

# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

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Next Week

- ★ **CHIEF JUSTICE**  
—Retroactive
- ★ **CORRUPTION**  
—Who's Responsible?
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—Real Crisis
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—Red Sea, Mecca
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—Mystery

## THONDAMAN'S WARNING . . .

In a press interview on the eve of the twenty-eighth Convention of the Ceylon Workers' Congress held on 15th-16th September, Mr. S. Thondaman, Minister of Rural Industrial Development, made a number of significant statements which the Government and the public must take with all due seriousness. One point he made was that the Government should not make the mistake it had made in the North with regard to the plantation workers of Tamil origin. Admittedly, the heavy-handed way in which the Government and the

Security Services had dealt with embryonic militancy of a section of the Tamil youth had led to the creation of a terrorist movement which has spread its wings over the north and east and has now cast its shadow all over the Island.

Mr. Thondaman had stressed that there was no possibility of terrorism infiltrating the plantations unless the government made the mistake as in the North of arresting and harassing innocent people on suspicion of terrorist activity. Recently the principal, the vice-principal and students of a school in the plantation areas were arrested allegedly for fomenting strikes and organising the boycott of classes. This had led to strikes that threatened to spread but fortunately the C.W.C. had taken up the matter and the President had ordered the release of those taken into custody. The situation thereafter returned to normal. This remedial action was possible only because the CWC President is in a position to reach the President. But it is not everybody whose children or friends are arrested who can get such redress quickly. In actual practice the hundreds and later thousands of innocent people in the North arrested on suspicion and who were released many months later came out with a sense of grievance that made them do-or-die militants. Unless the government, even at this late stage, exercises the greatest care in making arrests, it will invite more and more trouble. There are enough busybodies who find delight or profit in making false complaints (secretly) to security officials. By such arrests and other acts which violate the ordinary norms of civil liberties and human rights, the entirety of the Tamil population in the North and the East have been pushed into a state of bitter hostility to the government. Not many years ago, police and security officials had been indoctrinated to see a Commie behind every bush. Today it is a Tiger. Unless this mentality is changed one cannot hope for a solution of the problems that threaten to escalate.

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# **HANDBOOK FOR THE CEYLON TRAVELLER**

This book is the work of many people all of whom have written of things they know and love. They will protest at being called 'experts' but experts they are on individual facets of Sri Lanka. Moreover, they have travelled the length and breadth of this country, seen, heard, experienced and above all, understood the land, its people and their life. It is this knowledge of the country and its people and the love they have for this island and the islanders that the compilers have tried to infuse into this book.

The revised edition includes several new chapters the first of which is the chapter on Buddhism — "A Religion. A People".

This book is not intended only for foreigners. We hope it will be a companion to our own people on their travels through the Island. It may perhaps tell you of things you did not know and enrich your experience of seeing Sri Lanka in her many splendours.

**A Studio Times publication**



# TRIBUNE

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## LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

IT IS TIME that there is a rethinking, an "agonising re-appraisal", about the kind of censorship that is in operation today. It is true that censorship is called for in times of civil strife and emergency, but censorship cannot be what it was some years ago. The rapid development of the world-wide electronic communication network makes a mockery of the kind of censorship that operates in Sri Lanka today. What is even unbelievable is that foreign correspondents who are stationed here or who come here seem to have a freer hand than local reporters. On important events, the local papers have to be satisfied with official hand-outs which few believe or print nothing at all. The fortnightly *Forward* (15/8/84) had made some pertinent remarks on this matter: "... Things have got so bad that Sri Lankans who want to know what is going on in their own country have, as they did the same time last year, to listen to foreign broadcasts, read such foreign journals as manage to penetrate the official blackout, or pick up such nuggets of information as they can from friends or relations who have chosen the relative safety of Colombo and other southern areas to their northern and eastern homes, thus reversing the refugee process of last year. While this may help the English-speaking elite, the mass of people who have little chance of knowing what goes on. All they know is that a major military operation is in progress, that large numbers of Tamils (described variously as 'terrorists' and 'innocent bystanders') have been killed, or injured, that army and police personnel too have suffered a similar fate, that a number of police stations, banks, and official buildings and vehicles in the north have been attacked, that houses and shops have been destroyed by fire and mortars and so on ...." *The Island* in an editorial on September 16, pointed out: "... While the CA thus expects newspapers to behave themselves he has not always enforced the same standards on himself .... There is no established standard to which one can appeal or a fixed code which one can invoke because standards vary from person to person. There have been instances where even people fairly high up the ladder have been reluctant to take a decision while some 'Night Censors' are not accessible. Needless to say this can be irritating for newspapers which have deadlines to maintain unlike bureaucracies which can easily afford to file and forget. There can also be instances when censorship can actually prevent people from coming to know things of public importance which legitimately cannot be kept away from their perusal. Take for example the hartal in Jaffna which none of the newspapers were allowed to carry yesterday. Now the hartal does not fall within the three categories listed by the CA which are (a) material relating to acts of violence attributed to terrorists, (b) material relating to actions or plans of security forces or investigations into terrorist activities, and (c) action of or action relating to students at Universities or other educational institutions. The hartal on the other hand is a political act entirely, an expression of what the people of the North feel is a sense of grievance. To prevent the rest of the country from coming to know about this is to block a piece of vital information which can contribute to public opinion. By extending censorship to an area which has nothing to do with either terrorism or troop movements the authorities are really engaging in a political censorship. The same goes for activities in the University. *Tribune* being a weekly does not have the problem of getting spot news approved by the Competent Authority, but even comment on events that are already history seems to worry the Censor. The present kind of censorship will make matters worse. The Government should start a regular dialogue with the daily and the periodical press as to how best the publication of sensitive news should be handled.



## • By-elections • Massacres

THE BY-ELECTIONS in Minneriya and Kundasale have become the talk in political circles. But the ordinary people in the towns and the countryside—except perhaps in the two electorates—do not seem to be much concerned about by-elections which will not affect the Government. What they feel and say quite openly is that even if the government loses both seats it will have no impact on government policies or conduct. The whole exercise, it is felt, is only to show the world that the democratic process is still in operation in Sri Lanka. This has also been done, it is said, to placate opposition opinion at a time when the government is seeking the support of all parties to cope with the problem of terrorism and also to find a political solution to the ethnic problem.

There has been a great deal of discussion and debate about these by-elections. The four "Left and radical parties"—the LSSP, CPSL, MEP and SLMP had written to the President demanding that the conditions for the holding of genuinely free and fair elections are ensured before he proceeds to give effect to his intention to hold by-elections in four of the 21 parliament seats that have been vacant for some time. The full text of the letter is as follows: "It is reported in the Press that you intend holding by-elections in the following Parliamentary constituencies: (1) Kundasale, (2) Minneriya, (3) Padirippu and (4) Trincomalee. Whatever be the reasons why you have decided to hold these by-elections, it is essential that the conditions necessary for making them genuinely free and fair be ensured if they are indeed to serve the cause of democracy. The prevailing Emergency and the Emergency regulations have brought all democratic processes in the country to a virtual halt. This will be particularly felt in respect of all election activity. Even the very act of campaigning against the government at an election can come under the prohibition in regulation 26 of the Emergency regulations. This regulation refers among other things, to speech, writing and conduct as would bring the President or the Government into hatred and contempt, or excites and incites or attempts to incite feelings of disaffection, hatred or contempt of the President and of the Government, as an offence. And under such regulations it is a Police officer that decides as to whether such offence has been committed and on such decision a person is liable to arrest and detention without the Courts having the right to determine bail.

"Under these regulations, it is a government-appointed Competent Authority that decides as to what can be permitted to be published even on matters

that will be in issue at an election. Presses can be closed and sealed at the behest of such Authority. Even the distribution of a leaflet or the exhibition of a poster has to have the prior sanction of the Police. Regulations also prohibit meetings. These can be held only with the permission of the Police. It is for the Police to decide whether or not a gathering or persons is or is not a meeting within the meaning of the regulations. One only has to specify these regulations to be struck by the fact that they permit no legitimate election activity. "The normal law too has such shortcomings as did permit the Government party to resort to serious malpractices during the last round of by-elections. The voting card, introduced as an aid to the voter, was intercepted in the post or taken over and was used to intimidate the voter so as to prevent him from casting his vote. Public meeting places were withheld from Opposition parties. Government party supporters violated with impunity the election laws in regard to the display of symbols, posters and flags. Polling agents of Opposition parties were refused entry to the polling stations by polling officers and where they were allowed or where they braved the threats and went in to perform their duties, they were driven away by thugs thereby enabling unchallenged impersonation on a massive scale. "Thuggery sponsored and actively engaged in by Ministers and Deputy Ministers prevailed unchecked outside the polling stations. These practices denied to the voter the right of freely exercise his vote. They denied to the Opposition parties the right to conduct freely their election activity.

"We note that the amendment to the election law passed by Parliament a few days back has failed to address itself to a rectification of these shortcomings. The amendment contains provisions which are intended to further exploit these shortcomings at the level of district based elections as happened in the DDC elections in the north. We also wish to draw your attention to the facts that (1) two recognised political parties have been proscribed for over a year and are therefore not in a position, if they so desire to nominate candidates for the proposed by-elections and (2) there has been no change in the election law to ensure that the President of the country, when participating in an election or by-election, is subject to the same legal obligations and penalties that apply to other citizens. It is your bounden duty as President of this country to see to it that these tremendous obstacles in the way of free and fair elections are removed before the announced by-elections are held, so that anti-government candidates can conduct their campaigns unfettered by the positively oppressive conditions outlined by us and the electors can cast their votes in conditions of freedom and fairness. Permit us, Your Excellency, to point out that the power to take the necessary steps is in your hands if you have the will to do so." (Forward, 1/9/84).



THE PRESIDENT later met a delegation from the four parties and agreed to relax some of the Emergency regulations. He has told them that it will not be possible to hold the elections in Trincomalee and Padirippu, but he would hold the by-elections in Minneriya and Kundasale. The president informed the delegation that although it would be necessary for him to continue the all-island declaration of a state of emergency, all regulations made thereunder will be withdrawn in respect of all areas of the country other than the northern and eastern provinces. In regard to the four-party demand that the proscription of the NSSP and the JVP should be withdrawn, the President agreed to withdraw the proscription of the NSSP but said that he was not in a position to withdraw the proscription of the JVP. The President said he would consider issuing administrative orders to the Police to carry out all requests made by the Commissioner of Elections in regard to the enforcement of election law. This had been requested by the delegation. The President said that he would "consider favourably" and discuss with his colleagues, two other proposals made by the four parties in their letter—namely that (a) the President when taking part in an election, should be subject to the same law and conditions as any other citizen and (b) by-elections should be held in all cases where vacancies in Parliament occurred. In regard to the delegation drawing attention to possible misuse of the latest election amendments that allowed the result of an election or by-election to be declared even if some ballot boxes were missing, the President said that no such case had occurred so far in relation to any Parliamentary election or by-election. At the time of going to press, the indications are that many Emergency regulations will be removed (e.g. regulations regarding meetings and publications in areas outside the Northern and Eastern provinces). The nomination day for both these by-elections will be on September 27.

IN THE MEANTIME, there is widespread political speculation about some of the under currents that seem to be swirling around these by-elections. One school of thought in the UNP is said to feel that even these two by-elections should have been postponed. Apart from giving opportunities for anti-government agitation, the defeat of UNP candidates will have an adverse impact on the prestige of the government. But others in the UNP feel that the democratic process should not be thwarted by not holding the by-elections, and that if the ruling party's candidates are defeated it would be a good lesson for complacent UNPers. There are others in the UNP who want the by-elections in order to see that the Sirima-Anura SLFP are pushed to third place by the Left Front Candidate. They feel that the UNP will romp home to victory, but that it will be in the Party's interest to cut the SLFP down to size and that this could be done in these by-elections.

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In the old style anti-UNP camp, there is deep concern that the "progressive" and "anti-UNP" vote will be split and that this would enable the UNP to win. There are others who think that the "split votes" in the by-elections will provide an object lesson that will help to forge an anti-UNP front consisting of all the Opposition Parties including the SLFP. The by-elections will not only be an index of opinion in the country but will help to forge party alignments and alliances for the immediate future.

