the majority community in making Sri Lanka strong politically and economically.

From the CEYLON DAILY NEWS, 3/8/78

TULF convention achieves nothing but a split.

The second Regional Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front which was concluded on Sunday last at Averangal, Jaffna, according to party insiders "achieved nothing" except transforming the leaders and the youths into bitter antagonists.

Now frantic efforts are being made by certain senior members of the party to bridge this difference that had been created between the TULF Parliamentarians and a section of the militant youth.

Several incidents marred the final days mammoth rally on Sunday night which was attended by well

over forty thousand people. As the chairman of the meeting Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, President of the TULF announcing that the meeting would start with the singing of the Tamil Eelam National Anthem by a bevy of girls, hundreds of youths shouting slogans rushed to the seven foot high platforms where the leaders stood in readiness for the start of the meeting.

The youth shouted, "We don't want a carnival here, Our leaders are our traitors. Resign your seats in the Assembly". Shouting these slogans they surrounded the platform. Some of the youth tried to get on to the platform apparently to get hold of the mike. Appeals made by some volunteers to these youth proved futile. Then came Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Secretary General of the Front into the scene. He appealed to the youths to disperse. Moments later they obeyed him and moved away.

The chairman then announced that the meeting would start with the singing of the Eelam National Anthem. The girls started singing and the crowd stood in silence. While the anthem was being sung the youths shouted again. Some of them jeered. But the girls sang the Anthem to the end.

The chairman Mr. Sivasithamparam then addressed the gathering. In his opening speech he said that the ugly incidents which were created by the youth were something that should be condemned. They could not allow such things to happen in the TULF. The youth should be disciplined. They should learn to control their feelings. This created a mild stir again among the youth and some of them went behind the platform and wanted Mr. Sivasithamparam to withdraw those remarks. But they were chased away by the volunteers and "loyalists" who by now stood around the platform to prevent any untoward incidents.

The meeting then continued. Speaker after speaker condemned the attitude of the youth. Then started a distribution of handbills by some youths. Hundreds of those bills were thrown into the crowd. The handbill said that at the last general elections, the Tamil leaders had made certain promises that enabled them to win 18 constituencies in the Tamil Eelam. After one year of sitting in the chairs of the National State Assembly and marking time, the Tamil Political Front (the youth name for the TULF) had once again come before the people to deceive the Tamil people, in the guise of a political convention. The bill also had several questions for which the youth wanted answers from the TULF parliamentarians. The meeting, however, continued and Mr. Amirthalingam in his address, said that the people should not come to wrong conclusions. They were not prepared to launch a struggle in the manner the youth wanted at the moment. They would do so at proper time. Without preparing themselves they should not launch any struggle. Writing slogans on the walls will not help us to set up Tamil Nad. By distributing handbills we cannot achieve our goal. When we launch our struggle proper, we will have work for thousands of youths—not the jobs for which the youths are clamouring for and approaching us daily—hard work to protect our territories, he said. Mr. Amirthalingam said certain persons had blamed the TULF Parliamentarians for accepting the jeeps that were given them by the government. They were not given them free. They were paying for those jeeps in monthly instalments. Those jeeps were not being used by them for pleasure trips. He had covered well over 12,000 miles in his jeep within the last 3 months doing more than 100 miles a day. "I want to ask

one question from those who condemned us for accepting these jeeps. Do you know the number of trips I have made to the refugee camps in the Killinochchi electorate within the last few months in connexion with the rehabilitation work?" he asked.

From the MADRAS HINDU, 6/8/78 Where is the Guarantee Asks TULF Leader

The leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front Mr. A. Amirthalingam, opening the debate on the Constitutional Bill on behalf of the Opposition, made it clear that his party would have nothing to do with it as the proposed statute did not satisfy the "national" aspirations of the Tamil-speaking people of the island.

He said the TULF had a definite mandate from the Tamil-speaking people of Sri Lanka to win back their lost freedom and reconstruct a free independent sovereign socialist State.

Mr. Amirthalingam explained why they walked out of the House when the present Constitution was enacted in 1972. He recalled the statement made by their late leader, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, on the floor of the House setting out the reasons why they could not participate in the debate then. He spoke of how two previous agreements were torn to pieces. The Tamil Act, enacted in 1958, had not been implemented, 20 years after its passage. Where then was the guarantee of equality he asked.

That Tamil language was being given a second place was evident from the section in the Bill which stipulated that Tamil public servants should acquire proficiency in Sinhala language within a reasonable time while there was no such condition for Sinhala public servants to acquire knowledge of Tamil.

Mr. Amirthalingam said in the past 30 or so years, all their sincere efforts to settle their problems within the framework of a united country had failed and all agreements they had entered into with the past governments had become dead letter. The most fundamental rights was for a community to live without fear. But could the Government say that in the last one year this right had been guaranteed?

He said Tamils were being intimidated and they had been driven to the conclusion that they could no longer live together. The fact was that "these two nations" had come to the stage when they could no longer live together.

"We want to rule ourselves in our own traditional homeland and let us part as friends", he said. Whatever happened, they would continue their struggle to win their freedom. They knew the might of the Government was against them. "We also know that under Article 157 of the new Constitution, we may be arrested, our properties confiscated and so on. We are prepared for any consequences".

Mr Amirthalingam spoke for over five hours after which the leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and former Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, read out a long statement. She was frequently interrupted.

Mrs Bandaranaike made a pointed reference to Section 157 of the draft constitution which made it an offence to advocate amendment of the Constitution otherwise than in accordance with the prescribed procedure. The punishment for speaking out one's thoughts, for expressing one's ideas on change, for speaking to assert one's freedom, was imprisonment for ten years, unlimited fine.

forfeiture of property and loss of one's seat in Parliament.

At the end of her statement she said her party would not participate further in the debate and added, "When you adopt this constitution and bring it into operation, you would have emulated Adolf Hitler. You would have made a mockery of the Parliamentary process."

Mr. S. Thondaman, representing persons of Indian origin, who supported the Bill, said while plantation workers were denied franchise to participate in local body elections for 30 years, they had been granted that right by the Jayewardene Government. He recalled Mr. Jayewardene's intervention in the debate (he was then the Prime Minister) to accept the demand that electoral registers should be printed in Tamil throughout the island. They were till then being printed in Tamil only in the northern and eastern provinces and in places where Tamil voters exceeded 20 per cent of the electorate.

In the matter of gratuity to repatriates, much injustice had been done to plantation workers all these years and on the intervention of President Jayewardene, the Government has agreed to make an ex gratia payment of Rs.500 to every repatriate worker. This was no doubt small compared to what was due to the workers but they must be ready for compromises, Mr. Thondaman said. Abolition of the distinction between citizens by registration and descent was a welcome step.

There were many other issues for which solutions had to be found. Persons born in Sri Lanka after independence were still in the category of "stateless" and none of the earlier governments could solve their problems. He said he had been assured that suitable

amendments would be brought to the Citizenship Act and hoped the Government would act soon.

Mr. Thondaman said though the proposed Constitution was not perfect in everything, it was definitely a step forward and hence he would vote for it.

Earlier, the Justice Minister, Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, quoted from an editorial in *The Hindu* dated August 1. *The Hindu* was a paper which reflected the majority view in India, he said and added the only way to solve the problems of the minority was to live with the majority.

PTI reports: With the TULF and Mrs. Bandaranaike's SLFP announcing the boycott of the debate, the Bill is assured of easy passage. The ruling United National Party has a massive majority already.

After their leaders' speeches, the 17 members of the TULF and nine of the SLFP walked out of the House quietly, without formally declaring it a walk-out.

From the HINDU, 8/7/78 Sri Lanka Stalemate: A Way Out

MR. S. THONDAMAN, REPRESENTING PERSONS of Indian origin in Sri Lanka struck an optimistic note when he said in the National Assembly (parliament) that the proposed new Constitution was "definitely a step forward" and hence he would vote for it. He was referring to the proposals that have been given concrete shape to raise the status of Tamil though he observed that the Constitution was not "perfect" in everything. As was indicated by the leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front at their national convention a few days ago, Mr. Amirthalingham walked out of the House along with his colleagues after explaining why the amendments in regard to the use

of Tamil did not satisfy their aspirations. The main contention of the TULF was that Tamil had been given only the second place, next to Sinhala and not accorded equal status with it, although the Tamils constituted a significant minority in the country and were in a majority in the provinces in the north and the east.

