

A halftone-style photograph of a tea plantation in Sri Lanka. In the foreground, a worker in a white cap and dark clothing is seen from the back, walking towards the left. The middle ground is filled with several other workers, some carrying large yellow cylindrical containers on their heads. The background shows rolling green hills under a bright sky. A white geometric line pattern, consisting of interconnected triangles, is overlaid on the entire image.

THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON THE PLANTATION SECTOR IN SRI LANKA

PLANTATION SECTOR SOCIAL FORUM (PSSF)
SRI LANKA

GUY DE FONTGALLAND

for
WORLD SOCIAL FORUM 2004
MUMBAI
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**ALL PROCEEDS FROM THE SALE OF THIS BOOK WILL
FUND PSSF FOR THE FOLLOW-UP PROGRAMMES**

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THE PLANTATION SECTOR IN SRILANKA**

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INTRODUCTION

Neo-Liberal Economic Reforms that have been sweeping across the world over the last several decades have brought about many changes in many countries, in both the developed and developing worlds. The changes in different countries are not identical, as various endogenous factors have influenced the out –comes to varying degrees. These factors include local resource endowments, nature of policy regimes, and social and political conditions. Changes on a global level are not any less significant. Today, there is mounting evidence from diverse sources that the wealth gap between the rich and poor countries in general has widened sharply in recent years. Inequalities have also been growing within countries, at times leading to clear social polarization in developing countries. Such changes in turn have contributed to social unrest and political conflict, widespread poverty and malnutrition, mass exodus of people looking for refuge or work, etc.

01. INSTABILITY IN SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka was the first country in South Asia to adopt liberal, open economic policies. The United National Party Government elected in 1977 departed from the protectionist, import substitution policies pursued by left – leaning regimes since the mid 1950s. The newly elected Government advertised the country internationally as a promising destination for global capital, highlighting its attractive features such as the availability of an educated, adaptable and cheap labour force. The newly established, Free Trade Zones attracted some investors who mostly invested in the garment sectors, while the village based handlooms in their thousands went out of production. Young rural women began to move into garment factories in the FTZ and elsewhere in the country.

Steady devaluation of the rupee against the US \$ from Rs.7 in 1977 to Rs.97 in 2003 which resulted in higher costs of living at a time when liberalization of imports had already flooded the local market with all sorts of consumer goods including food items. Most of these goods and food items were beyond reach of the large majority of middle, lower middle class, peasants and plantation workers in Sri Lanka. Stagnant wages and incomes of the vast majority of the population including rural peasants and plantation people compelled to look for alternative sources of income. While some people moved into urban areas looking for work, others were quick to take advantage of the already expanding labour

market in the Middle East. Increasingly people became dependant on new sources of employment and income that are directly connected with the new open economy. Stability of these income sources naturally depends on the stability of the global economic environment.

Economic liberalization has transformed Sri Lanka's macro economic policies in a significant manner. The agriculture sector dominated exports before economic liberalization. Today, it is the industrial sector that dominate exports. Industrial products, mostly ready-made garments, account for about 78% of all exports in terms of nominal export earnings. Garments are mostly exported to the US and Europe, accounting for about 95% of the market. Agricultural exports, mostly tea accounts for about 18% of the export earnings (Central Bank 2000).

The Middle East has long been a major market for Sri Lankan Tea amounting to about 40% of the country's tea exports. The garment sector is very much import dependant as most of the raw materials and machinery needed by the sector are imported. The cost of these imports account for over 50% of the earnings from garments exports. As mentioned above the industry is mostly dependant on North American and European markets.

Sri Lanka's imports have also been rising almost parallel to the increasing trend in exports. In fact, imports have consistently outstripped exports, leading to a steadily widening trade deficit over the years. The deficit that stood at US\$ 720 million in 1990 has increased to US\$ 1,798 million in 2000. The government has continued to rely heavily on foreign loans and private transfers to bridge the widening gap. In 2001, private transfers amounted to over US\$ 1.1 billion. (Daily News, April 2003), helping to cover over 60% of the trade deficit of the country.

02. THE PLANTATION SECTOR

The Plantation Sector was also affected by the neo-liberal policy imposed by the World Bank and IMF. But the situation became acute with the privatization of the estates in 1992 June. Before privatization about 500 estates were managed by the State Corporations. These were among the biggest tax payers to the government. This tax was removed (value added tax and the export duties) as a concession to the companies, for example in the year 1990 government earned rupees 2283.1 million from these taxes. Earlier there was a tripartite agreement in dealing with the problem of the workers and the management. But after privatization the government's role is no more and now through collective agreement the management impose arbitrary rules to control the workers. The state too has not recognized this sector on an equal basis to other sectors in Sri Lanka, mainly due to the ethnic composition of this sector. Therefore the Plantation Sector is oppressed both by the companies and the Sri Lankan government.

03. CHALLENGES FACED BY THE PLANTATION PEOPLE

The fundamental challenge is to secure equal recognition for the Tamil plantation people in the country, similar to the recognition given to the other minorities: equality in status and civil acceptance; equal enjoyment of human rights, respect of human dignity and the exercise of basic freedom in all its manifestations. This right to equal recognition must be identified in several important fields.

A. CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

The Upcountry Tamils of Recent Indian Origin enjoyed equal citizenship status up to the time of independence. This right was removed by formulating a new Citizenship Act for the Upcountry Tamils in the first parliament of Sri Lanka. This deprivation of citizenship rights was the first major violation of the Right to a Nationality which made the Upcountry Tamils 'Stateless' without any Political Rights. This in turn paved the way for the denial of their Economic and Social Rights. This was not confined to a few individuals; it affected a whole community and adversely impacted on the life and living condition of this community and they are yet to recover from this major set back.

Since 1949, the Sri Lankan state has passed six Acts regarding the citizenship to the people of Recent Indian Origin. A certain percentage (60%) of the people have obtained citizenship under these Acts. But some of the descendents were compelled to register their nationality in the birth certificates as Indian Tamils after 1967. (Sirima - Shasthri Implementation Act). Such people whose births in Sri Lanka had been registered as Indian Tamil have to apply for their citizenship if their names are not included in their family list to exercise their civic rights.

The latest Act namely, Grant of Citizenship to Persons of Indian Origin Act, No. 35 of 2003 came into operation on the 13th Nov. 2003. According to this Act, those who were forced to register as Indian Citizens and those among them who received Indian Passports are now required to apply for citizenship and others who had not received citizenship under early Acts too have to apply for citizenship. To exercise their

civic rights the Plantation Tamils have to produce a certificate issued by the Commissioner of Immigration and Emigration that they are citizens of Sri Lanka.

Other than the Upcountry Tamils no one else born to parents in Sri Lanka whose forebears have been resident for generations in Sri Lanka are required to prove that they are citizens of Sri Lanka. This demand and the process of filling forms is a great injustice done to these people. These discriminatory Acts are in violation of Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that 'no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of nationality ...'