WHILE THE BY-ELECTIONS have begun to engage the attention of political circles, the difficult situation in the North continues to attract world attention. The *Forward* (15/9/84) in a forthright editorial on "Massacres" stated: "... This barbarous crime was no isolated event. It was part of the deliberate cruelty, adventurism, terrorism and contempt for human values that have characterised the behaviour of the Zionist ruling circles of Israel over the past 35 years. Genocidal massacres are official policy in Tel Aviv. But what is serious to us is that the UNP government has inducted these monsters into our country and placed them in influential positions over our security and intelligence services. Even without them, there has been alarming evidence that, under this government, sections of our security services, and indeed public life itself, are being increasingly brutalised. One has only to recall the two successive massacres of political prisoners in Welikade jail last year, the atrocities committed only recently at Mannar and Valvettiturai, and last week's deliberate and cold-blooded killing of innocent Tamil passengers in a Jaffna-bound bus to shudder at what is in store for the country and its people if MOSSAD is allowed to give expertise and direction to this incipient brutalisation. On September 16, the second anniversary of the Sabra and Chatilla massacres, all who value democracy and civilised conduct should therefore renew their efforts to see that the genocidists from MOSSAD are kicked out of our country before they can create further trouble."

Neutral observers have noted that ever since the Mossad presence in Sri Lanka was admitted, the Israeli Nahal cum Sein Bet theory and practice of mass retaliation on civilian population for any acts against security forces or government has proliferated. To make matters worse the Government's decision to stop development expenditure in the Jaffna district (and in all districts in the North and the East) to divert these funds for military expenditure has led many to think that the government has abandoned a political solution and was going to rely entirely on a military solution. This decision is in direct conflict with the much-heralded governmental boast that its primary objective was to secure a political solution. With the Round Table Conference still in existence, this decision has come as a shock to all persons who realise that a



political solution should precede any final thrust against terrorism. *It is one thing to improve and expand military facilities and equipment, and also to strengthen the naval surveillance zone with more boats. But to think that an expansion of military power will help to end the present ethnic problem and attendant problem of terrorism is to say the least is a naive and simplistic approach to the problem.*

We hope that better counsel will prevail and that the government will rely more and more on a political solution as the centre-piece of its strategy to resolve the ethnic problem. As a first step the Government should take all steps to stop the massacres and killings of civilians and end the mass retaliation and scorched earth tactics to punish villages and towns near which security forces are attacked. This will help to build a better climate for political discussions. Even the decision to divert development fund to beef up military operations should be rescinded. *It is not necessary to preach a sermon on why political solution is preferable to a military solution for the simple reason that nobody will dispute the validity of this dictum. But it is necessary for a little heart-searching in high places to put this salutary strategy into practice.*

x x x

## TRIBUNE

*TRIBUNE* welcomes feature and analytical articles on matters of current topical interest. They should be typed double-spaced and should not exceed 1,500 words. The ideal length would be around 1,000 words.

Articles in *Tribune* do not represent any consensus of beliefs or any commitment to rigid inflexibility. Editorial views are only to provoke thinking and provide guidelines for opinion making. Nor does *Tribune* expect readers to sympathise with or accept views put forward in the paper. While *Tribune* seeks to keep clear and not get involved in controversial and contentious issues, it believes that it can do much to keep Sri Lanka public opinion informed by broad hospitality to divergent views than it can by identifying itself with one trend of thinking. Furthermore, *Tribune* does not accept responsibility for the validity or otherwise for the views expressed in any article, signed or unsigned, which appears in its pages. What it does accept responsibility for is to give them a chance to appear in print.

## THE POLITICAL SCENE

IN SRI LANKA TODAY

### Ethnic Problem and Political Situation-2

By S. P. Amarasingam

THE JVP INSURRECTION was brutally suppressed with ruthless ferocity. But the imprisonment of JVP leaders in Jaffna and the arrest and detention of Tamil youth protesting (peacefully—posters, meetings demonstrations etc.) against the standardisation of marks for admission to Universities in the same prisons and camps where JVP detainees were kept took the concept of terrorism and armed struggle to the Tamil areas. The JVP insurrection was for the moment pushed under the carpet and from 1973/74 the focus once again turned to the Sinhala-Tamil confrontation. The fact that neither the Tamil language nor a Charter of Fundamental Rights for the minorities found a place in the Constitution of 1972, coupled with the system of standardisation of marks for University admission drove the TULF to adopt the Eelam cry, first as a slogan and after as the centre-piece of its political programme. This was promptly used by the Sinhala chauvinists to mount an anti-Tamil hysteria, no doubt in the belief that the TULF and the Tamils supporting Eelam would be intimidated into dropping the Eelam demand. This did not happen. In the years after Independence and more particularly after 1956, Tamil chauvinism had grown in the same way Sinhalese chauvinism had grown. *This was unquestionably one end-product of the seeds sown earlier by those Western conquerors who had made a fine art of the strategy of divide and rule.*

TAMIL EXTREMISM received support in many places and began to escalate. What was even more dangerous was that some Tamil extremists thought they would help the "cause" by eliminating Tamil politicians who did not want Eelam or a confrontation with the Sinhalese—especially those Tamils who were willing to co-operate with the Sinhalese to seek a reasonable solution to the communal differences. The murder of Duraiyappah in 1975 (who was a SLFP, had won a measure of popularity and support in Jaffna), began a new trend of terrorist activity in the North. Other political murders followed. Army and police officers were also killed. The Security Services retaliated and were often guilty of excesses in their bid to nip this embryonic and incipient terrorism in the bud, but excesses boomeranged and became counter

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productive. And the extremists thought it was a patriotic (Tamil) duty to snuff out non-TULF and non-Elam dissidents among the Tamils.

It was in this situation immediately after the July 1977 General Elections, when the TULF had swept the board in the Tamil areas, that there was an island-wide outburst of anti-Tamil violence. Many Tamils were killed and much damage was done to Tamil property in Jaffna, Colombo, in the plantation areas and several outstation towns in the Sinhalese areas. The police and the army also ran amok in Jaffna on several occasions in the years 1977, 1980, 1981 and 1983. This turned more and more of the Tamils against the Government. Unfortunately, the Government for a long time either turned a blind eye or could not do anything about this get-tough policy of the Sinhala chauvinists who made the killing of a few army and police officers an excuse for anti-Tamil violence. It was thought by some Sinhalese fanatics that if the Tamils were "taught a lesson" they would become submissive and accept Sinhala *diktat*. The Tamils refused to submit and were able to mobilise help from Tamils abroad and also find a safe haven and base in South India. After 1977, Tamil terrorism on the one hand and anti-Tamil violence on the other became endemic. It reached a high water mark in July 1983. With each escalation of violence and counter-violence, the chances for a peaceful political settlement receded.

IT WOULD BE USEFUL to point out that violence as a political weapon—among the Sinhalese and Tamils—began and grew as a direct consequence of the failure of the political systems based on the Donoughmore and the Soulbury Constitutions and the Constitutions of 1972 and 1978 to produce a solution to resolve the politico-economic frustrations of the Sinhalese and similar grievances of the Tamils. Chauvinists and extremists were therefore able to capitalise on the situation. There has, however, recently been a great deal of learned argumentation as to who was responsible for pushing the country on to this course of suicidal violence. And also as to which came first—Tamil terrorism or Sinhala violence. Such chicken-or-egg hairsplitting is of little consequence at this juncture. Historians can make their verdict in due time but the present violent confrontation in the North and socio-economic and political disruption in the rest of the country cries aloud for a solution. It has aroused world-wide attention and the longer the confrontation goes on it is the whole island and its entire population that will suffer. A great deal of time is today spent by many to justify army excesses by recapitulating terrorist outrages and vice-versa. Such casuistry will not take anybody anywhere now or at any time in the future. What is urgently needed is peace—even an interim ceasefire—to create a climate in which a peaceful political settlement can be worked out.

I WILL REVERT to the question of ceasefire later, but in the meantime, it is well to remember that post-mortem recriminations about terrorist outrages and army excesses will only perpetuate a vicious circle of violence that will go on for ever and ever. And it will spread with other sections of the population being drawn in. This can be ended only by a ceasefire. Only a ceasefire will also provide the climate in which a political solution would be possible. Peace and Harmony can come only after that. But before the question of a ceasefire, which is undoubtedly the first step in the peace process to arrive at a political settlement can be discussed, it is necessary to refer to some fundamentals that have a bearing on the whole problem.

It is important that many of those who claim to be political analysts do not attach importance to the fact that a casteist and communal approach to politics, which had first manifested itself with the introduction of the Western head-count system of elections, had become institutionalised in the political life of the country. Though franchise in the early years was limited to the so-called "educated" of the property-owning section of the population, even in this limited electorate race, caste and religion became winning vote-catching slogans. This was amply demonstrated in 1911 during the election of the "educated Ceylonese" Member in the Legislative Council. And with universal adult franchise in 1931, politicians began to turn more and more to racial, caste, religious and linguistic issues. All political parties without any exception had to pay heed to such divisive and sectarian considerations when contesting elections. The parliamentary system bred fanatic communalism and jingoistic chauvinism. Even Left and Marxist Parties found it necessary to abandon the principled policies they had earlier formulated on language or regional autonomy.

PAYING LIP SERVICE to the secularism of British political traditions, an effort was made by all enamoured of the western "parliamentary system" to create what they called "national parties" with "national policies and programmes". It was thought that universal adult franchise, Fabianism, Welfarism, Socialism or other "isms" would bring economic issues to the forefront and push race, caste, religion and language into the background. But from the very start the attempt to graft the British and Western system to the body politic of Sri Lanka has proved a failure. Furthermore, the system of government and administration that emerged from the parliamentary system introduced into Sri Lanka from the West has proved a failure and this is becoming more and more apparent as the days go by. Basic economic problems remain unsolved. Ethnic confrontations have become worse.



Neither the Donoughmore and Soulbury Constitutions drawn up by the British nor the two new Constitutions (1972 and 1978) adopted by the dominant Sinhala ruling parties, together with several Constitutional amendments, many innovations and experiments in Local Government, and talk of devolution and decentralisation, have yielded any worthwhile or meaningful results. Piecemeal tinkering is not likely to provide a solution to the current problems of the country which have kept growing in the last fifty years, that is from the time of the World Depression of 1930. Ponnambalam's Fifty-Fifty and Senanayake's Pan Sinhala Cabinet during the Donoughmore era laid the foundation for the Sinhala-Tamil confrontations of the 1950s and 1960s which saw the rise of the demands for Tamil Arasu and the imposition of the Sinhala Only hegemony. Then in the 1970s came the standardisation of marks for University admission and the Sirimavo Constitution of 1972. And these triggered the Eelam demand, Tamil terrorism and ruthless army retaliation. And today a point of no return has been reached and unless a political solution is found to resolve outstanding issues, communal conflicts are bound to keep escalating.

ALL GOVERNMENTS from the time of the introduction of the Donoughmore system (1931) and more especially after Independence (1948) boast about increased economic development, a better quality of life for ordinary people and so on and so forth (Blah... Blah!). It is true that some progress has been made but even a cursory examination would show that the development recorded in many fields is not being sustained. Maintenance is poor or non-existent and assets are running down very fast. But one fact that must be borne in mind is that in Sri Lanka and other Third World countries similarly placed economic progress does not immediately erase racial, religious, tribal, caste, or language differences. What is worse is that the ruling political elites in Sri Lanka and elsewhere in the Third World have been so involved in winning populist voter support that they have tended to ignore or gloss over the dangers that unresolved social, religious, racial and language contradictions could bring. And these issues have unfortunately succeeded in pushing the countries concerned to the brink of disaster from internal conflicts.

TODAY in Sri Lanka there is a virtual civil war in the North. It is reminiscent of the insurrection of 1971 when disillusioned Sinhala youth had taken to arms because governments and political parties had failed to solve some of the basic problems that faced the nation. Today, the same problems remain among the Sinhalese youth though "plastered" over by the seeming prosperity brought about by an "open economy" and the export of manpower to the petrodollar Arab and other affluent countries. How long this new slave trade will give economic comfort and

solace to Sri Lanka is yet to be seen. *The stark realities of this situation today can no longer be hidden.* The ordinary householder is hit by high prices and the quality of life, so far as food is concerned, has deteriorated. Malnutrition and sickness are on the increase. The value of the rupee has fallen so low that though higher nominal wages are paid a family has to be satisfied with much less protein, vegetables, milk, pulses and grain than they were able to get a few years back for much less money. An open economy has also opened a new consumerist world and this has taken money away from food.

Individual and family debt has increased. And crime has become endemic and universal. The young, who want consumer goodies think nothing of robbing a bank or a cashier's box. Snatching jewellery has become yet another way of earning money to have a good time. Gambling has been institutionalised with official blessing. Drugs, Consumerism, Employment (especially abroad) may have channelised (for a time) some of the angry Sinhala youth of 1971 from political protest, but the growing pauperisation of the ordinary householder in town and country will sooner or later trigger a bigger 1971—if the Government does not take immediate remedial measures to resolve some of the problems.