Those who are familiar with the language problem in India will undoubtedly appreciate the feelings of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. While Hindi under the Constitution is the official language, the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, has on several occasions stated that it was not going to be forced down the throats of other linguistic groups. And yet what is happening is exactly the opposite of the verbal assurances. In non-Hindi-speaking States attempts are being made to impose the language sneakingly and the latest instance relates to Kerala. Following instructions from the higher authorities sitting in Delhi, Hindi classes have been started in Central public sector units in the State: employees are even liable to disciplinary action if they fail to attend the classes and appear for the examinations. Worse still, it is required that all letters written in Hindi should be answered in Hindi only. It is this kind of linguistic chauvinism that has embittered relations between those in the Hindi areas and in the non-Hindi regions. There is thus a striking similarity between the language problems in Sri Lanka and in India.

The Tamils in Sri Lanka need to be assured that there would be no imposition of Sinhala on them either directly or indirectly. Mr. Amirthalingham has drawn attention to the Section in the Bill to amend the Constitution which stipulates that the Tamil public servants should acquire sufficient know-

ledge of the Sinhala language within a specified time while it is not mandatory for Sinhala public servants to acquire a knowledge of Tamil. He has certainly a valid point here. What needs to be done now is to see that the severity of this requirement is softened even if the provision cannot altogether be eliminated so that it ceases to be an irritant, much less a burden, to the Tamil minority. But then the question arises how a boycott of the proceedings of Parliament by the TULF really helps when this and other important Sections of the new Constitution are going to be debated. The real handicap all along has been a communication gap between the Opposition and the ruling party. In a sense, the situation was largely created by the Tamil leaders themselves when they decided to stay away from the Select Committee which was to consider changes in the Sri Lanka Constitution.

The Tamil leaders must reconsider their whole strategy and utilise the parliamentary forum to get their demands accepted. Else, they will be presented with a *fait accompli* that will make things incomparably worse for the health of Sinhalaese-Tamil relations. The Government on its part will be well advised to initiate fresh moves to bring the Tamils to the conference table. President Jayewardene had promised, when he first assumed charge as Prime Minister, that he would call a conference of the leaders of the Opposition to discuss the problems of the minorities, especially the Tamils, but this has yet to be convened. There is no reason why discussions between the ruling UNP leaders and the TULF held in a non-chauvinistic and constructive spirit even at this late stage would not yield bene-

ficial results to end the present stalemate.

From the CEYLON DAILY NEWS, 29/8/78.

Fate of TULF-CWC ties in the balance

Will the Tamil United Liberation Front sever its connections with the Ceylon Workers' Congress in case its leader Mr. S. Thondaman accepts portfolio in the Cabinet?

The question of the relationship between the TULF and the CWC cropped up at the meeting of the Working Committee of the TULF held in Jaffna during the weekend. The diehard youths insisted that the TULF should sever all its connections with the CWC.

Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Secretary-General of the TULF, intervening in the discussion advised the Working Committee to watch the situation and take a decision at the appropriate moment.

The youths wanted the new TULF to reject totally the new Constitution. They insisted that the TULF should burn a copy of the Constitution to mark their disapproval as they did in May 22, 1972.

Mr. Amirthalingam warned the youths to act with a sense of responsibility and told them not to do anything that would result in communal tension.

Thereafter the Working Committee decided that the TULF parliamentarians should not attend Parliament on September 7 and 8 when the new Constitution is ceremonially proclaimed. It also decided to issue a call to the Tamil-speaking people not to participate in any official function but to stay at home and engage in religious observances.

The TULF Parliamentary Group would decide the date on which

the TULF MPs would take their oaths in Parliament.

From the SUN, 28/8/78

TULF won't be there

The Central Executive Committee of the Tamil United Liberation Front which met in Jaffna yesterday decided that the TULF MPs must not attend Parliament on September 7 and 8 when the new Constitution is ceremonially promulgated.

The meeting was presided over by the President of the TULF, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam.

Commenting on this decision, party sources pointed out that the Tamil people had voted the TULF members to Parliament to pursue their call for a Tamil Eelam. But the new Constitution made no reference to it and therefore the TULF MPs would not attend Parliament on those two days.

The Committee also decided against MPs and people participating in any official function on September 7 and 8 to mark the adoption of the new Constitution. It decided to request school children not to attend school on these two days but to stay at home and engage in religious observances.

Each MP is to hoist the Rising Sun flag of the TULF in his electorate. In electorates unrepresented by TULF MPs, the TULF organisers are to be asked to hoist the Rising Sun flag.

A hot-bed of argument was the relationship between the TULF and the Ceylon Workers Congress. The die-hard youth were insisting that the TULF should sever connections with the CWC. At the time of going to press, the matter was still being discussed.

Prior to the Committee meeting, the Parliamentary Group of the TULF met. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam

presided at this meeting. They decided that the TULF MPs should boycott the function organised for September 7 to mark the promulgation of the new Constitution.

The following members of the TULF were not present both at the TULF Parliamentary Group Meeting and the Central Executive Committee meeting of the TULF.

C. Rajadurai, MP for Batticaloa, P. Sampanthan, MP for Trincomalee, T. Thirunavukkarasu, MP for Vadukkodai and T. Sivasithamparam MP for Vavuniya.

+ + +

GEORGE MARZIPAN—5

Corporation Working Director

by Glucorasa

As is customary I was at the bus stand waiting for the CTB boneshakers to get to my workplace. There was more than one reason why I was anxious, always to get to office in time—the main motivation was that I did not want to face the humiliation of being sent off to the Corporation for the Unemployed (Underemployed to be exact) like what happened to my dear friend George Marzipan.

Suddenly a huge car braked to a halt. There was confusion at the bus halt. Like everyone else, I too looked towards this car. Whom do I see get down—Vaihunthahanoff, my one day acquaintance—VHF! He bowed. "Hello VHF—how are you? You should be careful when you stop like that near the bus halt—you just cannot be certain that the bus behind will not crash into you" I said. "Not to worry, even if it does, it does

not matter. It is the Corporation car."

Obviously VHF had found some employment. He did not possess even a bicycle. He used to borrow other people's cycles and return them after removing the good tyres and tubes. That was VHF. "What have you got to do with a Corporation?" "Well I have landed a good job. That's all. I am a working director. Don't ask me how I got appointed. That is beside the point. Only one condition was attached. I was told that I should live up to it—meaning that I should not be seen in those boutiques and wayside plantain shops. As a working director, I should not let the side down. That's all." said VHF. "And of course you should not be found standing with the hoi poloi waiting for buses—like me for instance" I said.

"Well—perhaps that is necessary too. You are of course going to your office. May I have the pleasure of taking you for a ride?" VHF asked. "Look VHF, you are making a mistake if you think you can take me for a ride. Many have tried to do that. Anyway, thanks for stopping—cheers and all the best". "I am sorry if I offended you. What I meant was that I would drop you at your office." "But my dear fellow you are not surely passing my office?" "But that makes no difference. It is the Corporation car, Corporation driver and the Corporation will settle the fuel bill. So why bother? Officially this vehicle is given to me for official purposes, but unofficially I use it for unofficial purposes as well. What's so wrong about all this. Come along, please, let me have the pleasure of taking you today". "Thanks" and I moved forward, waiting for VHF to get in first. "Après vous", and VHF moved back indicating

that I get in first. "What—you have started on French now?" "Yes—I may be proceeding to France to negotiate a business settlement. So it is useful to show that I know a few words at least." VHF laughed. It was not surprising that he was a working director. I was soon at my office, with the driver opening the door for me and most embarrassing of all saluting me too, much to the amusement of VHF who was inside the car. He drove away. I felt 2 inches taller as I walked into my own office to be greeted by Walrus who was an eye witness to all that had happened.

I signed the attendance register and walked up to my room. My Assistant had already come in but in my preoccupation with thoughts of VHF I had forgotten to wish him as usual. I thought he would not take it too seriously, but, actually as a matter of fact, he had indeed. For within minutes of my sitting down at my desk, my Assistant walked in. "Good morning Sir. Is everything alright with you and is there anything I can do for you?" he said. "Good morning my dear fellow, very good morning to you, I must apologise to you for any discourtesy I may have shown in not greeting you when I came in. You see, I have wonderful news to give you about murunga and brinjral friend. Do you know that he is a working director in some Corporation?" "No—I do not know. And how did you come to know about all this?"

"My dear fellow, VHF is really an amazing fellow. He certainly is capable of teaching Dale Carnegie a thing or two. When you first introduced him to me, I got the impression that his only interests were brinjals and murungas. It seems to me that his interests are much wider and he certainly knows how to get on."

