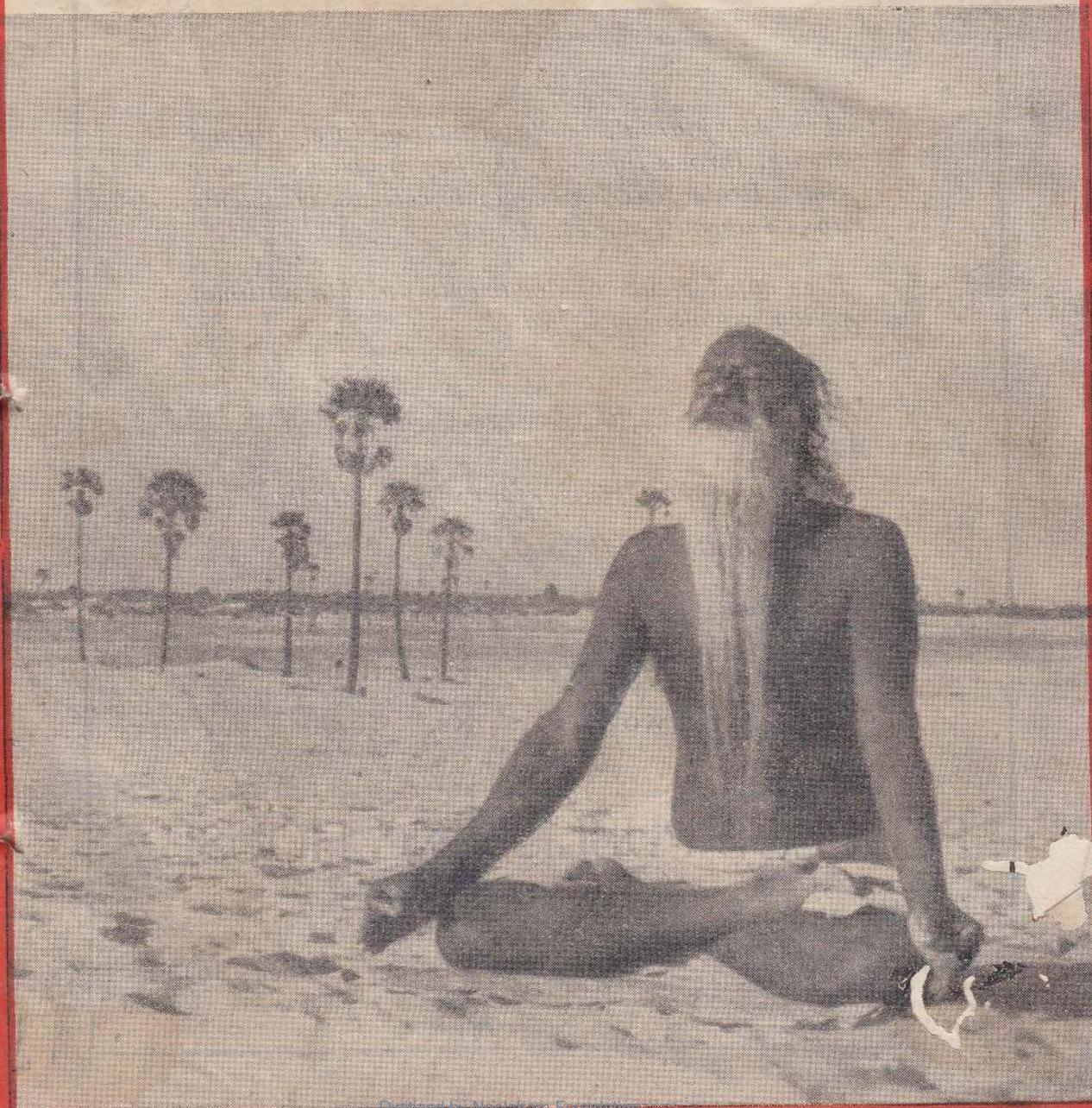


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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER, this week, we have a picture of a venerable personage posing for our cameraman as one in yogic meditation on one of the sandy wastes of the Jaffna peninsula. We have not published this picture to write a sermon either about the virtues of godmen like Satya Sai Baba or about the iconoclastic virtuosity of their inveterate enemies like Abraham Kovoor. We believe that a hundred flowers, nay a thousand flowers, should be allowed to bloom, and that in such an environment it is only natural that contrary opinions about theory and practice, about right and wrong and even truth and untruth should prevail. The world needs hot-gospellers like Sai Baba to uphold belief in the divine as much as it needs dogmatic evangelists like Kovoor to denounce divinity and to insist on the supreme truth of atheistic (rationalist) materialism. It is all part of life with all the myriad forms of life (with or without detectable consciousness) on this planet. If we did not publish this picture to portray the cosmic eternity of man, readers will ask why we have chosen to print it on the cover this week. The answer is simple. Anyone who gives serious thought to the conflicting contradictions and the humbug and hypocrisy of official propaganda, to the bogus bluster and gimmickry of oppositional big talk to the dismal prospects on the economic front and the ever dizzying food prices has no escape other than to retire to an ashram to spend the rest of his days in meditation about God or even about Anti-God. May Day 1977, and the politics which have flowed therefrom, must bring despair and distress to anyone who is genuinely interested in Ceylon and its future. What is most disturbing is the total inability of the Government, or even the Private Sector, as owners and managers of the means of production, to induce people to sustain production and increase it—because, without increased productivity and production, the future is bleak. Corruption, judged by happenings in other countries—developed as well as developing—is comparatively minimal. The ordinary man in Sri Lanka accepts corruption as part of life and has learnt to co-exist with it on the lower and middle levels of the administration. But, as we have said, it is not corruption that is the crux of the stagnation that has overtaken this country—and if we do not get a move on in production and productivity quickly we cannot hope to see even a few silver linings in the foreseeable future. May 1977 showed that all parties, which wanted to win political power through the ballot box, were now engrossed only in politicking for seats. The Government (SLFP Only) continues its game of untruth and bluff that productive totals were higher now than before without talking about productivity ratios in terms of manpower and population, while the different Opposition Parties (from the UNP to the new ULF and the little older TULF) concentrate their fire on the acts of commission and omission of the Government without putting forward any scheme in concrete terms about how people can be induced to work harder, more purposefully and more profitably. After the recent experiences in India and even in Sri Lanka, nobody dares to talk of Emergency Rule to regiment and compel all those who are not the hangers-on of political VIPs to work at the point of a gun or the gazette dictates of (temporary) Emergency (ersatz) dictators after the 19 months spell of fascist-like Emergency Rule in India under