SOME POLITICAL PUNDITS seem to think that the 1971 insurgency and the current armed revolt in the North together with the post-1977 open economy consumerist extravaganza have tended to eliminate caste relationships up to a point. But this is not so. What has emerged today is a far cry from the class stratification envisaged by political ideologists who had proclaimed that a parliamentary system based on universal adult franchise will inevitably replace race and caste with class. Whether fifty years of adult franchise and seven years of open economy could have brought about such a change is hard to say. But before we speculate on such change it is necessary to know something of the structure of traditional society in our sub-continent.

It is also necessary to realise that time has begun to run out. While the simmering revolt among the Sinhalese poor is still below the surface, the revolt in the North is real. If the Northern revolt is not ended with a peaceful political settlement soon, then conditions in the South will begin to deteriorate and frustrated and angry Sinhala youth will be driven to take up arms to find a solution to their problems. This is a reality that many especially in the Government, refuse to see. Moreover, the money spent on fighting terrorism in the North will reduce the money available for economic development and welfare programmes in the rest of the island. If the Government thinks that everything is alright in the Sinhalese areas it is living in a fool's



paradise. Anyone who has ear to the ground knows  
that the government is sitting on top of a volcano.

*To be continued*

x x x

FLASH BACK TO JULY '83

## A House Laments

Once I stood  
State ly, elegant;  
An edifice beautiful —  
Admired by some  
Envied by many  
Loved by my owner.

Over the Years  
I shared the family's joy  
And their tears . . .  
I listened to  
The children's laughter,  
As they played hide and seek  
Within my "bosom" . . .  
Hither and thither they ran  
Gleefully. Not a care had they.

Came the glorious day  
When the eldest girl  
Lovely and lithe  
Like a gazelle,  
Married a beau handsome.  
I watched the lavish wedding feast  
And the joyous home-coming . . .  
Music wafted over my rafters,  
All was bright and gay.

Months later, fate struck  
A very cruel blow —  
Wantonly destroyed was I  
By mindless marauders;  
Flames . . . leaping, rising . . .  
Fuelled by petrol and a lot of hatred  
Rose to the roof . . .

And I, who was so charming,  
Was razed to the ground.  
Oh, how the family cried;  
To their copious tears  
I added mine.  
But the "water" of our sorrow  
Could not douse those flames.  
Oh, how my "heart" bled  
On the 23rd of July.

For my lost beauty, I mean;  
Never will I regain

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The treasures I held  
For that family dear.  
But more than earthly treasures  
I miss . . . oh, how I miss i  
The abiding love and presence,  
The sights and sounds  
Of that loving family.  
But desert me  
They will not;  
They'll surely come  
To re-build me  
Bigger and better  
Than before.  
Then will I proudly rise  
And "live" . . . yes . . . "live" again . . .

Lucy Thompson

8/44, Watapuluwa,  
Kandy,  
July 12, 1984.

## EXPOSE

## Sherlock Holmes

### WELLAWATTE MILLS

**TENDERS GALORE:** A reader has sent in this query in regard to the Wellawatte Mills which is to be closed down on September 15: "The Wellawatte Mills called a tender nearly two years ago for modernisation. Originally there were twelve tenderers and this was brought down to eight tenderers. Over the last two years they have been repeatedly asking the tenderers to submit fresh offers at reduced rates. The final offers were accepted early this year and once again they are asking for continuous extensions and amended offers. Now as everyone is aware Wellawatte Mills will be closed down from 15th September. "Very funny four tenderers of the eight have now been asked to submit revised offers. What is significant is that the Technical Evaluation Committee which was originally appointed by the Cabinet has not recommended the four tenderers who have now been called to submit revised offers. The four tenderers are represented by four well known agents with political connections. Commercial circles are curious to know how the Ministry of Textile Industries on their own have decided to ask for revised offers from these four tenderers (two German and two Italian) leaving out the Japanese and the Indian tenderers who could possibly have been the cheapest. How did non-technical personnel at the Ministry arrive at this conclusion without the consent of the Technical



Evaluation Committee? Commercial circles are already of the view that there is some monkey business going on. Why have the Indian and Japanese tenderers been left out in the cold? . . . .

*Sherlock Holmes* has no answer as to why the powers-that-be in the Ministry should behave in this way. This column will be happy to publish corrections, clarifications, denials and the like from any responsible quarters or from anyone who has knowledge of what has been happening at the Wellawatte Mills. Have there been protests about the way these tenders have been handled?

## NESTLE AGREEMENT

*Below we publish the second instalment of the Nestle-Milk Board Agreement:*

Section 3, entitled MANAGEMENT reads: 2.1. *Board of Directors:* Unless otherwise agreed by the parties here to the Board of Directors of the Company shall be composed of five members of which three members shall be nominated by Nestle and two members by the Minister of Rural Industrial Development; 3.2. *Chairman:* Throughout the term of this Agreement the Chairman shall be appointed from amongst the directors nominated by the Milk Board, as may be indicated by the Milk Board from time to time; 3.3. *Managing Director:* Throughout the term of this Agreement the Managing Director of the Company shall be appointed from amongst the directors nominated by Nestle, as may be indicated by Nestle from time to time; 3.4. *Management:* The Managing Director shall be responsible for the management of the Company, as delegated to him by the Board of Directors; his terms and conditions of employment will be decided by the Board of Directors; 3.5. *Auditors:* The Auditors of the Company shall be much reputable form of Chartered Accountants as the parties may from time to time agree upon; 3.6. *Undertaking by the parties:* Each party hereto undertakes with the other (a) to perform and observe and (so far as it is able by the exercise of voting rights or otherwise so to do) to procure that the Company will perform and observe all the provisions of this Agreement; (b) to take all necessary steps on its part to give full effect to the provisions of this Agreement as speedily as possible

Section 4, entitled ACTIVITIES PRIOR TO TAKE-OVER-DAY reads as follows: 4.1. *Delegation of Nestle Technical Team:* As soon as possible after execution of this Agreement Nestle shall send to Sri Lanka a team of technical or other experts and the Milk Board shall give to such experts full access throughout the period prior to Takeover Day to the said land, the said plant and to all personnel, books, records and other documentation relating to it in order

to enable them, in collaboration with representatives of the Milk Board to: (a) make a thorough assessment of the operations of the said plant; (b) to review and agree with the Milk Board, the terms and organisation of the fresh milk supply and all other matters stipulated under Clause 6.4 hereof; (c) prepare the take-over of the said plant on Takeover Day and the planning of any subsequent improvements, changes and investments which they may find appropriate; (d) interview and screen all the personnel; (e) establish and hand over to the Milk Board the A List and the B List; (f) agree with the Milk Board on the exact delineation of the said land; (g) check and finalise the inventories to be set out in the Lease Agreement referred to in Clause 4.4. hereof; (h) take stock and assess (by visual inspection, taking of samples, analysis and otherwise) the quality of all existing stocks of General Stores at the said plant and determine which are unable by the Company; (i) establish and hand over to the Milk Board the C List; (j) review and agree with the Milk Board as to which outstanding commitments, contracts or other rights referred to in the first paragraph of Clause 4.3. hereof the Company would be willing to take over and the terms thereof.

4.2. *Duties of Milk Board:* The Milk Board undertakes up to the Takeover-day to furnish to Nestle or the Company all information concerning the said plant and its operations or relating to the personnel as Nestle or the Company may reasonably request. The Milk Board shall up to the Take-over day carry on the operations of the said plant in all respects as a going concern and shall keep Nestle or the Company informed of (and when necessary shall consult Nestle or the Company in respect of) all material developments or matters of significance in relation thereto, and will not without the consent of Nestle or the Company enter into any material or long term contracts in relation thereto. It shall also not change or promise any change in the existing terms of employment of any personnel at the said plant without consulting Nestle or the Company.

4.3. *Outstanding Commitments and Contracts:* The Milk Board shall within 30 days hereof inform Nestle of all outstanding commitments, contracts or other rights or obligations and liabilities relating to the said plant (such as supply contracts with farmers, milk transport contracts, contracts for water or power supply, right for effluent disposal, labour agreements and list of insurances) and keep Nestle and the Company (when incorporated) informed of any changes therein up to the Takeover-day. The Milk Board shall use its best endeavours to procure that the contracts referred to in paragraph (h) of Clause 4.1 are either novated between the other contracting party and the Company or assigned to the Company with effect from Takeover day.

*To be continued*

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# September 3 - 9

## DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWS- PAPERS PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO

*DN*—Daily News; *DM*—Daily Mirror; *DO*—Daily Observer; *ST*—Sunday Times; *SO*—Sunday Observer; *DMN*—Dinamina; *LD*—Lankadipa; *VK*—Virakesari; *ATH*—Aththa; *SM*—Silumina; *SLDP*—Sri Lankadipa; *JD*—Janadina; *S*—Sun; *DV*—Davasa; *DP*—Dinapathi; *CM*—Chinthamani; *WK*—Weekend; *RV*—Riviresa; *DK*—Dinakara; *EN*—Elenadu; *IS*—Island; *DI*—Divaina; *IDPR*—information Dept. Press Release.

**MONDAY SEPTEMBER 3:** An all out war on video piracy in Sri Lanka is the aim of a new body called the Federation Against Copyright Thefts (FACT) to be formed shortly. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia appealed for peace among the Islamic nations soon after street demonstrations here by pilgrims gathering for an annual visit to holy shrines—*DN*. There should be no more retrenchment in any state sector corporation is the high priority interim recommendations of the special committee studying unemployment and the rising cost of living—*DO*. The newly formed Lanka Electricity Company is planning a scheme involving public participation; Chairman H. S. Subasinghe said they wanted the public to get involved in meter reading. Government is to place a new set of proposals before the all party conference on September 21; these proposals, according to official conference spokesman and National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, will be evolved after considering the representations made at the talks to date as well as the two reports compiled by committee A and committee B. State monopoly having been proved to be a total failure, it is vital that we turn to foreign aid, foreign capital and access to foreign markets through collaboration, Finance and Planning Minister Ronnie de Mel said on Saturday—*SU*. Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne Minister of Justice denied emphatically that he met Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike the leader of the SLFP, as an emissary of the UNP. Lakshman Jayakody, MP for Attanagalla is expected to take up the accounts of the State Fertilizer Manufacturing Corporation (SFMC) in Parliament tomorrow informed sources said. National Security Minister, Lalith Athulathmudali yesterday said that subsequent to an explosive device killing four police officers in Point Pedro, he had received allegations that some shops were burnt in the area and also several "persons" killed—*/S*. When the All Party Conference reconvenes on September 21, the government will submit certain new proposals—*DP*. Consequent to a bomb blast at Tikkam near Point Pedro, it has been reported that several shops and buildings were set on fire and that more than two thousand people have taken refuge in temples in nearby areas—*VK*.