B. RIGHT TO USE ONE'S OWN LANGUAGE

Sri Lanka is a multi-lingual country. The people of the country have to get their legitimate needs attended by the officials of the government without any discrimination. The constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, in Article 27 emphasizes the following as the objectives of the State.

- ❖ The State shall ensure equality of opportunity to citizens, so that no citizen shall suffer any disability on the ground of race, religion, language, caste, sex and political opinion or occupation.
- ❖ The State shall assist the development of the culture and language of the people.

Prior to the 13th amendment to the constitution which was passed on November 14th 1987, Sinhala was the sole official language and both Sinhala and Tamil were designated as National Languages. The 13th amendment was enacted as part

of the Government's obligations under the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of 1987. In terms of the Accord the section 2:18 of the constitution now lays down that the official languages shall be Sinhala and Tamil with English a link language.

However language rights are still being violated in Sri Lanka especially in the plantation areas. The plantation Tamils are unable to enjoy this right in their dealing with government departments. Even on the plantations their birth certificates are given in a language that they cannot read or write.

The recommendation of the Official Language Commission was passed into a Law by Act No.18 which was certified on March 26,1991 that action be taken to ensure the use of languages as specified in the constitution. Language is a vital part of culture and identity of any groups. Few things are more frustrating than being compelled to deal with someone who does not speak your language specially when the matter at hand is important.

- ❖ Tamil shall be the language of administration and be used for the maintenance of records of the Northern and Eastern provinces. According to Article 22(1) President has the discretion with regard to Assistant Government Agent Division with mixed linguistic population to declare whether the administration in a division be Sinhala and Tamil.

- ❖ According to this, 14 Divisional Secretariats were declared as bilingual for administrative purposes by the President in 2001, outside the North and East. Nevertheless this declaration has not been implemented up to date.

C. ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF THE PLANTATION SECTOR

An intergral part of the plantation system that evolved in this country was the manner of the recruitment and employment of these people. The Plantation Owners offered the workers 'a package deal' in which they were provided with minimum housing, education and health care facilities in return for which they lived within the plantation enclave in virtual slaves like conditions. The tying of employment to residence functioned as a constraint for social mobility, since the plantation workers have little social contact outside the plantations. They have been particularly vulnerable to violation of human rights because of the ethnic as well as their low status of work. Having been employed under near slave condition for over a century, plantation workers' wages remain low and are computed on a daily basis. Their struggle for monthly wage has todate been unsuccessful. Article 7 of the International Covenant on Economic and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) recognizes the right of every one to the enjoyment of just and favorable conditions of work including among other things, fair wages. The maintenance of hundreds of thousands of workers on daily paid basis while their circumstances of work are of a permanent nature is a flagrant violation of this Article.

At the time of privatization two major plantation trade unions did not oppose but demanded greater safeguards and guarantees to the workers (ref. annexure 1). But they supported the stopping of the cost of living allowance (COLA) in 1992. The freezing of COLA is probably the greatest disaster that has befallen the estate workers since they were disenfranchised. In the absence of an annual increment of pay, COLA was the only way by which a worker was safeguarded to great extent against rises of the cost of living. The minimum wage that was agreed according to the last collective agreement (2002) was Rs.121 which is equivalent to US \$1.25. Had they been

given the COLA they would have been getting more than rupees two hundred.

In some other sectors a minimum of rupees 3.50 is given for each increase in the cost of living index. But on the contrary the management fee before privatization was Rs. 3.50 per kilo of tea. But after privatization it has been raised to maximum of Rs.37.50 and this amount is added to the cost of production. For example in the year 2002 one company was given Rs.98.8 million as management fees. In Sri Lanka the minimum monthly wage has been accepted as Rs.6000. But the plantation sector gets a maximum wage of approximately Rs. 3000 which is less than the minimum wage. This clearly indicates that they are underpaid according to national standards. In Sri Lanka the plantation workers are the lowest paid employees.

After the privatization within a period of 10 years more than 100,000 workers have been retrenched. The number of working factories has also been reduced. But on the other hand production has increased to 308.8 million kilos in the year 2000 as against 178.9 million kilos in the year 1992.

Table -1 Total Labour Force

	1992 (A)	2002(B)	A- B
JEDB	14,883	8,580	6,303
SLSPC	18,079	8,659	9,420
MGT.COM	343,536	262,698	86,838
TOTAL	376,498	279,937	102,561

Source: Plantation Sector Statistical Pocket Book 2003

(Total labour includes staff, regular and casual employees.)

JEDB - Janatha Estate Development Board

SLSPC - Sri Lanaka State Plantation Corporation

MGT.COM - Management Companies

Table :2 Distribution of employees by weekly earnings

Earnings for a week(Rs)	Estate	Rural	Urban
Below 600	84.1	49.8	33.8
601-2000	55.7	46.4	15.9
2001-3000	-	5.4	12.8
Over 3000	0.2	2.4	8.5

Source : Socio-economic Survey, Central Bank report (96/97)

D. LAND AND HOUSING RIGHTS

Traditionally, plantation workers were housed in 'line rooms' built by the British. These were rooms approximately 10 x12 feet in which an entire family cooked, slept and carried out their daily lives. According to the ILO report of 1959, these line rooms were categorized as unfit for human habitation. Nevertheless 90% of the upcountry Tamils continued to live in these conditions. Since 1975 all the estate lands were taken over by the government including the line rooms. From that time onwards workers were promised that they would be given ownership of houses and the land that they have been cultivating. But up to now no title deeds have been given to the plantation workers. Since independence a number of schemes were carried out to give land and houses to the other people in other sectors in Sri Lanka at little or no cost. The self ownership of land and houses in the estate sector compared to other sectors is minimal.

Table :3 Ownership of Houses

Type of ownership / Sectors	Urban	Rural	Estate	All
Self Owned	84.5	95.5	10.2	89.5
Govt.of Employer owned	1.9	0.4	74.7	4.6
Lease or Rent	9.1	1.6	1.2	2.5
Rent free	3.6	2.1	13.2	2.9
Other	0.9	0.4	0.7	0.5

Source: Consumer Finance & Socio -economic survey 96/97 part-1

According to an earlier survey in 86/87 self owned houses were only 1.7% in the estate sector. This sudden increase to 10.2 is questionable. This sector needs about 20 perches of land for more than 200,000 housing units. The housing scheme has been carried at a snails pace. It further creates indebtedness where facilities granted are not adequate and affordable by the workers. There has been a number of agitations in the plantation areas for land and housing rights. This has been brought to the notice of UN Special Rapporteur on housing.

(UNHRD Article 25 ,ICESCR Article 11 and Article 39 of Habitat Agenda all clearly spelt out their right to adequate and affordable housing.)