Indira Gandhi and the not-so-atrocious spells of Emergency Rule in Ceylon from 1966 until the prorogation of the NSA in February 1977. Even in China, the leaders (and the masses) seem to have discovered that production and productivity cannot be sustained and improved either on the point of the gun or under the spell of Maoist calls for selfless patriotic service. Liu Shao-chi and a whole generation of men who had made the Chinese Revolution were eliminated and politically liquidated because they refused to subscribe to Mao's dogma that material incentives would turn revolutionary fervour into revisionism and the consequent betrayal of the Revolution. Lipservice is still paid to the charismatic image of Mao but the Hua Kuo-feng government is now rightly seeking to turn material incentives to step up production in industry and agriculture to enable China to become a dominant economic force in fifty years. On May Day 1977, in Sri Lanka, all political parties began their election campaigns, but not one of them gave any indication of any awareness of the enormity of this problem of production and productivity or how they will get production moving if they came power. Every Party assumes that if it was returned to power, the masses would "automatically" respond and work hard and maintain self-discipline. Such myopic self-assuredness reveals the continued ivory-tower existence of our political parties.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

SLFP, Maithri & FRDB

Colombo, May 11,

May Day this year was organised in the same carnival-like manner as in the recent past but with one difference—instead of two big rallies (UF AND THE UNP) and a two or three smaller rallies (Bala Tampoe's CMU, Shan's CTUF, etc.) there were three major rallies (SLFP UNP ULF) and a large number of smaller rallies and meetings (CMU, Shan's Maoists, JVP, etc. etc.). The TULF rally in Jaffna (this is the first time that the TULF showed any enthusiasm for May Day) and the CWC rally in Nuwara Eliya were cancelled because of the death of S. J. V. Chelvanayakam.

The SLFP had the Galle Face Green, over 3000 CTB buses, governmental machinery, the SLBC and the Lake House to stage its tamasha. But the crowd it was able to mobilise was not proportionate to the vast resources expended on the spectacle—to open the 1977 election campaign. And the mini-gimmick of bringing a crowd of (alleged) fisherfolk from Panadura in mechanised boats by sea ended in tragedy when one of its over-loaded boats with many of them filled with the wrong kind of liquid fuel inside of them capsized. Many lives were lost. (The first week of May saw one of largest number of road, rail, river and sea accidents for a long while).

One noteworthy feature of the SLFP Rally was that Maithripala Senanayake staged a comeback into the active and enthusiastic election politics of the SLFP. For some time, Maithripala Senanayake had adopted a self-effacing posture and maintained a low profile. He had discharged his functions as Acting Prime Minister, every time the PM had gone out of the country with unquestionable rectitude, but he had behaved as if he was not one of the top key men in the SLFP (which he is as the major political force in the NCP and some other parts of the country). A brief illness and a holiday in Malaysia had

set tongues wagging that he was dropping out of politics, and it was whispered in certain interested circles (SLFP) that Maithri was finished with politics—some said that it was due to his health whilst others had asserted that he was "fed up" with the ruling caucus in the Palace.