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**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4:** Elections Commissioner Chandradasa de Silva yesterday announced arrangements for receiving nominations on September 27 for four by-elections that have been scheduled. Chances of Israel's two major parties getting together to grapple with the nation's critical economic and political problems dimmed today after serious disagreements developed between the two sides last night—*DN*. The Prabhakaran shot in the crossfire between a Naty patrol vessel and a high powered boat full of terrorists in the Surveillance Zone is not the much wanted Velupillai Prabhakaran, leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam which has claimed responsibility for several acts of violence—*DO*. More than 200 Sri Lankan Tamils who have sought asylum in Denmark are remitting to Sri Lanka a substantial part of the 300 Danish kroner weekly subsistence allowance paid to them by the Danish Government, until their cases are reviewed. The alliance of the left oriented political parties, including the Sri Lanka Mahajana Pakshaya, has requested President J. R. Jayewardene to lift the emergency in view of the forthcoming by-elections. The main thrust of the government's housing development activities under Prime Minister R. Premadasa's one million houses programme is to shift from rural development to urban development next year—*SU*. State Corporations running at a loss are to be closed down or sold, according to a proposal made to government by Finance and Planning Minister Ronnie de Mel. Four political parties have written to the President asking for the conditions for the holding of genuinely free and fair elections be ensured before proceeding to hold by-elections; the four parties are the SLMP, LSSP, CP (Moscow wing) and the MEP. Police sources said yesterday that lawyers in Jaffna and Mallakam were boycotting courts in protest against the alleged harassment of civilians, and the damaging of their property by the security forces—*/S*.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5:** The Department of Motor Traffic has stopped accepting stamps as payment of fees or other services, after it was pointed out that forged stamps were being tendered by some people. Pakistan President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq was quoted in a press interview today as saying that a proposal to set up a joint armaments industry of Islamic countries was being discussed—*DN*. Secretary, Ministry of State, Douglas Liyanage sent in his resignation yesterday; before submitting his resignation Mr. Liyanage met Minister of State Dr. Ananda-tissa de Alwis, and President J. R. Jayewardene—*DO*. The Attorney General has been asked to determine whether a new requirement making English compulsory for admission to the Law Faculty of the university is constitutional. The dream of a 17-year-old boy just on the threshold of national recognition in cricket a sport in which the country enjoys world class status, was rudely shattered last evening with the tragic death of D. S. Senanayake MV school-boy, Malik Alles. Police Chief Rudra Rajasingham has called for a report from



Senior DIG H. Weerasinghe (CID) with regard to the actions of two Police officers of the Criminal Investigation Department; this was in connection with last week's Supreme Court judgement which found two Police Department officials guilty of violating fundamental rights—*SU*. Only nine of about 540 youths arrested from the Valvettiturai and Point Pedro areas in the first week of August will be detained at Boosa for further inquiries. Defence sources said yesterday All Commercial Bank of Ceylon branches throughout the country will effect a one day stoppage of work today in protest against "acts of victimisation" by the management against members of the Ceylon Bank Employees Union engaged in "legitimate union activities"—*/S*. The Additional Government Agent of Jaffna informed yesterday that the number of youths released from the Boosa Army camp was 213—*VK*.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6:** Political circles were yesterday speculating whether Parliament can present an address to the President to remove the Chief Justice before his scheduled retirement on October 22 his 65th Birthday. Canada's Progressive Conservative Party romped to a landslide general election victory last night, grabbing seats from coast to coast to oust the ruling Liberals—*DN*. Minister of State, Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis, will undertake a major promotional tour of Germany, United Kingdom and France, in order to exploit the potential for tourist promotion in this region, according to the Travel Association of Sri Lanka—*DO*. Over two lakhs worth of forged high value stamps were recovered yesterday by the Galle Police when they bared a massive stamps and passport racket yesterday. The opinions of Ministers, Members of Parliament, including those of the opposition, all trade unions, student associations, youth organisations and the general public will be sought for the purpose of deciding the future role of the Job Bank. The State Pharmaceuticals Corporation is to be given more flexibility in pricing its drugs to enable it to compete with private sector drug importers—*SU*. Two hundred and eleven Sri Lankans were arrested while engaged in drug trafficking in foreign countries in the year 1983. The TULF may call for a boycott of the forthcoming by-election to the Trincomalee and Paddirippu seats if its request for a postponement is not acceded to. The boycott of Sri Lankan ships by Indian port workers in Madras and Bombay has now hit several Sri Lankan exporters—*/S*. Mr. B. I. Guntunga has been appointed Secretary to the Ministry of State—*DP*.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7:** Sri Lanka will not need an immediate agreement with the IMF in view of the present satisfactory balance of payments, the finance ministry said on the eve of Minister Ronnie de Mel's departure for the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in Toronto. Sikhs today began drumming up support in Punjab for a march to liberate their holiest shrine, Amritsar's Golden Temple, from the Indian army,

the Press Trust of India reported—*DN*. The proposed by-election in Trincomalee, Paddirippu, Kundasale and Minneriya are to be postponed under emergency regulations. The Speaker yesterday appointed a Select Committee to inquire and report on a resolution on the order paper to remove Chief Justice N. D. M. Samarakoon on the grounds of proved misbehaviour. Opposition Leader Anura Bandaranaike yesterday requested State Minister Anandatissa de Alwis to hold an inquiry into the visit by former State Ministry Secretary, Douglas Liyanage to Israel—*SU*. TULF Secretary-General Mr. A. Amirthalingam and the party Vice-President Mr. R. Sambandan met the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene yesterday to have discussions on matters which were described to be relevant to "Tamil interests at present"; it is understood that yesterday's meeting hinged mainly around the current security situation in the North. In a faint, almost inaudible voice, the legendary Mother Teresa of the Calcutta slums told pressmen yesterday at St. Anne's Church, Chekku Street, Colombo "Write the Truth and spread the message of truth, because Truth Glorifies God." A delegation representing principals of Jaffna schools and colleges is scheduled to meet Education Minister Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe on Tuesday the 11th in Colombo and discuss several issues affecting northern students—*/S*. TULF General Secretary, Mr. A. Amirthalingam met President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday and requested that compensation should be paid to the victims of damage, killings, and arson that took place at Point Pedro recently—*VK*.

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8:** The three-week old Indian boycott of Sri Lankan registered ships was called off by the Indian Port and Dock Workers' Federation on Thursday night, shipping sources in Colombo said yesterday. China has agreed to allow the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled spiritual leader to send a three-man delegation to Peking but dates for the visit have not been finalised, the official New China Agency reported yesterday—*DN*. Settlers along the down stream parts of the Mahaweli particularly those close to the Victoria reservoir have been alerted to a possible rise in the water levels due to the discharge of water from the reservoir during routine testing. The GOBU of the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills are to wind up after 102 years of service on the grounds that the machinery is old and obsolete and beyond redemption. President J. R. Jayewardene has assured TULF leader A. Amirthalingam, that "necessary action" will be taken with regard to certain incidents in the north recently. One thousand volunteer teachers are to be recruited to estate schools; interviews for this purpose will be held on September 15—*SU*. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party will launch an agitational campaign against any decision by the Government to postpone the forthcoming by-elections for a second time. President J. R. Jayewardene on Thursday sent a special message in the diplomatic baggage to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia reiterating Sri Lanka's continued



support for the Palestinian cause; the message according to Foreign Ministry sources, was a sequel to statements made by Mr. Douglas Liyanage, former Secretary to the State Ministry to the *Jerusalem Post* while on a "private visit" to Israel. The *New York Times* in an editorial titled "Statecraft for Sri Lanka" says a tragedy is developing in Sri Lanka where the violence is new but the quarrel is not; it says that the developments in the island are "more than a local misfortune because Sri Lanka has been that rare thing in the Third World, a working democracy reasonably prosperous and traditionally non-violent. The first consignment of 400 metric tons of rice collected through the Agrarian Services Centres of the International Emergency Food Reserve 1983 and 1984 will be donated to Tanzania an East African country—/S.

**SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9:** An islandwide alert has gone out for the arrest of two Christian Missionaries who are alleged to be directly engaged in supporting Northern terrorist organisations to mobilise youth from the South, particularly from estate areas, for their separatist movement. The inquiry into the death of University Student H. B. A. Padmasiri on June 19 during a clash between students and police was taken up yesterday by Colombo High Court Judge Mr. Lakshman Weerasekera at the Agricultural Post Graduate Conference Hall, Peradeniya. The security forces in the North could meet any terrorist activity, assured the Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali in an interview with the *Observer*. The timely intervention by the Foreign Ministry in Colombo has averted a diplomatic scandal in London involving several employees of the Sri Lanka High Commission—SO. Residents of the Jaffna Peninsula are now likely to be deprived of a major drinking water project as a sequel to the kidnapping of the young American couple, Stan and Mary Allen in mid-May this year. The government has decided to introduce amendments to the Antiquities Ordinance for the better control and preservation of antiquities and monuments and also for the preservation of sites, buildings of historic or architectural importance of interest in Sri Lanka. The Customs, the Sri Lanka Port Authority and shop owners will meet tomorrow to fix a date for the reopening of the Duty free Shopping Complex at Kollupitiya; they will also discuss how the complex will function. The United States Agency for International Development will provide financial aid to the tune of US dollars 6,893 million for two ongoing development projects in Sri Lanka, official sources revealed—ST. Government is contemplating a series of amendments to the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act to deal with the ever increasing incidents of terrorism in Jaffna. The world's top experts in rubber research will sit together at an international rubber conference in Colombo next week, to mark the 75th anniversary of Sri Lanka's Rubber Research Institute. Sri Lanka's Deputy High Commissioner's office in Madras is now bracing itself again to meet the flood of visa applications expected with the reopening of the duty free complex

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in Colombo this week. Rupavahini will telecast a series of panel discussions from today focussing attention on the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka—WK. The foreign aid component in the 1985 budget will be around 15 billion rupees according to Finance and Planning Minister Ronnie de Mel. The Second Chamber concept will be the apex on which Government proposals will be based when they are submitted to the Round Table Conference on September 21. The United States of America is to aid Sri Lanka's wild life parks by introducing modern management techniques; these methods will be oriented to suit Sri Lanka's traditional life style, heritage and its religious susceptibilities. A new shipping agreement between the Soviet Union and Sri Lanka is to be negotiated this week; a delegation from Moscow will be in Sri Lanka for this purpose—/S.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A WEEKLY COMMENTARY

### The Labour-Likud Coalition

THE WORLD continues to be in an unsettled state. Many regions are in turmoil with man-made confrontations and conflicts dominating the scene. In *Central and South America* fighting continues to escalate in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Chile and also other countries. Cuba and Nicaragua are expecting an American invasion Grenada-style in case Reagan is returned to power. The debt problem of the countries of the South American continent has reached explosive proportions. The IMF and Western bankers are doing everything possible palliatives like re-scheduling to postpone the evil day when these countries individually or collectively will be compelled to refuse to pay the accumulated interest or even renounce the debts altogether. In *Africa*, the drought which has affected over 30 nations has brought home the point that the colonialist and neo-colonialist destruction of the traditional system of agriculture can only perpetuate hunger, starvation, premature death in a spate of total poverty. In *South Africa*, Sharpeville and Soweto are once again in the news as centre of apartheid ruthlessness. *West Asia* continues to be a smouldering conflagration.

*Israel* seems determined to pursue its aggressive policies in spite of the recent elections where Labour won more seats than Likud. But Labour was only able to form a government in coalition with Likud. The coalition was agreed in principle not because either party was enamoured to the other but because they had no other alternative but to coalesce. But what has been described as an uncertain horse deal became



possible only after weeks of hard-bargaining and political wheeler-dealing. Only towards the end of last week was it possible for Peres and Shamir to go before Parliament for a vote of confidence. The Labour-Likud coalition first obtained 89 votes with 18 against; then Peres presented a nine-party government commanding 97 votes in a 120-seat Parliament. This parliamentary majority however, does not indicate either a capacity to survive the full term of five years or ensure smooth working on many matters right from the start. Knowledgeable observers have expressed doubt as to how long this coalition could last. But there is one thing that the coalition may agree to change and that is the system of proportional representation to prevent the smaller parties trying to present the bigger parties from forming a government on the basis of a programme put forward in the elections.

It will be recalled that soon after the elections results were announced Shimon Peres, the leader of the Labour Party, was called upon to form the Government. Peres is the leader of the Labour Alignment which consists of the Labour Party and other groups like the left-inclined Mapam. The Alignment had secured 44 seats in the 120-member Knesset while the Likud led by Shamir had won 41. In Israel no party can win an outright majority. The proportional representation system ensures that the smaller parties win a reasonable number of seats and they hold the balance of power between the two major groupings. Governments have therefore been formed by building up coalitions and the smaller parties have always been able to twist the tail of the party which is determined to form the government. This time though Labour is the biggest party it has lost its old punch. This is because it has shifted towards the Right in its policies and attitudes. Even Mapam could not prevent this. It is this rightward shift that made possible the Labour-Likud coalition.

Though negotiations for the coalition had at one time virtually collapsed they were resumed when both parties realised that neither could depend on the smaller parties to form a government. The big surprise was that Labour and Likud were able to agree on all policy matters including Lebanon and the Settlements in the West Bank. The disagreements that held up negotiations were details about the structure and composition of the government. Now it would appear that agreement has been reached on nearly all outstanding matters. There appears to be some opposition in both parties to the allocation of Cabinet posts but this is not likely to upset the apple cart. Peres, it is said, will be Prime Minister for the first 25 months and Shamir the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. The position would be reversed for the next 25 months. Each party will have 10 Cabinet Ministers and Labour will have Defence and Likud Finance. The Labour-Likud coalition will command a minimum of 85 votes in the 120-member Parliament unless the

left-wing Mapam breaks away from Labour. But some of the smaller parties are likely to join the National Unity bandwagon.

But the coalition, however strong, will have to contend with many economic problems which to the outside world may seem serious. On paper the situation looks pretty grim, with inflation running currently at 400 percent, increasing unemployment and a trade deficit which would make any economist aghast. But in this case one should not go much by figures. Israel is one of those lucky countries whose wars have been financed by others. Without a massive flow of funds from the United States, Israel's economy would have ground to a halt a long time ago. It is true warnings have been given that there would be a cut in the massive United States aid unless drastic measures are taken to put the economy on the rails. But Israel politicians do not take such threats seriously. They are certain that Washington can always be persuaded by pressure exerted by the Jewish lobby to continue financing settlements on the West Bank and Israel's wars against the Arabs. It is the knowledge that whatever happens the United States will be forced to bail out Israel that has led Tel Aviv to military adventures and financial extravagance. It must be remembered that it is in the interests of the United States to keep Israel going as a check on Arab nationalism.

