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by

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# Letter From The Editor

OUR COVER PICTURE this week is a rare showpiece pic. It is not often that a photographer has the luck to catch a pair of cheetahs in such a happy frame of mind. We have used the picture to symbolise the atmosphere of induced euphoria which has overtaken this country in the last two weeks with all the tamashas connected with the inauguration of the new Constitution. We have had spectacular parades, displays, marathons, cultural shows, mass swearing-in ceremonies, speeches, special numbers, supplements, lavish advertisements—everything that propaganda and the media can produce to overwhelm people with a feeling that all their troubles would be over with the inauguration of what must undoubtedly be called the Jayewardene Constitution to usher in the Jayewardene Era. The new era, for good or for bad, was inaugurated with a fanfare unequalled before in the contemporary history of the island. And this has been done with such aplomb that a sense of complacent well-being has begun to pervade the country. Even the vociferous noise-makers on the Marxist fringe and the raucous shouters of communal slogans have been subdued into relative silence. The thirty percent vote-getters of the 1977 elections have not carried their objections to the New Constitution and New Era even to the point of hoisting black flags in their strongholds, although they were not averse to joining a one-day protest general strike on September 7 if the ICTUO was able to organise one to condemn "increased prices" and "inroads into freedom". The ULF which has damned the new Constitution as a bourgeois-fascist device, held a protest demonstration at the Old Town Hall in Colombo on September 7, but it did not seem to cause any headaches to the government. The JVP welcomed the Constitution as an advance of the 1972 Constitution and has sworn to fight the SLFP and ULF with relentless fury whilst proclaiming that it will not take to arms again. Significantly, the leadership of the TULF made a fervent appeal to its "militant youth" and other pro-Eelam hot-heads not to trigger any protest demonstrations that might result in untoward repercussions. In sharp contrast to the sterile and negative policies of the TULF, the CWC, (until recently an integral part of the now disintegrated TULF) has adopted positive and forward-looking policies consistent with the best interests of the Indian Tamil community. Very correctly the CWC opted to join the Government when Mr. Thondaman was invited to join the Cabinet. The Jayewardene Era has thus been enthroned not only in rare tranquility but also in the belief that the foundations for national unity are being laid, though in stages. But this does not mean that the millennium has begun. On the contrary, there are many difficult problems, which if not solved quickly, will erupt into a national conflagration within a very short time. At this time of jubilation and pious hopes and happy resolutions it would be inappropriate to detail the dangers that lurk in the background, foreground and the underground of Sri Lanka's current politics. Prices are steadily creeping up every day, and UNP punditry has attempted to explain that high prices and inflation are inevitable in growth and that this could be satisfactorily met with higher wages. At the moment, many families are only able to make both ends meet on earnings from the Middle East, Africa, UK, USA, Canada and other countries. But a larger number of people are being slowly but surely thrust into respectable pauperdom. In the ultimate analysis, only increased production can help to narrow the gap between prices and wages and also contain runaway inflation. But there are no signs as yet of a substantial increase in productivity or production in spite of fervent appeals by the President, Prime Minister and other Ministers. The writing on the wall on this matter is not encouraging.

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Jayawardene  
Era

ON THE ASTROLOGICALLY VERY AUSPICIOUS DAY of September 7, and at a very auspicious time determined by astrologers, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene took his oaths as President under the new Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. The Constitution had been promulgated at midnight of September 6 by special Presidential decree.

After being sworn in, the President made a short speech in which he drew attention to the basic essentials in the new Constitution. His speech was as follows: "You have solemnly declared and affirmed or sworn that you will uphold and defend the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. I am addressing you as the first elected President under this same Constitution. During the recent debate the genesis of the ideas now enshrined in the Constitution were mentioned and Honourable Members and the Public are now fully aware of them. I wish to mention one or two matters which enlarge the democratic freedoms the people possess and thereby distinguish this Constitution from the Constitutions than preceded it. When we departed from a monarchical form of government which prevailed in our country unbroken for 2,516 years from King Vijaya to Queen Elizabeth II, and adopted a Republican form of government in May 1972, we enshrined for the first time in the Constitution, the

Sovereignty of the people. In this Constitution we extend that Sovereignty to include the process of government, fundamental rights and the franchise. The Constitution goes further and ensures that the term of office of the President and the duration of Parliament, as the case may be, cannot be increased beyond six years unless approved by the People at a Referendum. The possibility of a long and continuous period of government under the provisions of the Public Security Ordinance by emergency regulations has been done away with. Parliament must now debate and vote on every resolution by which the Ordinance is invoked. After 3 months it must be passed by a two-thirds majority.

"The Judiciary is established, its independence protected and Judges appointed under the Constitution and not left to laws passed by Parliament. The freedom of the individual is enshrined and protected in a charter of liberties. Fundamental rights have been made justiciable. The citizen is not merely protected against possible legislative discrimination, but is even provided remedies against an imminent infringement of his rights by executive or administrative action. Certain Bills are submitted for approval to the People by Referendum and their verdict is also sought on any question which the President thinks is of national importance. Provision is made for the establishment of the office of Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration (Ombudsman) to investigate and report on the infringement of fundamental rights and other injustices. Parliament's rights are further safeguarded. The advice and suggestions of Members of Parliament both Government and Opposition are sought through Consultative Committees. Appoint-

ments to high offices are investigated by similar committees. Parliament maintains its traditional rights of censuring the government and of voting on the annual and supplementary finance bills and resolutions.

"This Constitution also departs from the previous ones in that the people vote not for an individual but for the political parties that seek their support. Members are elected according to the proportion of the votes cast for the parties thereby ensuring fairer representation in the legislature strictly according to the votes cast for the parties. This Constitution ensures that every citizen, whether he belongs to a majority or minority, racial, religious or caste group enjoys equal and basic human rights and opportunities. Executive Power is vested in a President elected every six years by the whole nation. He is responsible to Parliament for the due execution and performance of his powers. The Cabinet of Ministers of which the President is the Head is collectively responsible and answerable to Parliament.

"Honourable Members, I have attempted briefly to outline some of the basic features of the Constitution which comes into force today. It has elevated the People to the highest possible place in the governing of their country by permitting them by Referendum to participate directly in deciding some of the laws that govern them. No dictator-motivated individual or group of individuals can govern for more than six years without the People's permission granted at a Referendum.

"This Constitution takes its place among those of the developed nations of the free World, nay more, we set an example others may choose to follow. We have retained



the fundamental democratic features of our political past. At the same time, we have introduced certain unique democratic innovations which ensure the Sovereignty of our people and the continuance of stable constitutional government."

"As far as is possible in a Constitution the democratic freedoms I mentioned earlier and the Rule of law have been enshrined and protected from erosion. All these however have to be implemented by these persons elected and selected to work this Constitution, the President, the Members of the Legislature, including the Speaker, the Prime Minister, the Ministers and the Members of Parliament, the Judiciary and so many others, such as State Officers. As one who first conceived the ideas contained in this Constitution and steered the Constitution Bill until it was presented to this House, I have pledged before you that I will to the best of my ability uphold and defend it. I will also perform my duties and functions as President not only in accordance with this constitution, nay more I will endeavour to expand and broaden the freedom it creates until my countrymen are assured that the ever-widening freedoms they enjoy where the mind is free and can express itself without fear can never again be taken away from them."

After a simple ceremony to inaugurate the new Constitution, in the Parliament, twenty four Cabinet Ministers took their oaths at the Janadipathi Mandiraya. Mr. Vincent Perera, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, who was away in Italy for the installation of the new Pope, was not present and took his oaths on his return on September 8

Mr. S. Thondaman and Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe were sworn in

as Cabinet Ministers. Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis who had been re-elected Speaker for the inauguration is likely to be sworn in as a Cabinet Minister (Information, Broadcasting and Tourism) on September 14 (some had suggested earlier item it may be on September 21). A boxed item elsewhere in this issue sets out the new Cabinet and the allocation of departments under different Ministers

An analysis of the re-shuffle of departments and portfolios show that the two most affected are the former Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, and that of Power, Irrigation and Highways. Power and Highways have gone to a new Minister D. B. Wijetunge (formerly in charge of Information and Broadcasting) whilst Gamini Dissanayake, in addition to his Irrigation has been given Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development. It cannot be said that Gamini Dissanayake has "lost" much in re-shuffle. In fact, the new arrangement makes him supreme in Land Development but the separation of Power from Irrigation can be problematic because the bulk of the electricity generated in the island is from hydro-power which is intimately tied up with Irrigation Projects.

The Minister who has suffered most is undoubtedly Mr. E. L. Senanayake. He is now described as the Minister of Agricultural Development and Research. He now has only the Department of Agriculture, the farms it runs, the research units under it, and the Survey and Forest Departments, etc. He has lost Land and Land Development. He has among other things lost Livestock, the Milk Board and Oils & Fats Corporation which have gone to Mr. Thondaman as Minister of Rural Industrial Development (who has also been allotted the Tobacco Corporation, In-

dustrial Development Board, etc.) The Paddy Marketing Board has been taken over from Mr. Senanayake by the President. Mrs. Wimala Kannangara who had been sworn in July 1977 as Minister of Tourism, Shipping and Aviation, lost Aviation to the President about eight months ago. Now Shipping has gone to Lalith Athulathmudali to strengthen his Ministry of Trade. Mrs. Kannangara is now Minister of Rural Development (a department which over the years has gravitated between Local Government and Home Affairs). Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe has been placed in charge of Youth Affairs and Employment, and Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis will have a senior rank as a Minister of State (and be in charge, among other matters as yet unspecified, of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism).

In the new configuration of inner governmental power, one year after the UNP came to power, seven months after the presidential system was introduced and immediately after the inauguration of the new Constitution, it will be seen that the changes in the Cabinet will strengthen the hands of the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis will be a tower of strength to the President in the Cabinet and the Parliament. And the two other new Ministers will also be strong JR adherents.

No senior minister or leader of the UNP is today in a position to challenge the undisputed supremacy of J. R. Jayewardene, but if any Minister or a group of Parliamentarians become unrealistic enough as to challenge him, he will find that JR has not only strengthened his position in the Cabinet (in the appointing of new Cabinet Ministers and the allocations of functions) but has constitutional powers to deal effec-



tively with dissidents and defectors inside and outside Parliament.

For the foreseeable future one cannot expect any serious challenge to the President in Parliament even by the most powerful of Ministers or even a combination of them. Such powers are the natural prerogatives and imperatives of a leader who has won the confidence of the majority of the people through the ballot box, but such powers in the way they are set out in our new Constitution cannot lead to a dictatorship. This view was also expressed by Professor A. J. Wilson, a Sri Lankan, (a Jaffna Tamil and a son-in-law of the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam), now Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of New Brunswick, Canada, in a speech recently at the Rotary Club of Colombo when he spoke on "The (New) 1978 Constitution." Under the heading NEW SYSTEM SEEKS TO COMBINE BEST OF US, BRITISH AND FRENCH STRUCTURES, the Ceylon Daily News of September 8 reported as follows: "Our new Constitutional system seeks to combine the best of the American, British and French governmental structures whilst avoiding their defects. We retain Parliamentary government. We provide for an executive President who is not totally isolated from the legislature as his French and American counterparts are. Our system provides for a convenient division of labour between the Chief Executive and his Parliamentary Representatives—what might be called a Presidential cum Parliamentary type of executive" power. Professor Wilson said that the Presidency was the pivot of the whole system set up under the new Constitution. "What we have failed to take note of in our own country is that since the great hartal of August 1953 we have

been a nation in dangerous equilibrium, in a permanent state of crisis. And we have been utilising peace time, nineteenth century, government devices and structures to contain a crisis that has already split over. The Presidential system that is envisaged under our new Constitution, seeks to provide a remedy for our crisis-laden society in a number of ways," he said. He said the President would be a national leader elected by an absolute majority of the electors voting. This would create a situation in which the President could no longer act in a sectarian fashion. He would therefore be in a better position to mobilise national, not sectional support, for national development. Professor Wilson said that since the President would not sit in the legislature he would be released from the burdens of managing a Parliamentary majority. There were manifold blessings from this manifold release, he said. The President would be free to devote his time and effort to organise development, co-ordinate policies, interfere in areas of activity that needed attention and gear the administration for the urgent task of speeding development. He scoffed at the fears about the Presidential system deteriorating into a Bonapartist-type of non-responsible rule. Apart from pointing out the various safeguards inbuilt in the Constitution, the long years of political experience of the voters ruled out that possibility, he said.

The President and the Government did well to make "dedication to work" and the dignity of labour the theme of all the activities on September 7 when the new Constitution was inaugurated. It was purposely made a working day to emphasise the need for hard work and to spread the message in even work places, schools, hospitals government departments etc. Gov-

ernment spokesmen urged citizens to engage in productive work, and the type of work done would depend on the place and area. In schools, teachers and pupils would clean and improve both the schools and the neighbourhood. In hospitals, doctors were expected to paint wards and improve conditions. In the rural areas agricultural work was scheduled besides cleaning of channels, desilting tanks etc. "What was important was that the day should be day of work. While the Education Department and Department of Rural Development had drawn up special programmes the government expected all departments and all government employees to set an example to others in observing Thursday as a day of work. Even in ancillary activities the emphasis was on youth, physical activity and sports."

All this is no doubt good but it is yet to be seen whether working people at all levels would take up the cry for more work and deny themselves the excessive number of holidays they now enjoy.

But there is another aspect to this "dedication to work" theme. It is one more step in the process of depoliticalisation that the Jayawardene government initiated when it came to power. In 1972, the new Constitution was inaugurated with political rallies, meetings and tamashas. The United Front government had tried to strengthen itself by mobilising its supporters on a political level and by seeking to weaken its opponents through political intimidation and worse.

The Jayawardene government has sought to de-politicalise Sri Lanka by downgrading political polemics and shifting the emphasis to cultural tamashas, religious revivalism, sports and last but not least, work. How far the Jayawardene regime will succeed in de-politicalising what is undoubtedly



a highly politicised population is yet to be seen. On September 7, the only political demonstrations had come from the ULF and the TULF. Leaders of the ULF in addition to issuing vigorous statements condemning the new Constitution as a bourgeois device to perpetuate the power of the rich, had held a protest meeting at the old Town Hall. Everything had gone smoothly. But at another place, another ULF group had attempted to break the current law by leading a procession. The police naturally broke it up without any difficulty because the crowd that had mustered to protest was a little more than 500. Numbers do not matter when principles are at issue, but the ULF protest meeting and demonstration were only damp squibs that did not attract any attention.

The official TULF leadership organised a negative-type protest by asking school children and others to boycott the functions in the same way TULF MPs boycotted the ceremonies in Parliament. In the Jaffna peninsula the TULF had some degree of support, but elsewhere the TULF call remained a dead letter. In the face of the CWC defection from the TULF, and the unexpected quitting from the TULF of the Tamil Congress, the TULF has come back to Square One as the Federal Party. Apologists for the TULF say that the TC led by young Kumar Ponnampalam (GG Jnr.) is a rump that represents no Tamils except a discredited few, but this is far from the truth. Kumar Ponnampalam has timed his moves well to sack the two MPs Sivasithamparams (Nallur and Vavuniya) and others from the TC and to pass a unanimous resolution in the old Working Committee at a time when disillusionment against the Jekyll and Hyde policies of the TULF have reached serious proportions.