It is known that Maithri was not in favour of liquidating the UNITED FRONT by pushing out the LSSP first and then the CP, and it is no secret that Anura Bandaranaike had tread on his toes (from the time of the Kalawewa by-election) on more than one occasion; and that Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike had shown Maithri that he (FRDB) was the real power behind the throne. Whilst Anura's potshots at Maithri were few and far between, FRDB carried on a running battle to downgrade and denigrate Maithri. Political observers were surprised that Maithri had taken a great deal lying down, and after a time everybody took it for granted that the FRDB era (like Sanjay Gandhi's) had arrived. The reshuffle after the exit of the CP had made many observers to believe that FRDB had achieved the supreme position of having a pro-Felix Cabinet behind him (except for a few odd men out like Maithripala, Kalugalle and maybe Mahmud).

With the CP out of the Government (and its *de facto* joining the Opposition), prorogation of the NSA was decided upon to inhibit and frustrate the Opposition—what was thought a stroke of genius by FRDB backfired within a short time. Prorogation made Dissolution and a General Elections inevitable. The permanent State of Emergency, in which FRDB had revelled (with the approval of the LSSP and CP) seeking to liquidate the insurgents and also dealing with what were regarded as "economic offences and crimes", had automatically ceased with the prorogation—which also ended all possibilities of a constitutional amendment to extend the life of the NSA: (the TULF was no longer willing to enter into any horse deals about postponing the elections with a general election round the corner.)

But the sudden end of the Emergency cramped the style and manner of FRDB as the major force in the SLFP Es-

tablishment and in the Palace. But more than this, the fact that dissolution and a general election could not be postponed revealed the Achilles Heel in FRDB's political armour: his 28,000 majority (in the 1970 elections) electoral base in Dompe had withered away and his chances, according to reliable SLFP sources, had been reduced to almost zero.

It was at this juncture that FRDB attempted to stage an electoral switch to Colombo West. On his return from the Non-aligned Bureau Meeting in New Delhi, a group of his loyalists led by Mayor Fowzie met him at the airport with garlands and the customary busloads of shouting "followers" with cries that he should contest the UNP leader in Colombo West. FRDB himself thought this a good idea and stated that if he contested JR Jayewardene he would tie down the UNP leader and thus help his Party in all other electorates. It was not made clear whether FRDB had wanted this fuss about contesting Colombo West in order to make leading electors in Dompe realise what they would lose by his switching to another electorate, and thereby prompt them to beg of him to stick to Dompe. As far as is known, the leading lights in Dompe did not react to the Colombo West "threat" in the manner FRDB had hoped. His chances in Colombo West were probably slimmer than they were in Dompe.

Political gossip in responsible quarters has it that at a meeting of the SLFP Nomination Board just before May Day, where Maithripala Senanayake had spoken up with old time vigour after a very very long time, questions were raised how FRDB could arrogate unto himself the power to execute a switchover to Colombo West without being chosen by the Party. However, it would appear that the consensus was that being a senior minister he could contest Colombo West if he so wanted, but he was told that it was open to him to contest Dompe. By this time, it must have become clear to FRDB that he was not likely to get a walkover in Colombo West and he, according to observers, started to prepare a line for a strategic retreat. He had wanted

the Board to nominate as SLFP candidates for Colombo East and Colombo Central Gamini Wickramanayake (his controversial brother-in-law who has figured as a *cause celebre* in many matters in the NSA and in public protests) and Mayor Fowzie (an equally well-known FRDB henchman) respectively. His argument in support of his desire to have these persons nominated was that he wanted his flanks in Colombo West protested by "strong candidates" who would keep the candidates of the other parties tied down. But, it is said, that the SLFP Nomination Board had refused to accept this plea and the applications of Gamini Wickremnayake and Fowzie were turned down.

This rejection was possible, SLFP sources indicate, only because the Prime Minister had tilted in favour of those who were for the rejection of FRDB's nominees. It is also said that the PM had sided with Maithripala in such a decision for the first time in a long while. It was also, it is said, the first time that she had decisively rejected any proposal by FRDB in a matter like this in recent times.

A number of interesting consequences have flowed from this decision. The *Daily Mirror*, which reflects FRDB's logic in many matters, had a news item that FRDB would will (after all the dust and storm about an entry into Colombo West) contest Dompe. This announcement appeared when FRDB had flown to the UK to have an eye operation which was expected to take four to six weeks. This four to six weeks would cover the period when the Nominations would be finalised and the Dissolution announced; and it would also be very close to Nomination Day. An intriguing report from London had stated, a few days after FRDB had reached London, that his stay might be extended because the eye surgeon who was to operate on his eye had fallen ill. While no further news has come from London about FRDB, there has been considerable speculation about this sudden departure of FRDB so shortly after the SLFP Nomination Board had turned down his request to nominate Gamini Wickramanayake and Fowzie.