To argue that inflation in Israel would lead to a collapse would be a mistake. The Israel economy is merely an extension of the American and unless there is a serious downturn in the US economy the Israelis have nothing to worry about. And, in spite of everything, the inflation even of 400 percent, has not really affected Israel. An indexation system has prevented a sharp decline in the standard of living of the working class. According to some estimates, the workers are as well off as four years ago. However inflation was a major election issue, primarily because it was felt that if the present trends continue inflation would be running at the rate of 1,000 percent by the end of the year. Nobody in Israel, however, seems to be worried about the inflation. Labour of course does not have to bear the responsibility for inflation. During the elections Labour had announced measures it would take to reduce the rate of inflation and tackle the problem of foreign debt. But they were no more than slogans to attract voters and embarrass Likud. A foreign debt of \$ 22.6 billion would normally be seen as a serious threat to the economy; but this debt is not a problem to Israel because the major part is not owed to commercial banks but to the United States government. Washington is not likely to call for repayment. But inflation is a problem that cannot be entirely ignored. It is probably because of the complexities of the economic situation that Shamir had suggested a Labour-Likud coalition. At the start Labour had rejected it out of hand, but found it had committed a tactical blunder because for the majority of Israeli Jews

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security takes precedence over economy. Likud exploited the Security card to the fullest and Labour had to backtrack.

Perhaps the most important issue in the Israeli election, along with the state of the economy and the occupation of South Lebanon, is the question of Israeli settlements on the West Bank. Under Likud, a policy of active colonisation was pursued and large subsidies were provided to the settlements. A sum of \$ 35.000 million had been spent on West Bank settlements and it is members of the ultra-right and fundamentalist groups that have moved in large numbers to the area. The settlements, however had started almost immediately after the 1967 war and Labour gave every encouragement to the movement. Nevertheless many had thought that Labour would be different to Likud. Both the West and the Arabs had thought that if Shimon Peres came to power some sort of improvement would take place on Israel-Arab relations. In the early days of the campaign, Labour had promised the introduction of a prototype Palestinian autonomy in Gaza, municipal elections in the West Bank and a limitation on Israeli settlements in areas of dense Arab population. But this gave Likud a handle to blast Labour. It started a vicious campaign that a Labour victory would be a real security threat, that it will please all the enemies of Israel and would lead to a sellout on the West Bank. The Likud for its part, asserted the sovereign right of Israel to the whole of the West Bank which it regarded as a part of Greater Israel. The West Bank issue thus became a test of loyalty to the concept of Israel.

To Labour, the integration of the West Bank meant that Israel would have a large Arab population and that if it wanted to continue as a democracy, the Arab population could not be denied democratic rights. Israel would then have to choose between being democratic and Jewish for a multinational state with a large Arab population would find it difficult to preserve its exclusively Jewish character. This is the Labour dilemma: it is not willing to annex the West Bank but at the same time it is not willing to withdraw. It wanted the best of both worlds. For Likud and the ultras, there is no problem. The West Bank was part and parcel of Israel and that the Arabs had to be pushed out.

Likud's vicious campaign questioning Labour's commitment to Israeli settlements led Shimon Peres to adopt a more hawkish attitude, even though this led to a certain amount of strain in the Labour Alignment. But Shimon Peres went to the extent of formulating Labour's policy in a series of negatives—No to going back to the 1967 frontiers; No negotiations with the PLO; No Palestinian state and above all No uprooting of the settlements.

Such are the perspectives of the current situation in Israel.

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THE GARDENS OF TAPROBANE

## The Frieze

By Count de Mauny

We begin this week a series of articles based on the classic *The Gardens of Taprobane* by Count de Mauny. It was edited by Bernard Miall and was published in 1937 by Williams And Norgate, Ltd., Great Russell Street, London. The book was dedicated to "the Duchess of Sutherland in memory of her too brief visit to Taprobane, in the hope that she will return, enhancing with her presence the beauty of my island and the happiness of its life."

*Taprobane, December 31.* In the "Hall of Lotus" is a beautiful frieze, in the size of the frescoes of Sigiriya: it is eight feet in length by two feet in height, and is divided into groups, each group forming a panel. These groups are of a religious, social and astronomical character, and they give the key to the ceremony depicted in the frieze. The architectural detail is that of a temple; octagonal stone pillars, rising from massive bases, are crowned by capitals in the form of the Lotus, and on them rests a transversal beam, which supports an unseen roof; there is a raised pavement of white stone, and three steps lead up to a platform. The walls are of the particular shade of red used in the temples of Ceylon.

The frieze is called "The House-Warming" and the scene is my house of "Taprobane", where the ceremony is supposed to take place. The Apsaras, in the form of Padminies, goddesses of the Lotus, come down from heaven for the consecration of the house, which, after the ceremony, will be called "The Place of the Lotus." The house-warming, in the East, is an important and even essential ceremony, consecrated by immemorial usage. When the stars have been consulted, an auspicious day is chosen for the cere-



mony, which will take place under the aegis of some personage reputed the favourite of Fate.

We see in the first panel of the frieze, the principal actor in the ceremony, personified by a woman, surrounded by her acolytes, on her way to the place of the ceremony. She is standing on the right, clad in a soft rose-pink saluwa (saree); pink being the colour which, according to the legend, is that of the first note of Oriental music "Sa". In heaven, under similar circumstances, the Gandarva Devas (celestial musicians) would accompany their pujas with music and song, as a sign of cooperation with the Divine Spirits. This personage holds, in her hands, a tray full of red and white lotus flowers, the symbols of Signity and Purity. They are also the offering presented to Lakshmi, Goddess of Fortune.

Religion, adoration, are the key-note of these ceremonies, in which all is blended with and tempered by religion. Religious rites, prayers, offerings, aspersions with scented water, lights, incense, "joss-sticks" constitute the motive of the first panel, and the atmosphere is pregnant with serenity and sanctity. A graceful young woman, dressed in white, the emblem of Purity, is distributing flowers to the Padminies; the one kneeling holds a blue lily; she represents Humility, Sweetness and Obedience; she is clad in purple, the symbol of Honour. Her companions await the moment when she will join them and occupy the place allotted to her by the principal personage.

The ceremony consists of depositing, in a propitious place, a lamp decorated with garlands of jasmine (*Jasminus Samba*). One of the older personages pours oil into the lamp and sets the wicks in a circle around it. The principal personage lights one of the wicks, while intoning an oration, or gita, and facing in the direction prescribed by the Astrologer; the others do the same, and when all the wicks are kindled the room is a blaze of light. Now camphor, incense and joss-sticks are burnt, scented water is sprinkled, and rice is boiled in milk (kiribath), while invocations call for the blessings of the Gods. The panel on the right is symbolical. The Padminies bear in their arms various objects which are, intrinsic parts of the ceremony; each object having apart from its purpose, a symbolic value which adds its note of harmony to the charm of life.

The first personage of the panel carries a lamp and a vessel of oil. Light is the symbol of Knowledge, which guides and illumines. Oil plays its part in every religious ceremony. The second swings a censer; its smoke purifies the house and drives away the evil spirits; the third bears the rice which is to be eaten at the first repast; the last has a pitcher of milk, which she pours on to the pavement, to show the prosperity of the householder. Nearly all these figures carry flowers, and the ceremony ends with a

prayer to the Gods. In painting this frieze the artist had a vision of the Apsaras, the divinities of the Lotus proclaiming that "Taprobane" is a home full of charm where peace and serenity reign supreme. The Apsaras return to the heavens, leaving no trace of their presence; they were only a vision, a mirage, but the impression remains, and it is this impression which the artist has transferred to the canvas of the frieze.

"The Gardens of Taprobane" also play their part in the house-warming, offering their loveliness as a New Year's gift, and of all such gifts I love best the flowers they bring me. They assuage my insatiable thirst for beauty, my longing for perfection. Regarding them, I know the pride of the creator, and my heart is filled with gratitude: for Nature alone repays me for the loving care I bestow upon her. There are, of course, disappointments: a precious seed may refuse to germinate; another, one morning, may part the soil and offer me its two first tender leaves, full of life and hope only to die the same day, cut down by excess of sunlight, or devoured, that very evening, by a green grasshopper. But there are so many others that spring up and prosper beyond my wildest hopes, in the most unexpected corners, and light up the whole garden with the coloured splendour of their blooms.

To be continued

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RICE — 2

## Low-Cost Cultural Practices

THE CONTINUING FUEL CRISIS, world inflation and markedly unpredictable weather conditions have directed the attention of research to finding appropriate low-cost organic manures to supplement expensive inorganic chemical fertilisers and less intensive water conservation practices. *Straw-recycling*: Straw recycling experiments reported in previous issues of *Highlights* have indicated that 100% K and 30% N requirements of rice can be substituted by straw. Various methods of incorporating the straw have also been reported. Latest observations from Ulpothagama (three miles from Hasalaka-Minipe in Kandy District) are that i. in broadcast-seeded fields, the previous season's straw harvest should be incorporated (4 t/ha) at the time of preparatory tillage; ii. in large scale transplanted fields, the straw is spread on the soil two weeks prior to transplanting, and trodden in during the process of transplanting; iii. in small transplanted fields, straw can be placed between the rows 5-7 days after transplanting; transplanting is done in double rows 10 cm apart; leaving 39 cm between sets of double rows to facilitate the application of straw; the mulch also controls weed growth

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**Azolla:** Use of the free floating water fern *Azolla pinnata* as a partial substitute for Urea in wet zone ricelands had also been reported in the previous issues. However, the redenning of Azolla, which is a natural green colour, has caused speculation. It was thought that this was a symptom of phosphorous deficiency. Subsequent experiments at the CARI Gannoruwa have indicated that the colour change from green to red is due more to a lack of sunlight on cloudy days than a phosphorous deficiency. *Transplanting Rice into Standing water:* There is a misconception that transplanting rice in standing water has adverse effects on growth and yield. An experiment conducted at Batalagoda from Yala 1982 through Maha 1982/83 to Yala 1983 has disproved this. The experiment was conducted with Bg 276-5 (3 m), Bg 94-1 (3½ m) Bg 380 (4 m) and Bg 11-11 (4-4½ m) in 5-7 cm of standing water. No significant differences were noted in growth or yield. Savings in irrigation water may be obtained by adopting this method (without draining the fields prior to transplanting) in areas where water is limiting factor.

**Wide Use of Short aged Varieties:** Unpredictable weather bedevils the cultivation of rice, which is a thirsty crop. F.A.O. in a survey concluded in 1977, gave Sri Lanka the highest instability rating in Asian countries, based primarily on weather. We are aware of the crippling droughts and floods that we experience from time to time and how this adversely affects the cultivation of medium aged varieties (4-4½ m). In the circumstances, there is an urgent need to reconsider our varietal breeding and seed production programme in favour of short aged varieties (3-3½ m), which require less water and allow more time for land preparation. That more time is required for preparatory tillage, now that farmers are compelled to revert to traditional methods using buffaloes and manual labour, because of escalating tractor costs and hire charges, is a serious consideration.

It is clearly evident that rice farmers are gradually shifting to the cultivation of HY short-aged varieties of 3-3½ months. 64% of the current cultivated area is grown with these varieties, and about 52% of this is comprised of three varieties: Bg 94-1 (3 m) Bg 34-8 and Bg 276-5 (3 m). Since there are no special breeding programs to develop drought resistant HY varieties, it would be necessary to take into account the gradually decreasing extent under medium term varieties and plan for intensifying the development of short-aged varieties.

Batalagoda Rice Breeding Station has already taken action to breed shorter-aged medium term varieties which could be harvested in four months i.e., two weeks earlier than usual. Bg 38p is an example. At present, this variety is recommended only for the Southern Province. VAT results (Maha 82/83) however indicate its superiority over other 4-4½ months

recommended varieties in other provinces too. Accordingly, Deputy Director (Research) Batalagoda recommends that "since the demand for 4-4½ m varieties is decreasing, it is advisable to recommend this variety on a nation-wide basis as its growth duration is *exactly* four months, and also to prevent the disappearance of medium-aged varieties from the dry zone." *Concluded.*



## A STAPLE FOOD

# Breadfruit

By Victoria Joseph

The breadfruit whose botanical name is *Artocarpus Pubescens* is called "Del" in Sinhalese and "Eral Pala" in Tamil—"Eral" meaning heart, since it is heart shaped. It is a roundish fruit at 7" long and 3" wide and looks a solid block of weight when held in the hand.