Table : 4 Total extent of Land managed and cultivated (in hectares)

	1992			2002		
	Manage (A)	Cult (B)	Uncult. (A-B)	Manage (A)	Cult (B)	Uncult. (A-B)
JEDB	14,159	6,706	7,453	10,704	6,443	4,261
SLSPC	17,920	11,370	6,550	13,345	7,697	5,648
Mgt.Co.	239,389	178,790	60,599	239,586	173,518	66,068
Total	271,468	196,866	74,582	263,635	187,658	75,977

(Source: Plantation sector statistical pocket book -2003)

It is clear that much of land has been taken for village expansion and rural development. But there is still enough un-cultivated land available. However the Companies and the State refuse to give land to the plantation Tamils.

E. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS

Plantation workers today feel a deep sense of social insecurity about their future. This insecurity emanates primarily from uncertainties about their future terms and conditions of employment and about social welfare. The main concerns being housing, education and health. The government's free offer of 10% of the shares to the workers had hardly any assuring effects on the workers' psychology.

In the past two decades, demands for better educational, health and housing facilities have been gaining widespread support among the upcountry Tamils. The estate system itself has been proved to be incompatible with the changing aspirations of the new generations of Upcountry Tamils. Nothing less than a comprehensive policy to integrate these people into the national, educational and health systems and to extend to them the right to own land and live as free citizens can satisfy their needs. Deprived of political rights, the plantation workers were prevented from buying any land in the country and therefore of ownership of houses. At the same time they were excluded from the numerous land settlement and colonization schemes that were implemented since the 1930s and which benefited other sections of the population. Although successive governments agreed in principle to vest the ownership of the line rooms to their present occupants, the right of equal access to land, an important resource continues to be denied to this community.

The question of workers entitlements is therefore a major political issue and cannot be reduced to a mere labour problem for the plantation companies. It involves a major break with the past for the workers. This persisting condition is a powerful symbol of captivity and deprivation.

Lack of land ownership, however is only one aspect of the complex problem which involves deeper political and psychological issues. This becomes even more evident when the Upcountry Tamils' problems are viewed in the context of ethnic relations prevailing in the country. The Upcountry Tamils reentered the Sri Lankan polity barely two decades ago. Until then they were a socially and psychologically alienated community, denied any opportunity to develop a Lankan consciousness. They were officially stateless and classified as Indian Tamils. Lankan society, in the meantime, has become more deeply communalised. Communalisation has erected strong psychological barriers to the Lankanisation of Tamils.

Ethnic violence in the plantation areas and the arrest and detention of Tamils specially youth, is widespread: it is not confined to Tamils in the North and East. The plantation Tamils are also victims of arbitrary arrest, torture and detention. In the context of lack of education inadequate access to the public services, very little representation in the legislature and the public services, the plantation workers have become the most helpless victims of persecution by the security forces. In the case of arrests carried out on the highways-which is very widespread -the next of kin are not informed nor are facilities provided to the detainees to communicate with his/her family or employer. In this way the freedom from arbitrary arrest is denied to this group of citizens.

The Plantation workers problems cannot be reduced to questions of wages and labour management alone. It is obvious that the state has to shoulder major-responsibility in solving basic political and social problems in the upcountry in order to create an enabling environment for sustainable development and their **right to internal self determination.**

F. HEALTH IN THE PLANTATION SECTOR

From the Alma Ata Declaration of 1978 which gave the world the slogan 'Health for All by 2000 AD' to the people's Health Assembly in Bangladesh in December 2000 is a long journey both chronologically and metaphorically. In more ways than one, these two decades have witnessed a radical transformation of the world's scenario with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the concomitant decline of communist ideology. On the one hand the Socialist frameworks and even its values have been relegated to the limbo of the forgotten whilst, the veritable hegemony of market-oriented frameworks as the governing principles for all activities have given rise to dominance of the US as the sole superpower advocating its policies worldwide and above all causing a decline in faith in the state as the appropriate mediating agency to serve the interests of all citizens, in particular those relatively assetless and 'voiceless'.

In the field of health and medicare strong linkages were established between poverty, inequality and sickness. Health practitioners have highlighted the role of education, nutrition, clean drinking water and sanitation to ensure reduction in infant mortality, death rates and morbidity. Even technical medicare—the role of doctors and medicines — came under increasing scrutiny, with critics highlighting the importance of primary healthcare over sophisticated tertiary treatment centres. Frequently there was the effort to demystify modern medicine and the role of health professionals both by recognizing the importance of and legitimizing traditional medicinal systems and healers and through a variety of training programmes, reinstating people's health in people's hands. Simultaneously there was a global movement to nudge respective governments into increasing budgetary provisions for healthcare, with public provisioning programmes: the importance of primary health care being emphasized over specialist institutions.

It is not that the trends of the last two decades, which many critics have termed retrogressive were either uni-directional or went unchallenged. The 80s and 90s also witnessed the flowering of alternative discourse and practice keeping alive the objectives of equity and autonomy and challenging the tendency of viewing patients as mere consumers of specialist products and interventions. And while the essential locus of alternative praxis remained in the ex-colonial Third World countries, driven both by considerations of equity and participation as also the need to keep unit costs low, the sector of modern medicare grappled with new concerns of medical ethics and rights of patients. As the cost of modern medicine and healthcare spiralled, countries had to experiment with new modes of financing and insurance.

The People's Health Assembly, a campaign for Health for All- Now built on the numerous efforts encompassing all elements of healthcare that have sought to democratise health and return it to where it properly belongs - in the hands of the common people. It came as a valuable corrective at a time when the dice appeared to be loaded in favour of the global healthcare industry dominated by MNC 's and First World models totally inappropriate to addressing the concerns of common people.

The basic health indicators in the plantation sector shows clearly that people have been deprived of the opportunities to lead long and healthy life. The health system in the plantation sector is still under management companies and the state gives an annual subsidy to purchase drugs to the sum of Rs.3 million. After the privatization there have been a number of complaints regarding health facilities. There are very few qualified medical officers and also very inadequately equipped hospitals. Primary health care is very much limited and also indigenous and alternative medical systems are not implemented.

Table:5 Basic Health Indicators –2000

	Sri Lanka	Plantation Sector
Housing using iodinate salt	87.4	79.5
Safe drinking water	75.4	24.8
Mean age at marriage	24.6	23.4
Still Births	3.5	8.5
Female sterilization	30.3	60.0
Male sterilization	3.0	7.0
Children under five immunized	81.5	71.4
Children under 5 breast feed (04-59 months)	50.8	37.3
Household with sanitary latrines	72.6	35.5
Access to safe drinking water	86.5	35.5
Mean no.of months breast feeding	25.6	21.6
Received antinatal care	98.4	94.3
Received assistance at delivery		
From Dr/Nurse/Midwives	96.6	84.7
Children weight for height(wasted)	14.0	11.8
Underweight 3-59months (weight for age)	29.4	44.1
Chronic under nutrition in the estates (Height for age)Stunted	13.5	33.8
Low birth weight	16.6	18.6
Have heard of Aids	90.3	39.7

Source:Sri Lanka Demographic & Health Survey 2000

Article 12 of the ICESCR refers to the need to provide for reduction in the still –birth rate and infant mortality rate. The plantation health system is still outside the National Health System and people depend on plantation management for their health needs.