Many say that it was pique that made him leave the country so suddenly and unexpectedly. Questions have also been asked as to how he and his wife were granted the exchange for medical treatment without going through the procedure of Medical Boards to certify that such treatment was not available in Sri Lanka. (Or had FRDB obtained, under more leisurely circumstances, such approval some time ago to cope with a contingency of this kind?) In any case, FRDB's departure to UK for medical treatment has given platform demagogues an opportunity to shout how VIPs go abroad for treatment (after chasing all our good doctors away) when lesser Sri Lankans have to suffer the indignities inflicted on them in our hospitals. It is still not known whether FRDB will return to contest Dompe or whether his medical treatment would make it necessary for him to skip the election altogether.

Whether it is due to the FRDB episode (where the PM did not back FRDB's seemingly inexplicable political vacillations) or not, or whether there are other reasons still not known, it is a fact that Maithripala Senanayake has come out of a Rip Van Winkle political slumber as from May Day 1977. He made a vehement speech at the May Day Rally that he was always in the forefront of the SLFP campaign and that it was a malicious lie to say that he was either so ill or so disgruntled that he had wanted to quit the political arena. From that day on, Maithripala has become a new strong man of the SLFP with the full backing from the PM. Every day after May Day he has been making speeches about his determination to fight the SLFP election battle and lead the Party to victory.

Maithripala Senanayake is an old and astute political campaigner and he knows (just as much other as senior SLFPers) that if the ULF entered the hustings as an independent unit, 1000 to 4000 votes they would collect in many SLFP electoral strongholds would mean the defeat of the SLFP candidate—and this would be true in all provinces except the North and the East. Many political observers have entertained a suspicion, immediately after

FRDB's departure to the UK, that a new and fresh attempt might be made to have an SLFP-ULF electoral agreement: that the stage was being set for this by the PM making strident speeches that the SLFP was in a position to go-it-alone and win hands down.

It was therefore no surprise when the *Daily News* reported on its front page (top left lead) on Wednesday, May 11, with the heading NO BAR TO REFORMING OF COMMON FRONT—MAITHRIPALA. The report was datelined Anuradhapura and it read:

Mr. Maithripala Senanayake Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, ceremonially opening the SLFP office for the entire district said here that there was nothing in the way of the SLFP, LSSP and the CP reuniting to form a common front to carry forward the policies of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, which was the primary objective of the 1970 coalition of progressive forces. The Minister recalled that the formation of a common front in 1970 resulted in the victorious sweeping of the polls by the Front. "At that time we were aware of the policies of the constituent parties of the front. We did not tell the LSSP or the CP to accept our policies nor did they ask us to accept their policies. That was why all of us agreed on a 25 point common program. For some reason or other we fell out and the coalition is no more", the Minister said. Mr. Senanayake made a strong appeal to the rank and file of the LSSP and the CP that they should resolve to fight the common enemy—the reactionary and capitalist UNP. "In exercising your vote, you should forget whatever differences there may be and resolve to defeat our common enemy, the capitalist and reactionary UNP", the Minister declared. Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, Sports and Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. S. K. K. Sooriyarachchi and several others addressed the meeting.

Knowledgeable observers feel that it is much too late in the day for such a common front against the UNP to be forged. The ULF parties seem to have had enough of "coallaboration" with the SLFP and the tailing behind the SLFP's

religio-language emotionalism. Thirteen years (unlucky thirteen!) (1964-1977) of coalitionist collaboration with the SLFP in the game of Parliamentary politics (in government and in the Opposition) has made many in the LSSP and CP feel that, if they persisted with such "common fronts" with the SLFP, the Youth which had already become disillusioned with the established Left Parties would completely reject them. There is a growing trend within the ULF that it would be better to be a separate force—even if it was denied governmental positions during the next NSA—rather than play second fiddle to the SLFP. The ULF too is torn with many contradictions and there is a current dilemma as to whether the MVP, JVP and other "new forces" should be accommodated within the ULF.

There are also elements within the ULF which have always had over-exaggerated notions about

their strength. But there is no doubt that with the growing disillusionment with the many acts of commission and omission of the Government an increasing section of the "masses" that had previously voted for the SLFP would vote ULF. But it is too premature to say whether this would happen in any significantly substantial way.

The ULF has, moreover, not yet agreed on its common programme. It is not yet known what the policy of the ULF would be to such vital questions as civil liberties, the independence of the judiciary, the rule of law, the re-fashioning of the 1972 Constitution, the question of self-determination (at least in principle) to national minorities, the language question and the near-universal demand in urban and rural area for a more important place for English. The common man is interested in all these questions.

What many in the SLFP and the ULF do not seem to have realised is that there is island-wide resentment against all parties in the UF Government (SLFP, LSSP, and CP) for the ills that now afflict the people at all levels. The earlier UF supporters have not yet changed over to the UNP, but they are bitter about the Government they had brought into being—and in this mood of desperation that might cast only a vote of protest; and, in the present circumstances, such a vote can go only to the UNP. It may be a negative vote but it can bring a near-landslide victory to the UNP.