It is the staple food of the Pacific Islands and native to it. When the white men went to the Eastern Archipelago they discovered this marvelous tree. In the Malay lands, Java and Pacific Islands they found what a good substitute it was for bread. When they were short of their staple food in a new country, this provided the protein, stamina and taste. It was so relishing they called it the Breadfruit, and even wanted to take seedlings to other colonised countries of theirs in the world. One is reminded of the breadfruit and the Mutiny of the "Bounty" in 1787 in history when Captain Bligh was commissioned by the British Government to introduce breadfruit plants from Tahiti to the West Indies.

The tree is about 50 feet high, with a dense wide crown and looks very ornamental with deeply incised leaves. New leaves look green but the old leaves are very colourful when they turn into saffron-yellow. The bark of the tree is of mottled olive grays with depression and eyes. The edible fruit amidst its leaves look so eye-catching. The famous Colonial Secretary of Sri Lanka Sir Emerson Tennent has said: "The Del affords a valuable timber not only for architectural purposes, but for ship-building".

Robert Percival speaks of this particularly prolific in plants: "On my arrival in Ceylon with His Majesty's forces, in the year 1797 . . . and I found an agreeable amusement in taking notes of such facts and objects as appeared to me remarkable"—note what he says of this interesting plant: "The fruit is dressed in a variety of different ways and no less than fifteen different dishes are prepared from it, when sliced and roasted. It is eaten in place of bread, and is often scraped into flour by the natives, and then baked into cakes.



These fruits are invaluable preservatives against famine, of which neither their own indolence, the terrors of their enemies, nor the tyranny of their government are able to deprive the Ceylonese."



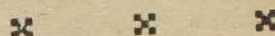
HIGH YIELDING APHID-RESISTANT

## Brinjal That Bears In Clusters

A high yielding brinjal variety with good resistance to the devastating aphids is doing well in many vegetable pockets in Tamil Nadu for more than a decade now. Attractive purple in colour and medium-sized, elongated, obclavate in shape, the brinjal fruits are borne in clusters. Known as "Annamalai Brinjal" (released by the Annamalai University), this commercial variety is most popular with the growers in the coastal belts of South Arcot and Chingleput. In Tiruchi district this drought-tolerant variety is more sought after as a rainfed crop, according to Dr. C. N. Sambandam, Head of Agricultural Botany department of the Annamalai University. This prolific yielder of about 165 days duration can be raised in June-July and December-January seasons. From the 75 day of planting brinjals can be got regularly for about two months. About 25,000 kg of the vegetable can be harvested from a hectare, giving a handsome profit to the farmers. Brinjal needs a nursery stage, and to cover one hectare about 375 gm of treated seeds should be sown on 2.5 cents of raised beds. Regular watering and adequate plant protection measures are essential for the nursery plants, and the seedlings will be ready for transplanting in the mainfield in 40-45 days.

PLANTING is done in well worked fields thrown into ridges and furrows at 75 cm espacements. Seedlings are allowed a plant-to-plant distance of about 60 cm. Irrigation is to be done regularly, at weekly intervals, and weeding should be taken up as and when necessary keeping the fields clean all the time. The recommended schedule of fertilizers for this variety is 5p kg nitrogen, 62.5 kg phosphorus and 75 kg potash per hectare as basal application and about 139 kg nitrogen and 75 kg potash as top dressing. The entire potash and a part of nitrogen for top dressing should be applied on the 20th day of planting, and the rest of nitrogen on the 50th day. For protecting the crop against pests and diseases four rounds of spraying with suitable insecticides and fungicides are necessary. Sevin, Malathion, Wattable sulphur and Dithane are the widely used chemicals, and the sprayings are to be done on the 20th, 40th, 60th and 75th

day of planting. Yield as already stated commences from the 75th day onwards, and pickings can be had every second day after that. Farmers should exercise great caution before spaying the crop in full bearing, and they should not harvest the crop for about eight days following any chemical spray. The vegetable has a ready market in urban areas, proving to be good money spinners for farmers near cities and towns.—*Hindu.*



ANIMAL BREEDING

## Embryonic Transfer

Considerable breeding results were obtained by GDR experts with embryonic transfer cattle (ETC) in 1983 and 1984. Cows with a high milk-yield and other favourable characteristics are selected for superovulation treatment to increase rate of reproduction. The purpose of this treatment consists in stimulating the ovaries by means of hormones to release an unusually great number of ova into the tubes. In place of one ovum, three or more ova are released and available for fertilisation. The cow is then inseminated by a bull having particularly desirable breeding qualities. After eight days the fertilized ova are collected by means of uterine flushing.

In the case of the stud cow No. 76,277 kept in the Animal Production Research Centre in Dummerdorf, thirteen fertilized ova were obtained, seven of which were suitable for transplantation into heifers. The latter act as surrogate mothers and carry the transplant to full term i.e., until the birth of the calf. In this way it is possible to multiply the rate of reproduction of high-yielding cows as well as of bulls whose mothers had a high-milk yield. Altogether more than 250 ETC calves have been born so far in the GDR.

One of the advantages of embryonic transfer is the possibility to apply methods of cryopreservation and store the collected ova in liquid nitrogen for fairly long periods. This, in turn, permits rational long-distance transport of the ova, so that in future it will be more advantageous to import and export embryos rather than live breeding stock. It will be possible to dispense with any measures related to protection against animal diseases. Thanks to the long-term storage it has become possible to transplant ova of cows which have been slaughtered long ago, but whose reproduction may be of interest for animal breeders at some later stage.—*Information GDR.*



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## Joint Dairy Project

A China-Sweden Dairy Training and Product Development Centre is to be built on a state farm 15 kilometres north of Beijing, according to an agreement—the first of its kind—reached between the People's Republic of China and the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. The Centre will include a dairy farm, and dairy, school and halls of residence, as well as library and canteen. Under the agreement, the Swedish government and the Swedish companies Alfa-Laval, Tecator and Tetra Pak are to donate hardware to a value of US \$ 900,000 and software for US \$ 275,000. The dairy farm will include a herd of some 240 Chinese cows, with Dutch and Canadian strains. The feeding of cattle will be a vital link in the chain of operations, the aim being to make more efficient use of Chinese by-products from corn and fodder cultivation. According to current practice, the cows will be tethered during milking and feeding, three times a day.

The 1,450 sq m dairy, which will be equipped by Alfa-Laval, Tecator and Tetra Pak, will primarily produce drinking milk, yoghurt, cream and butter. The milk will be packed in paper/plastic/aluminium packages of Tetra Brik Aseptic or Tetra Standard Aseptic type. The plant, when finished will include milking and dairy plants, bottling facilities, refrigeration equipment, sterilization with UHT (ultra high temperature) sterilizers and aseptic packaging with Tetra cartons. The Swedes hope to use the plant as a showcase for technology transfer, and as a foot in the door for future expansion in China.

The Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences will be responsible for training operations in the fields of dairy management and milk production for a period of 48 months. Swedish experts will assist in the research work related to plant cultivation and fodder technology. In addition, Chinese technical experts have spent five months in Sweden, studying modern dairy technology. The entire project, planned to run for four years, will also include an exchange of researchers and students, and a series of symposia, special courses and study visits will be arranged. There are about 1 million milk cows in China, with an average milk production of some 6,000 kg per cow a year. The 1.1 billion population of China has a very low per capita consumption of milk, a condition that the Chinese and Swedes wish to remedy.

— Modern Asia

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## Tomato

An improved and larger-than-usual tomato variety has been developed by the Queensland Department of Primary Industries' Bowen horticultural station. Developed from a cross between two United States varieties, Flora-Dade and Calypso, the new style is significantly larger than other types and matures in a more concentrated pattern. It is particularly suited to winter production in Northern Australia when existing varieties often yield small fruit. Named Delta Con-tender, the plant carries resistance to Verticillium wilt Race 1 and Fusarium wilt Races 1 and 2. Seeds will be available for sale by October or November this year.—*Agricultural Newsletter, Australian Information Service.*

### SCIENCE, DEVELOPMENT and MAN

#### POPULATION AND POVERTY

### 3. Parallels in Nature

By Prof. A. C. J. Weerakoon

WE HAVE SEEN how the social conditions of the period 1750 to 1850, roughly, were such that Malthus' thesis, though obviously incorrect, came to be propounded and then accepted with alacrity. Then came a period of trade expansion and of general prosperity that lasted with few important breaks till about the early 20th century. During all this time wealth poured into the country from the expansion and the development of the colonial empire. And in many ways some of this wealth trickled down to the labouring classes. Their conditions improved somewhat; their revolutionary temper cooled. The owning classes felt safe in the saddle. In these conditions Malthus' doctrine faded into the background. Yet it was during this period that it received strengthening such as it had not had before. This is how it happened.

Charles Darwin's observations and studies, on his voyage round the world as Naturalist on HMS *Beagle*, led him to the conviction that the different species of animals and plants had arisen by a process of gradual change from animals and plants which were essentially different from them. He was satisfied that this process was similar to that by which the plant or animal-breeder produced his varieties by selection. But what



was the agent in Nature that did the selecting? That was Darwin's problem. In 1838, about a year he had started the first of his note-books on the 'Transmutation of Species', Darwin happened to read Malthus' 'Essay on Population' and it flashed on him that here was the agent he was looking for, which would, in a struggle for food, in a struggle to survive, select the fitter variations from the less fit and thus gradually change the species in Nature. Alfred Russel Wallace who later but quite independently of Darwin arrived at the same theory of Natural Selection, derived his inspiration too from Malthus. He tells us that in 1858, as he lay ill of a fever at Ternate in the Moluccas Islands, he happened to recall to mind Malthus' 'essay' which he had read several years before, and that it suddenly flashed on him that here was the reason for the "survival of the fittest."

BOTH DARWIN AND WALLACE got the idea that living things increased in numbers according to geometrical progression, their food according to arithmetical progression, so that living things were continually outrunning their food-supplies and therefore struggling for existence, both got this idea not from their observations of Nature but from Malthus. Yet whatever facts Malthus had were all derived from human society; his statements about what happened amongst animals and plants were dogmatic assertions deriving from his views regarding human society and meant to bolster them up. I have stressed this because soon after the publication of the 'Origin of Species' it was forgotten that Darwin and Wallace had derived their basic idea from human society through Malthus; and their Theory of Natural Selection was taken as support from Nature for the Malthusian thesis about human society. Henceforth apologists for inequitable social conditions argued with greater conviction than before that Man in human society could not possibly hope to escape from natural laws that such eminent naturalists as Darwin and Wallace had found, so these apologists claimed, to operate in the world of animals and plants. They even went further and argued that since this struggle for Existence, despite its attendant starvation, sudden death and so on, was responsible for Evolution, that is, for progress in the animal and plant worlds, the same thing must happen in human society too; out of all the misery, hunger, disease and wretchedness of the poor, good ultimately came—the fittest survived, the race improved. Therefore, to try to better these was only to interfere with Nature's own method of looking after the species; and would result in the spread of the defective, the weak, the sickly, the lazy, the foolish and all the other socially undesirable types through the population. Thus was the Myth strengthened.

WITH THE BEGINNING of the 20th Century, particularly after the first and second World Wars, there has been a great intensification of subject peoples throughout the world to be free of the shackles of Imperialism.

Peaceful agitation for greater and greater amounts of self-government changes, now in this colony and now in that, into a forthright demand for complete freedom; and then into open revolt and even into full-scale war. Furthermore, in these colonial and semi-colonial countries themselves, the working people, the poor people are in a dangerous temper. More and more of them are no longer satisfied with such improvements of their conditions as are possible within the existing framework of society—they demand a change of that very framework. The spirit of revolution stalks abroad as it did in Malthus' time. One after another, scholars, and propagandists rediscover what Malthus taught and are duly impressed by its wisdom. In 1948 there appears William Vogt's book 'The Road to Survival' and the movement, now called Neo-Malthusianism, is given cohesion and a lead. We, in the colonies and semi-colonies, are told that if we are poor and miserable it is because there are too many of us. We must cut down our numbers and all will be well.

I wonder how many of us realise that among the very countries that preach to us that we are multiplying too fast are those that are extremely concerned about *pushing up their birth-rates*? Britain, for example, was so concerned about her low birth-rate that, in 1944, she appointed a Royal Commission to study the problem. And this Commission recommended that the British population trend be so influenced as to bring about an increase in family size; and it proposed various measures, including increases in family allowances, in family and health services, in order to remove as far as possible the existing discouragements to parenthood and the having of more babies. France, Sweden, Italy and many other European countries have been similarly concerned about their falling birth-rates and have adopted various methods to encourage the development of larger families. These facts should make you realise that there is something strange about all this propaganda for the lowering of *our* birth-rates and the reducing of *our* populations.