G. EDUCATION

Education plays an important role whether it is in respect of an individual, a community or a nation. Because of its importance the **Right to Education** is recognized as a fundamental human right and enshrined in the Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The vast stride made by Sri Lanka in the field of education in the 40's and 50's was unsurpassed in this part of the world. However, **Equal Access to Education** was denied to the plantation community. During the colonial era and for decades thereafter, education continued to remain the responsibility of the estate management, who seeing no need for an educated workforce, assigned a low priority to education of the children of the plantation workers. It was therefore not surprising to find most of the estate schools being poorly equipped and staffed-with single-teacher schools predominating-and catering in most cases only up to year 6 .

In the plantation community in Sri Lanka which has a lowest literacy rate when compared with their urban and rural counterparts. It has been caught in the 'deprivation trap' of poverty, illiteracy ill health, isolation and powerlessness. Achieving the universal education in the plantation community is a foremost prerequisite for achieving equality in Sri Lanka.

Education in the plantation areas in Sri Lanka had a long history of negligence. The efforts of educational reforms brought about in the 40's by way of introducing free education and central schools in rural areas never trickled down to the plantation community until the government took over these schools.

The plantation children had to be content with an inferior type of education imparted to them in places that were poor substitutes for schools. Though estate schools established and managed by the estate authorities, became state schools by 1980s, till the development of these schools were marginal.

Table:6 Literacy Rate 1996/1997

	Male	Female	Total
Estate	87.2	67.3	76.9
Rural	94.5	90.4	92.3
Urban	96.1	93.0	94.5
All	94.3	89.4	91.8

Source; Socio-economic Survey, Central Bank Report (96/97)

Table:7 Attainment of Education by Sectors 1996/1997

(As a percentage of population aged 5 years and above)

Sector	Primary & above	Secondary & above	Post Secondary
Estate	76.1	20.2	2.1
Rural	92.1	56.9	20.5
Urban	94.1	66.7	29.6
All	91.4	56.2	20.7

Source: Socio-economic Survey, Central Bank Report (96/97)

- ❖ The educational attainment in the estate sector is relatively lower than other sectors.
- ❖ This difference could be mainly attributed to poor infrastructure condition for education in the estate sector as well as other socio-economic differences.

04. UPPER KOTHMALE DAM - Hydro Electricity Project

This project entails construction of a dam to produce electricity for future needs. The project is to be constructed on the western slopes of the Nuwara-Eliya mountain range. The project site is Talawakelle and its environments. The waters of Kothmale Oya, a main tributary of the Mahaweli River in its upper reaches is to be diverted by constructing an intake dam in Talawakelle. This reservoir will also tap the waters of 6 magnificent and popular water falls of the country. Diverting these 6 water falls into the intake pond will diminish the beauty of the cascading water falls Devon, St.Clairs, Puna, Ramboda, St.Andrews and Pundala Oya. The water will be directed through 23 km long tunnels into the Hydro Power Plant which is underground. The under ground power station having 150MW installed capacity will be located on the right bank of the existing Kothmale Oya reservoir near to Niyangandora.

It appears that if the development of the upper Kothmale hydro power project proceeded according to the present proposal, most of our water falls, which constitute the scenic beauty on the Northern slope of the central highland of Sri Lanka would be diminished despite some mitigation, like releasing the water intermittently, as indicated in the 2001 SAPROF study. This is an enormous price to pay, as these water falls are important parts of our natural heritage. As such it is not surprising that some ministers, general public and environmental NGOs demand the cancellation of this project

Adverse impact of the project

- ❖ Devastation of the fauna and flora indigenous to Sri Lanka that supports bio-diversity in the region.

- ❖ Two chief sources of foreign exchange in Sri Lanka: the tea industry and tourism will be adversely affected.
- ❖ Two hundred acres of land will be taken for this project will affects the livelihood of the workers.
- ❖ Displacement of over 500 very poor and oppressed families.
- ❖ The National Building Constructions Research Authority has prepared a map on lands most susceptible to be affected by landslides. According to this survey the target regions where the upper Kothmale project will be, are likely to be affected by major and minor landslides.
- ❖ Agricultural activities will be adversely affected for lack of a sufficient supply of water. The inhabitants of the lower areas will face higher rate of poverty due to poor income from agriculture.
- ❖ The hydro power projects that are already implemented such as Polgolla, Victoria, Kothmale and Randenigala reservoirs are already getting silted with sediment: 40-50% knowledgeable persons predict that in 40 years time Victoria reservoir will be silted up to be a flat dry bed.
- ❖ According to the present study and assessment the annual deposit of sediments in the proposed project UKHP will be 15%.
- ❖ In the name of development which is done contrary to their expectation and wishes of our people they are burdened with indebtedness and poverty and this is going against public opinion.
- ❖ Therefore we earnestly request the government of Japan to refrain from funding this project and also the international organizations that are working against the macro dam projects all over the world. Special request is made to the international organizations called 'Dam-Affected People and their allies' and also the 'International Reverse Network Association' to help Sri Lanka to sustain its Bio-diversity.

05. WOMEN IN THE PLANTATION

Article 7 of the covenant (ICESCR) emphasizes the need to guarantee women conditions of work that are not inferior to those enjoyed by men. However, as experiences in the plantation sector show that the working conditions for men and women are vastly different due to the type of work done by men (pruning, clearing etc) and by women (plucking). Women pluckers work longer hours than men and must shoulder domestic responsibilities as well. The injustice done to women workers in the plantation because of this sex-based division of labour has not been addressed within the rights framework. For many years, there also existed a discrepancy between the wages of men and women; this anomaly was rectified in 1984. There has been much discussion about ways and means of preventing husbands from claiming the wages of their wives and children; however, this practice still do occur in some places. Again, the right of individuals to enjoy the fruit of their labour is often denied to a section of the plantation population namely women and children. No redress has been made upto now. Out of the total workforce 55% are women. They are over burdened by three types of work, namely, work in the field, work at home and caring for the children. They also faced induced sterilization and lack of proper reproductive health care.

A little improvement in the education is a strong push factor for the young women to search for employment

outside the estates. Even the mothers do not want their daughters to work in the estates because of the hardships they have undergone at the hands of men.(Kanganies, field officers etc.) and also due to the sexual harassment they have to face at the work place.

Due to new opportunities, young women's aspirations and their primary aim in life may not be raising a family just after leaving school but to search for employment outside the estates such as garment factories,going to the Middle East and working as domestic aids .

Working outside the estates should not be treated as a panacea for economic ills faced by these people. But they complain that the type of work they want is not available for them in the present scheme of things, - white collar jobs, as crèche attendants,medical assistants,office helpers,or even as welfare supervisors.