The unofficial (militant) TULF leadership was overtly successful in compelling the official leadership (especially the Parliamentary group) to adopt negative postures whilst indulging in feeble and anaemic Eelam rhetoric. Covertly, TULF militants were able to burn a new bus in the Jaffna area and attempt to throw handbombs in Batticaloa, but all to no purpose. Whether these violent tactics will intimidate the increasing number of Tamils who now disagree with the TULF into silence is doubtful. At the time of writing it is not known whether the blowing up of the Air Ceylon (AVRO) plane at Ratmalana shortly after it had brought a scheduled load of passengers from Jaffna early on September 7 morning was a Tiger job. But coming as it did one and half hours before the President took his oaths and inaugurated the New Constitution it cast a gloom over the proceedings that day.

Leader of the Opposition, TULF chief Amirthalingam was out of the island on September 7, but he could not resist the temptation to indulge in pro-Eelam rhetoric and boast about the struggle for a separate state in a BBC interview. What he hoped to achieve by such unrealistic declarations is not known. In Sri Lanka this interview will tend to re-open many wounds that were healing, though it may sound comforting to expatriate Tamil groups in the UK who build Eelam castles in the air without any discomfort to themselves or exposing themselves to any danger of violent repercussions.

Except for this TULF interlude, the new Constitution and the Jayewardene Era got off to a good start. The fact that the CWC has joined the government with Thondaman being assigned an important Ministry is a great accession of strength to the UNP and the Jayewardene Government. The

CWC will bring great trade union strength to the Government in the plantation sector, and this will certainly help the government's efforts to increase production.

Apart from this, the TULF has lost its most important partner. To obtain CWC support, the President had offered the Indian Tamils 'concessions' which rectify many discriminations the community has suffered for a long time.

To the credit of the CWC it must be said that its leader Thondaman has with realistic and pragmatic logic seized opportunities that Jayewardene's re-appraisal of policies had offered and made it possible for his community to exercise rights they have long been denied.

The CWC has this time not missed the bus in the way the the TULF (FP) has done once again.

## POLITICS OF THE WEEK

BY NARADA

Rohana's J. V. P.

Not much attention has been paid to the JVP or Rohana Wijeweera in recent months. Nor has the JVP made much of a noise about the new Constitution. Its Sinhala paper appears frequently, and its English periodical *Red Power* infrequently. Five or six issues of the English paper have appeared but they carry little of interest on current events. Every issue of *Red Power* has so far only contained lengthy marxist declamations and homilies on a highly emotional and rhetorical plane—but little or nothing in the way of analysis of current realities.

More can, however, be learnt of current JVP politics from occasional reports in the daily news

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papers than from JVP publications. When Rohana Wijeweera went abroad at the end of June much was made of the fact that he was going to Russia and Cuba, though he seems to have spent more time in certain countries in Western Europe.

The Weekend (Dowasu-Sun group) of July 2, 1978 had a front page piece, Ranil Wickremasinghe reporting from Berlin under the heading "COME TO OUR PARLOUR: MOSCOW INVITES ROHANA" which read:

"Sri Lanka has been threatened with expulsion from the Non-Aligned movement should the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) ever come into power. But on the other hand we have the assurance of immediate recognition from both Russia and Cuba," said JVP leader, Mr. Rohana Wijeweera, in an address to students and members of the German press at a conference at the Dauerwaldwege students hostel here. 'Moscow who earlier expelled me from their University and who then helped the Sirimavo Bandaranaike regime to suppress us with the supply of MIGs and arms, have now recognised the JVP rather than the tottering Communist Party as a growing power. They have invited me to Moscow and even suggested that I have my heart operation there,' said Mr. Wijeweera 'I have accepted this offer, and I will travel to Moscow before I emplane for Cuba', he added. He was to be joined on the second phase of the tour by two other key members of the group.

"Looking very much the same as he did, when he walked out of imprisonment, on an amnesty granted by the government, Mr. Wijeweera also claimed to have met representatives of nearly all the International Liberation groups, while on his tour of France, Italy

and Spain. 'These groups' he stated, 'have identified themselves alongside us and have assured us of their support.' But this he stressed did not mean that the JVP were preparing for another confrontation. On the contrary he added, he was firm in the belief that 'one could not import a revolution' and he was convinced that they would come to power in the usual democratic fashion. 'We have learnt from our faults and we will not resort to violence unless we are forced to it,' he stated. This he emphasised was what had happened in 1971, when they were compelled to arm themselves and go on the offensive after the police and armed forces had begun to arrest thousands of their members. Although over 10,000 had been killed and a further 26,000 imprisoned, the movement, he said, could not be wiped out. The massive rail strike, which culminated in splitting up the United Front, and the strike at Peradeniya University had been engineered by the JVP, he added and bore testimony to the power of a movement whose heads were languished in prison. 'The students and the younger generation, he claimed, 'are firmly behind us and it was their outcries, and the fact that several loyal supporters of the United National Party were imprisoned under the CJC Act that compelled the government to release all of us,' he said.

"In the seven months since their releases, the party he said had made massive strides, having held meetings which even the police had admitted were the largest held in certain areas. The JVP in the space of 17 days had organised a May Day rally which even the Sun, a capitalist paper which was against the movement, had admitted was the largest held on that day. The JVP, which had embarked on a Rs.

100,000 fund raising campaign, had ended up with double the amount. And with the aid of their members based in London they were hoping to put up a three storey building, and put out a daily newspaper. 'We have also formed cadres in the North and the East', he said and were now able to function in 22 districts. Strongly critical of the political and economic policies of the last 30 years, Mr. Wijeweera promised a radical change immediately he came into power. There will be no more begging he asserted and there would be no repayment of loans taken from the World Bank or the IMF.

"An absurd situation has arisen he pointed out, as Sri Lanka which needed to borrow money merely in order to pay off their earlier loans were now allowing persons leaving the country sums up to 500 sterling merely because this was a condition stipulated by the IMF. While pointing out that countries were wary of investing in the Free Trade Zone, Mr. Wijeweera was firm on the point that like Cuba, the JVP would nationalise all multinational corporations without paying a cent in compensation. As in socialist countries like Soviet Russia and Cuba he also proposed to solve the unemployment problem and assured all males above the age of 18 a job or a pay till such time as they were employed.

"While promising a democratic form of Government, Mr. Wijeweera however added that he would do away with Police and the armed services which were being used only to suppress the people. The Police and the Army he said would be replaced by a People's Army with every adult being compelled to do two years' service. The Air Force and the Navy were to be maintained with persons being trained on rotation basis. Sri Lankans he stated would



also be free to fight as volunteers for any group waging war for liberation."

After this there was total silence about his doings abroad.

He returned to the island in the last week of August. His return was blacked out in the daily press except for a photograph in the *Sun*. (Why there was a blackout in the other papers is still a mystery, but there are suspicions that someone in the Establishment had tipped the official and government-controlled media to play Wijeweera down!) Anyway, Wijeweera's return had an interesting sequel so far as the Gunasena group of newspapers were concerned. The Weekend of August 27, 1978 had a front page box entitled SUPER SLEUTHS IN A SUPER SPOOF: THOUGHT JOURNALISTS WERE "GUERRILLAS" which read: "Security at Colombo Airport in Katunayake is par excellence it seems. Last week the Police detectives nearly "caught" the Editor of *Sun* and Weekend and a sub-editor who they presumed were indulging in subversive activities. It happened like this. The Editor with his colleague was at the airport to greet a colleague who was returning to Sri Lanka after four years. The flight was from London to Colombo via Moscow. In Moscow Rohana Wijeweera, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) leader had boarded the same plane and was in fact the first to get down at Katunayake. He cleared Customs in double quick time declaring a plethora of documents and pamphlets for which, apparently no Customs duty was necessary. The Editor while waiting for his brother spotted Rohana and sensed a good story. So he greeted Rohana and asked 'How—what is new?' There were no others to meet Rohana and he asked a few questions himself. A two-minute tete-

a-tete followed. There were of course these awful similarities between the Editor and Rohana other than both being hauled before the CJC once upon a time. They sport beards: revolutionary ones. In the meantime, the *Sun* photographer at the airport took a picture but of Rohana only. He, in fact did pose, and *Sun* readers on Thursday, 25/8/78, got an exclusive pix.

"But little did the quartet realise that the prying eyes of our super sleuths were watching them. This was known only after photographer Hubert Fernando came to our office the next day with the rest of the story. The detectives had made a midnight call at his house wanting 'more details'. They had also told the cameraman not to publish the pictures in the papers. But our man did not oblige. After all, there is supposed to be no press censorship today as in the bad old days. Subsequent investigations by our own Police reporters revealed that the James Bonds had developed an instant suspicion of the two 'guerrilla-looking guys' who approached Rohana W. So they made an urgent call to Hq in Colombo at the very moment and they were ordered to continue their surveillance. Although they were able to establish the identity they still wanted to pursue the connection by burning midnight oil. That is probably why they made that midnight call on our cameraman.

"A sixty-four-thousand-rupee question is, why do these super sleuths create such a faux pas by acting in a naive manner. Rohana W. was released from life imprisonment by President J. R. Jayewardene and was allowed to travel abroad without any questions being asked. But when a journalist meets him the sleuths are perturbed. Either they are com-

pletely daft or they want to harass the press. The Police are a smart lot, we admit. But then there are the clumsy ones too."

Sri Lanka's Political Intelligence still seem to be chasing shadows if we are to judge by what happened to the AVRO at Rasmalana on September 7 and on the rail tracks on that date. This is a matter that must be examined separately. Intelligent anticipation is something our cops do not seem to possess.

But before Rohana returned, the JVP had held a Rally on August 15, 1978 at Hyde Park. The *Sun* of 17.8.78 reported the meeting under the heading JVP SEES NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN JR AND SIRIMA.

"The General Secretary of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, Mr. Upatissa Gamanayake said on Tuesday that he saw no difference at all between the Government of President J. R. Jayewardene and the last government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. The only difference we could make out is that JR is a male and Sirima is female,' Mr. Gamanayake quipped at a public rally at Hyde Park. The JVP leader pointed out that the people had been deprived of their rice ration, sugar was taken off the ration and bus fares were increased. What were their election pledges, he asked, 'to bring down the cost of living or to raise it?' Mr. Gamanayake recalled that when the last government increased the bus fares, the present President and the Prime Minister went in bullock carts to Parliament. But today we will have to walk, he told the gathering. He also referred to the powers of the President. Mr. Gamanayake promised that when the JVP came to power, it would protect every



right of the people and see that all had equal freedom in this country!"

On Thursday, August 31, 1978, a week after his return, Rohana Wijeweera held a press conference. The Sun of September 2, 1978 (Anton de Silva reporting) under the heading JVP PLEDGES TO KEEP SLFP OUT OF POWER: WE WILL NEVER TAKE UP ARMS AGAIN—WIJEWEERA, stated: "The revolutionary leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) Rohana Wijeweera, has pledged that while his party peacefully campaigned to come to power at the next general election, it would also ensure that Sri Lanka Freedom Party did not come back to power. Stressing this point to newsmen at a Press briefing on Thursday evening, Wijeweera said that his party had backed the United Front in the May 1970 elections, where it gained a comfortable two-third majority. But within a year after coming to power the SLFP, LSSP and CP who rode to power on the shoulders of the JVP youth, realised the growing strength of this leftist youth movement and wanted to wipe it out of the face of this earth he said. The JVP was proscribed, thousands of its members were put in jail and many more were killed, he pointed out. Referring to the last elections, Wijeweera said that the SLFP by its draconian acts had destroyed itself. Because the people were tired of the SLFP's misdoings it was reduced to eight seats. The voters also realised that there were no true leftists and completely wiped out the LSSP and the CP, he said. Wijeweera claimed that the true leftists, at the time of the last polls, were behind bars and therefore the UNP swept the board.

Looking back on the political scene since independence in 1947, the bespectacled, bearded JVP leader said that the UNP and the SLFP had alternately ruled this country. The next elections would not bring the SLFP back to power, but instead the true leftists would change the political history of this country by gaining power, he said. The UNP's main threat would be the JVP, he declared, and to achieve this end, his party had already launched its campaign.

"Referring to the north and the east, Wijeweera pointed out that

the TULF had so far not had its match. He assured that every seat in these two areas would be challenged by the JVP at the next polls. This month alone they were billed to hold five meetings in the north and east. He was of the view that the Tamils should be given equal rights in Sri Lanka, but there was no question about an Eelam. Should the JVP come to power, there would be no official language but only national status for all languages, Wijeweera said. Asked whether they would, if necessary again resort to an armed struggle, Wijeweera assured

## NEW CABINET

- \* President J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Defence and Plan Implementation
- \* Mr. R. Premadasa, Prime Minister and Minister of Housing, Construction and Local Government.
- \* Major Montague Jayawickreme, Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs
- \* Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardene, Minister of Plantation Industries
- \* Mr. Asoka Karunaratne, Minister of Social Services
- \* Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, Minister of Cultural Affairs
- \* Mr. M. H. Mohamed, Minister of Transport
- \* Mr. E. L. Senanayake, Minister of Agricultural Development and Research
- \* Mrs. Wimala Kannangara, Minister of Rural Development
- \* Capt. C. P. J. Seneviratne, Minister of Labour
- \* Mr. Gamini Jayasuriya, Minister of Health
- \* Mr. Shelton Jayasinghe, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications
- \* Mr. Wijepala Mendis, Minister of Textile Industries
- \* Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, Minister of Foreign Affairs
- \* Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, Minister of Justice
- \* Mr. S. B. Herath, Minister of Food and Co-operatives
- \* Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs
- \* Mr. D. B. Wijetunge, Minister of Power and Highways
- \* Mr. Ronnie de Mel, Minister of Finance and Planning
- \* Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development
- \* Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of Trade and Shipping
- \* Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne, Minister of Education and Higher Education.
- \* Mr. Festus Perera, Minister of Fisheries
- \* Mr. S. Thondaman, Minister of Rural Industrial Development
- \* Mr. Rajil Wickremasinghe, Minister of Youth Affairs and Employment.



that never again would they do that.

"Even if the present government wanted to suppress the movement through the khaki gentry and weapons, they would not take to arms he pledged. Wijeweera also told newsmen that the other leftists were now beginning to realise the potential of the party's following and many Marxists groups had tried to join them. This included a breakaway group of the LSSP led by another young radical. In conclusion, the JVP leader said his party had no bindings either with Moscow, Peking or Havana, and that it was quite independent with its ideology based on the precepts of Marx and Lenin."

The Sun on the same day (2/7/78) had a box item WIJEWEEERA TO TESTIFY BEFORE COMMISSION: "The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna leadership has announced that its members will give evidence before the Special Presidential Commission now holding public inquiries in Colombo on the alleged misdeeds and maladministration by the previous Government. JVP frontliners Lionel Bopage and Vas Gunawardene who were associated with Rohana Wijeweera at a JVP press briefing last Thursday, said that they were now compiling statistics on how many of their party members lost their lives during the 1971 incidents. They said the figures were being compiled on a district basis. The JVP leaders claimed that although the official Government figures put the death toll at 1,200, the JVP have already counted 9,500 persons who lost their lives during that period".