*To be continued*

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THE BRA AGE

## Busts are Big Business

By Dr. Nila Umesh

WE ARE NOW LIVING in the age of the bust-line. We see it everywhere, every day. It is glorified on the films, on TV, in shops, on posters, in ads. for everything from cereals to motor-cars. Photographers focus on it, typists are proud of it, teenagers strive for it, and glamour girls make money with it. And the men enjoy it. Dior has tried to stop it, but the bust is big business and it's here to stay.

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Twenty years ago the bra was little more than an ugly surgical appliance, but today it has become a dainty fashion garment and article of faith. Once upon a time the film-makers gave us such artists as Garbo, Shearer, Colbert, and Davis. Now it's the cleavage that counts. Ever since Jane Russell's bust-line made box office for the *Outlaw* back in 1946, we have been treated to a spate of attractive females with provocative bosoms, and the high-angle shot is now the publicity man's natural. When Baron started on the road to fame with a box camera it was the wistful look and the misty eye that counted. His society friends were ashamed if they had an over-developed corsage. Today he keeps a large stock of cotton-wool in his studio lest any of his clients should be embarrassed by an underdeveloped bust-line.

If there should be further proof needed than the evidence of our own eyes to prove that this is the age of the bust—I would ask, why Sabrina, with her 40 in. bust-line she achieved fame and money without saying or doing a single thing. And how will she invest the money she is making? It seems almost an act of faith in the future of the bust-line. She plans to open a sweater shop. The bust-line has become big business, and big business will not let it go before time. Before the war there only a few brassiere manufacturers, and what they made were shapeless monstrosities. They sold their contrivances of bone and elastic to matrons and the red-faced buxom girls. But her slimmer sisters would not be seen in the things. They would be ashamed to go into a shop and ask for one. There are over 25 well-known bra advertisers today, and their advertisements are a joy to look at and some of them read like a love poem. The modern bra is made, basically, to support the bust in its natural position, but most of them do a lot more and some add a little extra. The best makers offer about 40 fittings in up to a dozen styles, and they are all pretty. Just one manufacturer sells 12,000 every week of the year. The well-dressed Miss will have at least six in her wardrobe and each one different. She will probably have one that would be invisible worn with a bikini. There have been rumours that the tears of fashion would like to turn the pages back to the days of flat-chested women, heaven forbid. A sentiment shared by hardy Amies. "You can't keep a good girl down," was his comment, and "we take away when it's too big, but put something on when it's too small."

The artist is still more concerned with the face and its character than the figure. As Gowan Dobson says, "You can't alter the shape of a face as you can the bust. But you can also make two currents on a baking board look attractive." Mervyn Levy, the TV art-master, is all for the better bust-line. He says that it has always been admired, so why not now "There should be less hypocrisy about it," he says. "Remember fertility fetishes made by tribes 20,000 years ago had prominent busts, 6,000-year-old Indian sculpture and later

Rubens and Renoir painted women with beautiful busts. "There is nothing new in this world, made certainly not the bust-line. What better authority than Dr. C. Willet Cunningham, a doctor who has made a long life study of women's dresses and habit? He has written many books on the subject. He considers that this present fashion in bigger and better bust lines is a natural happening in the cycle of nature.

This is how he explains it. "In the time of James the first women were very feminine. Unmarried girls were wore their busts completely exposed. Then there were times, as before the war, when women concealed their obvious features. The two sexes came to look more alike. What is there is tribals . . . like Bhils, Kolis etc.? They believe in uncovered bust. "For a period that happens and then for a further period the sexes move away from each other. The women become more feminine and the men more masculine. That is what is happening now . . . It would be quite natural, if women continue in their present development, for men to start searing beards again . . . There have been ages of exposure—this is the age of partial exposure."

*It looks as if the cult of the bust is here to stay. So it's just a case of bosom . . . or . . . bust.*

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WORLD HERITAGE SITE

## Seychelles

RENOWNED BRITISH BOTANIST AND CONSERVATIONIST, Dr. David Bellamy who helped save several rare wildlife sites, has said the whole of Seychelles and the Mascarene island should be declared a "world heritage site." Dr. Bellamy, whose report to the British Royal Society for Scientific Research 15 years ago, was instrumental in the campaign to prevent Aldabra Atoll, sanctuary to 350,000 giant land tortoises, from being turned into a military base, was here last month leading a party of 20 leading elderly conservationists. "Without doubt Aldabra together with the rest of the Seychelles is just as important biologically for the world as perhaps more famous Galapagos on the other side of the earth in the Pacific," he said. "I live in England, but to sit on one of the most beautiful islands of the world where the birds have no fear of man and where the sunbirds would perch on your shoulders—the turtles and the dolphins in the sea around keeping a curious companionship with the exploring divers, it was absolutely fantastic," reminisced Dr. Bellamy, of the three months he spent on Aldabra Atoll, over a thousand kilometres south of the Seychelles. Referring to the plants of Seychelles, Dr. Bellamy claimed that the *coco de mer* palm, along with the giant sequoias of USA and the Lebanon



cedar were among the most celebrated members of the vegetable kingdom. According to Dr. Bellamy, there are at least 72 plants including six endemic palms, which are endemic to Seychelles and there could be many more.

DR. BELLAMY, whose team has already visited several islands to observe bird life, said that conservation was turning into a great movement in the world. "I think you are now going to see the conservation of the environment actually building up in many governments and political parties," he said pointing out that a recent survey in Europe revealed that a majority of people thought that environment was the most important issue affecting them even above jobs and salaries. Aldabra was not the only issue in which Dr. Bellamy was in the fore-front in the fight to save as living museums for humanity. Last year he was involved in a campaign to save a region of Tasmania inhabited by the rare duck-billed platypus from being inundated by the water of a planned hydro-electric project. While the Malcolm Fraser government was not responding to protests from conservationists in Australia and outside. Dr. Bellamy and others braved the bulldozers, courting arrest, and raised one million dollars to preserve the area. "Over 1,000 people were arrested," Dr. Bellamy said and claimed that the protest became such an intense national issue that it contributed to the defeat of the Fraser government in the general elections.

## BOOKS

### BOOK REVIEW

## The Sinking of the Belgrano

ONE OF THE MOST SENSATIONAL DISCLOSURES in the British media in recent times came a few weeks ago. It concerned Britain's conduct of the Falkland war. The official contention, repeatedly made, was that the sinking of the Argentine cruiser Belgrano during the 1982 Falklands conflict was necessary as it was a threat to the British Task Force. But in the Parliament recently an Opposition member had pointed out that highly confidential British Defence Ministry documents published in the London *Observer* disproved this. The *Belgrano*, it will be recalled, had been torpedoed by a British submarine on May 2, 1982 with the loss of 368 lives. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had insisted that the *Belgrano* had threatened the British Task Force in the Falklands area. Critics of Thatcher had said that the sinking of *Belgrano* was for a totally different reason: that it was to wreck a Peruvian Peace Plan to avert the war.

The *Observer* disclosure revealed that the Defence Ministry had declared that all Argentine warships and not just the Belgrano were legitimate targets for attack from May 2 and also that the British exclusion zone around the Falklands had been widened. It was also clear from the document that Britain had failed to give Argentine any warning that it had widened the exclusion zone until May 7. The documents published in the *Observer* had advised Heseltine, who became Defence Secretary after the Falklands war, not to provide a Parliamentary Committee which was looking into some aspects of the Falklands campaign with a full list of the changes made in the rules governing British forces in their actions against the Argentines. The full list of changes would provide more information than the Ministry has been prepared to reveal so far about the Belgrano affair.

A second Ministry document published by the *Observer* had indicated in no uncertain terms that the Belgrano had reversed course for home 11 hours before it was torpedoed. Labour Party spokesmen have not been slow to point out that: "This knocks sky-high Mrs. Thatcher's explanation that she had to sink the Belgrano because it was a threat to the Task Force. This disclosure came some months after the publication of a book in March 1984 that made the Falklands skeletons in the Mrs. Thatcher's cupboard to rattle.

A BOOK PUBLISHED EARLY IN MARCH this year had also turned out to be a major political embarrassment to Prime Minister Thatcher. In the book, *The Sinking Of The Belgrano* it was suggested that by sinking the Argentine frigate "General Belgrano" a few hours before Argentine was expected to sue for peace, Thatcher had transformed the conflict over the Falkland Islands into the bloody and expensive war. There had been no British casualties and only two Argentine losses until May 2, 1982, when the British Prime Minister gave the order to sink the Belgrano. As many as 368 Argentines went down with their ship.

Authors *Desmond Rice*, the former head of Royal Dutch Shell's operations in Argentine, and *Arthur Gavshon*, for many years the Associated Press' top European diplomatic correspondent, say Thatcher could have had peace largely on British terms. The war subsequently cost over a thousand lives and cost Britain about \$ 7.5 billion. Opponents of the war frequently point out that the 1800 non-too-prosperous islanders could have been given one and a half million dollars to relocate and the exchequer would still have saved money. But Thatcher's reputation for resolution and "toughness" was boosted by the war, a boost which was a major factor in her election victory last June, although polls now show greater support for the new Opposition Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock.

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Most British papers ran major reviews of *The Sinking Of The Belgrano*, with significant coverage in the news section as well. If the transcripts of telephone conversations between Argentine President Fernando Belaunde Terry and then Argentine Junta Chief General Leopoldo Galtieri presented in the book are authentic, there seems little room for doubt that was ready to accept a Peruvian peace plan. "Either Mrs. Thatcher's war cabinet authorised the attack on the 'Belgrano' knowing that peace talks were on the brink of success, thus making a war certain . . . Or the war cabinet ordered the attack unaware that a peace settlement was within Britain's grasp, in which case the Foreign Office could be accused of catastrophic incompetence in failing to prevent an unnecessary war which cost more than one thousand lives'.

On 1, May 1982, the day after the US Secretary of State, Alexander Haig pronounced as a failure his effort since 7th April to mediate a ceasefire, Britain began attacking airfields on the South Atlantic islands off the Argentine coast. At first, Mrs. Thatcher said the *Belgrano* was sunk because it was a threat to the task force. Mr. Rice and Mr. Gavshon show that British NIMRWD communications surveillance planes were in a position to intercept the signals from Argentine naval commander in chief recalling the Argentine fleet. In any event, the "Belgrano" was outside the war zone when sunk and had been steaming away from the war zone for at least seven hours.

*The Sinking Of The Belgrano* also examines the issue of sovereignty over the islands, key documents regarding which were withdrawn from the public records office during the conflict. "Britain's diplomats, service chiefs and intelligence units had accurately assessed the perils in the deteriorating situation during the months and years before the invasion", the authors write. But the authors do not argue that Mrs. Thatcher sank the *Belgrano* in order to sink the peace. "We take the view that Mrs. Thatcher's war cabinet decided in principle on the use of force the day Argentine occupied the Falklands, and that only unconditional surrender by the junta could have prevented a killing war."

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A TAMIL CLASSIC

## The Kural

By Manoj Das

Tamil, one of the world's oldest living languages, was mature enough by the 1st century B.C. to produce a literary work which has been hailed as the Tamil Veda its influence on the life of the people of Tamil Nadu can

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be rivalled only by the impact of India's two national epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. This great work, *Tirukkural* or the *Kural*, was authored by Tiruvalluvar. While the work is extensively known, little is known about the author. It cannot even be said for certain that his name as we know it, was not a pseudonym, for, Tiruvalluvar literally means a devotee of the *Vallava* caste. Tradition says that Tiruvalluvar was born at Madurai but chose Mylapore, a place of antiquity, now absorbed by the modern city of Madras, for his residence. The *Valluv*as were the royal heralds. Riding an elephant, a *Valluva* travelled from village to village announcing the orders or the policies of the court. Tiruvalluvar, however, seems to have chosen weaving for a profession.

Tiruvalluvar lived happily with his wife, Vasuki, who was the very example of an ideal wife. Tamil folklore is rich with tales of her devotion to her husband. Once, asked by an eligible bachelor whether marriage would bring him happiness, Tiruvalluvar made no reply, but asked the youth to be his guest for a day. The youth gratefully accepted this offer of hospitality. By the end of the day it was obvious to the guest what answer the sage wished to convey: Lucky was a husband who had a dutiful wife.