Each mode of employment (estate and white collar) has its positive and negative aspects. The critical factor appears to be wages that are nearly equal in both sectors although social esteems, friendship networks and kind management are seen as tilting the balance in favour of estate workers. The implication is that estate managers will have to change their management style if they are going to attract young women into the labour force. Taking a cue from the garment sector, they will need to clothe estate works with some amount of dignity (through use of uniforms, changing terminology, etc.,) Open avenues for training and upward occupational mobility through restructuring of the mode of production that has remained the same during the last century, and most importantly, increased wages to be competitive with the blue collar workers.

06. YOUTH IN THE PLANTATION

In the plantation sector the female and male unemployment stood at 65% and 52% respectively. The age group of 14-33 constituted 95% of the unemployed. If not properly handled employment and poverty could create an explosive situation in the plantations.

Plantation youths are eliminated from getting employment in the government and private sector due to their low educational and vocational qualifications. Middle East employment is one of the main employment source for other sectors in Sri Lanka but not for the Tamils in the plantation sector.

Table:8 Ethnic Composition of Middle East Migration

Ethnicity	Migration %
Sinhalese	63.4
Sri Lankan Tamil	11.7
Muslims	21.6
Indian Tamils	0.3
Others	3.0

Source: NORAD 1996

House maids and unskilled labour account for around 75% of the total employment in the Middle East. However, the percentage of the plantation Tamils working in the Middle East is lower than other communities and is not proportional to the size of the community in Sri Lanka. But most of the plantation youths and children are engaged as domestic aids in Sri Lanka.

Table: 9 Employment expectation of the plantation youths

Job Category	Percentage
Managerial	08
Garment	19
Tailor	24
Driver	13
Electrical	07
Welding	03
Motor Mechanics	11
Painting	03
Middle East	03
Labourer	03
Any Job	03
Cannot say	03
Total	100

Source: NORAD 1996

Though the expectations are there, the plantation youths do not take any action to receive training in the particular trade/occupation they aspire to be employed in. This is due to either lack of awareness or lack of formal academic qualification to enter into vocational institutions and also lack of Technical Institutions in the plantations areas in Tamil medium.

Human Resource Development is key to national development. It is seen as an essential and vital means as well as the ultimate aim of development. Education determines the demographic profile of a country by changing the vital rates of its population. It also determines the supply of labour force in the market by releasing people with general and technical skills to the market.

The pattern of employment then in turn demands higher levels of education, knowledge and technical skills. All these inputs either in the initial education or through life-long education during work, determine the level of productivity of a society and its economic well being but this is denied to the plantation community.

07. POPULATION OF THE PLANTATION SECTOR

Table: 10 Population in the plantation districts

District (%)	S.L. Tamils	Indian Muslim	Sri Lan. Tamils	T.Spea. People	Tam.in South	Sinhala
N'Eliya	41,445 (5.9)	359,386 (51.3)	17,557 (2.5)	418,388 (59.76)	400,831 (57.2)	280,236 (40)
Badulla	32,230 (4.2)	141,087 (18.2)	40,455 (5.2)	213,772 (27.6)	173,317 (22.4)	558,218 (72.1)
Kandy	49,205 (3.9)	106,431 (8.4)	169,029 (13.3)	324,575 (25.6)	155,546 (12.3)	942,038 (74)
R'Pura	34,335 (3.4)	78,581 (7.8)	20,871 (2.1)	133,787 (13.3)	112,916 (11.2)	873,265 (86.6)
K'galle	14,163 (1.8)	45,647 (5.9)	51,699 (6.6)	111,509 (14.3)	59,810 (7.71)	667,536 (85.2)
Matale	23,982 (5.4)	23,329 (5.3)	38,867 (8.8)	86,178 (19.77)	47,311 (10.7)	354,985 (80.8)
Kalutara	13,527 (1.3)	28,769 (2.7)	92,775 (8.8)	135,071 (12.80)	42,296 (4.0)	923,893 (87.1)
Matara	4,791 (0.63)	16,983 (2.23)	22,378 (2.94)	44,152 (5.80)	21,774 (2.83)	716,780 (94.20)
Monaragala	5,579 (1.41)	7,660 (1.93)	8,047 (2.03)	21,286 (5.37)	13,289 (3.34)	374,553 (94.63)
Galle	11,596 (1.17)	8,553 (0.86)	35,346 (3.57)	55,495 (5.60)	20,149 (2.03)	934,381 (94.40)
Kurunegala	16,991 (1.17)	2,732 (0.19)	97,878 (6.73)	117,501 (8.09)	19,723 (1.36)	1,332,426 (91.91)

According to 1946 census upcountry Tamils were the first minority in Sri Lanka composing 12.65% of the country's population. But from 1930 onwards Sri Lanka adopting forced repatriation, out-migration, induced sterilization have reduced this sector to the 3rd place. At present this population consist 1.5 million that is about 8% of the Sri Lankan population. These people are scattered in eleven Plantation Districts but of these Tamils are concentrated in Nuwara Eliya district (60%) highest outside North and East.

08. ALTERNATIVE MODELS FOR THE PLANTATION SECTOR

The response of TU's, NGOs and CBO's to changing environment has been diverse. This is in part reflected the complexity of challenges faced by the plantation sector. There is strong division within these organizations. These organizations are divided along political lines with almost every political party- irrespective of its ideological orientation having TU Federations or NGO Federations of their own. There are extremely articulate, TUs NGOs, CBOs but they have been largely limited to the local context and areas. In some isolated instances these organization's responses have been effective in preventing sweeping changes in legislation and policy affecting the plantation sector since privatization.

Since almost all new employment even in large scale industry is today concentrated in the unprotected sector of the work force(in the form of contract,casual or other forms of temporary work), organizing this sector is imperative for these progressive organizations to sustain any of the gains this have made so far.

Changes are taking place at a very fast rate in the world and also in Sri Lanka. To face these changes we ourselves have to change our strategies and come together as people's movements comprising of TUs, NGOs, CBOs, Organic

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Intellectuals, Writers and other progressive thinkers. If we do not change, then change will overtake us and we will have no way left influencing them. Therefore people in Sri Lanka and especially those in the plantation sector must come together and campaign for following;

- ❖ The abolition of the Executive Presidency and the adaption of a power sharing federal consitution, based on human rights, right to life and democracy which will satisfy the aspirations of all nationalities and support the ongoing peace process.
- ❖ To oppose all measures of structural adjustment which cause job losses and misery to working people.
- ❖ Oppose globalization of IMF/WB/WTO policies, which have proved to be a disaster to all peoples of the world.
- ❖ To draft a Sustainable Socio-economic programme which will bring relief to the suffering masses and also protect the environment and national interest.
- ❖ To struggle against racism and to campaign against all chauvinistic organizations.
- ❖ Support the campaigns of women and other oppressed and disadvantaged groups (plantation workers, children and elders) including the struggle against religious discriminations.
- ❖ To oppose all forms of political violence, particularly violence by the State apparatus and the management.

09. PLANTATION SECTOR SOCIAL FORUM (PSSF)

The emergence of PSSF

The PSSF was established by some of us from the plantation sector who participated at the Asian Social Forum held in Hyderabad, India, January 2003. This group felt the importance of the PSSF in order to voice the challenges faced by the plantation sector at the international level. Later this concept was first proposed in one of our UPACT meetings in June 2003 and subsequently this was passed on to other organizations such as TUs NGOs, CBOs in the plantation sector.