The Ceylon Daily News report (on 2.9.78) of the same conference was under the heading BARBARIC

ACTS OF SIRIMA GOVT. WILL BE EXPOSED—WIJEWEEERA and read: "On March 16 (1971) during the 1971 April insurrection the Sirima Bandaranaike Government issued a special order allowing the Police and the Armed Services to dispose of the dead bodies of youths without holding any post-mortem examinations on them. This and other acts of torture committed by the Sirima Regime would be revealed before the Presidential Commission by the JVP shortly. So said the leader of the JVP Mr. Rohana Wijeweera, at a Press Conference held at Bloemendhal Road, Colombo on Thursday. The JVP had written to the Presidential Commission for permission to appear before it and all the barbaric acts of the Sirima Bandaranaike government be revealed in detail then. Mr. Wijeweera said he was also aware that Mr. Ian Wikramanayake was out to destroy him during the time of the insurrection. Then, they were not even allowed to hold a Press Conference. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike on his part wanted to keep JVP youth jailed for life. The irony was today Mr. Felix Dias and his men were in trouble and they in the JVP had been set free. Mr. Wijeweera said the Republican Constitution drafted by the United Front Government was merely a heap of socialist jargon. In this context the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka drawn up by the present Government was somewhat better. Referring to President J. R. Jayewardene's recent remark that the Government should muster all its forces to crush any attempt to disrupt national development activities, Mr. Wijeweera said he too agreed with the President on that issue. He said the policies of the JVP were not copied from any country but based on pure Marx-

ist-Leninism. The JVP had a planned economic policy of its own. Mr. Wijeweera said the JVP would soon launch a trade union for workers named the Socialist Labour Union.

"If the JVP comes to power it will raise all three languages, Sinhala, English and Tamil to the status of national languages. It would never give into the call for Eelam because division of our country would only help to aggravate our problems. He said the JVP would never come to terms with either the SLFP, CP or the LSSP and it would never have anything to do with people like Mr. Mahinda Wijesekera. He said people like Vasudeva Nanayakkara who spread rumours against the JVP saying it would kill all persons above 40 years of age were now clamouring to join hands with the JVP, and he wished to know what their actual aim was. Mr. Wijeweera also said the JVP proposed to contest all seats at the next general election. Mr. Lionel Bopage and Mr. Vas Tillekaratne also spoke".

Rohana Wijeweera has consistently attacked the LSSP and CP. This is understandable because these parties have been totally opposed to the JVP from its very inception. But Rohana has now turned his guns even on Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara who had been suspected of JVP leanings and had been detained and who has also sought to bring the JVP into a United Left Front. Wijeweera now has no use for his old comrades Wijesekera, Dharmasekera and other ex-JVPers who have splintered from Rohana's JVP.

It will be an interesting exercise to enquire what some of the leftist critics of Rohana (and his JVP) have to say of them.

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## THE WORLD TODAY

### SOUTH ASIA

#### ● India ● Pakistan

#### INDIA: Ready To Drop China Border Claim

Prime Minister Morarji R. Desai of India indicated in an interview broadcast today that his Government was prepared to accept China's seizure of 14,000 square miles of disputed territory between 1957 and 1962 and to acknowledge the present boundary formally at some point in the future. He said that India's condition for according formal recognition to the present frontier would be restoration of friendly relations between the two countries, which fought a frontier war in 1962. Questioned on NBC-TV's "Meet The Press" program, Mr. Desai said of the boundary dispute: "All depends on China. But we are determined not to go to war on that issue. We don't want to take back the area which we say they have taken from us by force. We don't take by war. We have sufficient patience to see what friendships, if they mean it, is restored so that this question is favourably solved." When questioned further as to whether this could be interpreted to mean formal recognition of the present boundary if friendly relations were restored, he replied: "I think that when the question is solved then that will happen and I think they are also willing to discuss the question now." State Department specialist on India remarked that Mr. Desai's comment appeared to break new ground in the border dispute. However, others familiar with the history of the border dispute and with India's long-troubled rela-

tions with China said that the Peking Government had been more active recently in attempting to improve relations than the Indians. Mr. Desai, who became Prime Minister last year, has been pursuing a policy he describes as "genuine nonalignment", which he defined on the television program as being "friends with all and enemy to none." He has sought to improve relations with the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Bangladesh and, in contrast to the inclinations of his predecessor, Indira Gandhi, has moved a bit closer to the United States and a bit farther away from the Soviet Union. This has made a good impression on the Chinese, who are hostile to Moscow, specialists in Indian affairs noted. However, they pointed out that the process of rapprochement with China was initiated by Mrs. Gandhi two years ago. China announced last June that Indian ships could call at Chinese ports for the first time in 14 years and last March a high-level Chinese diplomatic delegation spent a week in New Delhi discussing outstanding issues between the two countries. That delegation was led by Wang Pin Ping-man, who was a Deputy Foreign Minister in the 1960s and is now a special envoy. The last reported clash on the 1,500 mile border between the two countries took place in October 1975, when four Indian soldiers were killed by a Chinese patrol.

David Binder in *New York Times*  
June 12, 1978

On his return to India, Mr. Desai denied that he had said that India was willing to concede the disputed territory occupied by China between 1957 and 1962. This is not the only denial from Mr. Desai about what he said in the USA during his June visit—Ed.

#### INDIA: Like Sons?

Has India produced a second Sanjay Gandhi in the person of the present prime minister's son, Mr. Kantibhai ("Kanti") Desai? This question, raised by Mr. Morarji Desai's arch-rival within the ruling party, the ex-home minister, Charan Singh, has created the latest in a series of Janata party storms. Mr. Singh, who reached the semblance of a truce with Mr. Desai last month, has refused to withdraw his demand for an official inquiry into Kanti's business affairs. The Opposition parties, led by Mrs. Gandhi's Congress, have leapt into the act and are demanding that the letters about Kanti between Mr. Singh and Mr. Desai be made public and an inquiry held.... The Prime minister has always staunchly defended his son against allegations which have accumulated over the past 20 years. Kanti Desai started life in Alir India, earning just 84 rupees (then less than £4) a month, but soon switched to business and rapidly (some say too rapidly) became very rich. One of his lines was selling insurance; he got so much business from certain industrialists that tongues began to wag. He also became a highly paid consultant for Desai, a company specialising in pipeline laying, although he had no real qualification for the job, and continued to get what he called terminal benefits from the company even after he decided in 1964 to sever his business connections in the interest of his father's political future. His detractors have nicknamed him Sanjay Desai, and recalled that selling insurance was also a line adopted by Mrs. Gandhi's daughter-in-law Sonia. In spite of the lack of any firm evidence against him, he has become an embarrassment to the ruling party. Safeguarding Kanti's reputation is not a cause which pleases anybody but the Prime Minister, and the mud-slinging is



not only tarnishing him but weakening the loyalty of his supporters in the party.

Some Janata leaders feel it would be wise for Kanti to retire discreetly to Bombay but so far the Prime Minister has insisted on keeping his son in Delhi to look after his personal affairs. Peacemakers in the party arranged a second meeting between Morarji and Charan Singh last week, but with little result. Charan Singh refused to withdraw his demand for an inquiry into the charges against Kanti, and Morarji made no commitments on taking Charan Singh and his followers back into the cabinet. Some of Charan Singh's supporters have again called for the holding of a mass rally in his support which would split the party in two. But Charan Singh is restraining these enthusiasts, because the balance of power in the party has swung away from Morarji, thanks to the Kanti affair. Still, factional bitterness remains so great that the parliamentary party's election of its leaders has had to be postponed for nine months lest it should make matters worse. The party's other internal elections, postponed from May to October, are likely to be delayed still further. The result is that a party returned on a platform of democracy now finds itself unable to get its own house democratically in order.

—*The Economist*, London, 5/8/79

### INDIA: The Mizoram Story

In commencing on the insurgency in Mizoram, it would be both premature and over-optimistic to say that it is all over bar the shouting. It is yet too early to predict how the hard core of the insurgents, large numbers of whom still lurk in the undergrowth beyond the Government's writ, will react to the new developments. It was 12 years ago that the Mizo movement suddenly

erupted into large-scale violence. By March 1966, the main Assam Rifles posts at Lunglei and Champhai had been overrun and the hostiles had gained virtual control of the Mizo Hills region. It was at this stage that the Indian army began to be inducted, its first task being to reopen the road from Silchar to Aijal and to keep it clear of hostiles. Political strategy required the grouping of villages to deny the hostiles a base for supplies and information. This step, coupled with a period of intensified operations, had the desired effect. Although by then the Mizo National Front had begun to send underground groups to China for training and re-arming, and to operate from sanctuaries in East Pakistan, by early 1968 hostile activity had considerably decreased; and the Government promptly declared an amnesty in August 1968. The liberation of Bangladesh added to the discomfiture of MNF leaders; and Laldenga (self-styled President) moved out to the Arakans in Burma. In December 1972 the Government of Mizoram announced its decision to lift the curfew and the restrictions on movement of the civil population. Some of the "grouped" villages dispersed, but others remained in their regrouped locations, reluctant to give up all the benefits of the infrastructure—roads, schools, dispensaries—that the government process had provided.

The Mizo National Front then embarked on a socio-political phase to broaden its mass base, subvert the loyalty of government employees and, in effect, to establish a parallel government. By 1975 these measures had again begun to generate a sense of insecurity among the people. It was at this stage that the infamous incident of the murder of three senior police officers took place, consequent upon which military operations were intensified, forcing many of the hostiles to cross over

the border. Military measures succeeded in dispersing the undergrounds' forces, many of whom escaped to Bangladesh but many others sued for peace. Accordingly, the operations were suspended in November 1975. Talks were held between MNF representatives and New Delhi and in July 1976 a peace agreement was announced. While the agreement was welcomed in Mizoram, Mr. Laldenga proved intransigent and again launched a clandestine phase of "parallel government" activities. The result was that instead of surrender of arms, underground hostiles began to be reorganised and activated. It was then that a judicious combination of military force and political negotiations was enforced. The army played its part well—minimum force leading to political settlement. After the formation of the Janata Party Government in Delhi, Brigadier Sailo (President of the PCP) persuaded Laldenga to resume peace parleys with the Government. However, the latter's opposition to the holding of elections and his subsequent demand that he be asked to form an interim government in Mizoram led to bitter feuding between MNF leaders. Blackhengo, self-styled Chief of Staff, "deposed" Laldenga, while the more radical Blakvelu (self-styled adjutant general who had taken a party to China) was all for carrying on the insurgency with, as he hoped, help from China.

Maj-Gen. D. K. Palit in *The Overseas Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 13.07.78.

### INDIA: Burmese Insurgents On Border

The reported presence of Burmese insurgents in the border areas of Manipur has been causing concern to the authorities in the context of Naga rebels regrouping on the Nagaland-Burma border. The reports so far received said the Naga



rebels were still getting sufficient arms and ammunition from foreign sources and that they had also been able to procure a number of new recruits to swell their ranks. According to reliable reports, the "general headquarters" of these underground Nagas at Sahpao in northern Burma are humming with increased activities which have received fillip from large-scale recruitment of the Burmese Nagas to their rebel army. Reports emanating from across the border, say that the Chinese authorities were helping the underground Naga movement and that the Burmese insurgents from Arakan Hills numbering about 150, were some days ago spotted at a place opposite east district of Manipur, bordering Burma. This area has often been a rendezvous of the rebel elements from Nagaland, Mizoram and Burma. It was from this area again that "Col" Biakvela, once the righthand man of the Mizo National Front leader, Mr. Laldenga, slipped away with his men during the emergency though security forces were guarding the border. How he escaped with all his men still remains a "mystery". Of late he fell out with Mr. Laldenga. He was arrested by the Burmese security forces and was handed over to India on Sunday at Moreh, a border town of Manipur.

Northern Burma is infected with Kachin and Karen rebels. For years Naga rebels have been known to have had close liason with the Kachin independence army (KIA) whose leaders have always been given military training in Yunnan and huge quantities of arms by China. Kachin rebels also obtained numerous assorted US arms captured in Vietnam or sold in Thailand. A few years ago there was a plan hatched by the joint command of KIA, the Karen National Defence Organisation, the rebels from India and other insurgent elements on the Burmese soil with the objective of promoting and bringing to fruition secessionist

ambitions of all these rebel forces. Karens, Kachins and Shans fighting for the secession have under them thousands of men in arms. Burmese government forces are, as is well known, currently engaged in a bitter fighting with units of Burmese Communist Party which is being actively supported by China, a facet that adds ominous dimensions to the Communist movement in Burma. With the Burmese troops pushing "Rohinga" Muslims into Bangladesh, the Rohinga Muslim independence revolutionary force, it is apprehended, may also step up its activities and bring within its fold elements who are spoiling for confrontation with respective government forces. One of the insurgents captured last year in Manipur was a Burmese Muslim. The Naga and Mizo problems are still there and do not seem to be nearing solution.

*The Times of India, Bombay 6/7/78*

### PAKISTAN: To Bridge The Gap

The Pakistan military regime's quest for a 'national government' launched four months ago came to a halt last week when the Chief Martial Law Administrator General Muhammed Zia ul-Haq announced on 5 July a 22-member Federal Cabinet consisting of 'politicians and experts'. Gen. Zia ul-Haq said his basic aim in associating politicians was to bridge the gap between the Government and the people. The new cabinet's task would be to run the country's administration until the holding of the polls—which are promised to be held as soon as possible—and, meanwhile, to help establish Islamic rule, improve national economy, promote national solidarity and enhance the country's prestige externally. Among the political parties it is the Muslim League alone which has come into the cabinet and given about nine ministries. As regards others, the Istiqlal Party was not

willing to join from the very beginning. The Jamiatul Ulame-e-Pakistan which has since quit the PNA (Pakistan National Alliance)—was neither willing nor invited seriously. The inclusion of the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) group led by 'Chairman Niazi' had become contentious. The PNA was willing but seemed unsure. It said it was ready to assist in the holding of the polls and to help remove the developing chasm between the administration and the people provided such a cabinet was invested with effective authority (for instance to expedite the cleansing of public life and to call for the polls) and that it did not include elements with tainted image. In theory there was nothing exceptionable in these conditions but the problem seemed to be lack of sufficient trust between the regime and the Alliance. In the regime's view the Alliance had not shown much helpfulness. The PNA, on its part, had not been quite sure whether, given the existing structure it could really help. However by 'seducing' one of the PNA components, the Muslim League, to join the cabinet, but keeping the doors open for others, the regime appears to have put the Alliance 'hardliners' in a difficult position. Nevertheless as the PNA remains committed to support the broad objectives of the regime—Islam, cleansing of public life and elections—there is no threat of any immediate crisis, but the politics of Alliance itself seems in for change. A parallel development in this context is the decision by the Istiqlal Party to act as an 'opposition' party, whatever it may mean. With the choices so limited, inevitably, the new cabinet is a team of mixed ability....

—Impact International London,  
Vol. 8 : 13.