It is likely that those who benefited by his counsel prevailed upon him to write the *Kural*. It seems the work gained immediate popularity and reverence, suggesting that the author was already revered as a sage. The *Kural* is an anthology of 1330 vessels. The term '*Kural*' means a short rhymed couplet. '*Tiru*' often prefixed to the title, means sacred. The work is divided into three parts, the *first* part expounding the principles of worldly living and the *second* part focusing on the wealth and the various disciplines, including politics, that go with wealth. The *third* part sings the praise of love. Most of the couplets in the first part breathe a refined wisdom and sound understanding of psychology. Here are a few examples:

"Superior to gifts are sweetly uttered words and a kind and gracious look." "To forget someone's kindness is ignoble, but nobility lies in promptly forgetting someone's unkindness." "Humility is a charming virtue for all; but it shines in full splendour when it adorns the character of the wealthy". In the second part, among other things, we find a series of advice to princess: "Behold the prince who can give with grace and rule with love. He is destined to be renowned," he says. In this section there are maxims which as comparable with the observations in Kautilya's *Arthashastram*. But while pragmatism is the mainstay of Kautilya's work, it is subdued by ethical and moral elements in the *Kural*. Tiruvalluvar does not speak much about God and spirituality, but it is a spiritually enlightened mind with which he speaks on man and matters.



The third part, devoted to love, is a harmonious assortment of a story and reflections on this universal passion. The story is simple: a young man and a young lady fall in love and marry secretly. It is with some difficulty that they succeed in making their guardians accept their union. They are happy. But then the husband is obliged to part from the wife because of his martial duties. At last he returns and they live happily thereafter. This is the frame which contains sweet remarks on the nature of love, a highly lyrical account of the ways of passion, and imageries similar to those in classical Sanskrit love poetry. For example, this is the hero's tribute to the heroine's beauty: "The stars run here and there, for they know not which one is the moon and which one is her face!" Of all the scholars who have interpreted the *Kural*, the most celebrated is Parimelajahar, a scholar of Kanchi who lived in the 14th century. He explained the verse phrase by phrase, pointing out every undetected shade of their profundity.

The *Kural* had been translated into French as far back as in 1767. A Jesuit Missionary, Constantine Beschi, translated it into Latin in the 18th century. Several European and English translations, in full or in parts, followed. A number of English translations of the work have appeared in the 20th century. The translators include V. V. S. Aiyer and C. Rajagopalachari. The latter, in his preface to his translation, says, "Tiruvalluvar's approach to moral doctrine is marked by a very thorough knowledge of human psychology and a desire to help imperfect men with practical hints in the struggle against evil. Throughout we can see how the poet brings everything down to the level of practicality without losing hold of the ideal."

## TIDBITS

THE SINGAPORE NAVY has stepped up pirate patrols around the Straits of Singapore following the publication of a report that 78 cases of piracy took place in the past year and not one single pirate was apprehended. The pirates use small, fast boats and disappear quickly into international waters. Heavily armed, they attack at night as the merchant vessels sail slowly through the narrow straits.



AN EXPATRIATE IN HONG KONG took his favourite shirt, which had been ruined by a stain on the pocket, to a local tailor. He asked the tailor to make four shirts exactly the same as the one he had brought. The following week he returned and to his surprise he received for identical shirts each with an ink spot on the pocket.

## SNIPPET

### THE JET-LAG DIET

Which traveller are you? The one who has consumed six Bloody Marys before cruising height is reached and keeps on course with lashings of Burgandy, valiantly swallows all the meals and washes the whole lot down with Cognac while watching the movie? Or are you the fellow in the next seat who hangs the 'do not disturb' sign on the seat and wakes up on touch-down? Either way, according to experts, you run pretty much the same chance of suffering from jet lag—that wretched stupor that turns most of us into zombies for several days after a long-haul flight.

Now, thanks to Dr. Charles Ehret of the US Government's Argonne National Laboratory, you need be a victim no longer. If you are prepared to modify your diet for three days prior to your trip, you can get off the plane as fresh as when you boarded, already adjusted to your destination's time schedule. The problem lies in the time change. Since your body clock is timed to the sun, it has to go through the full 24-hour cycle to ensure that all systems are functioning normally. *Dr. Ehret's diet works like this:* first calculate breakfast time at your destination on the day of your arrival. Then, four days before that feast on a high-protein breakfast and lunch and a high carbohydrate dinner. The protein—in meat, fish, eggs and high-protein cereals—stimulates the body's active cycle. A high carbohydrate dinner—potatoes, rice, spaghetti (but without any meat)—will make you sleep.

The following day, fast, or eat as little as possible—if you must eat confine your diet to light soups and salads. Fasting depletes the liver's store of carbohydrates and prepares the body clock for re-setting, according to the diet. The next day is one for gluttony again—follow the diet again for day one. The day before the flight is another fast day. Throughout the programme, drink caffeinated beverages (tea and coffee) only between 3 and 5 p.m. when their effect on your body clock is neutral. On the day of the flight itself, fast again, and drink caffeinated beverage only in the morning if travelling west; if flying east drink them only between 6 and 11 p.m. Sleep on the plane until that breakfast time you calculated at the start of the diet and no longer. Then have a high protein breakfast and do not go back to sleep or you will revert to your old time schedule. Got that? Copies of Dr. Ehret's Jet Lag Diet can be obtained from the Argonne National Laboratory, 9700 South Cass Ave, Argonne, Illinois, 60439 USA.



POEM

## Rumour

SOMEBODY is whispering on the stair  
What are those words half-spoken, half-drawn back?  
What are those muffled words, some red, some black?  
Who is whispering? Who is there?

Somebody is sneaking up the stair  
With feet approaching every doorway,  
Yet never a moment standing anywhere.

Now they are whispering close outside some door  
Or suddenly push it open wide—  
You see: whoever said he heard them, he has lied.

And yet words are left dark like heavy dust  
In many rooms, or red like rust;  
And who contrives to leave them? Some one must.

In every street, this noisy town of ours  
Has stealthy whispering watchers walking round,  
Recording all our movements, every sound,  
Hissing and shuffling, and they may have found  
To-day my name: to-morrow they'll find yours.

Harold Munro

### THE LAND ACQUISITION ACT (Chapter 46:) AS AMENDED BY ACT NO. 28 OF 1964 NOTICE UNDER SECTION 7.

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below for a Public purpose. For further particulars see Gazette Extraordinary No. 312/8 of 29/8/84 of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

#### SCHEDULE

*Situation:* Situated in the village of Aranpittiya in Tibbatugoda Grama Sevaka's Division in Walapane A.G.A.'s Division of Nuwara Eliya District.

*Name of Land:* Kirimanna Alla alias Kirimanna Wella.

*Plan and Lot No.:* Lot No. 83 in V.P. 624. (Extract 2).

**H. M. H. Abeyweera,**  
District Land Officer  
Nuwara Eliya District.

The Kachcheri,  
Nuwara Eliya.

TRIBUNE, SEPTEMBER 13, 1984

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## • Roads • Psuedonyms

IS IT NOT A FACT that a great many thinking people are disturbed about some of the current trends in the country? That *Tribune* sometimes ago received a letter from Mr. R. Kahawita on the question of Sri Lanka Roads? That since the letter was written, a part of the "contracts" for "re-making" our roads has gone to a syndicate consisting of foreign multinationals and a few local entrepreneurs? That nevertheless Mr. Kahawita's letter makes a point that cannot be ignored? That this is what he said: "It was two months ago that we commented on the neglect and disrepair of our roads. We are back again in our wanderings in the countryside. We see no change or efforts made to put our roads into a usable condition. Except those sections of roads used by our VIPP the rest are in the same deplorable state. A report in the *CDN* says that the Chilaw U.D.C. is cleaning up the town to welcome His Excellency the President. This is very good and everything should be 'spick and span' to receive him. But this is the kind of window dressing we resort to hoodwink our VIPP. Everything is bright and rosy, people are hundred percent with us, so they think, and there is no need to put this to the test. Why 'waste money' on a general election? The window dressing is done to convey this message to the President. While our road system is fast deteriorating we learn that massive estimates running into billions are being prepared to get multinationals to repair our roads and cart-tracks. The Association of Professionals have also asked 'Why do we want multinationals to fill up the pot-holes in our roads?' In the answer to this question is hidden the reason why we prefer multinationals to our Bandas, Ukkuwas and Poddas to fill the Pot holes, which they did during an era gone by. These methods are too cheap and there is no money in them except the pittance we pay Bandas, Ukkuwas to keep them away from hunger Pangs. Nonetheless they did a much better and more permanent job on our roads. Our VIPP do not see this because of the dust thrown on their eyes by the officials. They have their day. When it comes to rural roads, they have disappeared altogether. Before we introduced new innovations and new institutions to our ruralia, we had the good old Village Committees to look after their needs in the village they lived and ended their lives. Today we have the Gramodayas to do the work of the V.C. In our area we also very enthusiastically supported the chairman's programme of work. We contributed in kind and labour to cut down trees to widen the road, removed protruding rocks so that a 'Grader' can level and build the road formation, bends were corrected. And all those who participated and helped were anxiously wanted to see 'the grader' at work and get their roads done. The

grader never came. Instead rains came and washed away all the work done by us on the road. The road is hardly usable now and there are no signs of anything ever being done. May be the government is waiting to finalise the multinational deal to fill up the Pot Holes. In the meantime, what are we to do. Curse and black-guard every one around us! This is how we are losing our grip on our supporters. Time we woke up? That there is nothing more we need add?

IS IT NOT TRUE that all indicators point to a strategic backtracking by the Government in regard to the proposal to change the present system of "choosing" the Diyawadane Nilame? That this is likely to happen even before this appears in print? That hints have been floating around that the Cabinet decision to enact this particular piece of legislation was only a proposal to sound public opinion? That there is no doubt that the weight of opinion was undoubtedly against this Cabinet proposal? That it is also said in some quarters that the proposed Diyawadane Nilame legislation was intended to abolish the system which had made it possible for an "outsider" like Nissanka Wijeyeratne to get himself elected to the coveted post? That even the worm in Nissanka, cynics say, had turned and that he had rushed to his Party's and Government's arch-enemy, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike? That nobody is still able to predict what will happen next? That in this connection many point out that Nissanka Wijeyeratne is said to be the father of the anti-pseudonym law? That it is a mystery how he persuaded a majority of his Cabinet colleagues about the imperative need to have such a law? That though in the view of the Attorney-General the law is not consistent with the Constitution and though the overwhelming weight of public opinion is against it, the Cabinet decided to go ahead and instructed the Minister of Justice (Nissanka W) to draft the law? That apologists for the government say that the draft law is to "sound" public opinion once again? That some say that it is to see if the Supreme Court will uphold the Attorney-General's opinion? That many, however, confidently predict that the Government will ultimately beat a retreat on this anti-pseudonym law also? That there is not the slightest doubt that the Government will be well advised to drop the anti-pseudonym law? That there are so many ways of making a mockery of the provisions of the contemplated law that the government will become the laughing stock of the world? That all the clever provisions that Nissanka and his "drafting experts" conjure up to make the law fool-proof will disappear with the first touch of reality? That pseudonyms have been used by man ever since he sought to express himself and he will continue to do so Nissanka's law not withstanding?

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TRIBUNE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1984



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## MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION COMMON AMENITIES BOARD TENDER NOTICE

1. The Chairman, Tender Board, Common Amenities Board, 1st Floor, National Housing Department Building, Sir Chittampalam A. Gardiner Mawatha, Colombo 2 will receive tenders up to 10.00 a.m. on 02.10.1984 for the following works.
  - (a) Attending to defects in flats of Blocks Nos. A9, A10 and A11 at Angulana.
  - (b) Earth filling in the water logged areas and tarring the approach road of Kamkarupura Housing Scheme.
2. Tenderers should be registered for similar works for Rs. 175,000/- in the Common Amenities Board or in other Government Departments/Corporations and should produce proof of such registration before the Tender Forms are issued to them.
3. Tender documents will be issued by the office of the Chairman, Common Amenities Board till 3.30 p.m. on 28.09.1984 on payment of a non-refundable Tender Fee of Rs. 15,000 per Tender form in cash and on production of the receipt thereof.
4. Tenders will be opened on 02.10.1984 at 10.30 a.m. Tenderers may be present at the opening.
5. Tenderers should keep their offers valid for acceptance for a period of 60 days from the date of closing of tenders.
6. The selected Tenderer will have to provide a security deposit of 2 per cent of the accepted tendered amount which will be refunded after the satisfactory completion of the work.
7. Tenderers in respect of tenders from private companies should declare the names of the shareholders and in regard to public companies the names of the Directors of the Company.
8. Any further information can be obtained from the undermentioned.

Chairman

17th September, 1984

Common Amenities Board,  
Colombo 2.