"Who is Carnegie" asked my Assistant. I was aghast. "It will be a good thing if you found that out yourself. Tell me, when did you last meet VHF". "I have seen him fairly often, but he always seemed to be in a hurry. I had no chance to see him at leisure. But I am delighted that he is in a Corporation. I can now put my son in the Corporation. Did you find out the Corporation in which he is working director?" "No." The poor chap was disappointed. He now excused himself went back to his ledgers and files which were always in a complete mess. I was relieved—apparently my discourtesy, which was entirely unintended, had not offended him, particularly after my apology. The chap will now spend all his time and energy in tracking down VHF.

It is at times like this that George Marzipan acts like a tonic. I had not seen him for some days. He was probably busy getting his transfer cancelled and his reputation preserved. I wished very sincerely that George would be back where he belonged. I was so concerned about this that I dialled 12345. The same fellow. Operator of the Switchboard, barked "What do you want." "I want to speak to George Leopold Robialac" I got the name across correctly this time. "He has gone for a bath. He will be back in 10 minutes." "What—a bath during office hours?" "You are right. At his home he has to draw water from the well. He is a lazy fellow. So he comes to office to have a bath daily." "Is he still with your Corporation of the Unemployed." "Yes—but he is moving at the highest levels to get back to his job. And we are all hoping he will not succeed." "Why" I asked. "Why? because he is a good man, a keen Union man. I have already joined his Union. He has promised

to increase the number of holidays for the workers. Which means more double pay holiday working days." I was duly impressed. George was no fraud. He loved workers all over. Rather hesitantly I suggested to the Operator that they should all help this poor fellow to get out of that Corporation, and mildly rebuked him for being selfish.

"Will you please ask Robialac to call me after his bath". "I shall do so, but after his bath he goes for his breakfast. There is a woman who bakes hoppers which seems to delight Robialac. So that he will probably call you in about one hour. Will that be alright". "No that will not be alright, because I have a conference to attend."

The man at the other end laughed. I was irritated. "What the devil do you mean by your silly laughter." "No, I say, I know what happens at these conferences. We are no fools, although we are only Operators of the Switchboard. All of you will be there, with your files, bogus statistics and smiles as the big man walks in. Someone will ask one official "Look, what are the figures for your division". The official will look at his statistics and say 'Sir, the rice production this year far exceeded our own expectations. Last year it was 6000 bushels, but for the same period this year, it is 7,432½ bushels. Coconut production shows an increase of 24½% while about 100 men have been given employment on a casual basis.' The big man will be pleased as punch. The boys are doing a good job. No sabotage. No feet dragging. Everything is fine. But, nothing is fine. The figures are given on the basis of reports received in the office. They are furnished by an underling in order to earn his increment and to be away from station every week end. The official, however, is too lazy even

to do a test check. The big man reports to his minister and the matter ends there, until of course the next general election comes round. Thank God mister, this is a democratic country, we can throw out governments which are misled by people like you—the bureaucrat."

"That will do Mr. Switchboard Operator. I will see to it that you are Permanently kept in the Corporation of the Unemployed." I shouted at this man, because he had the honesty and the courage to tell the bureaucrat the truth. Yes—this is what happens. One has got to be in government service, to know how governments are ruined by the bureaucracy.

"Thank you very much, good Sir. It will be a great favour you will be doing to me if you can get me permanently fixed in this Corporation until I retire. I can see no reason why I should work when others do not." he said.

This man is right. My thoughts went back to George Marzipan. Sure he will see me soon—of that I was certain.

ACID BOMB EXPLOSION—13

Chapter Thirteen

Hemapala

by James Goonewardene

The following evening Deva returned to the resthouse. There was much that he didn't still know about Piyaratne and about the politics of the school. Ariya didn't join him on the lawn, at once. There were visitors. At dusk the resthouse was usually deserted; but this evening there were these people. Leaving Ariya to his work Deva drew a chair out to the lawn and sat in the dark.

Eventually Ariya joined him here; Deva was finishing a bottle of beer. The night was hot and an occasional gust of breeze blew in from the sea. A solitary fisherman on the river fished by a flickering oil lamp and propelled himself forward slowly. "Its as you say, an old man's privilege to be left alone," said Ariya. "He had the welfare of the school at heart. I know that, and I also know how hard he worked to lift its standards, give the boys an opportunity to make good."

"Its this I would like to know", said Deva, "how it has been—how it was like when there were these students going into the university, into the professions. I can get nothing from the rest of the staff. They do not talk—live in their tight, protective cocoons. They always seem to move as if under a spell. They just move around—no opinions, no conversations—the strangest set-up."

"I know for one that he has sometimes paid the facilities fees of indigent students; he has given money when they were in need of it, bought their books, and has had fights with his wife over these gifts. Everything he has said about students passing out into the professions from here is true. I have met some of them here; they used to drop in to pay their respect to the old man. They still give him the respect they gave him when they were students.

There had to be something in him that brought this out in his old pupils so long afterwards."

"What is his academic background? Has he been to the university?"

"He was never at the university—just been to teachers' training where, apparently, he passed out with a first class. He was a scholarship boy—no privileges as a student. Had a struggle from the

start; whipped into shape in a missionary school, but he has read a lot since then. You talk to him seriously and you'll discover the extent of his scholarship; widely read, his understanding of scientific things is as good as his knowledge of art and literature—a rare combination of interests for a man who has been holed-up in this little place—never had ambitions of the kind some heads of schools are victims of. Never wanted to change his school."

"How do you know all this about him, I mean how did you get all this background information?"

"His old pupils, they talk when they come here—they love to brag about the old days."

"With these pressures being piled upon him, will he be tempted to throw in? What good is it knocking your head against a brick wall?"

"Its never good trying to interpret other people's actions from one's own standpoint—its never as simple as one thinks, but I've a feeling he's fighting back now—something has got his back up and he's going to fight; whatever comes of it."

"And how will he fight back, discover the culprit in this instance and see he is punished?"

"I think he knows in his mind how he'll do it. He was drinking heavily last night but he has, no doubt, been thinking about it. Its like him to show he's beaten, but inside him there's a lot of fight still left."

"This drinking—getting more and more drunk, that surely is a sign he is weakening."

"Yes, there's that. It has got me worried. In the time I have known him he has not been like that—taking his liquor as heavily." Deva sat back, took a swig of his beer and lit a cigar.

"What's behind all this? Why are they doing this to him?"

"That too is as he said. With him out they can put a stooge in his place. Its a build up of forces."

"Doesn't the dropping of standards bother them?"

"Dropping of standards—they don't give a damn for that. That is the least of their worries. Its a bitter struggle for power and influence. What happens to schools and students is not their worry."

"Its frightening what you say. They'll not stop at this. They'll harass him further then?"

"Yes, without a doubt."

A visitor arrived and Ariya was called away. Deva sat in the dark alone and brooded. The school appeared to have its own whirlpool, outside forces of a different nature were creating their own centres of discontent. Hemapala's movement—his connection with the students—the incidents at the temple—where did they all link up. Did the harassment of the Principal have any connection with all this?"

He continued to sit there and brood; bits of conversation drifted from the verandah where the visitors sat and talked. Otherwise it was quiet.

The sea broke gently on the shore. In the river, in front, the single oil lamp flickering in the fisherman's canoe moved down slowly.

"There's something else I want to ask you," said Deva.

"What is it?"

"This fellow—Hemapala—the one they call gurunnanse around here—what is his background?"

"I can tell you that because we know something about it. We did some snooping around when these anonymous postcards started to come. We tracked them down to him. We learned firstly that he was the child of a broken home. His father, a drunk, had abandoned his wife and three children when

Hemapala was only two years old. Hemapala had then been adopted by one of his uncles, his mother's brother who had children of his own. He had apparently, not bothered too much about how Hemapala got on. He was kept at home and fed and left to his own devices, given a thrashing now and then. The uncle had then sent him to a night school, afterwards to a *privena*. He had not been long at the *privena*—he was caught one day pinching from the temple collection box. The thrashing he had got from his uncle, after the incident, had not helped to mitigate his bitterness or his frustration. An already embittered fellow the episode had made him more sullen and embittered than before. He had told one of his friends that one day he would get even with society, his uncle and all the others. He, apparently, also bears a grudge, a hate against anyone who opposes him."

"How did you get this detailed account of him?"