## PAKISTAN: On Trial?

THE anti-Pakistan malice of the Western media has done its worst to turn the trial of Mr. Bhutto into a trial of Pakistan. It has shown no regard for fairplay in reporting and comment and while it openly impugned the integrity of the Punjab High Court, it made no effort to hide its bias against the Supreme Court....But however prejudiced the Western attitude may be, there can be no gainsaying the fact that occasions for its blatant display are invariably provided by us.... Take the current situation, for instance. The PNA successfully conducted a protest campaign against the rigging of elections. But it did not produce the expected positive results which would have ensured national integrity as well as strengthened the forces of democracy in the country....The CMLA was keen that public opinion should be associated with the administration and the PNA leaders were therefore approached and talks were held with a view to forming what might be called a national or civilian government. The term "national" was a misnomer in that context because it could apply only to such representatives as "had received a prior mandate through elections and who could between themselves bring in the various political parties". The only alternative, therefore, was a civilian government. The PNA leaders reacted to the idea favourably. They appeared willing and ready to participate in the formation of a civilian government. And it was only in the fitness of things to make that gesture because the motivation which inspired their movement against the PFP regime called for the strengthening of General Zia ul-Haq's hand in order to enable him to meet the dangers which loomed over the country's horizon. There was foreign pressure to be withstood and there was internal

sabotage to be curbed. The PNA and the military regime had a common cause to defend, yet the matter did not process smoothly and the CMLA felt obliged to give up the effort....

The PNA's internal crisis was equally the result of an unrealistic mode of politics. The Muslim League has no doubt been inspired by a correct patriotic sense in joining the Government. National emergency called for cooperation and an all-out collective effort. But the move has been vitiated by the dissensions and confusion it has felt in its wake which threaten to erode a united front brought about for a worthy cause. Now, this need not have happened if the PNA had not changed its original constitution and incorporated the majority rule in place of the unanimity principle.... On the contrary, if the old unanimity principle had remained operative, the front could have held together even in the face of differences because no one would have deliberately provoked disintegration by ignoring the viewpoint of any part and there would have always been a compulsion to evolve an acceptable formula for common observance. While the JUP had vehemently opposed the majority rule, the Muslim League had enthusiastically endorsed it. And yet, ironically, while the former went out of the PNA on principle for rejecting the majority rule, the latter defied its decision on government entity despite having accepted that rule... The episode is all the more regrettable because except for the NDP which opposes participation in the Government without repudiating support to the Martial Law regime, there is no essential difference between the Muslim League and the rest of the parties in the PNA. But if the Muslim League has been obliged to revolt against the dictates of the majority rule, others may also follow suit.

The Jamaat-i-Islami has already indicated as much. There may however, be some who may balk at the idea for fear of losing face....Had it (Muslim League) put the concept of Muslim nationhood, on the basis of which Pakistan came into existence, in an iron framework of constitution at the very beginning, no room would have been left for regionalism which ruptured the bonds with East Pakistan and threatens the remnant country. As a consequence, nationhood has become our most acute problem. Foreigners are inclined to speculate about the future of Pakistan primarily because they think we are not bound in times of nationhood to hold us together. There is, therefore, the utmost need to hark back to the genesis of our emergence.

Z. A. Zulen in *Pakistan Times*  
15.07.78.

## PAKISTAN: Voluminous Indictment Of Bhutto Use Of Funds

The Pakistan Government today released a 405-page White Paper along with 1044 pages of supporting appendices to expose a whole range of alleged manipulation of government resources by Mr. Bhutto, the former Prime Minister, in securing his landslide victory in the general election of March last year. Mr. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party won all but 37 of the 200 National Assembly seats in that poll. The White Paper claims that three days before the National Assembly polls a joint assessment by the Intelligence Bureau and the Inter-services Intelligence Directorate gave the People's Party a maximum of 122 seats. However, some other documents said to have been recovered from the former Prime Minister's Secretariat, estimated the erstwhile ruling party could not win more than 95 seats, and thus be



unable to even maintain its majority in the House. The White Paper, which is said to have been prepared by a four-member committee headed by Brigadier Mir Abdul Nayeem, set up last November, is based on evidence obtained from 900 witnesses. It asserts that the Prime Minister's Secretariat, run by government officials paid out of public funds, was truly involved in planning for perpetuation of Mr. Bhutto's rule through election management. It sought to prove that Mr. Bhutto's government had decided to keep the Election Commission under check as early as November, 1974, and Secret Service funds of the government were liberally diverted to election purposes of the People's Party. The entire administrative machinery was utilized at all levels to ensure the success of the party, the White Paper claims....

Abusing official facilities and in violation of election rules, the White Paper says, Mr. Bhutto and his senior party colleagues used for electioneering not only government transport and other facilities but also Air Force aircraft and Army helicopters. Mr. Bhutto's so-called image-makers and publicity plans for his party on the eve of the election, according to the White Paper, drew heavily on government funds. For the party and Mr. Bhutto's publicity, the Pakistan National Centre, the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, Pakistan Television and the Associate Press of Pakistan were given additional government funds totalling 90m rupees (£47m). While no evidence was available either foreign funds or foreign support being available to the opposition during elections, as alleged by Mr. Bhutto in his post-election speeches, the White Paper says the inquiry committee discovered large funds through known and unknown sources by Mr. Bhutto's party and a diversion of massive

Government allocations from secret and other official funds for election purposes. In one month the party fund at one bank swelled from less than 900,000 rupees to 5.5m rupees. But most of this, the White Paper says, remained intact during elections. One prominent banker is alleged to have secured funds for Mr. Bhutto's election campaign from foreign sources amounting to 20m to 30m rupees, including a generous donation from a foreign head of state. In addition about 20m rupees are said to have been diverted to the party campaign from secret government funds....

Hasan Akbar in *The Times*, London, 15.07.78.

### PAKISTAN: PNA-Government Undertaking

The Secretary-General of the Pakistan National Alliance, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed, has announced that agreement has been reached with the Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, on all basic matters pertaining to the participation of the PNA in Government....The (proposed) new Government would be powerful and purposeful, having three basic objectives: first, holding elections as soon as feasible; second, solving the people's problems through mass contact; and, third, establishing the Islamic system in the country. From the point of view of wider national interests, this understanding is most welcome....The three basic objectives of this understanding are also of an extra-ordinary importance. With the announcement of the dates of elections, the state of "confrontation" between the PNA and the Government on this issue would also come to an end....After all, the efforts initiated by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq with the cooperation of political parties, to run the administration have proved successful and fruitful;

and the PNA has demonstrated a positive attitude in this regard.

—Marshriq, Urdu Daily, Karachi, 09.08.78.

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### WHY IMPORT MEAT?

## Government Must Take Meaningful Steps To Rectify Situation

by R. Kahawita

After the disclosures made in the *Tribune* on the import of meat and the prices, the consumer is called upon to pay for the imported meat, the Government should take meaningful steps to correct or rectify the situation. This does not mean that the imports should be stopped. Imports may be necessary to reduce the number of people competing for the locally produced stuff. But at the same time, action should be taken to increase the local supply of meat and eggs. These are the cheapest sources of protein to the common man too—as important as rice to the people. How could this be done within the shortest possible time? We are aware that the Government has set up various Boards to manage the different aspects of animal husbandry. They are good but they are long term plans. Such plans take a long time to bear fruit. We must realise that from the day a bull is put to the cow, it will be another twelve months to harvest the benefit, that too if all goes well according to schedule. By that time our time is out—as one would say "Match is over". What we want now is a very short term plan for immediate action.



The way I think, a Government alone cannot raise pigs, poultry, cattle etc. A government can only pave the way and give all the encouragement, facilities and opportunities for the people to get involved in the industry. This is where the Government can take fruitful steps to get the people, who can do it, involved in it. "Throw the ball to their court". But how? Here is a suggestion.

Livestock breeding, management etc., comes within the portfolio of Minister for Agriculture and Lands. This is one of the most vital subjects in the Ministry. Therefore the initiative must come from the Minister. He should summon a conference of all the people who are commercially involved in breeding and production of livestock. In other words those who are producing these items for the market. Let the Hon. Minister and his officials discuss freely the problems facing the people involved in the industry and let them give the benefit of their views to the Ministry—I am making this approach to the problem in preference to the classical approach of circulars, questionnaires etc., for two reasons. One, I am an old "Government servant" and I know the outcome of such circulars, the other is we have no time to circulate through the various sieves of officialdom. What is needed is direct action now and that is why I have suggested a top level contact with the people. It has authority and responsibility to produce results.

At this first meeting, the representatives attending it should group themselves into working committees, each committee to be composed of individuals interested in (1) Poultry, meat and eggs, (2) Dairy cattle, (3) Meat cattle, (4) Pigs, (5) Sheep and (6) Goats. I am aware that there are no such hard and fast rules to classify the ventures. In some cases, there are, but such classifica-

tions are necessary to evaluate the problems of each group. They are not the same, so each group will have an opportunity to spot-light their respective problems so that, in collaboration with the government officials, solutions to their problems can be found. And, most of all, when the people came to know how the problem is being solved, others too will be drawn into the industry. This is how production can be increased and prices stabilized to the consumer.

The problems of the industry may be lack of quality feed, cost of feed, implements and equipment, land and capital resources, breeding stock, veterinary facilities, marketing and pricing for the producer, transport, trained personnel, lack of definite government policies, implementation of policies at official level, lack of communication between groups, officials, and so on. All such short-comings have worked against progress in the past. And they are the obstructions to be removed by the programme of action suggested.

Each committee will set up its own action group to build up the industry represented by their committee. If it is dairy cattle, then the action group will take the initiative to maintain and improve the activities of their members. Also expand the business of dairying and dairy cattle to other areas and individuals who may be interested in it. This action group will be the link with the committee and between the ministry to ensure that problems are solved as they come up and assist the industry to expand and improve.

Once steps are taken to energize the industry from the bottom i.e., with the people who are making an attempt to make good in the livestock industry and with the necessary government support, more or less directly, we may be able to give

the whole operation of the industry a face lift and place it on a strong footing. Result will be employment, and stoppage of import of somethings the country can produce and produce within the means of the average consumer. Our target is to give a reasonable price to the producer and a fair price to the consumer.

Without group action and making representation to the government collectively, it is very difficult for a government to understand the problem, except through the official channels and often such channels dry up before they begin to flow.

Let the people get together and speak up collectively. For this reason, I am suggesting that the initiative should come from the Ministry to establish that element of rapport between the breeders and the minister to build up the confidence that what is being done are in the interest of the people. With the blessing of the Minister for the first General Conference, a working committee for each group of live stock and an action committee for each group to maintain liaison and action committee for each group to maintain liaison and action with the working committee and the Ministry we will be able to make good progress.

We anticipate several problems in getting the interested parties together, having got them together to group them together and volunteers to work in working and action committees and keep on working without remuneration etc. Many of these will disappear once the results of group action reach the individual and we must start on the project because it is difficult.

I hope this brief note will catch the eye of the administration and some action will be taken as a counter measure to the import of meat, eggs etc.

Montreal,  
25.08.78.



## ACID BOMB EXPLOSION — 14

## Chapter Fourteen

*Revolt?*

By James Goonewardene

For a while Deva stayed around in his room after work. Things had started to move on a more even keel; nothing of any importance happened that could give him cause for worry or a lift to his spirit. It just went on this even keel—all very calm. He would, sometimes, take a stroll along the main highway a couple of miles, the empty beach on one side and the bare coconut plantation on the other. For the rest of the time he stayed in his room trying to catch up on his correspondence and his reading. Once he made one of his rare trips into Colombo—to the libraries and bookshops—and had come back with a pile of books. He had to get through all that.

Life seemed easier. He had got into a routine at school, kept out of the way of his colleagues and returned to the quiet of his room. He had discovered a way of co-existence. He had a feeling, however that he had only established a temporary truce at school and generally. One day, then, he had a letter from his brother. He had written to tell him of some hotel projects he was involved in—he was to be the architect of these hotels, and one of the hotels was to come up where Ariya's resthouse now stood; an old landmark was to go and a modern three star hotel was to come in its place. This was not to come up for some time more, but eventually Ariya's resthouse would have to go. Wherever there was a quiet spot the industrialists would move in and build their hotels—an elusive dream of prosperity with which to obscure the destruction they are

unleashing around them, and progressively there would be fewer and fewer places left where one could go to and live in peace. The island had already become too small for its population—the concrete structures would continue to surround and enclose man like an enormous octopus.

For the moment he kept the secret from Ariya. In any case he was waiting for the opportunity of getting further clarification from his brother. The projects were still in a vaguely planned stage at the moment. In the meanwhile, difficulties of a different nature had come up.

The evening of Gunapala's lesson came round. The lad had recovered from his earlier mood and had thrown himself into his work with zest. Deva felt that his patience had borne fruit. He had been able to rouse the boy's interest, and that was something he felt thankful for; if he could turn the boy into a painter of some consequence it would have been worth his while coming out into these backwoods. He waited for the boy this evening; by four thirty he was usually in for his lesson, but this evening he had begun to get late. Deva unable to turn his attention to anything else started to pace the floor. On a fine, clear evening the last thing he wanted to do was to stay in his room and pace the floor. Gunapala had not missed a lesson so far, not since he came to him and apologised for his rudeness that morning. He was sometime time a few minutes late, that was all: in the end he would keep his appointment.

It was well past five thirty when Gunapala eventually turned up. When Deva opened the door to him he stood in the doorway panting, his hair dishevelled, his face drawn and tense. Deva stared at him a moment, and then silently he turned away and let the lad come in and sit.

He potted around awhile, giving the boy time to recover. He looked for the drawing paper and pencils he had bought for him while he was in the city. Along with them he fetched out a book of Van Gogh sketches he had had in his box. He was going to let Gunapala borrow the book. He brought all these together and turned round, and suddenly he stood still, as if something had struck him and stared at the boy; the expression of weariness that had come over the face of the young man gave him a shock. It was the sort of weariness an adult would have when he had come to the end of his tether; had decided he had enough—it was not just a physical exhaustion, the kind of weariness one would expect from a young man. Gunapala tried to stir himself awake when caught in this mood. Deva turned away quickly.

"Take a look at that book while I try to get some tea going for both of us."

Deva was taken aback at the brusqueness with which Gunapala refused the tea.

"I don't want any tea. I have already had my tea," he said.

"It's all right—another cup of tea will do no harm."

"I don't want any tea," he said, "I have had tea."

Deva paused and turned round to look at Gunapala. He felt an annoyance suddenly rise within him.

"I'll make the tea for myself then," he said as he turned round to fill the kettle with water from a clay goblet lying under the table. He placed it on the lighted kerosene cooker. Next he spooned out the tea leaves into a porcelain jug. He set two cups and measured out two spoonfuls of sugar and milk, but the boy's insolence continued to trouble him. It was not like



anything he had had from him before; he wondered what it was leading to—was this his last lesson,—wasn't he going to come after this?

"You are making two cups of tea—I don't want any tea," cried the boy, his impatience clearly ringing in his voice. He was looking for a quarrel—that became clear enough now, and that was his object, and Deva was not going to give him one.

"You are not going to get any tea. I'll make the two cups of tea for myself, if I want to."