The Forum sent an envoy to the organizing committee meeting of the World Social Forum held in Chennai (Tamil Nadu) in September 2003 with request to create a separate body for the plantation sector under the thematic issue of labour. This request was accepted by the organizing committee. Miss Ruth Manorama, member of the organizing committee participated in the inaugural meeting of the plantation sector social forum and this forum was established on the 14th October 2003.

Following this a number of meetings were held at the district level in order to inform the plantation workers about the WSF and the objective of 'Another World is Possible'. In this period PSSF organized a number of picketings and demonstrations on the negative impact of globalization at the national level as well as in the plantation sector.

PSSF was declared to voice the concern and challenges faced by the plantation people at regional, national and international level. It is a challenge to oppose the slogan that there is No Alternative 'Except the Market Economy' as being prophesied by the WB, IMF, and WTO.

PSSF will take this challenge in the coming years with the support of the national and international groups to search for alternative models of development for a better plantation system where people in this sector can live with equality and justice.

We appreciate the efforts which are going on across the globe to mobilize the people in all the continents. Especially the people who are affected by the plantation system that is prevailing in different continents.

The concept of 'Another World is Possible' "Another Sri Lanka is Possible", "Another Plantation Sector is Possible" have raised the hope of the oppressed, depressed and exploited communities. The emergence of the WSF and the concept will help in coming together of all the exploited, who account for 90% of the entire population of the world to find the alternatives of their choice. It is an important process and we welcome wholeheartedly this historical event in Mumbai.

**ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE, LONG
LIVE PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY**

CONCLUSION

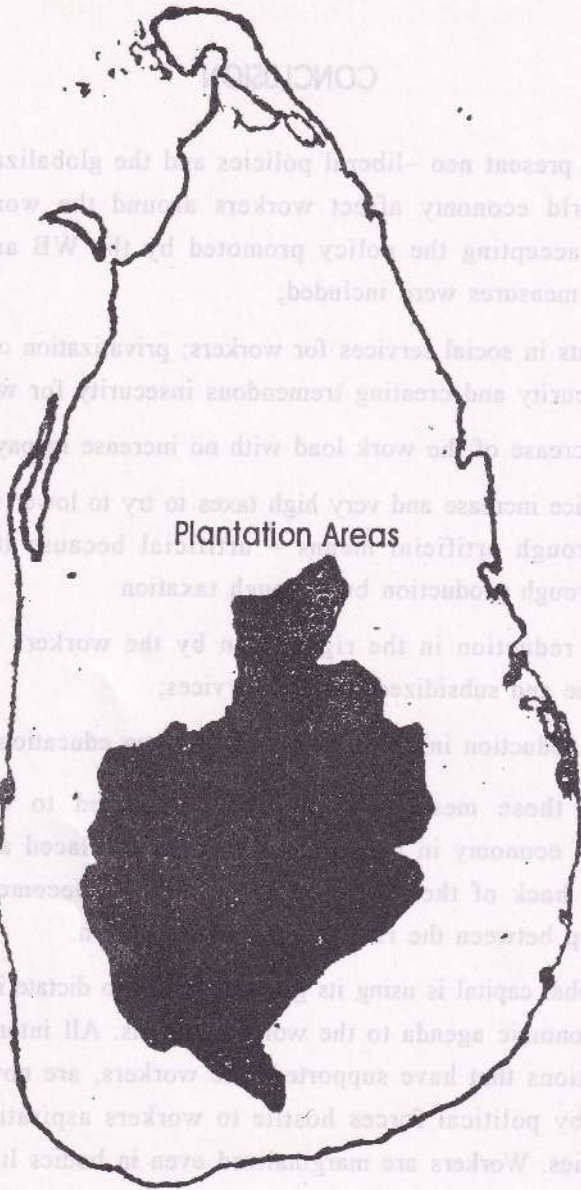
The present neo-liberal policies and the globalization of the world economy affect workers around the world. Sri Lanka accepting the policy promoted by the WB and IMF drastic measures were included;

- ❖ Cuts in social services for workers; privatization of social security and creating tremendous insecurity for workers.
- ❖ Increase of the work load with no increase in pay;
- ❖ Price increase and very high taxes to try to lower inflation through artificial means - artificial because it is not through production but through taxation
- ❖ A reduction in the rights won by the workers such as free and subsidized medical services;
- ❖ A reduction in government spending on education

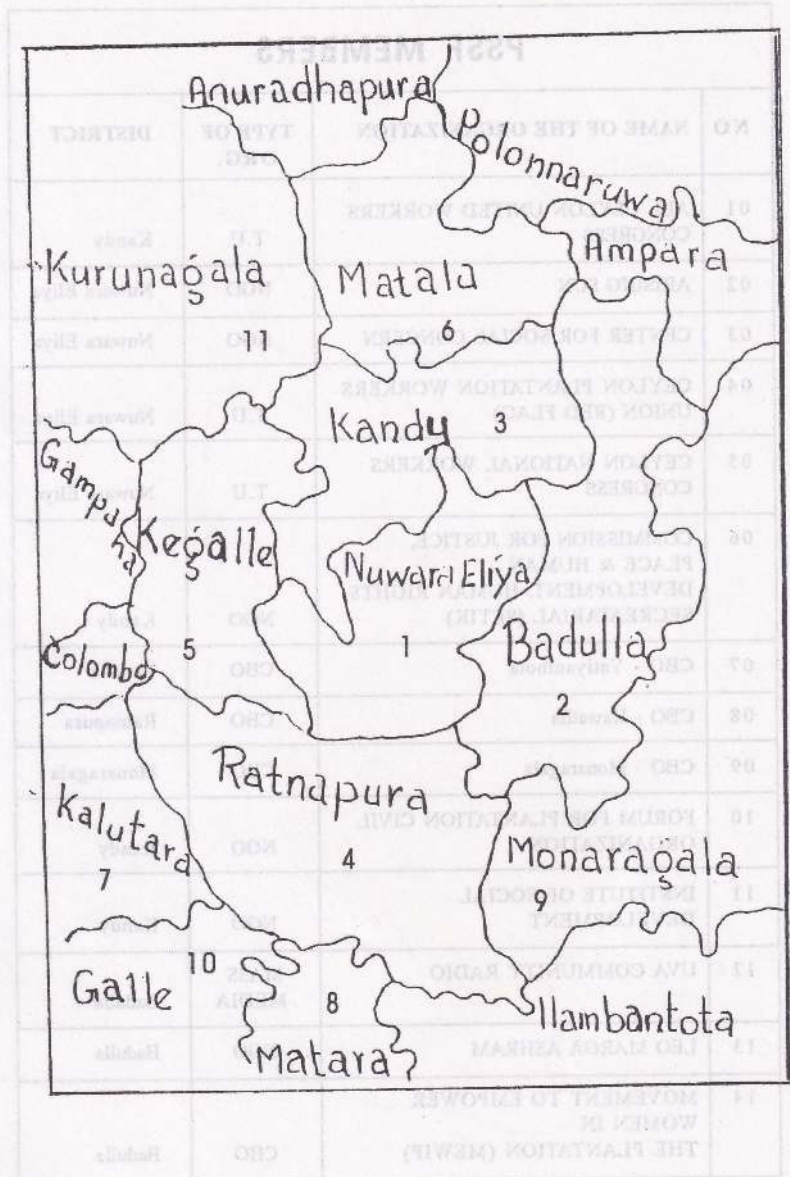
All those measures supposedly designed to create a healthy economy in these countries, instead placed a burden on the back of the workers. The rich have become richer. The gap between the rich and poor have grown.