To make matters worse, the Government is rushing from one blunder to another: on the food front, on the textile front; on the estate sector—on every imaginable front. We shall deal with this slide-down in the popularity of the Government in the next issue.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Apr. 8 — Apr. 17

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror;
CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamika;
LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;
SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina;
DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthamani;
WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa;

FRIDAY, APRIL 8: India's PM, Mr. Morarji Desai, called upon the non-aligned countries to impart a sense of urgency and determination to the action program adopted at the fifth non-aligned summit held in Colombo, when he inaugurated the five day meeting of the Non-aligned Co-ordinating Bureau in New Delhi yesterday according to a radio report; he also said that non-alignment had become the mainstream of international life in spite of discouragement from certain quarters and he re-affirmed India's commitment to non-alignment. By a two to one decision the Constitutional Court yesterday ruled that the Banking Corporation of Sri Lanka Bill which seeks to nationalise the branches of privately owned foreign banks is valid constitutionally. The All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers Union founded by Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara has withdrawn from the LSSP-led Ceylon Federation of Labour—CDN. The Association of Government Medical Practitioners and the Society of Registered and Assistant Medical Practitioners have jointly issued an ultimatum to the Minister of Health that if their demands are not met by April 15, they will be compelled to take direct trade union action. The students of Sri Lanka's largest campus, Peradeniya, have elected a JVP as President of the Students' Council and routed the CP which had dominated the student bodies in recent years. A dispute over payment of a festival advance to employees led to several sections of employees at the State Distilleries Corporation coming out on strike yesterday. The work-to-rule which began at the State Fertilizer Corporation on Wednesday has affected the discharge of fertilizer cargo in Colombo harbour; consequently, demurrage amounting to 2,000 US dollars and 3,000 dollars a day respectively is payable to two ships from April 5; if it continues, demurrage totalling over 4,000 dollars a day will be payable to two more ships from tomorrow.—CDM. With less than a week to go for the Sinhala and Hindu New Year, several co-operative societies have not yet received their stocks of consumer items; acting on a series of complaints in this regard, the Acting Minister of Food and Co-operatives yesterday directed that supplies be rushed to co-operatives. Narcotics Bureau detectives were called in yesterday to probe what is believed to be an organised racket in forged prescriptions used to obtain speed pills, stimulants, sedatives and other hallucinatory drugs—SU. Before taking action on the 20 point program submitted by the ULF, the Sinhala Tharuna Peramuna has requested the PM to listen to their point of view as well. The Muslims in this country need a separate political path, it is only then that they can voice their problems, according to one of the leaders of the Muslim United Front, Janab M. H. M. Ashrof—VK. According to the Acting Minister of Health, as the Rajarata received a lot of water and harvests have been good, the government is trying as soon as possible to give 4 lbs. (2 measures) of rice to each ration book holder—DM. A group of people are working hard to try and patch up the break in the alliance between the CP, LSSP and SLFP—LD.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9: The Speaker of the NSA has offered from the points raised by the leadership of the LSSP that reference of bills to the Constitutional Court for advice while the legislature stands prorogued is unconstitutional. Madame Teng Ying Chao, widow of

former Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, arrives in Sri Lanka on April 17 on a goodwill mission. Doctors are now in the process of vacating the paying wards in the General Hospital, Colombo which they had been occupying for over two months demanding that they be provided with quarters. The draft communique considered in closed session today by political and economic committees of the 25-member co-ordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Nations meeting here strongly condemns the White minority governments in S. Africa and Rhodesia—CDN. According to informed shipping sources the congestion in the Colombo Port is due to the large number of ships bringing in food cargo for the festive season; lack of planning, shortage of lorry transport, lack of co-ordination between the Port (Cargo) Corporation and the dockers and above all the work to rule by the State Fertilizer Corporation. As a sequel to the detection of a fraud, the Auditor General has passed severe strictures on the management of the Ceylon Hotels Corporation for having 'failed' to institute even an elementary system of 'internal check' to safeguard shareholders funds and for having 'allowed' the Secretary a free hand to deal with shareholders dividends. Israel's PM, Mr. Yitzak Rabin announced in Jerusalem today that he would resign his post in view of investigations by the Finance Ministry which revealed that Mrs. Rabin held a Bank account in a US bank with out disclosing the fact to Israeli authorities—CDM. All para medical personnel in Colombo hospitals will report for duty but will not do any work from today; this course of action was decided upon to protest against the government's failure to provide medical laboratory technologists with basic necessities—SU. Though the government has come forward to distribute through co-ops many subsidiary food items, the co-ops are not distributing them in the proper manner informed sources say. There is satisfactory progress in the condition of Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam and there is a likelihood of his memory returning within a few days according to Jaffna Hospital sources—VK.