Deva had once turned round to stare at Gunapala who was suddenly breathing hard and struggling with the tension he appeared to be labouring under. Somehow Deva felt he had got the situation under control, and he was glad he was able to keep his annoyance too under control. He decided he'll ignore his impertinence and continue to instruct him.

"You'll find that you can learn from those sketches. Good painters kept such sketch books. They did these sketches, sometimes, as models which they copied into their paintings, and sometimes, they did them just for practise. You'll see—those sketches—they were of the human body—of hands, various types of hands, in various positions—the bodies too, they are bent in various ways while their owners just sat or worked or moved around—it was good practice."

Gunapala started to turn the pages over with a new interest, but the battle in his mind, it was apparent, still continued to take place. It was as if one part of his mind asked him to reject all this and another part of him said he must get a hold of himself. Suddenly he snapped the book shut.

"I cannot work today," he said.

He sat up in his chair and stared at Deva with his intense, insolent eyes.

"Why can't you work today?"

"I am tired. I cannot concentrate"

"Why are you tired?"

Gunapala hesitated.

"I went on a trip with some friends and I returned only this morning."

"A trip—you mean you went on a picnic."

"No!"

"What then?"

The boy gave no answer.

The water came to a boil and Deva turned round and proceeded to make the tea. He made two cups of tea and offered one to Gunapala. He leaned over and held the cup to him. Gunapala merely looked up at Deva and did nothing. He just squinted his eyes at him. There was then what seemed like a long wait and Deva made up his mind that in this tussle of wills he must win.

"Take it," he ordered firmly.

Another long moment went by. Then Gunapala finally gave in and accepted the cup. Deva was relieved that it did not turn into anything more unpleasant than just that wait until the young man became sensible.

"If you feel better after the tea we will proceed to do some work," he said. For a long moment Gunapala did not show a reaction to this insistence on work. He just sat there and stared across the room. Then suddenly he bent forward and replaced the book of Van Gogh sketches on the table. Clearly something had made Gunapala lose interest in his work; there was not going to be any more of it; but what bothered Deva was his responsibility to Piyyaratne. He had got him interested in the boy's work against his better judgement. He felt now that he owed it to Piyyaratne to tell him of this development before he committed himself to anything on the boy's behalf. He must be warned of the dangers. It

was no longer a simple attempt to help a lad who needed help. There was much more to it than was visible to the eye.

"Have you done any work at home as I asked you?"

"Yes, I brought the drawings with me."

He proceeded to unroll them. Deva took them from him and began to examine them. Sometimes he paused a little longer over one than over another. The lad had done everything he had been asked to do. They were studies of the human body, and they were good. There was just this hesitancy of line and drawing, a certain unsureness. The lines were sometimes thick and smudgy but always there was the accuracy of shape and proportion, and this natural gift he had for showing the mood of a face. He still had to learn to do this with swiftness and agility, and that way he must learn to master the fundamentals of his craft consciously which he now knew only by some hidden instinct; but he was trapped in his environment, a stale, empty, unproductive environment.

He handed the sketches back and he looked up at Gunapala. "Do you think you want to go on with your work?" he asked.

"Go on with my work now?"

"Now and afterwards."

"Now I want to go back home."

"What about later?"

"I want to think about it."

"What have you to think about?"

"I am tired now and can't think about anything."

"But can you tell me whether you want to go on with your studies or not?"

"I am tired now and want to go home."

"All right then you can go. Let me know when you have made up your mind."



"Made up my mind?"

"Yes, when you have made up your mind."

The boy said nothing. He rose and stood indecisively in the centre of the room. He was there a long moment, and for a quick, brief moment he looked up at Deva; then he turned and went out of the room.

When Gunapala was gone Deva lit a cigar and lay back on his bed to think. Someone had said somewhere that it was when man's survival was most threatened that his faculties came most alive. Everything was being threatened now but where was the proof that anything was coming alive—things were rather dying and disintegrating.

Night had crept in while he lay there—slowly at first, the greyness deepening within the room and suddenly it was dark and Deva had not noticed it. He continued to lie there motionless—even his thoughts had dried up in his head. He made no attempt to rise and light the lamps. He just lay there in the darkness.

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### SNIPPETS

A man's friendship's are, like his will, invalidated by marriage — but they are also no less invalidated by the marriage of his friends.—

Samuel Butler.

Now hatred is by far the longest pleasure

Men love in haste but they detest at leisure—Lord Byron.

There is no greater sorrow than to recall a time of happiness when in misery.

Alighieri Dante

## SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

# Aug. 28 – Sept. 6

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.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 28:** Addressing a meeting following the ceremonial opening of the campus at Matara yesterday the President said that students are expected to come to the university to learn and not to create trouble; there are always a handful who come to the university to create trouble: the doors are open for that type of student to go away; the government will not tolerate trouble makers in the university. The private sector has provided for 20,000 more jobs so far in response to the request made by the President to increase work forces at least by 10%. The Minister of Finance said that the aim of the government was to recruit the 'cream of talent in the land' into the public services. The government yesterday informed twelve Supreme Court judges out of a total of nineteen now sitting that they have been reappointed as members of the newly constituted Supreme Court and the new Court of Appeal—CDN. The President speaking at the opening of the Ruhunu Campus said that in the next budget steps would be taken to increase the salaries of government servants. About 6,000

students from all educational districts will participate in the celebrations on Sept. 7 when the new constitution is promulgated—CDM. Indian entrepreneurs will soon make prospective inroads into the FTZ and invest in a number of small and medium scale units with maximum utilisation of Lankan manpower—SU. The Parliamentary Committee of the TULF has decided not to attend any of the functions connected with the new constitution; they further decided that Tamils should boycott all these functions, children should keep away from school and that all Tamils should dedicate that day for the 'liberation of the race'—VK. Tobacco growers have decided not to grow more tobacco until the Tobacco Company gives them better prices for their produce—JD. The Petroleum Corporation has signed an agreement with a Norwegian firm for oil exploration—JD. Pope John Paul I told the world today that he would continue the moderate policies of his predecessors. Violence spread from Northern Lebanon to the South last night after a day of fighting North of Beirut in which at least 65 people were killed—CDN. The President of the Iranian Senate Sharif Emami has been charged with forming a new government in Iran following the resignation of Premier Amouzegar—SU.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 29:** First witness Mr. Deheragoda testifying before the Presidential Commission on Inquiry said that he was threatened over the phone by Mr. Kobbe-kaduwa. The question of the relationship of the TULF and the CWC when it came for discussion at the meeting of the TULF Working Committee was strongly disputed; the diehard youths insisted that the TULF should sever all connections with the CWC. The wholesale prices of food and consumer goods have shown a marked decline in May this



year as compared to the prices fetched in April—CDN. The CWE, the PMB and other institutions that supply goods to the co-operative department should come under the purview of the Food Ministry according to a recommendation by the Cabinet sub-committee—CDM. Traders big and small, who violate the provisions of the Consumer Protection Law will forfeit all their properties both moveable and immovable; this will be one of the penal provisions that will be incorporated in the Consumer Protection Law. The Central Bank of Ceylon will issue a new Rs. 100 note—SU. Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam speaking at a meeting said that though the TULF had decided to boycott the constitution day functions, they had secret talks with the government asking for 5 ministerial posts, but they were told they could have only three—DP. On a recommendation made by a Regional Conference on Co-operation held in Indonesia recently the International Co-operative Alliance will set up a Co-operative Teacher Training Institute in Sri Lanka shortly—IDPR No. 55. Arrangements have been made to conduct a massive shramadana campaign with about 10,000 volunteers in the Borella electorate on Friday Sept. 8 under the auspices of the Minister of Transport—IDPR No. 52. The United Working Committee of Trade Unions will meet on Sept 17 to discuss the steps that have to be taken to make the island wide strike on Sept 28 a success—ATH. A large number of files pertaining to bribery charges which were handed over to the Bribery Commission for investigation have disappeared and the CID is investigating—DV. Nicaragua's business leaders met yesterday to discuss whether to support a national strike aimed at ousting President Somoza—CDM. Chinese leader Hua Kua-feng holds final talks today at the end of his

historic two week trip to Europe which Moscow has assailed as a move to split the Communist movement. The inauguration of the new Pope and the funeral for his predecessor will cost the Roman catholic church about 8 billion lire (9½ million dollars). India's ruling Janta Party government suffered a set back today when it hastily withdrew an anti-defection bill tabled in Parliament because of protests from party members.—SU.

### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30.

A consortium of private sector construction and consultancy firms organised by the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce has been invited by the Mahaweli Development Board to undertake a large volume of work in connection with the Mahaweli project. The private fish trade has been told that the cold room storage of the government will no longer be available to freeze fish as it is required to stock imported meats and poultry. Lack of co-operation between government departments and other public institutions is the principle cause of wastage in the public sector and it was hampering the progress of the nation said the PM speaking at Hambantota. Sri Lanka's biggest prison at Welikada will soon be converted in its entirety into a remand jail. A team of Japanese consultants are due soon to streamline the Colombo Port—CDN. According to a study it has been found that foreign engineering consultants are being paid Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 80,000 a month and in one case Rs. 150,000; they are paid in foreign exchange out of the project aid given to Sri Lanka; government is now considering the possibility of getting local engineers with the same or better qualifications—CDM. There is speculation regarding the political stand of the first MP. for Batticaloa Mr. S. Rajadurai. The Teachers

Unions in the island are preparing for a one day token strike to protest against victimisation, the high cost of living and repressive laws—VK. The Minister of Trade who has returned from New Delhi said that the Indian PM had told him personally that their country and government was totally opposed to the TULF's plea for Tamil Eelam—DP. The Australian government has expressed its willingness to join the Sri Lanka Aid Group as a full member—IDPR No. 59. Foreign reserves of the country have increased by Rs. 4744 million in the year which ended in May—DM. Central Bank investigations have shown that many warehouses which could be used for storage after minor repairs are being left to idle while there is an acute shortage of storage facilities—ID. The Nicaraguan government has survived an attempted coup by soldiers and civilians but faced a national strike and outbreak of violence in several towns. Hua Kua Feng arrived today for a three day visit to Iran, the first Chinese CP Chairman to set foot in a non-communist country—CDM. China says that Vietnamese troops have been digging on a piece of territory they occupied on Friday and hinted that action would be taken to expel them—CDM. The body of Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta will go on permanent display in a specially built mausoleum in the centre of Nairobi after his state funeral. Rhodesia's most wanted guerilla was killed in an African township outside Salisbury—SU.

### THURSDAY, AUGUST 31:

The Central Bank of Ceylon has launched a country wide data collecting scheme to work out a realistic cost of living index and also keep the government apprised of supply conditions and transport in rural areas. The Minister of Agriculture has decided to hand



over to the private sector the management of all state farms now running at a loss. The sea around Sri Lanka had unlimited fishery resources and if properly tapped these could greatly contribute to the economic development of the country said the Director, Institute of Marine Research, Bergen, Norway—CDN. The second budget of the present government will be introduced by the Minister of Finance and Planning on November 15. The Minister of Fisheries in consultation with the National Youth Service Council has drawn up a scheme to make fish available to Colombo residents at reasonable prices—CDM. Consumers will soon be able to get bread with 20% rice flour and 80% wheat flour—DP. The deputy Minister of Food said yesterday that the import of chillies and onions will be curbed to protect producers and they will be imported only in times of shortage—EN. The Minister of Fisheries has formulated a plan ensuring the supply of out board fishing vessels to the needy fishermen on a subsidy scheme—IDPR No. 64. The government has decided that in connection with the promulgation of the new constitution there should be a ban of slaughter of cattle throughout the island as well as closure of all liquor bars on 7.9.78—IDPR No. 68. Agricultural officers have been prohibited from going abroad on scholarships because the Minister thinks that officials who went before have not gained any extra knowledge on agricultural methods—DV. An East German couple hijacked a Polish Airliner with about 70 people aboard to West Berlin. Several hundred farmers were shouting slogans against Indian PM Moraji Desai outside Parliament. Israel warned the US and the UN that Syria might try to foil the Camp David Summit by increased

attacks against the Lebanese Christians—SU.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1:** The budgetary position of the country is more satisfactory this year than in the last 15 years and after decades the government will be able to close the financial year on a satisfactory note said the Minister of Finance yesterday. The Minister of Textile Industries said that certain curbs will have to be placed on the import of textiles which affect our handloom industry. Sri Lanka nationals visiting India are eligible for the 30 day landing permit facility provided they travel by air and have not availed themselves of the facility during the preceding six months. The police will enforce a ban on footboard travel from next Monday. It is in the interests of the private sector to make reasonable profits and survive rather than make unconscionable profits and perish said the Minister of Finance. The Special Commissioner of the Colombo Municipality will shortly amend the Municipal by-laws to prosecute householders who dump garbage on public roads. The biggest single project to come up in the FTZ so far is the Rs. 42 million French Glass Manufacturing Firm—CDM. People who commit criminal offences under the influence of liquor will in future face severe punishment. The Transport Minister hopes to solve the problem of vandalism in public transport in the country by installing aluminium seats in buses and trains—SU. Telegraph and telephone rates to India will be raised from September 15—VK. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has promised to make available rice at Rs. 2.90 a measure in all districts within a short time—DP. The Japanese government has entered into an agreement with Sri Lanka to provide a grant of 8 hundred million yen (64.4 million

Rs) for constructing and equipping Phase II of the Teaching Hospital at the University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya Campus. The Minister of Education has decided to change all school syllabuses from Grade 6 upwards next year—LD. The TULF has decided to boycott all celebrations on the 7 and 8—JD. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko issued a thinly disguised warning to the US against embarking on any new military involvement in the Middle East—CDN. President Elias Sarkis pledged a thorough investigation into the deaths of civilians during a Syrian peace keeping operation in Eritrean areas of Northern Lebanon this week—CDM. Britain's Commonwealth and Pakistani population is now close to 2 million according to the latest figures. Indian External Affairs Minister Vajpayee was hit by a stone thrown at him when he attempted to pacify angry students protesting over the murder of two teenagers in New Delhi last weekend—SU.

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 2:** The President addressing all ranks of the Sri Lanka army on his first official visit to the Army Cantonment at Panagoda called upon the armed services to help the people to protect their sovereignty. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has placed on the alert some 10,000 co-operative outlets under his charge against possible manipulation to create artificial shortages in rice in certain areas. The Minister of Finance will set out an aid mission to four countries on September 10 to discuss Sri Lanka's Aid Programme for 1979—CDN. The 'chit' system of admitting patients to the Colombo General Hospital has been abolished. Tea producing and exporting countries which concluded a four day seminar in Colombo recorded their concern over the continuing fall in



world tea prices. Nearly Rs. 200,000 worth of luxury goods brought in commercial quantities by a plane load of Sri Lankans returning after a two day shopping spree in the Maldives were detained by the Customs on Thursday—CDM. The government has decided to establish a multi-million rupee welfare fund for the benefit of more than 1.5 million plantation sector employees. The leader of the JVP, Mr. Rohana Wijeweera has pledged that while his Party peacefully campaigned to come to power at the next general elections it would also ensure that SLFP did not come back to power. TV can be viewed in Sri Lanka from January next year; these broadcasts will be initially restricted to residents in the Colombo district—SU. The JVP leader stated that though they were for district autonomy they were totally opposed to the call for Tamil Eelam; if they came to power they would grant all privileges enjoyed by the Sinhalese language to the Tamil language as well—DP. The leader of the SLFP, Mrs. Bandaranaike has said that her party was ready to unite with the left parties to fight the UNP—DK. Israel PM Begin said last night that he would not agree to the stationing of American or UN troops in Israel as part of a Middle East Peace agreement—CDN. Pope John Paul in his first address to the diplomatic corps said he would try to develop respect for the life and dignity of mankind—CDM. The two major black nationalist parties in Rhodesia's transitional government declared that PM Ian Smith has held a secret meeting in Zambia aimed at putting Patriotic Front guerilla leader Joshua Nkomo in charge of the transition to black rule—SU.

**SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 3:**  
There is widespread interest in

political circles about the Cabinet reshuffle which will take place with the promulgation of the new constitution next Thursday; the Cabinet is also likely to be expanded with three new faces. Special religious, world offering services in every city, town and village of the country will mark the promulgation of the new constitution on September 7. Sri Lanka's tax structure will be completely overhauled from the coming tax year simplifying declaration and collection procedures—SO. Two new Ministers, Mr. S. Thondaman and Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe are expected to be in the enlarged Cabinet of twenty six when the new constitution is promulgated. The Minister of Education and Higher Education has decided to enlist the support of parents of 4900 students who are to be admitted to the university this year to ensure that their children devote their time to studies and extra-mural university activities. Sri Lanka International Airlines—the proposed national carrier—is expected to start flight operations from October 1979. A Fund called 'Dr. G. C. Mendis Memorial Fund' has been inaugurated to assist deserving scholars engaged in research in Sri Lanka history—ST. The Guest Resident Scheme which enables foreigners to settle down in Sri Lanka and which was temporarily suspended since April 1977 has now been given the go-ahead by the government. President has appointed a six member sub committee to monitor the development and management of the plantation industry in the country. The National Association for the Prevention of Crime and Delinquency which was formed recently has begun a drive to set up branch organisations throughout the country—WK. The Minister of Trade said that the government would

under no condition stop the import of meat—CM. A new ministry for Employment opportunities as well as for youth affairs will be set up with the new constitution. The ULF has said that Sept. 7 should be utilised for protesting against the cost of living, democratic rights denied by the UNP government etc—VK. The government has decided to give more powers to GA's and AGA's—SLDP. The Minister of Agriculture has found out that 90% of state owned farms are running at a loss—RR. Leaders of black Africa's influential front-line states flew to Lusaka yesterday for a major meeting apparently aimed at accelerating moves towards an all-Party Rhodesia Peace Conference—ST. Pakistan's Chief Martial Law Administrator Zia Ul-Haq held 'good, profitable and friendly' talks with Indian PM Morarji Desai in Nairobi he said in Rawalpindi—WK. Egyptian PM Mamedounh Saleem will resign after President Sadat's Summit this month with Israel's PM Begin—SO.

**MONDAY SEPTEMBER 4:**  
The Customs have clamped down on the import of commercial quantities of textiles brought into the country by Sri Lankans returning from abroad. Teachers will be appointed to schools on a district basis next year; the Ministry of Education has decided this in the interests of teachers and students. The Rabitat Al Alam Al Islam of Mecca has financed the entire printing cost of the translation of the Holy Quran in Tamil for free distribution, at the request of the Minister of Transport. Transporters of cattle or buffaloes without a valid permit will be prosecuted—CDN. One hundred thousand tons of rice purchased by the Food Department from Pakistan in May this year are still lying in that country as government's efforts to sell



it have not been successful. The once prestigious headmaster's and headmistress' Conference will be revived so that it can make a meaningful contribution towards the growth and development of education. Recognised political parties are finalising their lists of respective candidates and mayoral candidates for the forthcoming elections to the Colombo Municipal Council—CDM. Several members of the CWC are expected to call on their President to sever connections with the TULF when they meet tomorrow. Mr. M. Sivasithamparan, President of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress and the President of the TULF and Mr. T. Sivasithamparan, present Secretary of the ACTC were yesterday unanimously expelled by the ACTC from its working committee. High Court Judges, District Judges and Magistrates will wear a black gown with lapels of different colours to distinguish them while on the bench in terms of the new constitution—SU. The Eastern Province which remains a completely agricultural area, will soon have many industries on the orders of the Minister of Industries—DP. The President has told the members of the Hill country United Youth League to promote the cause of creating citizens of Ceylon of Indian origin into a separate national minority—VK. The USSR Government has appointed Mr. A. S. Pasiutine as Ambassador to Sri Lanka—IDPR No. 166/78. The IGP is taking steps to recruit 1000 persons to the police force every year for the next five years in order to strengthen the force—DV. The leader of the JVP Rohana Wijeweera said that the new constitution was better than the previous one—DK. Kings, Dukes, Presidents and Chiefs joined tens of thousands of pilgrims at St. Peter's Square for a simple but majestic mass to inaugurate the reign of Pope John Paul.

At least 80 persons were killed and hundreds reported missing in severe floods sweeping Northern and Eastern India raising the death toll in recent weeks to nearly 900. Rhodesian PM Ian Smith last night confirmed he had attended a secret meeting in Zambia but strongly denied that he had agreed to hand over power to the Patriotic Front—CDN. Ugandan President Idi Amin angrily attacked the British press for reporting that he was snubbed by Prince Charles at the state funeral of Jomo Kenyatta—CDM. Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kresiky was quoted in Hague as describing Israeli PM Begin as a political grocer and Israel as a political state with a South African style apartheid system for its Arab subjects—SU.

**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5:** 'Dedication to work' will be the theme of the activities on Thursday when the constitution is promulgated; no leave will be granted to employees of any ministry, department, or corporation unless absolutely essential; Sept 8 will be a public holiday. Over 400 undergraduates, most of whom will be freshers from urban schools are being given a unique opportunity to carry out Mahaweli Shramadana for the first time at the Maduru Oya Project this month. All campuses will be elevated to universities under a separate vice chancellor once the new University law comes into force by the end of October this year said the Minister of Education—CDN. The PM and Minister of Local Govt, Housing etc. will increase the maximum limit of the housing loans granted by the department of housing from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000 in view of the high cost of building materials. Admissions to the universities in Sri Lanka from next year will strictly be on a district basis except for

medical and engineering students said the Minister of Education—CDM. Even students who are unable to pass the GCE 'O' level examination will in future get an opportunity of sitting the GCE 'A' level which is also the university entrance qualifying test. The government has given the greenlight for the French-based Bank of Indo-China and Suez and the British Bank of Credit and Commerce to open branches in Sri Lanka. Hulsdorf—the traditional seat of the judiciary in Colombo—is to be restructured with aid from UNDP—SU. Children of plantation workers, both males and females will be given first preference for jobs on the plantations according to a decision by the Ministry of Plantation Industries—DP. The Ministry of Health is thinking of sending the 700 odd doctors now working in the administrative section back to the wards—DM. The Minister of Trade has decided to start a mobile tractor repairing unit to effect repairs to tractors in the fields itself—DV. About 1,50,000 people were feared swept away in West Bengal and standing crops worth Rs. 100 million destroyed. Nicaragua's cities were tense but quiet as a national strike designed to oust President Somoza maintained its grip on the country—CDN. Tanzanian President Nyerere said that nothing was achieved at a second meeting last month between Rhodesian white minority leader Ian Smith and Patriotic Front co-leader Joshua Nkomo—SU.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6:** The Ceylon Cement Corporation will meet the entire requirements of cement for the Mahaweli Project, FTZ and the 100,000 housing program of the government; this assurance was given by the Minister of Industries who said that the corporation had contracted with the Cement Research Institute of



India to expand its production program. The Indian High Commissioner visited some estates in the hill country and spoke to superintendents as well as repatriates and ascertained the various problems confronting them on the question of their leaving the country. The tradition prevailing in Sri Lanka of keeping sensitive state decisions permanently secret is to be changed; a presidential Archives depository will be soon be set up on the lines of the Presidential Archives in America—CDN. The IMF has placed Sri Lanka—for the first time—in the category of countries that are worthy of consideration of Extended Fund Facility; this is a loan facility of further quotas of loans over the standby loans given to countries which have shown positive progress and development. The World Bank will finance the setting up of a 5,000 acre estate in the Moneragala district for growing sugar cane. The Executive Council of the CWC unanimously authorised its President Mr. S. Thondaman to accept the invitation extended to him by the President to join the Cabinet—CDM. There is much speculation of an Opposition member of the SLFP crossing over to join the government benches today—SU. The leader of the CWC is expected to take oaths as a Minister at 10 am today. Mr. S. Thondaman said that though he had joined the government there will be no change in his relationship with the TULF and that he was joining the government to work for the Tamils as well as the good of the people—VK. The Education Minister is taking steps to open 10 schools in Colombo and the suburbs before the end of next year—DM. The Customs have discovered a racket whereby millions of Rs. worth of foreign exchange is being sent out of the island through foreigners—LD. India's worst floods in recent years

have left hundreds feared dead and upto 2 million homeless in W. Bengal and posed a major threat to the national capital 800 miles away. The Nicaraguan government has arrested 60 prominent businessmen and politicians in an attempt to crush a growing national strike aimed at ousting President Somoza. A high ranking police officer was shot dead in Damascus in the latest of a string of assassinations which have sent fear through the minority community wielding power in Syria—CDN. China which hailed Cambodia's successful resistance to Vietnam has pledged its continued support for Phnom Penh—CDM. Guerilla Leader Nkomo said his forces had brought down a Rhodesian airliner with 56 people aboard and declared Smith has got to surrender. Israel radio reported that PM's office has got a threat from a Japanese group to sabotage the Israel-Egypt US Summit and attack an Israeli airport unless a jailed Japanese guerilla was freed. At least seven deaths resulted from clashes between police and demonstrators in various parts of Iran—SU.

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## SRI LANKA ABANDONS

### *Its Unsuccessful Socialism*

Sri Lanka (or Ceylon as it once was called) has put out the welcome mat for foreign investors. Not since the early 1950s has there been anything like it among the less-developed countries (LDCs). A free trade zone has been set up for manufacturers, either 100% wholly owned subsidiaries or with Sri Lankan partners. They will get a five-year tax holiday. Plant sites are allocated for 99 years for an initial downpayment and a nominal

annual rent. Foreign banks are given carte blanche, including offshore facilities. But this is only the foreign face of a sweeping revolution in economic and political philosophy instituted by Sri Lanka's new President, Junius Richard Jayawardene.

Jayawardene has set out to reverse the direction of postwar Sri Lankan policy that turned his country from one of almost limitless possibilities on the eve of independence to a hotbed of social and political conflict. He is up against formidable obstacles. But he came into office less than a year ago with an overwhelming mandate—140 of the 168 seats in Parliament. He has style, 20 years of experience in party politics, and a group of eager and competent young lieutenants.

Slowly, the World Bank and other international lenders have come around to backing his effort to put his people to work. It is going to be one of the most interesting developments in the Third World over the next few years. And, despite Sri Lanka's particular circumstances, it could be an important model for other LDCs. Sri Lanka is one of the lowliest and most richly endowed countries. It seemed to have everything when independence came in 1948. Its principal crops and export earners were tea, copra, and timber, and they appeared to have promising long-term, if volatile, markets. Traditional Asian poverty had been ameliorated with welfare measures during World War II. Subsidized rice assured cheap food. Universal education up to 14 years was already on the statute book. There were virtually free medical services. Fair and open local elections had been held by the British since 1931, providing a basis for a democratic system.

But successive independent governments were imbued with a strange mixture of Fabian Socialism, elitist



claims to power, and racism. The nation also gave birth to the world's only successful Trotskyite party. By 1971, despite a massive left-wing electoral victory, 50,000 young men were imprisoned in a brief but bloody attempt to overthrow the government. A secessionist movement of the Tamil (South Indian) population had grown up in the north-eastern third of the island. And Sri Lanka's economy was a shambles, incapable of handling a doubling of the population by 1976 to 14 million.

The rice ration. Jayawardene's first move was to establish a presidential system, modeled on the U.S. and France. He felt that was necessary to get some unpopular measures past a Parliament that would otherwise knuckle under to pressure and consume time. Although the opposition leaders called this dictatorial, the fact is even they welcomed it for the same reasons. He withdrew the rice ration from families above a certain income level, which means half the country no longer gets subsidized food. For 20 years the very threat to do this had overthrown governments. Not it permits the government to turn 400 million rupees toward economic development. The sugar subsidy was also suspended. Jayawardene has had to concede periodic wage rises in both the public and private sector. And while prices have risen, shortages of essentials have disappeared. He has clamped down on luxury imports, and in some cases, prices for imported necessities have actually fallen.

Jayawardene's policies have finally brought a ground swell of support from international leading agencies and foreign governments, with the possibility of bringing 900,000 virgin acres under cultivation by irrigation and generating more than 2 billion kilowatt hours of electricity. The World Bank is under pressure to

telescope one of the schemes, a 30 year plan, into six years. Expert opinion considers this impossible, but Jayawardene argues that if countries ravaged by World War II could rebuild quickly, Sri Lanka can build quickly too. This kind of messianism has received enormous public support. He has managed to placate the youth so far. In Colombo, for example, uniforms for parking meter attendants (who get 25% of the take) and street signs with the names of city block capitals (garbage men) have given his young constituents pride in their work. But there are 1.5 million unemployed, half the work force. He has promised an even break for the Tamils, who complained of discrimination. He has pardoned the young rebels of 1971, promising them and a million other youths jobs.

Having gambled on foreign support both private and from the development banks—Jayawardene running a race against him. The foreign response will be crucial.

—Business Week  
May 15, 1978.

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#### FOR THE RECORD

### U. L. F.

The following statement has been issued by the United Left Front:

Life under the UNP government has become intolerable for the common man. All the promises that the UNP gave in general elections to make things better for the people have been broken. Only action now can deter the UNP government from further implementing its anti-people policies.

The prices of essential goods have reached an all-time high point—and continue to rise. Devaluation and the abolition of price control have made things even worse. The removal of rice ration books on the orders of the World Bank and the IMF and the increase in the prices of flour, sugar, medicines, exercise books, tinned and powdered milk, dried fish and other items of mass consumption; as well as the increased bus fares, have hit the poor and the middle class hard.

All these things have made a big cut in the real wages and salaries of the employed. At the same time the shops are full of imported luxuries that only the rich can buy.

Now the UNP government plans new attacks on the ordinary man. It has promised the World Bank to remove consumer subsidies altogether within the next two years—and is doing so steadily, step by step. At the same time, it is attacking the democratic rights of the workers and the mass of the people by a number of dictatorial laws and by its new Constitution. It has resorted to mass dismissals, retrenchment and victimisation of employees in government departments, corporations, and co-operatives.

To remain idle in such a situation is fatal. Opposition can no longer be expressed in public meetings and private conversation alone. The United Left Front calls on the people to demonstrate their active protest starting on 7th September 1978 when the new UNP Constitution comes into force. We call on the people to observe 7th September 1978 as a Day of Protest against the UNP government's attacks on the living standards and democratic rights of the people. We invite them to assemble at the Old Town Hall ground Colom-



to from 11.00 am on September 7th to manifest this protest.