Global capital is using its growing power to dictate its social and economic agenda to the world's nations. All international institutions that have supported the workers, are now dominated by political forces hostile to workers aspirations and strategies. Workers are marginalized even in bodies like UNO with primarily political or social orientation such as ILO.

Sri Lanka



Plantation Districts in Sri Lanka



PSSF MEMBERS			
NO	NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION	TYPE OF ORG.	DISTRICT
01	ALL CEYLON UNITED WORKERS CONGRESS	T.U	Kandy
02	ARISING SUN	NGO	Nuwara Eliya
03	CENTER FOR SOCIAL CONCERN	NGO	Nuwara Eliya
04	CEYLON PLANTATION WORKERS UNION (RED FLAG)	T.U	Nuwara Eliya
05	CEYLON NATIONAL WORKERS CONGRESS	T.U	Nuwara Eliya
06	COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE, PEACE & HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS SECRETARIAL (SETIK)	NGO	Kandy
07	CBO - Yatiyanthota	CBO	Kegalle
08	CBO - Kawatha	CBO	Ratnapura
09	CBO - Monaragala	CBO	Monaragala
10	FORUM FOR PLANTATION CIVIL ORGANIZATION	NGO	Kandy
11	INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT	NGO	Kandy
12	UVA COMMUNITY RADIO	MASS MEDIA	Badulla
13	LEO MARGA ASHRAM	NGO	Badulla
14	MOVEMENT TO EMPOWER WOMEN IN THE PLANTATION (MEWIP)	CBO	Badulla

15	PLANTATION WORKERS SERVICE CENTER (CWF)	NGO	Nuwara Eliya
16	PLANTATION RURAL EDUCATION & DEVELOPMENT ORG. (PREDO)	NGO	Kandy
17	SOCIAL WELFARE MANTRAM	NGO	Nuwara Eliya
18	UNITED WELFARE ORG. (UNIWELO)	NGO	Kandy
19	SAVISTHRY	NGO	Nuwara Eliya
20	UPCOUNTRY WORKERS UNION	T.U	Nuwara Eliya
21	UNITED PLANTATION ACTION	NGO	Nuwara Eliya
22	WORKERS DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY	T.U	Badulla
23	WORKING WOMEN'S FRONT	NGO	Kandy
24	UNITED EMPLOYEES UNION	T.U	Kandy
25	NAVA MALAYAGAM PUBLICATIONS	MASS MEDIA	Ratnapura
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The Hill country Tamil question

The issues at the centre of the hill-country Tamil question were inevitably over-looked again in the political excitement caused by Thondaman's decision to express his displeasure with the UNP leadership's attitude towards the plantations. Most of these issues are presently connected to the privatisation program in the plantation sector. Thondaman and the CWC campaigned among the hill-country Tamils in support of privatisation when the government under President Premadasa took the first step to implement the program.

The CWC was able to convince the plantation Tamils in general and its own members in particular that privatization, contrary to the generally held view among them, could in fact lead to a better standard of life and general prosperity for their community. The majority of the plantation Tamil workers accepted the CWC's position on privatization solely because Thondaman promised them that it would be linked to the settlement of the following issues about which he had reached an understanding with the government at that time.

The issues were:

- (a) ownership of land
- (b) housing schemes for workers in place of the 'linerooms' on foster a village style development.
- (c) better facilities for the educational development of the community.
- (d) better working conditions and more work for higher wages.

Economists have argued for many years that the system of resident labour force on which the plantations were run is incompatible with modernising production and labour utilisation. In other words the system of resident labour force had to be altered in the restructuring of the plantation industry into a profit generating sector of the economy. This implied that a large number of persons employed in this sector could become redundant in this process aimed at making the plantations economically viable. It was necessary therefore to cushion the adverse side-effects of the program which were bound to retard or confound privatisation. The IMF and World Bank 'manuals' on Structural Readjustment Programs recognise the need to effectively manage the consequences of 'denationalising' sensitive sectors of a country's economy.

Thondaman's demand for land rights, housing and education were therefore, in this context, the basis for a smooth transition in the plantation industry to private ownership. The large number of estate workers who were bound to become redundant as a result of the inevitable dismantling of the resident labour force system could be smoothly absorbed into other areas of the economy if there was land for market gardening and pasture, educational facilities for providing vocational skills and housing schemes which were not fully dependent on the estate managements entailing private ownership and village style development.

The government had to seriously address these issues, at least in principle at that time, in order to expedite the privatisation programme and get Thonda's support for it. In addressing these issues the government at that time was securing the means by which the tensions arising from the inevitable restructuring of production and labour utilisation under private sector management could be politically and socially managed during the period of transition.

The demand and friction over land for pasture and extremely profitable market gardening among plantation workers was already a thorny issue which was clearly bond

to exacerbate latent political and communal tensions in the hill-country if a large number of people were going to be pushed out of estates as a consequence of private ownership altering or dismantling the resident labour system. And worker housing aimed at village style development could facilitate the gradual dismantling of the linerrooms which are synonymous with the resident labour.

The linerrooms and the general infrastructure required to maintain a large resident labour force entailed massive overhead costs which inturn adversely affected technical innovations and capital outlays on modernization of management and production. Housing schemes with land for expansion were therefore an ideal alternative from a purely economic point of view. Better facilities nfor education was the third issue which although not directly linked by the CWC as a condition to its support for privatisation was deemed necessary to open opportunities for youth who chould not be absorbed into the plantation workforce in other sectors of the economy.

Now Thondaman was quite eager to reach an agreement with the government on these issues at least in principle, because he wanted to accelerate the pace of privatization in which some Indian companies were set to play a major role while being able to sustain his political strength in the hill-country. He in fact was canvassing for these companies. There appeared to be a vested interest as well. An agreement was reached on housing, (the details of which appeared in these columns at that time). And with regard to land Thondaman sent the following letter after some preliminary discussions with Premadasa with a view to work out a formal basis on which he could further proceed on the matter.

11th March, 1991,

His Excellency R. Premadasa,

President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

COLOMBO.