SUNDAY, APRIL 10: Of late, there has been a distinct improvement in the food situation throughout the country; it will be better still when the record Maha crop anticipated after the New Year reaches the consumer, the Food Commissioner said yesterday. The government has increased foreign exchange allocations offered to industrialists manufacturing consumer items here by 250% to Rs. 1128 million this year. The Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka has paid Rs. 58.1 million to the state coffers last year—Rs. 44.1 million as a block payment to the consolidated fund; this was over Rs. 4 million above the payments made in 1975—SO. The formation of the new front of socialist and progressive parties will be announced this week; the announcement will be embodied in a joint declaration signed by leaders of the LSSP, CP of Sri Lanka and People's Democratic Party; the manifesto of the front which is now being finalised, will be announced on May Day at a joint rally to be held by all those parties who agree to join the new political alliance—ST. All heads of Police divisions have been summoned for a top level conference on April 16 by the IGP to discuss several matters; most significant among them, it is learnt will be immediate measures that should be adopted to deal with reports of alleged subversive activities—VK. Smugglers will have a tough time very soon, as the government is shortly to receive electronic detectors to detect any type of thing hidden anywhere—CM.

MONDAY, APRIL 11: Quality tea at Rs. 3.50 a lb. will be made available to the consumer through the country's co-operative outlets; this is the latest in a series of moves by the government to bring down the cost of living; the present average price of tea in the market is Rs. 7 a lb. Prices of all photographic and X-ray Films, chemicals and photographic equipment and the prices of all its imported goods have been reduced by 10% with immediate effect the Sri Lanka State Trading Corporation announced yesterday—CDN. The future of the Dudley Peramuna is at stake; this is because its leader, Mr. Rukman Senanayake has told his close associates that he will contest a parliamentary seat only on the UNP ticket. Many irate consumers are asking whether the benefits of the 'welfare state' are meant primarily for corporation employees and whether government institutions handling consumer items expected to cater to their employees or the public. The GCSU is now threatened with a major split following the sharp differences of opinion that have arisen within the LSSP over the expulsion of Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakara. Although tea prices have shot up significantly since the middle of last year, there has been no change in the wage structure of the tea workers according to the Lanka Estate Workers Union CDM. A lightning strike by employees of the Colombo South Co-operative Union yesterday morning was called off a few hours later following the intervention of the Acting Minister of Food and Co-operatives. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation has begun negotiations with American oil companies for off-shore drilling operations. New regulations to govern the exploitation of resources within the 200 nautical mile Exclusive Economic Zone of Sri Lanka will be introduced by the government shortly. The All Ceylon Nurse's Trade Union Federation has threatened to take strike action from May 1 if six of its outstanding demands are not met—SU. Mr. M. Karunanidhi has resigned from the leadership of the DMK in Tamil Nadu yesterday—VK. The headline of the CO states that it will be a bright, larder-filled New Year! The government has decided to make a foreign exchange allocation of Rs. 15 million for the immediate import of 20,000 cases of condensed milk—CO. Preliminary talks are going on about the plans to divert the Kelani Ganga to the Puttalam area; the planning Ministry is trying to obtain foreign aid for the project—DM. The Sri Lanka Nidhas Farmer's Union has put forward the suggestion that farmers whose names have been registered for over 20 years should obtain a pension of 75/—DW.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12: The Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills which became a government-owned business undertaking in March last year has made an after-tax profit of Rs. 8 million in nine months of operations. The Acting Minister of Food and Co-operatives explaining the shortage of certain essential food items in time for the New Year said that if authorities responsible for certain of these food items acted with a sense of responsibility there would have been no shortage; he also said that his ministry was working round the clock to see that all food ships in the ports are unloaded before the 18 of this month. The CWE has called in the Police to investigate what they believe to be deliberate acts of sabotage of the distribution of tinned fish currently being issued to consumers through co-operatives. The Education Ministry expects to appoint about 12,000 teachers from May 2; these