Let us unitedly demand that the Government:—

(1) Gives everyone 4 lbs of rice each week at Rs. 1 per lb; (2) Guarantees every one a 'basket of essential commodities' at prices everyone can afford; (3) Provides the 'dole' to all unemployed, without discrimination; (4) Stops its attacks on trade union and democratic rights and withdraws undemocratic laws; and (5) Increases wages and salaries by Rs. 150 a month to compensate for the cut in wages caused by devaluation and inflation.

The ULF appeals to all who want to see prices reduced and democratic rights restored to join us in this protest and in the other protest actions to follow.

Bernard Soysa  
General Secretary, LSSP.

Pieter Keuneman  
General Secretary  
Communist Party  
of Sri Lanka.

1st September, 1978

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## BOOK REVIEW

### Judges And The Law

THE POLITICS OF THE  
JUDICIARY. BY J. A. G.  
GRIFFITHS (LONDON-  
FONTANA, 1978) 224pp.  
£1.25 PAPER.

LAW AND THE RISE OF  
CAPITALISM. BY MICHAEL  
TIGAR AND MADELEINE  
LEVY (NEW YORK AND  
LONDON, MONTHLY RE-  
VIEW PRESS, 1977). 320 PP.  
£9.75.

In 1900 a newspaper editor published an article about a High

Court judge which he later admitted was 'intemperate, improper, ungentelemanly, and void of respect due to his Lordship's person and office.' Only a year before the most senior judges had stated that they were 'satisfied to leave to public opinion attacks, or comments, derogatory of them' (McLeod v. St. Aubyn 1899 AC 541,551). Now this policy was reversed and the editor/writer was brought before the courts for contempt. He was heavily fined (R. v. Gray 1900 2QB 36) and it was made clear that the same thing would happen to anyone else who said that judges were not impartial.

Twenty-six years later the editor of the New Statesman faced the same charge—contempt. He had published an article warning Marie Stopes and the birth control campaigners that with judges like Mr. Justice Avory around ('and there are so many Avorys') they could not expect a fair hearing. He was found guilty and ordered to pay the total costs of the proceedings (1828 44 TLR 307).

According to the traditional theory judges are supposed to be impartial, to act quite independently of government, and be able to exclude from their decision-making their social, political, racial and other personal biases and prejudices. This theory and image of judges must be maintained at all costs. If it goes, the effect, according to one old Chief Justice, is that it 'excites in the minds of the people a general dissatisfaction with all judicial determinations and indisposes their minds to obey them' (R. v. Almon 1765 Wilmot's Opinions 243). Obeying the law, therefore, is no longer a question of conscience or doing what is right; moral and ideological imperatives disappear. To obey or not is a question of politics and power. If you are strong

you get away with it; if you are weak you get annihilated.

Today judges cannot defend their 'independence' by resort to their contempt powers. Their position is much more vulnerable and attacks on their impartiality much more common. Last year a group of women invaded the Criminal Court of Appeal protesting vigorously at that court's freeing of a soldier rapist. The bewildered judges retreated quickly. In the old days you could be locked up for suggesting they were biased, prejudiced and unfair. Those days have clearly gone.

Professor Griffith's book is devoted to showing, from a detailed examination of a large number of judge's decisions, that they are not impartial. Its great merit is its clear-cut rejection of the traditional theory in a manner which will make it difficult for his opponents to refute. The author, who teaches at the London School of Economics has clearly spent a large part of his teaching career reading and discussing the decisions of English High Court judges over a very wide area. Essentially what he has done is to arrange these into different topics—industrial relations, police powers, race relations and immigration, contempt of court, secrecy, property rights and squatting, and the attitudes of the judges to moral behaviour, demonstrations, students and trade unionists. His conclusions are the honest, sober and courageous assessments of someone steeped in the legal tradition. He suggests that it is the function of a judge, whatever the economic system, to underpin the stability of that system and to protect it from attack by resisting attempts to change it.

I have a lot of criticisms of what he writes, particularly of the sections on race and immigration, which could be far more damning.



There are also some enormous gaps—nothing on women and no assessment of the judges' role in criminal trials. The case by case method, too, has some unsatisfying features, in that it tends to remove decisions from their social and historical setting. It is, for example, unsatisfactory to deal with judges and the police without discussing the function of the police in a capitalist country and the particular history of the British state. But when he finally tries to place his conclusions in a coherent theoretical framework he gets seriously bogged down. He says he cannot accept a Marxist analysis, because in Russia judges are subservient to the state and perform essentially the same functions as western judges, albeit more open, and more authoritarian. It follows, therefore, that such a function is not peculiar to capitalism and hence cannot be explained by Marxist theory. This is the old mistake of equating Marxism with what has happened in Russia. Arguing from such a fallacy does not, however, prevent Professor Griffiths reaching the conclusion that all the judges that we know of in the world today are state functionaries. But it does stop him understanding why in some countries, like the USA or Britain, judges find it so necessary to emphasize their impartiality and say they are working for the good of the whole community. This has nothing to do with judicial goodwill or the British character, as some would have it, or the peculiarities of the rule of law, but has been forced on judges by a powerful working-class movement whose interests cannot be ignored in buying their general acceptance of the legal system. A failure to recognize that, it seems to me, leaves us in the realms of wishful thinking; either judges ought to be more impartial than they are and then the world would be a

better place; or we thank our lucky stars that we live in Britain or the US rather than one of those ghastly totalitarian countries, etc.

Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, the book's publication is a tremendous event. Already it has set the cat amongst the judicial pigeons and their defenders. It has been linked with the threatened boycott by black lawyers of Judge McKinnon's Court at the Old Bailey after his incredibly biased summing up in a recent case on incitement to racial hatred. And in the *Daily Express* (15 February 1978) it has been likened to a 'Bible for the members of Labour's new backbench Inquisition' and called 'dangerous' and 'insidious'.

It is not altogether surprising that a book of this kind should appear at this particular time. People like Professor Griffiths do not voice such conclusions unless they are informed by existing social currents that what they have to say is what large sections of the population are already saying or are receptive to. He is producing a serious attack on the ideology which underpins judicial power at a time when that power is being openly attacked by widely different sections of the working class in Britain today. At the beginning of the century judges were forced for the first time to make concessions to growing working-class power. The state could no longer afford to have judges who did not disguise their ruling-class biases. But they kept botching things up. Decisions they made had to be reversed by new legislation e.g. Trade Disputes Act 1906).

The difficulties judges had in dealing with the new requirements of their office were summed up by a senior judge in 1920: 'It is very difficult sometimes to be

sure that you have put yourself into a thoroughly impartial position between two disputants, one of your own class and one not of your class' (Scrutton L. J. to Cambridge University Law Society, 18 November 1920). In the end the judges managed to preserve and enhance their reputation by a general withdrawal from any kind of judicial activism, especially in industrial relations, and from any kind of open political alignment.

This was fine while working-class power was largely channelled through trade unions in the factory and the Labour Party in the community. But it did not satisfy businessmen who disliked an out-of-touch judiciary. They wanted, and from about 1955 got, a judiciary which was more responsive to their needs. At the same time, as the working class broke away increasingly from the grip of the union leadership and the Labour Party in the late 1950s and 1960s, the aid of the judges was increasingly sought to curb the new activity and to define the frontiers of the new social truces being enacted by Parliament or negotiated by the unions. Time and again the judges' ideas of how much the state is willing to concede have failed to come up to the expectations of one or another section of the population. The result has been an increasing crescendo of criticism and abuse. Whole sets of laws were openly defied in the early 1970's (industrial and housing) and some attempt was made in Parliament to remove from office one of the judges principally involved. Shortly before, the partiality of judges in criminal trials had been exposed—and new levels of defiance of judicial authority reached—in the Mangrove trial. More recently there has been the invasion already referred to of the Criminal Appeal Court by Women



against Rape. Undoubtedly Professor Griffith's book provides ammunition for these struggles, just as they have put him in a position where he can safely put his conclusions on public view.

Michael Tigar and Madeleine Levy's *Law and the Rise of Capitalism* is a different kind of book. Within its 320 pages the author attempts to do many things. For example, they have tackled the question of how law can be used to effect social change—what they call the development of a 'jurisprudence of insurgency', which roughly translated means that lawyers will lead the revolution, because they will be able to tell the rest of us that bourgeois law cannot satisfy our needs. They have tried to solve the problems of the individual lawyer committed to social change. Basically this means battling as a lawyer to see that people are not deprived of the civil liberties guaranteed in the US constitution and pointing out how readily the bourgeoisie depart from their own ideology. And they describe the need for 'a group challenging the old order to formulate its own jurisprudence against that of the old order. The underlying assumption here is that the new post-revolutionary society towards which we are heading will still be dependent on law as a vital means of social control, and will still need a coercive state apparatus, headed no doubt by the radical lawyers, to keep us in control, but also to defend whatever civil liberties we may retain under the new system.

This theoretical mish-mash apart, the substance of the book traces how the ideas of bourgeois law grew within feudalism, competed with it and finally overcame it. This is its most valuable section, based on serious historical research.

Here Tigar and Levy illustrate, with a wealth of material, that feudal law was quite different from the bourgeois law which replaced it—and similarly the bourgeois state. They also root the development of bourgeois law in the emergence of capitalist relations of production and, in particular, they link contract law to the development of trade and commodity production. In other words, they lay the basis for an analysis of the fundamental characteristic of bourgeois law today and for seeing what it is that will disappear in the new society. But they do not carry out this analysis.

What they pick on and highlight from the bourgeois struggle against feudalism are the new civil liberties—the right to silence, due process etc. Because, I suspect, they are basically civil liberties people, they fasten on to this aspect of emergent bourgeois society, and say that these gains are still of value today and must be defended. Quite right. But they say nothing of the subsequent impact of working-class power on civil liberties. Some civil liberties, such as the right to silence and the right to due process, can be directly traced to bourgeois/feudal conflicts, but others, like rights of assembly, right to a fair rent and security of tenure, right to organize etc., are entirely the creation of working-class struggle and power—our transitional triumphs if you like.

Secondly, the authors have nothing to say about those feudal relationships and forms of legal control which were not rejected but were taken over and given new impetus by capitalism. I refer in particular to those laws which maintained the subordinate position of women in marriage, family and the home and penalized through

rape, prostitution and illegitimacy laws any attempts to escape from the imposed female role. We cannot speak of law and the rise of capitalism without giving these a central place; yet they are not even mentioned.

Thirdly, having said much about the development contractual relations, Tigar and Levy miss entirely their crucial impact. These did not just regulate the relations of merchants involved in commodity exchange. They also became the formal expression of the key relationship between the emergent male working class and their capitalist masters. These contracts had four characteristics: (1) they were made between people who contracted on a basis of equality; (2) both were free, not serfs or slaves, though in the case of the working class they were also 'free' from any means of producing or of subsisting outside of this 'freely' entered relationship; (3) both were exchanging property—the workers' bodies or minds for the capitalists' wage, and (4) the exchange was to the mutual advantage of each. From this contractual base stems the idea of the social contract, the system of parliamentary democracy which builds on it and the notion that the state represents the will and free consent of the whole population.

And why is this contractual development so important? First, because it is one of the pivots of the whole legal system, as I have briefly outlined. Secondly, because, as Marx carefully explained in *Capital*, it is the form which masks the source of profit or surplus value and thus the exploitation of the working class. Why? Because at any given standard of living the working class create more value through their work than they need to live on through their wage or lack of it. Class struggle is the



struggle to alter the terms of this relationship. It is the function of all law, including that which deals with civil liberties, to maintain the conditions in which the continued exploitation of the class can go on under the guise of freely-entered, mutually - advantageous contracts, supervised by a democratically - elected government which looks after all our interests.

From this short account I hope I make my position clear. I see no fundamental change in the way we relate to our fellow human beings, which does not involve the abolition of all law as we know it. Let me approach the same question in a different way. In a famous passage in his *Preface to a Critique of Political Economy*, Marx says: "No social order is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed. (Tigar and Levy demonstrate this very concretely in their historical section dealing with feudalism), and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions of their existence have matured within the framework of the old society."

So it is undoubtedly true that new legal forms which would pre-dominate in bourgeois society appear during the existence of feudal society and eventually replace them. That is really the thesis of Tigar and Levy's book. But the new bourgeois society is still a class society which needs laws and a repressive state apparatus to maintain the dominance of the new ruling class. What is valid for the transition from feudalism to capitalism is then crudely transplanted by our authors into present-day conditions. Because bourgeois lawyers had a big role to play in the transition from feudal law to bourgeois law, the authors presuppose an equally big role in the transi-

tion to a non-capitalist society. Behind all that they write there is an assumption that after capitalism we shall still have a social process of production which takes an antagonistic form, in which the interests of a dominant class are maintained by a state and legal apparatus. Obviously in such a society we shall still need our civil liberty, laws and lawyers. Against that view is the position of Marx that the bourgeois form of production is the last antagonistic form of the social process of production, the last class society. The task then is not to develop our own jurisprudence against that of the old order but to identify the human needs of the class against all jurisprudence.

Ian Macdonald  
Courtesy: Race

The Temple,  
London.

## Grama Sastra-14

### Scribblings on Uva Villages

#### Buttala Of 3 B.C.

by Gamiya

IN the 3rd century B.C., there was a junction town between Tissa in the South and Anuradhapura in the north, called Guttahaloka, today's Buttala. But Buttala has fallen on bad days, some might say. Others might say that it never "had it so good". Depends on which way you look at it. A poor peasant boy met me and said that he sold a bunch of kolikuttu plantains for Rs. 8/- that very morning to a boutique in the town, but "that they sell a comb for Rs. 8/-." That same afternoon, the boy was proved true. I inquired and was told Rs. 8/- "honda kolikuttu".

W-cafe and Hotel d A—drew people in with their blaring loud-

speakers which seemed quick earners. So was the roaring trade done by two unassuming, matter-of-fact sellers of Kurumba at 75 cts a nut and thambili, king-coconut at 1/75 a nut. The empty shells were rolled on over to a side. All the "nuts" that looked up to the heavens, I mean the "polkombe" or the empty shell, had collected water and the inevitable mosquito larvae in them. Then might come the DDT man or the Malathion man. In fact flies were having a gay time on that stinking garbage dump—then someone wonders why so many poor peasants and villagers have bad stomachs and why they constantly make the trek to doctorless hospitals and drugless dispensaries. The garbage area in this 3rd century BC town under review, was 15ft by 12ft, which is sizeable, but it was right in the middle of the busstand. The seat for waiting passengers was a fallen down Mara tree which had no "sittable" seat on its trunk. Every bus had to send its four tyres into a twenty-foot long rut which divided the road from the stand, and the passengers always get bent in three or four at that un-solemn moment, as if they have forgotten to take gripe water or are having the cramps! That rut did not feel too lonely. It had a companion which collected rain water and mud and cow dung, 8ft by 10ft, a gaping hole which somehow the area leaders had missed.