Your Excellency,

Land for people of recent Indian origin

Further to my letter of 15.11.1990 (copy attached) I wish to submit further that the grant of citizenship, along with the restoration of civic rights has made the people of recent Indian origin very much a part of the Sri Lankan nation. I deeply appreciate Your Excellency's anxiety in seeing them enter the main-stream of national life quite substantially. In voicing their demands I am fully aware of their aspirations. Among them is the recognition of their basic rights of ownership of land and property. The obligation to respect this sentiment and to confer ownership over land certainly rests with the Government of Sri Lanka.

The Presidential Task Force on National Land Utilisation and Distribution was a response to a need that was felt acutely. The Task Force has charted certain programmes for alienation of land. Four of them are linked to the destiny of the people of recent Indian Origin. They are Programmes in respect of

- (1) Plantation lands
- (2) Land Reform Commission Lands
- (3) State lands
- (4) Mahaweli highlands.

A fifth category viz Mahaweli irrigated lands, even though vitally relevant may be considered with the restoration of peace in East Sri Lanka and the delivery of irrigated lands thereafter. The first four categories are of immediate concern.

The people of recent Indian origin total one million of whom an estimated eight lakhs reside in the Central, Uva and Sabaragamuwa Provinces. They constitute 160,000 family units of whom well over 98% do not own land or housing assets. It should be our common endeavour your Excellency, to redress this situation of deprivation. The enthusiasm of the people of recent Indian origin towards land alienation has been impaired by their failure to obtain land ownership even marginally. To redress the imbalances of the past I would urge the following course of action.

Recognising the right to land of the people of recent Indian origin as basic, and conceding their urge to strengthen their 'community of interests' as natural, land available in the estate should be alienated to the educated landless youths in the estates. Selection for any Gramasevaka Division should be confined to the long standing residents of the division itself. This policy should be applied to all estates in the Central, Uva and Sabaragamuwa Provinces. May I point out that plantation lands available for alienation constitute a mere 1380 hectares in the three provinces. This extent would suffice for only 7000 parcels.

The total availability of L.R.C. lands in the three provinces is 2606 hectares. This would constitute 10,000 parcels. Mahaweli highland available for alienation amounts to 802 hectares. This may be sufficient for 2000 allottees.

Thus on three of the four programmes of land alienation, 4,788 hectares amounting to 19,000 parcels are available. No claim is being pressed for the totality of this land.

What is urged is that the policy of allottee selection should treat the 'community of interest' principle as sacred having a full awareness of the compactness with which the people have lived over the generations. Even on a fair and equitable alienation of land to people of recent Indian origin, only a mere fraction of the people would benefit from the three programmes outlined above.

Out of the four programmes having a total of 63,002 hectares yet available for alienation in the three Provinces, State Lands amount to 58,214 hectares. A fair share out of this programme is a legitimate expectation of the people. Confidence inspired in them through balanced land alienation will reinforce national integration as no other policy can.

I have reason to be assured that Your Excellency will be keenly responsive to the sensitivities of the people of recent Indian origin in respect of land.

Yours sincerely,
S. Thondaman, MP
Minister of Tourism & Rural Industrial Development

President Premadasa delegated the matter to the then Prime Minister D. B. Wijetunga, who convened a meeting at Temple Trees on 16/7/91 to discuss 'Up-country Land Matters' with Thondaman. Paskaralingam and Mr.A.A. Wijetunga who was the Secretary, Ministry of Lands and Irrigation and Mahaweli Development were also asked to be present at the meeting. Thereafter Thondaman expressed confidence that the land issue could gradually be resolved on the basis of an understanding that had been reached with the government.

And thirdly in the field of education there was hope that the College of Education set up with German assistance at Pathana near Kotagala would largely serve the plantation Tamils and would annually produce an adequate number of teachers from among the worker population to meet the demand for education on the estates. The first batch was taken in 1991, of which about seventy five percent were plantation Tamils and the rest were Sinhalese.

The CWC's problem today is that land, housing and education which it had promised to deliver at least piecemeal, have become politically incendiary issues which are directly and indirectly exacerbating and fuelling the tensions arising in areas where plantations are run by private management companies. Thondaman is trying to ensure his hold on the hill-country Tamils by addressing an immediate and visible cause - the 300 working days - to keep the situation under control in view of safeguarding the credibility of his leadership. He only knows too well that the problem runs deeper than the number of work days

Nothing has been done to go into the question of setting up the bodies which were supposed to undertake the setting up and maintenance of housing schemes on estates under private management as had been agreed to in 1991. Only

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some names have been forwarded by the CWC on certain plantations for the committees which were supposed to handle the matter.

The CWC has not been able to deliver anything on the question of land for the estate workers. And it had to face flak from some of its strongholds where eviction and land alienation for redistribution among non-estate workers have taken place after companies took over management of some plantations.

And the College of Education at Pathana has run into serious trouble over demands to reduce the quota that was originally made available to plantation Tamils. An incident on Saraswathic Pooja Day between Tamil and Sinhala students and the naming of the college were further cause for the growing friction and grievance about the institution. These in addition to the more serious problem over the quota in admissions has prevented the intake of the second batch to the college.

The CWC's grouse with D.B. Wijetunga is that he has, since the time he took over as President, overlooked or ignored all these issues and particularly those on which an undertaking was given by the Premadasa government such as land and housing.

The CWC's point is that D.B. Wijetunga was selected the UNP to carry out Premadasa's mandate and therefore he has to stand by the understanding reached between the government and Thondaman during Premadasa's time, and that D.B. can ignore or reject a formal understanding between UNP government and Thondaman in his capacity as its leader only if he is a President elected by the people. And on the issue of land matters, the CWC insists that D.B. cannot shirk responsibility because he was also party to the understanding reached with the government on the issue during Premadasa's time as the convener of the meeting on 16/7/91 to discuss matters concerning land as outlined in Thonda's letter to Premadasa.

Today D.B. has not only ignored the CWC's concern about land ownership for plantation Tamils but has clearly stated where his interests lie.

Thondaman's support for privatisation has thus backfired on him. And the problem gets aggravated frequently now by the growing friction between private management and workers as there are no alternative openings in the economy which can gradually absorb the politically volatile excess labour force on those plantations which the private managers are trying to run at a profit.

Thondaman had to give political voice to this general discontent or lose his moral authority to represent the plantation Tamils.

The leadership of the CWC it appears is trying to get two birds with one stone in pressing for a viable solution to the current crisis in the plantations. The day after the CWC's national council passed the resolution that it should give the government one month to resolve the problem, Sellasamy issued a statement suggesting that the management should be handed over to Indian companies.

The CWC leadership will be making a gross mistake if it is going to use its leverage and political resources to achieve ends other than the interests of its people. Thondaman is well aware of the fact that although the two men - Ira Sivalingam and his disciple Chandrasekaran - who can easily give leadership to the discontent, are behind bars (the former in India and the latter in Colombo) his leadership can be questioned in days to come if he does not demonstrate to his people that he means business.

By **TARAKI**

(ISLAND (Daily Paper) 5-12-1993)