have been picked from applicants who have passed the GCE 'A' level and the 'O' level with distinctions and credit passes. The People's Bank will release Rs.25 million to farmers to purchase seed paddy, fertilizer and agricultural implements for Yala cultivation—CDN. The promised dhal, dried fish and canned fish were given a miss by many consumers for the New Year. Emergency measures have been adopted by the State Distilleries Corporation and Excise Department to prevent a breakdown in arrack supplies for the Sinhala and Hindu New Year following a strike in the Corporation. The Nursing Services Trade Union Federation has been given an assurance by the Health Department that nurses will be remunerated for working on public holidays; therefore the nurses have called off their campaign to avail themselves of the new year holidays—CDM. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance Food and Co-operatives is likely to be SLFP's candidate for the newly-carved out Colombo West seat in the coming General Elections. The joint Front of para medical personnel yesterday submitted to the Minister of Health and the Director of Health Services, a list of the facilities they would require if they are to resume work—SU. There are speculations in many circles as to the motives behind the friendship of Mr. V. Ponnambalam, leader of the Jaffna branch of the CP of Sri Lanka (Moscow) with the TULF; there are whispers of an election agreement between the two groups—DP.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13: The PM, acting in the national interest, has appraised the Leader of the Opposition of the government knowledge of certain insurgent activities taking place in several parts of the island, brought to her notice by the Country's security forces. Referring to nudism by tourists particularly in beach resort areas, the Director General of the Tourist Board said that they frowned upon the 'hippie' type and that the board will not permit any tourist activity which would hurt the feelings of the public and affect adversely the moral standards of the country. The Vasu Group now styles itself as the LSSP (Left); it has called upon all left parties to celebrate May Day on a united forum and has written to the major left parties. Mr. Mr. Karunanidhi, who resigned yesterday as President of the DMK in Tamil Nadu, withdrew the resignation today—CDN. Trade Union leaders of the SLFP are up in arms against the bureaucracy; they are peeved in the manner the administrative machinery functioned during the past few days in catering to the needs of the consumers. The SLBC Technical Officer's Union has decided on strong trade union action within 14 days if it's seven demands on salaries, allowances etc. are not granted. An all-island conference of trade unions has been convened for April 28 in Colombo to discuss demands to be moved on May Day; according to Mr. Bala Tampoe, General Secretary of the CMU. Mr. Upatissa Gamanayake, acting secretary of the JVP at a meeting at the New Town Hall on Monday accused the national newspapers of publishing police stories suggesting that every robbery and theft were linked to some political movement; he pointed out that the same thing had happened in 1970; in a sharp attack on the Left Movement in Ceylon he said that the JVP was born out of the grave economic situation and betrayal of the left leaders and their utter failure to lead the mass movement; and he also said that the 1971 experience had taught them a lot and they now knew who their friends and enemies were—CDM. The government will next

week conduct a full probe to ascertain the causes for the breakdown in the distribution of food for the New Year. A leading private nursing home in the city is to be taken over by the government next week to be converted immediately into a co-operative hospital. Five State Corporations significantly increased production in December last year, according to the latest monthly bulletin of the Central Bank. Non-aligned nations meeting in Delhi at Foreign Minister level have decided to send a special mission to express their solidarity with frontline states and liberation movements in Southern Africa—SU. The Maldives Branch of the Insurance Corporation is doing well, so it is proposed to open a branch in Singapore—ATH. According to a press release issued by the Department of Irrigation and High ways due to Mahaweli waters, they expect a harvest of 1 lack of tons of paddy—DM.

THURSDAY, APRIL 14: The Janawasama, Usawasama and the State Plantation Corporation managing a large number of estates taken over under the land reforms have taken a policy decision to plough back as much as the profits accruing to these estates as a result of the current tea boom to estates themselves; high on the list of priorities is improving the working conditions of the estate workers. The PM, in her New Year message to the nation called on the people to make a firm determination to achieve the aims of self-sufficiency and prosperity. Soya milk is a good substitute for coconut milk; this recommendation is made by the Research Officer of Food Technology of the Central Agricultural Research Institute Peradeniya. Congress Party President Dev Kant Barooah resigned today and the other 18 members of the Party's high command, including the former PM, Indira Gandhi are expected to follow suit tomorrow—CO.

FRIDAY, APRIL 15: The government is paying a huge sum of scarce foreign exchange in demurrage as a result mainly of ships carrying fertilizer not being cleared in time owing to a going slow by the Staff of the Ceylon Fertilizer Corporation; the sum of money incurred in demurrage charges upto April 13 totalled 128,000 US dollars. The Ceylon Tyre Corporation Trade Union Joint Front yesterday said the strike by corporation employees was over 14 demands submitted to the management. CTB workers at the Maharagama depot staged a lightening strike on New Year's Day protesting against the alleged assault on a bus driver by a police officer; the strike yesterday spread to the Homagama depot crippling the services on the High level road. The Medical Practitioners Association, Registered Medical Practitioners of the association will not take part in the strike scheduled for this week. The statues of foreigners erected in major towns and junctions will be replaced by those of national heroes and leaders of the land; the statues so removed will be placed at the museum; this decision was taken by the Minister of Cultural Affairs—CDN. The Food Department has bared a racket which gave a clue as to how poor quality locally produced rice which is not fit for human consumption came to be issued on the ration in certain parts of the country; the detection was made by the Food Commissioner. Five hundred and fifty workers who had been employed by the State Fertilizer Corporation at its factory at Hunupitiya and who were dismissed last when they struck work seeking permanency of employment, will have to be re-instated according to a

Labour Tribunal decision—CDM. The Leader of the Opposition yesterday denied that the PM had no arranged and formal discussion with him in regard to the activities of insurgents. A red carpet welcome awaits Madame Tying Ching Chao, wife of the late Premier Chou En-lai, who arrives here on Sunday leading a six member official delegation. The present congestion in the Port of Colombo is the result of the 'rush of food vessels coupled with inadequate road transport provided by consignees to clear the cargo' says the Chairman of the Port Cargo Corporation. The People's Bank is to provide long-term loans for people in rural areas to obtain electricity for their homes, places of business or industries. The Sri Lanka Independent Education Services Union has requested the Ministry of Education to immediately make the appointments and promotions that are pending—SU. The undersea caves submerged below the blue waters off Sri Lanka's Northern, Eastern and Southern Shores have fascinated members of the Czechoslovak Speleological Association to such an extent that they have sent out a twelve member expedition here to explore these wonders of the deep. Mr. C. Suntharalingam, a former UNP Minister and ex-MP for Vavuniya and leader of a new political party called the Elam Thamilar Thondar Sabai has announced that he too, would contest Mr. J.R. Jayewardene at Colombo West—CO.