"As I said we snooped around, and the police helped a bit—a man sending dirty postcards comes under police investigation. You'll discover a man like that often is intelligent and clever. The rest of the story is equally interesting. We discovered that he worked hard at his books and finally landed in a *Guru Vidyalaya*. He had been there barely a year when he beat up one of the lecturers. He already had visions of himself as a leader. He gathered a group round him and made speeches. He always had a gift of the gab. This is what he loves doing—swaying people with words; the more he did this the more ambitious he became. The lecturer he beat up was one of the best they had on the staff, the only one who could out-talk our friend; the reaction it produced was a physical assault. Of course, a

criminal charge was brought against him, but for lack of evidence the case was dropped and he went on with his studies. Eventually he passed out from the *Vidyalaya*, and in no time he was building a teacher's union in the school with a view to affiliating it to a larger body outside the school." Deva sat up to light a cigar, realising that Ariya had come to the end of the story.

"Is that all?" he asked.

"Yes, as far as his background goes. How he came to this school is another story."

"What's that like?"

"Well, one day, Piyaratne had a letter from head office saying there was a new teacher being transferred to the school—the first time he ever heard of it, and ten days later, on the first of the following month Hemapala had arrived. His arrival was a complete mystery—how and why he was sent here. Every government department was infiltrated by every known political group; consequently intrigue was the order of the day. One group fighting another, and at the back of our minds we had the feeling he had been sent here for some purpose—no ordinary purpose, only unknown and mysterious at the moment. Once he had got here he lay quiet for awhile, feeling his way around. Then he began his attacks on the old man.

"Is he a Marxist?"

"He claims to be one, but I have a feeling he has just a smattering knowledge of it. All he wants is an instrument for furthering his own ends."

"It's always the same. They come into it out of personal frustration and then they fool you with a lot of talk about the suffering masses."

The silence deepened suddenly then—they had stopped talking,

and in that silence they heard the sound of the sea as coming from a great distance. "The group he leads—is it confined to the school alone?" asked Deva leaning forward suddenly.

"It has connections outside—it has to have—their confidence and funds come from them belonging to a larger body—how big that is—the extent of their influence is steeped in mystery—at least, to us out here, it is. Hemapala is a leader of some importance—a district leader, perhaps, it is why he is fearless in his attacks on the Principal."

"I then fear for the old man. He is powerless to fight him alone—he is totally in their power, and it seems to me too that he is unaware of this—of his isolation."

"I am not sure of this. He knows he is isolated, but he fights because of his feeling for justice and fairplay and all that. One has to admire his courage.

"Isn't it a folly for him to fight them like this—Why doesn't he let things alone?"

"He cannot do anything else. This is his way. He cannot alter. He cannot let corruption just take over. I think he'll prefer to be dead."

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SNIPPETS

A classic is something that everybody wants to have read and nobody wants to read.— Mark Twain.

I do not approve of anything that tampers with natural ignorance. Ignorance is like a delicate, exotic fruit; touch it and the bloom is gone.— Oscar Wilde.

Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings; it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity— William Wordsworth.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Aug. 14 — Aug 27

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; CM—Chintamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release; DK—Dinakara; DV—Davasa.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 14: Sri Lanka's ambitious Rs. 11 billion accelerated Mahaveli Development Programme gets off the ground today at the Maduru Oya Project site, when the President inaugurates it. Official talks between the Health Ministry and the UN Volunteer Agency for the enlistment of 150 foreign doctors for work in Sri Lanka were concluded last week. The Ministry of Plan Implementation has recommended to the treasury that each electorate be allocated Rs. 2 million next year under the Decentralised budget; of this one million will be utilised for new projects while the other will be used to complete the projects in hand. The Polgolla Campus of the University of Sri Lanka will begin work in October 3; seven hundred students will be admitted to this campus which will for the present serve as a feeder campus to the Peradeniya Campus. The Chinese Ambassador said on Saturday that the Chinese government has accepted the fact that the Sri Lanka government under the leadership of President Jayewardene had taken im-

portant steps to solve the economic problems of the people—CDN. A scheme for the fullscale development of inland fisheries and protection of small fisherman from fish mudalalis, loan facilities, fishing gear, and the guaranteed price of the catch would be introduced shortly. State managed hostels for the physically handicapped persons will be transformed into co-operative said the Minister of Social Services—CDM. A massive passport racket is now on in New Delhi, India where Sri Lanka passports are being secretly and illegally printed and distributed to people who wish to travel to places like Pakistan from India—SU. The President who visited Batticaloa for the first time after assuming office received a rousing welcome—VK. A cultural pageant will be held on September 8 to mark the inauguration of the new constitution—DP. The leader of the TULF Mr. M. Sivasingham said that Tamil youths and farmers should leave the for Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Batticaloa to farm new lands—EN. Apprentices training under the National Apprenticeship Board will be entitled to an increased allowance of Rs. 6 a day—DV. After the liberalisation of imports 60% of the local industries are working under capacity and 25% have closed down completely—ATH. The leader of the SLFP has challenged the government to hold a by-election to judge the popularity of the government and its policies—DK. Japanese PM Takeo Fukuda last night expressed the hope that the Sino-Japanese treaty would strengthen world peace but it's more immediate impact is likely to be an increase in trade and economic co-operation between the two countries. The US yesterday welcomed the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese Peace and Co-operation Treaty saying it promo-

ted peace and stability in Asia. The Soviet Union swiftly condemned the newly-concluded Sino-Japanese treaty it conflicted with detente and presented a "tremendous danger" for the nations of South West Asia—CDN.

MONDAY, AUGUST 13: The President who inaugurated work on the Maduru Oya Reservoir Project yesterday said that those who advocated strikes, go slows and other acts to obstruct the government's development program failed to realise that they were working not against the government but against the people and their progress. Job opportunities in the private sector for several categories of employees have shown an upward trend in the first three months of this year as compared with the corresponding period last year. Every village will have a vigilance Committee as a part of the new police campaign to combat the rising wave of crime. Seven million Rs. worth of science laboratory equipment has been gifted to Sri Lanka schools by UNESCO, Great Britain, West Germany and Japan. Rehabilitation and new planting of cocoa in 20,000 acres in the cocoa triangle of Matale-Kurunegala-Taldeniya will be started soon; the project will extend over a five year period and cost Rs. 72 million—CDN. The President will take his oaths as the first Executive President under the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka on September 7 in the NSA. Officials of the Fisheries Corporation claimed before the Cabinet sub-Committee on the cost of living last Friday that fish was available in plenty and consequently the prices had come down—CDM. The President is expected to rationalise the allocation of subjects and functions amongst the cabinet of ministers by re-shuffling the

Cabinet shortly after the passage of the new constitution. The Ruhunu Campus of the University of Sri Lanka will be inaugurated by the President on August 27 at Medawatte, Matara. Sri Lanka's population reached 13,940,000 by the end of last year—SU. The Hotels Corporation is now in a state of bankruptcy; in 1977 they had a debt of one million and now they are unable to pay salaries to employees—ATH. Left wingers in the SLFP are perturbed that the Peking wing will have more power inside the party after the amendments to the party constitution—DM. Lakhs of Rs. worth of handloom textiles are stocked at various places as they cannot be sold due to the large amounts of imported textiles on the market—LD. Ten internationally known Roman catholic theologians called for reforms of the papacy and new style of pope in a formal declaration—CDM. At least 13 people have been killed in the latest violence which has swept through several Iranian cities in the past few days. More than 45 people were dead or missing in massive landslides, severe floods and road accidents throughout Northern Phillippines where three days of torrential monsoon rains damaged bridges and road and rail links—SU.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16: Mr. A. C. de Zoysa continuing his address before the Special Presidential Commission said Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike was dishonest and revealed cabinet secrets to his brother in law's advantages. The Bank of Ceylon and the National Apprenticeship Board have jointly launched a scheme to assist persons trained in skilled crafts to set themselves up in self-employment. Any trade monopoly—whether state or private sector—was impracticable and the consumer was the final sufferer said the Minis-

ter of Trade. The American government has agreed to allow Sri Lanka to utilise moneys realised by the sale of American flour for development projects and to provide liquidity to the co-operative sector. An accelerated five year program to make Sri Lanka self-sufficient in rice, sugar, milk-coarse grains and pulses has been prepared by the Ministry of Agriculture on the orders of the Minister of Agriculture—CDN. Britain's Queen Elizabeth would be removed as Canada's Head of State under recommendations announced by the Canadian Bar Association—CDM. Government will today move several amendments to the Constitution Bill when the NSA meets in the afternoon. The Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the irregularities of the previous government adjourned till August 28. Regional Transport depots in the north are considering the feasibility of cancelling night bus services throughout the Jaffna Peninsula in view of the frequent highway robberies—SU. The Minister of Trade is soon to hold talks with Indian officials in regard to the export of Tamil newspapers periodicals and films to India—VK. The White Paper on Employment Relations which will be effective only in the government and corporation sector will be tabled in the NSA shortly. The amount of money circulating in the country has increased by Rs. 630 million in the first three months of this year—ATH. The government is considering reducing the period of training for doctors to three instead of the present five years due to the acute shortage of doctors in the country—DM. Australians were hit today with more income tax and higher prices for alcohol, cigarettes and petrol in the budget aimed at reducing inflation to five percent by the