To cap it all, I met another little lad, let's call him Chandradasa, who said his school had 11 teachers and 12 classes, but that the "arithmetic was difficult and the English inadequate and not liked by him." Then, on his own, he went on: "I would prefer if they told us the different kinds of rice and what to use for them. I do not like to use urea for my plants, because it is Rs. 40/- per sack. I am going to stop "Demexin", for I saw ugly stories



about it in the paper. I read at least one paper at the kads". A fifteen-year old lad and rather spirited. His father had a few "liyadde" (plots of paddy) but he and his father worked on another's forty liyadi.

Go and see Buttala some day, if you have the time. Old glory must surely have belonged to it (I don't mean the flag of a certain country) in its halcyon days when elephants walked and made tracks which were dead-straight (since elephants dislike the zig-zag). Those became cart-tracks and then gamsabha roads, then tarred roads, and now, in the twentieth century the road is so badly made that no buses go that way to Kataragama, they say.

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## LETTERS

### Pledges

Sir,

With reference to the above published in your journal dated June 10, 1978 the fifth pledge reads: "I will treat every citizen of Sri Lanka alike and give him or her equal opportunities to progress", and the sixth pledge reads: "I will offer to the minority, specially to the Tamil-speaking people, who are citizens an equal place in every sphere of life."

In view of this one may ask who was responsible for not complying with these pledges, when quite recently a new Inspector-General of Police was appointed, ignoring the claims of a Tamil officer, who was senior to him.

J. Van Sanden

4, Westdale Court,  
Victoria 3087,  
Australia.  
July 22, 1978.

## Tea Producers And Workers Danger

Sir,

A great deal has appeared in the press during the past week about the demand for Sri Lanka tea being at its peak, that prices were breaking all records and that export earnings from tea alone reached 47 per cent of the total export earnings during the first four months of this year. All this is true but the tea producers are in danger of being taxed out of existence and the tea plantation workers face loss of full employment.

On the 6th of last month, after Mr. Ananda Dassanayake, the MP for Kotmale and Mr. M. S. Aboo Sally, the MP for Balangoda referred in the National State Assembly on the 4th July to the plight in which small tea holders were, I wrote to the press on the subject giving facts and figures to prove the dire straits in which the tea producers were but the state-controlled press and the liberated press did not publish my letter although His Excellency, the President, and the Hon'ble Prime Minister have often stated that they would welcome constructive criticism. Matters have become worse since then for small tea holders as also for tea estate workers who are being offered less days work by estates in order to keep down costs of production which is unfair because the great majority of estate workers lost their ration books as their wages were estimated. On a calculated number of day's work being offered to them. A large number of rural folk who owned a couple of acres of even indifferent tea also lost their ration books because the Government then estimated that one acre of tea would bring them an income of Rs. 1,800/-

per acre which they do not get now.

As Mr. Aboo Sally pointed out, the large Agency Houses no longer exist to agitate and ask for rebates etc., and all large estates are now Government-owned.

If Government owned estates make losses it will only be a book entry and the taxpayers will have to keep those estates going. It is not so with the small tea holders and other private owners who will be ruined financially if the flat rate of Export Duty of Rs. 16/20 per kg. of tea and the ad valorem tax of 50% which operates when the price of tea is in excess of Rs. 10/15 per kilo which, after the last budget is about the cost of production of a kilo of tea now, are continued with.

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel has stated that he imposed the high rate of Export Duty to siphon off the windfall profits tea exporters would have earned on forward contracts entered into prior to the last budget when the unification of exchange rates came into force. Over nine months have now passed since the last budget. Does this reason still exist for continuing the extortionate Export Duty of Rs. 16/20 per kilo of tea irrespective of the price fetched by tea, which alone works out to Rs. 1/63 per pound of green leaf? If, as the Minister states unscrupulous exporters made windfall profits totalling over Rs. 80,000,000/- surely the government is powerful enough to bring them to book without penalising producers? I do not hold a brief for tea exporters and leeches of the Tea Industry but I am concerned about the fate of the producers on whom all concerned must depend for the goods to be produced, as also the workers who participate in production to earn a living.



Although I am only a jungle wallah with 39 years' tea planting experience which cannot be compared with the academical and other qualifications of the young, bright and enthusiastic Minister of Finance, I do not agree with the reasons adduced by him for the "decline in demand" for medium grown teas which amount to nearly 35 per cent of the total production of tea and all of which, except the quantity consumed locally, is exported attracting an export duty alone of Rs. 16/20 per kilo apart from other taxes. I shall quote figures to illustrate the point at issue. From 1st January to 9th August 1977 i.e. before the high export duty of Rs. 16/20 was imposed in November 1977, the gross High Grown average price of tea was Rs. 18/04 per kilo and the nett price i.e. after payment of the ad valorem tax was Rs. 15/01 per kilo. Medium Grown fetched Rs. 16/18 gross and Rs. 13/27 nett per kilo for the same period—not much of a difference between the price of High and Medium Grown teas. The figures for the period 1st January to 8th August this year after the imposition of the Export Duty were; High Grown Gross Average—Rs. 13/03, nett average—Rs. 11/01. The Medium Grown averages for the same period were; Gross Average Rs. 10/48 and Nett Average Rs. 9/48. It will be seen from the above figures that the difference between the High Grown Nett Average and the Medium Grown Nett Average was only Rs. 1/53 per kilo which was not much of a difference in these days of inflation. The fact is that up to 8th August this year, the producers of medium grown teas have so far received only Rs. 9/48 per kilo of tea which is below the cost of production but medium grown teas have been sold and exported at Rt. 26/66 per kilo

(Rs. 10/48 gross average plus Rs. 16/20 export duty). In other words the Government has taken Rs. 17/18 per kilo of medium grown tea at source and allowed the producers to have only Rs. 9/48 per kilo and suffer losses if they carried out a normal programme of work.

The producers are facing a serious situation brought about by the Government's fiscal policy. The flat rate of Export Duty of Rs. 16/20 per kilo which applies to teas selling at Rs. 850/- per kilo paid by an oilrich Sheik for a tea party, as well as off-grade but exportable teas selling at Rs. 3/- per kilo, should be altered immediately to that of a sliding scale and, in view of the present high cost of production, the price at which the ad valorem Sales Tax becomes payable, should be raised to about Rs. 15/50 per kilo.

To make matters more difficult, the prices of Tea Fertiliser Mixtures were jacked up by almost 100 per cent as from the 1st of last month (July). And the price of Tea Chests have gone up by 35 per cent since the last budget. My supplier wrote me this month that, as there was no price control traders could sell tea chests at any price they wished. And the supplier also stated that the price of tea chest linings on 7/8/1978 was Rs. 5/84 for fulls and Rs. 4/84 for halves but were not available at that price and that the State Trading (General) Corporation was selling linings at Rs. 10/- per set! And I had no option but to pay the higher price. Is this what is meant by liberalisation of Trade and a Return to the Open Market, I ask the Government?

There is seething discontent among small tea producers and private Tea Factory owners—I have apprised the Tea Commissioner and the Chairman of the Tea Board about the latter—and I think the

time is now ripe for the Executive President to give orders for remedial action to be taken as the voters placed their confidence in him and look up to him for justice and fair play.

I regret to end this letter on the dismal note that, in my opinion the Island's production of tea this year will fall below that of last year for which the last regime of which I was no supporter, should not be blamed, which all politicians of all sides normally do, and the people are now tired of hearing such talk—they want action and not words and lame excuses.

Robert Harley

Monte Cristo Estate,

Nawalapitiya.

25th August 1978

o o o

## On Sin

Sir,

I keep thinking I could lose my soul. See, I am fairly comfortably off and all the goodies they keep importing — Mars Bars — I can buy, I can enjoy. It tempts me to let my conscience go to sleep—After all, why should I protest—I who have it so good. But I keep thinking and that's dangerous for my physical well-being, for when I think of this isle of ours—then I grow dismayed. For whilst I and some few others too besides, are well—fair well—do well—there's plenty around to disturb my peace.

First, look at all the poor folks—masses of them—poorly fed—poorly clothed—hardly able to afford one good meal a day—so thin and poorly nourished. Next, when I stop in my 7 Sri car, large numbers of children—ages 4 to 14 years—touch it, push it, and I feel their veiled threats to my security. They tell me there are plans to take the Beggars off the streets.



With the approach to Children's Year I wish we had more resolute plans before they drift into a life of crime and dissipation! So many of them lounging around on so many streets.

Aeons back, when the SLFP was in power, I commented that among the folks under suspicion for Bribery and Corruption—no members of the Government Ruling Party had been involved. I suggested that perhaps they had all been 'immaculately conceived'. It still remains true of the present Party in Power. All apparently immaculately conceived whilst alas, their immediate predecessors in office, it is now reported, did know sin like the rest of us!

Reminds me of something I read from C. S. Lewis's "Screwtape Letters". Wormwood calls Satanic Headquarters—his Ward has become a Christian—"No problem, if you handle him properly, he is still ours"—Headquarter's reply "When next in Church tempt him to look around and ask" Is that rogue a Christian, that Butcher who sells underweight, a member of the faithful etc—how can this bunch of Sinners dare to claim membership in Christ's Church—You will ask won't he ask of himself also the same question"? "My friend, Satan replies, 'If you handle him correctly such a thought will never enter his head'—Screwtape letters ought to be required reading for all MPs. and folks in authority.

Dr. Bryan de Kretser

Hendala.  
25.7.78



## Rice And Flour

Sir,

Writing on Rice and Flour the CDN Editor on 21.8.1978 has come up with two surprises! Quoted below are his own words.

"It is surprising how universal its use has become and how commonplace it is to find the white man's staple diet in the remotest village boutique in this country. It is even more surprising to see how ready we are to consume bread often made from flour of poor quality, stale from long months of shipment across thousands of miles, of lying in the harbour, or in various stores around the country."

I have to eat bread in the morning inspite of it being "the white man's staple diet" or inspite of it being "made from flour of poor quality stale from long months of shipment across thousands of miles" simply because of its convenience. I would certainly prefer to eat some string-hoppers turned out of local rice flour. How I would relish to eat a well baked hopper in the morning, instead of bread made of stale flour!

Looking at the predicament of a government that has on the one hand to subsidise to feed its nation while on the other hand undertake massive development projects like the accelerated Mahaveli scheme, undertaken never before in the history of this country, we must make a simple sacrifice like changing our food habits.

This kind of attitudinal changes could be made easier if the mass media of this country takes the people to their confidence and speak the truth quite frankly without writing nonsense.

V. K. Wijeratna

Panadura.

## POEM

### Oh ! to be a buffalo !

Man is a mere cypher  
in the vastness of the universe.  
Yet he rushes about, strives,  
fights, grabs, kills, rapes, plunders,  
accumulates, and ultimately dies.  
When he does, nothing remains—  
neither  
his body nor his soul,  
and what he leaves  
behind—worldly gains—merely cause  
the ones  
he leaves behind to fight.  
Why does a man  
struggle so without a purpose?  
Why is he  
cruel and callous when there is  
no reason  
to be? I do not understand. Give me  
a calm life, a peaceful life,  
where there is  
no reason to run, to strive,  
to hoard. I  
would much rather be a buffalo.  
Oh! to be  
able to close my eyes and  
wallow in water  
and feel neither rain  
nor sun nor storm.  
To remain forever in  
peaceful tranquility  
where the strifes of men  
will not reach me  
nor penetrate my thick hide!  
To think of nothing  
save perhaps the way to win a lady  
buffalo's heart!

Casava

o o o o



# Confidentially

## Elephant House ?

IS IT NOT A FACT that Elephant House (EH) has notified at least one large local producer of broiler chicken that in view of the glut of chicken meat—both imported and local—that EH will pay fifty cents (50 cts.) less per pound and that the decreased price would be effective from a date six or seven weeks earlier than the date of the letter? That EH being one of the biggest buyers and retailers is in a position to dictate the price to the local producers? That it is now in a position to do this more effectively than before because of the unlimited imports of meat that government has allowed? That what is significant is that in spite of paying less to the producer (from a backdated point of time), the price has not been decreased for the consumer? That the government's free import policies only enables big giant firms like EH to make profits at the expense of the producer as well as the consumer? That Tribune had predicted that this would happen? That in our issue of August 19, 1978 (Vol. 23 No. 8), the piece on THE IMPORTED MEAT RACKET concluded thus: "...that there is a suspicion in knowledgeable circles that EH will drop their prices to local producers in order to preserve and enlarge imports? That unless the government steps in with more realistic import policies in the matter of frozen produce, Tribune forecasts a gloomy future for the local producers."? That the time has come for the government to take firm and immediate action to end this racket where foreign livestock farmers are being made richer by being paid fabulous prices by local importers, (may be even on inflated invoices), at pri-

ces which are denied to local producers? That in the ultimate analysis it is the local consumer who pays more because imported meat products will at all times be at least about double the local price? That now that a new Ministry has been created—with a capable person like Thondaman at the helm—to look after all aspects of livestock and allied subjects under one roof, there will be no difficulty to step up livestock production in a big way? That broiler and egg production will respond to inducements, incentives, inputs and opportunities within a short time? That whereas meat and milk production will take a few years to come up to scratch, broilers and eggs will come on the market in double quick time? That imports (with higher margins of profits for importers who retail) of beef, mutton, lamb and chicken meat will act as a major impediment to local production? That imports of meat, including broilers, seem to have been "liberalised" at a time when the poultry industry had already taken steps to meet the demand? That imports have only helped to push up local prices by 40% to 50%?

IS IT ALSO NOT A FACT that government has begun to have second thoughts about its "liberalised" import policies? That there now seems to be growing disillusionment about the free imports? That another matter on which we can say "we said so" (there are a large number of other matters on which we can say this) relates to the imports of onions and chillies? That the Ministry of Trade influenced by the logic of a neo-compradore class that once, upon a time, long, long ago, Colombo consumers had been compelled to pay Rs. 40 for a pound of chillies and Rs. 5 for a pound of onions and that for this reason there should be imports of both items

to check the greed of producers (and only incidentally the middlemen)? That chillies, onions and potatoes were imported in such large quantities that not only prices were forced down but producers were also compelled to stop growing these items? That Tribune had for months uttered warnings that local farmers (of onions and chillies) will go out of production, but pundits in the government furnished semi-bogus out-of-date statistics that the cost of production of a pound of chillies was Rs. 4/50 and that Rs. 6/- was an adequate return for the producer (though the producer never got this price)? That it was therefore necessary to import about 1000 tons of dried chillies as a buffer stock to make farmers behave themselves? That instead of a minimal 1000 tons, Tribune is aware that over 5500 tons of dried chillies have already been imported so far this year? That most of the imports were of a poor third grade quality and were sold at the same price as for the selected grade one local chillies? That the anti-climax to the chillies and onions melodrama came recently when Deputy Trade Minister Amarasiri went in sack clothes and ashes to the growers of onions and chillies in the North to assure them that there would be no more imports? That this reversal of policy in the imports of foodstuffs is an admission of the total failure of the initial policies of the Ministry? That this comes too late to make amends this year? That there is the danger, however, that importer-mudalalis will stampede politicians and bureaucrats into importing chillies and onions to meet possible wet season shortages? That if this should happen—as it well can—then the country will have to depend on imported chillies and onions (and other foodstuffs also) for the rest of time?



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