middle of next month. The dollar sank further and the price of gold soared from record to record as dealers turned to metal to escape the uncertainties of the currency crisis—CDN. Britain's Queen Elizabeth would be removed as head of state under recommendations announced by the influential Canadian Bar Association. The Congo's ruling military Council foiled an attempted coup d'etat President Joachim Yhombi Ujanga announced—CDM.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 17: The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka was adopted in the NSA yesterday; it was unopposed in its final reading; the PM announced that the new constitution will be promulgated on September 7. Paddy production for Maha '77-78 was 61,626,000 bushels—an all time record for the Maha season; the comparative production for the previous maha was 54,833,000 bushels. All teacher transfers have been stopped with immediate effect; a new transfer scheme which will ensure that all schools are adequately staffed will come into effect from January next year. The government has increased the price of all cigarettes by five cents and the price of 'special' arrack by Rs. 1.60 a bottle and the price of coconut arrack by Rs. 1.80 a bottle—CDN. The government has reduced by half the duty of 100% imposed earlier on the import of TV sets—CDM. The government is to set up a new Department of Internal Trade with a view to implementing the government's pledge to protect consumers from unscrupulous traders. The Fort and Pettah will be prohibited areas for the parking of lorries from today—SU. The PM said in the NSA yesterday after the 3rd reading of the new constitution that no citizen of this country will henceforth

be a second grade citizen—VK. One of the amendments moved by the PM in the NSA enables the PM to act for the President in his absence and for the Speaker to act for the PM—EN. The President has decided after talks with the Leader of the Opposition to take over the administration of Jaffna, Mannar and Vavuniya himself without appointing district ministers—JD. The Ministry of Health is taking steps to reduce the number of years of training for a nurse from 3 to 1½ years—DV. China's leader Hua Kua Feng, making the first visit for more than two decades outside Asia by a Chinese. CP Chairman arrived in Bucharest to an enthusiastic welcome from officials and Romanian citizens. The British PM is thinking of appointing a minister of Marriage to try to keep families together—CDN. Officials of the Central Iranian city of Isfahan said that all those responsible for anti-government rioting last week which led to the imposition of martial law had been arrested—CDM. Indian Parliament will hold a debate tomorrow on the alleged infiltration by armed Pakistanis into the Himalayan states of Jammu and Kashmir—SU.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18: The Food authorities have cautioned the government that rising international prices of flour have sent the national food budget haywire and more funds would be essential to retain current flour subsidy levels. Sri Lanka's international tea trade for middle and low quality teas is likely to come to a halt very soon resulting in tremendous losses to the country's economy according to a large number of tea exporting firms which now face bankruptcy. Under the latest Customs regulations a Sri Lankan returning home after a stay abroad of 730 days will be allowed free baggage upto the value of Rs.

20,000; any excess upto Rs. 40,000 will be liable to customs duty at 25% of the value of the baggage—CDN. The Ministry of Food and Co-operatives will provide better quality rice both on and off the ration through the co-operatives after complaints about the quality of the rice. Frequent breakdowns in the distribution of drugs to hospitals are due to lack of sufficient staff at the State Medical Stores and inadequate transport facilities according to health department sources. Eight students of the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka who were suspended on February 2 for putting up black flags against Mr. J. R. Jayewardene being elected President of Sri Lanka were yesterday expelled from the university—CDM. A more effective family Planning Programme is to be launched in the plantation sector to control and regulate the baby boom in that sector. The Minister of Economics in the Federal Republic of Germany Dr. Otto Graf Lambsdorff arrived in the island yesterday on a four day official visit as part of an Asian tour. Legislation will be introduced soon for on-the-spot fines on errant motorists, jay walkers and litterbugs. Sri Lanka has sought UN assistance to recruit 150 doctors and 50 engineers preferably from the Phillipines. India and Pakistan said a UN official—SU. Mr. S. Thondaman leader of the CWC said that though he and the TULF may share similar ideas regarding certain problems in common, it cannot be concluded he had any connection whatever with the 'Tamil Eelam Policy' of the TULF—DP. The Minister of Trade said that he was prepared to hold discussions with the farmers in the North regarding any problems they may have; he further added that if they could produce the entire island's chilli needs he was pre-

pared to stop the import of chillies—VK. The Ceylon Fisheries Corporation is now having a buffer stock of 600 tons of fish in its Cold Rooms ready to be released to the general public—IDPR No. 29. The Ministry of Transport has decided to spend Rs. 800 million next year to modernise the railway system—DM. The price of a pound of flour will increase to Rs. 2 by next week—DK. The government is likely to legalise horse racing—ATH. Iran yesterday accused Palestinian extremists in helping to ferment the latest anti-government riots still flaring in several towns—CDN. Former Home Minister Charan Singh would become President of the ruling Janata Party under a compromise formula floated to heal differences within the Indian government—CDM. The West German government will spend some 20,000 million marks in Third World Development aid over the next four years it was announced in Bonn. The PLO has accused US and Israeli agents of setting off an explosion in Beirut on Sunday in which at least 135 people were reported killed—SU.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19: Sri Lanka will set up a National Gem Reserve as an addition to its international reserves of US dollars and pound sterling; it will be used as a hedge against international inflation, boost the country's world credit rating and also act as a collateral security in case of emergency. The Federal Minister of Economics of the Federal Republic of Germany said that no country could afford to go on subsidising as it made no sense. Two Postal Department employees were arrested by the Central Frauds Bureau in connection with police investigations into the loss of a number of parcels at the Foreign Parcels section of the GPO involv-

ing a total value of Rs. 50,000-CDN. If requested the FDR would write off the debt owed by Sri Lanka to West Germany but so far no such request has been made said the Minister of Economics of West Germany. The GMOA has expressed concern over the ever increasing number of assaults on their members working in government medical institutions. The head of the Jaffna campus, inaugurating the medical faculty at Kaithady said that a grievance against the Jaffna Campus was being redressed with the opening of that faculty—CDM. The visiting West German Economics Minister referring to the question of waiving of debts by West Germany said he was sure no indebted country would make an approach as it would involve the country's reputation in the international monetary market as well. The Education Ministry requires 17,000 more teachers to ensure that every school throughout the country will have the required number of teachers. American Express yesterday announced the introduction of its famous credit card system in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka will in future import wheat grain instead of flour from the USA under the PL 480 agreement said the Minister of Food and Co-operatives—SU. The Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education said that in the future there will be no place in the administration of the universities for political interference and if there was such interference they would not allow it—VK. A daring robbery took place at the Inuvil railway station day before yesterday night where all the employees were tied up and locked in a room at gun point—EN. The Education Ministry has decided to start technical training schools for school leavers and dropouts in all grama sevaka areas; the Minister

of Education hopes to train 100,000 every year under this scheme—DM. The government has decided to close down all university hostels as they feel that they are one of the reasons for the unrest prevailing in the universities—LD. Afghanistan's rulers have smashed a plot to overthrow the new leftist government and arrested the defence Minister and the Chief of Army staff. President Carter said yesterday a new middle east war could result if Israel and Egypt do not break the deadlock in peace negotiations at the Comp David Summit next week—CDN. Eight Croation gun men grabbed eight hostages at the West German consulate in Chicago and demanded the release of Croation exile Stephen Bulandzig—CDM.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 20: Draft legislation for the creation of the new national development bank which will service public sector Corporation investment hitherto funded from the budget has been approved by the government, announced the Finance Minister yesterday. The Fisheries Corporation is getting the Pesalai cannery which had long been idle into shape to can a rich harvest of small fish now coming into its cold rooms—SO. Undergraduates who rag freshers when the University begins its new academic year at the different campuses on October 3 will be dealt with severely; a decision to this effect has been taken by the Ministry of Higher Education. The Minister of Health has warned all private nursing homes that if they fail to provide adequate facilities for channelled consultation by medical specialists they would be taken over by the government. A World Bank team has approved the proposed Rs. 65 million Island Integrated Telecommunication complex for the Kurunegala District Development pro-

gramme—ST. An island wide hunt is on for two Australians—believed to be the 'Australian connection' in a massive ganja racket being operated between the two countries. Women in the top ranks of the state sector have banded together to form a Sri Lanka Administrative Service Women's Association—WK. There is a likelihood of the post of the District Minister for Batticaloa being given to the second MP for Batticaloa, Mr. M. Kanagaratnam—VK. The Textile Corporation will establish sales centres all over the island to enable handloom producers to sell their products—SM. Mozambique Agricultural Minister has been sacked for persistently refusing to follow a people's policy in carrying out his duties—SO. PM Ian Smith said last night the interim Rhodesian government had not yet made up its mind whether to attend peace talks with its guerilla opponents. Nearly 40 government MP's met in New Delhi to voice their strong opposition to former Home Minister Charan Singh taking over as President of the ruling Janata Party—ST. China yesterday accused the Soviet Union at the current world conference against racism at attempting to infiltrate Southern Africa and to expand in that territory—WK. **MONDAY, AUGUST 21:** The demand for Sri Lanka tea internationally is at its peak—prices currently being fetched are even surpassing those during the Korean boom; this is the opinion expressed by the tea trade and confirmed by the Minister of Finance. Incentives will be given to all local rubber based industries. Sri Lankan doctors abroad are likely to serve as voluntary doctors for varying periods here; the GMOA has formulated a 'volunteer medical officers pool' to implement this scheme. Detectives from abroad are expected to arrive here to help trace

the local connection of the international narcotics syndicate responsible for smuggling 800 kilos of hashish valued at Rs. 55 million from Katunayake airport to Fiumicino airport in Rome—CDN. A three member Cabinet sub-committee has been set up to recommend to government a code for the adoption of Sri Lankan children by foreigners. The results of university admissions for 1978 which were due by Dec. 31 may be delayed—CDM. The accelerated Mahaweli development programme is facing a manpower crisis and the services of foreign personnel, mostly engineers may have to be obtained to solve the problem. The government has shown concern over unconfirmed reports of Taiwanese fishing trawlers conducting fishing operations in our waters. The West German Minister of Economics who concluded a four day official visit here said Sri Lanka could become a model for economic development because almost every one of the 14 million people of the country was literate—SU. A large number of applications for passports have mysteriously disappeared from the Immigration and Emigration Office. The leader of the TULF said that in the present position they were in, they would certainly not accept the posts of District Ministers and that they would carry out the order placed by the Tamil speaking people to them—DP. TULF MP's will not take their oath of allegiance to the constitution on the seventh but on a different day, it was decided by them. The price of flour has been raised to Rs. 1.12 and the price of a pound of bread to Rs. 1.00—VK. The Belgian government has appointed Mr. Jacques Graeffe as Ambassador to Sri Lanka with residence in New Delhi—IDPR No. 155/78. The Sri Lanka government has appointed Mr. B. S. Cooray as High Commissioner

to Malaysia—IDPR No. 154/78. Aid given to Sri Lanka by the world bank may be doubled shortly. Most junior ministers are interested in getting the posts of Ministers as they can be more powerful than they are at present—DM. 377 people were killed last night when arsonists burned a crowded cinema in the Iranian oil port of Abadan, an apparent act of political sabotage said the President last night. Pakistan military ruler General Zia-ul-Haq will reshuffle his Cabinet next week to include 7 civilian politicians of the Pakistan National Alliance—CDN. Shah of Iran in an interview with Iranian journalists published in Teheran said there was considerable evidence that the leaders on the current unrest in the country were receiving their orders from communists—SU. PM Moraji Desai said that he did not think that the 17 month old Janata Party government was in danger of breaking up despite a continuing leadership crisis—CDM.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22: Rs. 44 million of the vote for capital expenditure allocated in the last budget has not been spent yet by the Ministry of Education; these funds were meant for construction work and for the purchase of equipment and furniture. The President will formally open the Ruhuna Campus at Matara on August 27. A ban has been placed on lime kilns in the East coast as one of a series of stringent measures to prevent further rape of the coral in the area. The Minister of Agriculture will receive a gift of 11,600 metric tons of Urea fertilizer worth Rs. 18 million from West Germany today—CDN. Runners carrying torches of goodwill from the four corners of the country—Dondra, Kochchikade, Pt. Pedro and Batticaloa—will converge on the Sugathadasa Stadium on September 7 to mark the adop-

tion of the new constitution. About 2500 primary schools will be fully equipped to mark the International Year of the Child next year. The Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction has finalised arrangements for the construction of 16,000 houses and flats at a cost of Rs. 458 million before the end of the year. The River Valleys Development Board requires Rs. 19,388,000 more to settle debts to creditors in regard to its expenditure on the Uda Walawe scheme—CDM. The Central Bank Chief said yesterday that the state-owned sector has a responsibility to create wealth but there are too many examples where the net effect has been to draw wealth from the community and not to contribute to it—SU. The leader of the CWC said that with the new constitution coming into effect, all 'stateless citizens' will have a chance of going abroad and returning, which was not possible all these days—VK. 26 bus conductors who were appointed in the Northern Province have been relieved of their posts; this was because it was found that all these appointments were done in an irregular manner—DP. Ousted Home Minister Charan Singh has rejected an offer to become President of India's ruling Janata Party and resolve a long leadership crisis. London's police Commissioner renewed his call for sweeping police powers to help combat the country's rising crime rate—CDN. Floods have killed at least 75 people and affected nearly 834,000 people in the Northern Indian state of Bihar. Chinese and Rumanian officials at the end of a historic visit by China's CP Chairman Hua Kua Feng today signed 10 agreements mostly aimed at boosting trade and economic co-operation—SU. PM Ian Smith told Rhodesians yesterday it would be dangerous to attend peace talks with black

nationalist guerillas if they persisted in their demand to take over responsibility of the country's security—CDM.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23: The government intends dispensing with the import of rice next year said the Minister of Food and Co-operatives; imports of rice were in the region of 530,000 metric tons which were stepped down last year to 262,000 metric tons. 445 worker students of the Worker's Education Institute of the University of Sri Lanka are now sitting the first ever degree qualifying examination. The Police have noted an alarming increase in locally manufactured weapons in various parts of the country—CDN. It is likely that there will be two more ministers in the cabinet when the reshuffle takes place on September 7. A Committee of Secretaries of Ministries appointed by the government to suggest measures to make public corporations viable has recommended the appointment of a Corporation Services Commission. The Minister of Education expects the new University Bill to be passed by the NSA before October 3 when the new university academic year begins. The leader of the CWC speaking at Badulla attacked the policies of the TULF and said that one could not expect a better political atmosphere than the existing one—CDM. The government has handpicked 20 village leaders called 'Change Agents' for training in Sri Lanka and abroad so as to be able to identify resources in their own villages and advise higher state authority on how best the area could be developed; this programme is being funded by the UNDP. The Army was last night ordered to carry out joint operations with the police in the Northern Province to curb the increasing incidents of hold-ups and robberies by isolated gangs of

youths—SU. It is reliably learnt that the CWC will soon join the government—DP. The government has decided to give the contract to build the Maduru Oya project to a South Korean firm which has been accused of bribery—ATH. A training centre for journalists and personnel of the radio, television and film media will be set up in Sri Lanka with UN aid it will be called the 'Sri Lanka Mass Media Centre'—DV. Jomo Kenyatta, father of African nationalism and President of Kenya for the last fourteen years died yesterday. Cambodia said that the Vietnamese government had decided to launch a general mobilisation in several provinces in order to keep the army upto strength—CDN. The death toll in Iran's cinema fire disaster caused by saboteurs in the Port city of Abadan has risen to 430. Chinese leader Hua Kua Feng, on a historic European tour was welcomed by huge crowds yesterday when he arrived in Belgrade from Bucharest for a nine day official visit and talks with President Tito—CDM. The Speaker told the Indian Parliament that there was no evidence that PM Moraji Desai's son Kanti acted illegally in collecting funds for the ruling Janata Party—SU.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24: Only about 350,000 out of an estimated one million unemployed have so far opted to accept the dole of Rs. 50 according to government sources. Security at the KIA came under severe test on Tuesday night when a minister of state is said to have forced his way into the terminal building, the customs area and the departure lounge. Insufficient storage, milling and transport capacities in addition to corruption and sabotage may result in approximately 30% of the estimated 38.7 million bushels of paddy produced during the first six months of this year going waste.

The ring leader of Colombo's underworld extortionist gang was arrested by police yesteeday—CDN. The Ministry of Textile Industries will establish 28 synthetic textile plants at a cost of nearly Rs. 784 million. The Executive Committee of the CWC sits on Sept 5 to consider whether its leader should accept a portfolio in the cabinet. Fifteen million yards of textiles are lying unsold at the co-operative handloom and powerloom centres—CDM. The payment of gratuities to workers in corporations, Boards and private sector will in future be regulated by permanent legislation. The adult

Notice under Section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964.

Ref. No. 2/273-275

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 334 (Part iii) of 07/09/1978.

W. E. L. Fernando

Land Acquiring Officer,
Galle District.

Kachcheri,
Galle.
28th August 1978.

Schedule

Name of Land:
Agatuduwewatta alias Mahagedarawatta

Situation:
Kahaduwa village in the DRO's Division of Bentota Walallawiti Korale (South) in the Galle District.

Plan and Lot No.
Lot No.s 196, 197 and 198 in F.V.P. 608 Supplement No. 3.

literacy rate in Sri Lanka has risen by 17% in 14 years; it was 61% in 1960 and rose to 78% by 1974. The Minister of Agriculture has requested the government to ensure that the kitul trees planted along Galle Road (during the Tree Planting Campaign) in the city are removed—SU. Government sources revealed that when the cabinet is reshuffled after the promulgation of the new constitution Mr. S. Thondaman will be given a ministerial post—The ULF has issued a statement requesting the government to issue 4 lbs of rice per citizen at Rs. 1 a pound—VK. Many TULF supporters including six of their MP's are anxious that the TULF should accept the posts of District Ministers—DP. The Ministry of Plan Implementation has suggested that 20,000 persons should be trained as masons—DM. The price of medicine is expected to increase by 23%—DK. The government is thinking of increasing the price of a gallon of petrol by Rs. 2.50, and a gallon of kerosene by Rs. 1.40—ATH. The PM will launch a scheme to train 6000 masons and 3000 carpenters every year to fill the need of these people—DV. About 20 left wing guerillas invaded the Nicaraguan National Palace yesterday and siezed 50 congressmen as hostages. The Lower House of the Indian Parliament removed from the national constitution a provision which former PM Indira Gandhi used in 1975 to declare a state of emergency and jail her political opponents—CDN. The Carter administration last night took a step to shove up the ailing US dollar more than doubling the amount of gold sold at its monthly public auctions. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was granted bail of Rs. 18,000 and exempted from personal appearances until the court orders her presence. Thousands took to the streets of Australia's cities today in another

round of demonstrating against last week's budget regarded as the toughest in 30 years—CDM.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25: The new government in Sri Lanka had brought about radical changes in its international trading policy which was a change from the era of controls and restrictions which prevailed for nearly 20 years said Sri Lanka's minister of Trade speaking at the ESCAP Conference currently being held in New Delhi. The Minister of Agriculture said that a news item appearing in the CDN regarding the production and storage etc of paddy was a gross distortion of facts. September 8 will be a public holiday to mark the promulgation of the new constitution—CDN. A separate Ministry for Employment is likely under the proposed Cabinet reshuffle expected on Sept 7. Paddy will be sold by public auction by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands to enable millers to get their quotas, to solve storage problems and make space for the expected bumper Maha harvests. It is now certain that the leader of the CWC will accept a portfolio in the government; on Sept 5 he will apprise the Executive Committee of the CWC on the view of the TULF leadership on his taking this step—CDM. A team of officials representing the International Civil Aviation Organisation will arrive in Sri Lanka shortly to examine the possibilities of upgrading the airfield at the Colombo Airport, Katunayake—SU. Five of the twelve guns that were lost from the Magistrate's Court in Chavakachcheir during the disturbances last August have now been discovered after arrests were made in connection with recent bus robberies—DP. The government has decided to increase the rates for paying patients in all government hospitals—EN. The United Working Committee of Trade

Unions decided yesterday on a nation wide strike to protect on the high cost of living—DK. Pakistan's military ruler Zia-ul-haq formed a new civilian government and said he would hold general elections by October next year. PM Menachim Begin's government was weakened yesterday by a three way split in the ranks of its coalition partner the Democratic Move for Change—CDN. The Nicaraguan government closed all airports and sealed off the border with Costa Rica as it weighed demands by left wing guerillas holding hundreds of hostages in the National Palace—CDM. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and Mongolian President Tzendenbal accused China of striving for hegemony

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964

Notice Under Section 7(1)

Reference No. LD/C 179

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 334 (Part iii) of 07/09/1978.

G. G. A. Malalagama
District Land Officer

The Kachcheri,
Kandy,
24.8.1978

Schedule

Situation:

Kiriwan Eliya Village, Ambagamuwa Korale Minor Division
Ambagamuwa Korale DRO's
Division, Nuwara Eliya District.

Name of Land:

Kadawalahena Lunuwellemukalana
Plan and Lot Nos.

Lot 590 in Suppl: 8 F.V.P. 114

across the world through building up tension and setting up foreign countries against each other—SU.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 26:

Over 11,000 of the nearly 13,000 appeals received regarding political victimisation during the '70-77 period have been investigated so far by the four committees dealing with them; nearly 9,000 of these 11,000 cases have been referred to the government by these committees for redress. Children of public servants and corporation employees could be recruited to labour grades in government service, boards and corporations outside job bank requirements but they can be made only with the prior approval of the Minister concerned; this concession has been granted by the President. The handloom textile industry in Puttalam which provided employment for a workforce of 15,000 is in imminent danger of closing down. The National Milk Board will soon increase the price paid to suppliers for milk and streamline its collection network in a bid to set up the supply of milk—CDN. The Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways has set a target of providing electricity for 5000 villages in five years. About 900,000 public and corporation officers will take their oath of allegiance to the New Constitution from Sept 7 onwards. Two GCE (Advanced level) examinations will be held next year; one for those who have sat the GCE 'O' level and the other for those who have sat the NCGE and are preparing for the HNCE. Doctors in local government service will also be eligible to import cars for their personal use according to a government decision—CDM. Government has directed that all foreign investors in Sri Lanka's FTZ be provided with a modern system of telecommuni-

cation whereby they could directly dial their respective countries from their factory site in Sri Lanka—SU. The government of Maldives has appointed Mr. M. M. Hussain, permanent Representative of the Republic of Maldives to the UN, as Ambassador of the Maldives to Sri Lanka—IDPR No. 157/78. The head of the Naga Vihara, Kadawattage Nandarama nanke theru testifying before the Sansoni Commission said that Jaffna was already operating like a separate state—VK. The former President William Gopallawa has been appointed as a JP to all districts of the island—DM. The older section of the CP has launched a scheme to throw out the powerful youth leaders as the first step in smashing the factionalism which is undermining the authority of the older leaders—LD. Nicaraguan President Somoza vowing to resist all attempts to oust him from office faced a general strike only hours after meeting left wing guerilla demands for the release of 59 jailed sympathisers and safe passage out of the country—CDN. Unknown air pirates hijacked a TWA plane with 79 passengers and a crew of 11 aboard on a New York to Geneva flight and demanded the release of dictator Adolf Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess, serving a life sentence in West Berlin—SU. Zambia said yesterday South African troops had attacked border town of Sesheke killing 12 civilians and that fighting was still going on—CDM.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 27: 'I ask all of you to join me. Forget politics, forget every other thing and join me to develop this country' said the President at the opening of pilgrims rest in Matara. TV programmes to be introduced in Sri Lanka early next year must conform to certain standards and 'be legal, clean, honest and truthful' according to the draft legislation

to be incorporated under the Broadcasting Corporation Law applicable to TV operators here. The study of the 'link language'—Tamil for the Sinhala student and vice versa— will form the common core of subjects for students from next year—ST. A cabinet sub committee on industries has been appointed by the government to go into the cases of local industries which deserve assistance and could be a boon to the growth of the national economy. The government has approved Rs. 1,050 for expansion of the Sapugaskande oil refinery said the Chairman of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation. The Employment and Manpower division of the Ministry of Plan Implementation has reported an upward trend in private sector job opportunities during the second quarter of this year—SO. Seven judges who will constitute the supreme court and five Juges who will form the Court of Appeal have been appointed. —WK.

LETTER

The Imported Meat Racket

Sir,

Your last page "Confidentially" article in the 19th August issue is a very good illustration of how stupid we can be. Undeniably we have a shortage of meat, fish and fowl. Undeniably too, these are the results of the previous Government's misdeeds. All these facts will not help the consumer to get his proteins within his means. What he is asking is, his food, wholesome—within his daily wage of Rs. 7/-. He is not interested in Australian beef at Rs. 9/- a pound with or without bones; curry lamb at Rs. 10/- a pound, broiler chicken at Rs. 13/25 a pound etc. Here in Canada where the

minimum wage is around \$ 5.00 an hour not for an 8 hour day, a chicken is around \$ 1.00 a pound. This is where we are stupid. Our whole system of pricing is lopsided and we seem to think only of the few who can shop at Elephant House. And for that few we are spending hard to get foreign exchange to import "large orders" of frozen meat from Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Americas.

According to your report one company alone has placed an order for 650,000 lbs. of meat. I hope your figure is correct. I cannot imagine any government allowing this import at such prices when we have seven million people who cannot pay fifty cents for two ounces of dry fish of the lowest quality! We do not seem to have been endowed with any kind of imagination. Why should we—a poor country—pay rich farmers to maintain themselves in a rich country? Did we not decry this kind of exploitation during the Colonial times? I agree there is the urgency for food, but not for the class who shop at Elephant House. By all means, let us keep that class happy but our first priority is to keep those who sweat and labour to build up the country.

Let us import the meat, with duty or free of duty. But at the same time take meaningful steps to recuscitate the livestock industry as quickly as possible. How could this be done? In a situation like this the Government should summon a meeting of all livestock breeders to a conference—poultry, cattle, pigs, sheep and goat breeders—I know these are several and they did well during 1965-1970 and find out what their immediate requirements are, feed breeding stock, medicines, equipment and implements. Then organize the import of these require-

ments as quickly as possible. Except for beef all the other varieties of meat can be produced in the country within two years. Instead of importing 650,000 lbs. of meat, with that foreign exchange let us import 6,500 tons of feed and we will have all the chickens etc. at a price our people can buy.

This is where I say we lack imagination. Let the government have a direct dialogue with the producers regularly and place on them the onus of producing all the meat we need. Let the government and the producers communicate regularly till the goods are delivered. We seem to take the time of least resistance. "Ask some one to import the meat ready for the table and the headache is over."

If our attitudes are like this, we can never build up our country. Let us think of the hard way. It will build up an industry; it will provide employment; and most of all we have found a permanent solution to our problem.

What we should do now is to get all the breeders together and have a direct talk with them to find out at first hand the problems of the industry. For this, official circulars etc. will not do. Let the Hon. Minister and his officials dealing with subject have a direct talk with the producers and together find a solution. This kind of direct approach is urgent in the present context. I hope some official will act on this suggestion.

R. Kahawita

Lafayette,
Indiana, USA.
25.8.78



The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964

Notice Under Section 7(1)

Reference No. LD/F 425

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka, No. 334 (Part iii) of 07.09.1978.

R. B. Bulumula

Assistant Government Agent
Kandy District.

The Kachcheri,
Kandy.

25th August 1978

Schedule

Situation:

Kalotuwawa village, Welagama village, Godatale village, in Pallepalata Korale, Minor Division, Tumpane, D.R.O's Division, Kandy District.

Name of Land:

Habeebland Estate alias
Hathbawa Estate

Plan and Lot Nos.

Lots 256, 257, 258 & 259 in Suppl:
2 F.V.P. 176
Lots 744, 746, & 747 in Suppl:
1-F.V.P. 21
Lots 415 in Suppl: 4 F.V.P. 177

Situation:

Uda Inguruwatte Ereemiane villages in Gantawa Kerale Minor Division, Waudaweli Hathpatu D.R.O's Division, Kurunegala District.

Name of Land:

Habeebland Estate alias
Hathbawa estate

Plan and Lot Nos.

Lot 273 in Suppl: 4 F.V.P. 1528
Lot 329 in Suppl: 2 F.V.P. 1529

Confidentially

Freight Mystery

IS IT NOT A FACT that there is much speculation in knowledgeable political and commercial circles about the cases that have been filed in the Colombo Courts regarding disputes in regard to the freight charges for Food Department cargo? That it is not known how many such cases have been filed (and interim injunctions obtained) but particulars of two cases have been reported in the *Sun*? That in the issue of August 10, the *Sun* reported under the heading **COURT ISSUES INJUNCTION AGAINST SHIPPING FIRM** that: "The Colombo District Court has issued an injunction against a shipping firm, Timpuship Ltd., of Monrovia, Liberia and its local agents Abeysinghe & Co., Shipping Ltd., restraining them from receiving a sum of money from the Food Commissioner's Department as freight charges for a consignment of flour shipped for the Department. This is a sequel to another shipping firm, Kylemore Bay Shipping Co. Ltd., of Monrovia, Liberia claiming that they had chartered one of their shipping vessels to Timpuship Ltd., and that this company had failed to pay them the due hiring charges. The shipping vessel in question, SITIA SUN, carrying 11,250 metric tons of wheat flour obtained under the PL 480 agreement from America. ...According to the injunction application of Kylemore Ltd., the vessel 'SITIA SUN' had been chartered by the plaintiff company to Timpuship Ltd., and in February this year, Mr. P. M. Hassan, Food Commissioner had entered into an agreement in New York on behalf of the Sri Lanka Government

with Timpuship Ltd., to ship a consignment of flour amounting to 11,250 metric tons to Sri Lanka. According to the terms of this agreement, the Food Commissioner was to pay Timpuship about 500,000 US dollars as freight charges. Meanwhile under the contract between the plaintiff company and Timpuship, Timpuship had to pay charter hire and other amounts totalling US dollars 208,359.63 (Rs. 3,125,394.45)." That on August 21, 1978, the *Sun* under the heading **JUDGE ISSUES INTERIM INJUNCTION** reported: "The Acting District Judge of Colombo, Mr. A. W. Gunaratne, has issued an interim injunction restraining Roton Vander Shipping Ltd, agents of Uni Ocean Lines, from receiving any payment as freight charges from the Food Commissioner's Department in respect of a consignment of wheat flour shipped to Colombo by Uni Ocean Lines. The order by the Judge came on an application filed in Court by Messrs Deline Maritime Inc. of Monrovia, Liberia who have claimed that their vessel 'LEFTHERO' was chartered to Uni Ocean Lines and that this company had failed to pay the charter fees. The sum claimed in US dollars is 63,368.28 or Rs. 950,425.20. The chartered vessel LEFTHERO had been used by Uni Ocean Lines to ship 20,500 metric tons of wheat flour under the PL 480 agreement to Sri Lanka. The Food Department had entered into a contract for the shipment of this flour with Uni Ocean Lines. The Uni Ocean Lines (Pte.) Ltd., is a company in Singapore. The Judge, while restraining the local agents of Uni Ocean Lines from receiving the payment from the Food Commissioner's Department as freight charges for shipping the consignment of wheat flour, made no order in respect of Uni Ocean Lines—the first respondent. The Food Commissioner, Mr. P. M.

Food Commissioner Must Explain

Hassan was made a party to this action for purposes of notice?" That, from all this, a number of intriguing questions have arisen? That firstly, it has caused concern in VIP circles that the Food Department should be involved in this type of dispute? That the newspaper report does not disclose the amount that Uni Ocean Lines Ltd., charged the Food Commissioner's Dept., but it had contracted with Deline Maritime Inc. to carry the shipment of 20,500 tons for US \$ 63,358.25 whereas in the previous case the vessel was hired by Timpuship from Kylemore to carry 11,250 tons for US \$ 208,359.00 but charged the Food Commissioner about \$ 500,000? That without more particulars it is hard to make any inferences or draw any conclusions? That if the press reports are correct, an investigation is called for? That it must be ascertained why the Food Commissioner's Dept. contracted with firms which had no vessels to carry PL 480 consignments? That it is also necessary to find out why the Food Commissioner's Dept., agreed to pay Timpuship Ltd., US \$ 500,000 when the actual charges were no more than US \$ 208,000? That Tribune investigators (hard pressed for time to probe other more urgent matters) now have one more matter to check—i.e., the freight contracts of the Food Commissioner's Dept? That an explanation is called for in regard to the big gap between the contract rates charged to the Food Department and what the carrier paid the owner of the vessel? That unless satisfactory explanations are forthcoming it will be necessary to find out how and among whom the difference between \$ 500,000 and \$ 208,000 was split?

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NUWARA ELIYA.

NEW RAJESWARY BAWAN

74, 78, Main Street,
MATALE.

S. P. SELLAMUTHU PILLAI

25, Ambegamuwa Road,
GAMPOLA.

S. V. THANGARAJ

24, Regal Building,
NUWARA ELIYA.

SIVARAJAH & CO.

4, Welimada Road,
BANDARAWELA.

MALLIKARACHCHY & CO.

40, Main Street,
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CENTRAL MEDICAL STORES

74, Main Street,
HATTON.

NEW SARASWATHY STORES

73, Colombo Road,
PERADENIYA.

CROWNS

27, South Lane,
BADULLA.

GAMINI RECORD BAR & BOOK SHOP

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SEVAKA LAKSHMAN RANASINGHE

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