SATURDAY, APRIL 16: The reasons for the breakdown in the supply of essential commodities on the ration to co-operatives during the festive season this week were that stocks were not adequate, orders placed abroad had not arrived and stocks that did arrive came in too late to be distributed; these causes were identified at a conference held this week at the Ministry of Trade to examine this question. Low quality rice was found stored in a Food Department at Katugastota when the Food Commissioner made a surprise check; this rice was much below the specification laid down by the Food Department and was found to be almost unfit for human consumption. Employees of the Maharama bus depot who went on strike on the eve of the Sinhala New Year day when a bus employee was assaulted by an Inspector of the Maharama Police Station called off the strike and resumed work yesterday—CDN. University teacher's associations, student's Councils and the non-academic staff in the University of Sri Lanka have urged complete autonomy for the university in representations they have made to the sub-committee which will draft an entirely new university bill. The IGP will address senior police officials from all provinces today on the revival of insurgent activities; police allege that the current wave of violent crimes and holdups are to collect funds for the general elections by a group of youths. Ready-made garments, sea foods, petroleum products and coconut-based industrial products increased industrial exports from Rs. 539.6 million in 1975 to Rs. 835.1 million in 1976. Despite assurances given by officials of the State Distilleries Corporation that barrels of arrack will roll out, no arrack is moving out as the strike situation at the Seeduwa Distillery and the Warehouses remain the same according to Excise Department sources—CDM. Heads of police divisions throughout Sri Lanka have been alerted to keep close tabs on five politically oriented movements which are subversive in character and are now engaged in open political activity. The

Ministry of Food and Co-operatives has instructed our suppliers abroad to hold back shipments of rice contracted for the period from May to October this year. The People's Bank has formulated a scheme to grant loans to farmers to buy their food. The Lanka Salu Sala is likely to be brought under the newly-set up Ministry of Textiles. The government has prepared new projects to exploit the fishing potential in the 200 nautical mile exclusive economic zone of Sri Lanka—SU. From next week consumers will receive four ounces each of maldiv fish and dried fish on each rice ration book. —VK The Insurgent leader, Rohana Wijeweera, who is now serving a prison sentence is likely to contest the next general election in the Tangalle constituency according to members of his party—DP. According to the Plantations Ministry, if things go the way they are, coconuts will have to be imported in 23 years—DW.

SUNDAY, APRIL 17: Repatriation of stateless persons coming within the purview of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement of 1964 has now topped the figure of 200,000. The PM is 61 today. Four political groups led by persons named in connection with the 1971 insurrection have been placed under constant police surveillance; two of these groups have announced intention of contesting seats at the next general elections—SO. Dr. N. M. Perera, an internationally known expert on British Parliamentary procedure, has challenged the propriety of Mr. Speaker's decision to refer two bills to the Constitutional Court for adjudication while the NSA stands prorogued. The government has to pay nearly 16,000 US dollars as demurrage for the delay in unloading fertilizer owing to a work-to-rule by the workers of the Ceylon Fertilizer Corporation. There has been no declared change of policy with the change at the top in the Ministry of Housing but several landlords whose houses were vested with the Commissioner of National Housing are making attempts to have the properties divested—ST. A top level probe is now under way into what is believed to be an organised racket in the sale of pre-paid tickets belonging to an airline in a socialist country. The outcome of the recent Indian elections would not have any bearing on Sri Lanka; the progress made by India is about twenty years behind that of Sri Lanka; these observations were made by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike in an interview he gave to an Indian newspaper—WK. This morning a further operation was performed on the leader of the TULF who has been under treatment at the Jaffna Hospital for the past 25 days, following a fall—CM.

INDIA

The Story Of Emergency

—People Must Know—
by C. Raghavan

The author, C. Raghavan, was one of the senior editors of PTI when the Emergency was imposed. He was one of those "removed" for refusing to toe the line with the Sanjay-Yunus caucus. This article is reprinted from the *Mainstream* of April 2, 1977.

New Delhi, April 2,

NEVER TOUCH the feet of a politician—nonagerian Acharya Kripalani, who had campaigned for the Janata Party, warned sombrely within hours of the smooth change-over of power in Delhi and the swearing-in of Morarji Desai as the Prime Minister. He gave the warning at the Ram Lila ground victory rally of the Janata Party on March 24, 1977, carried live on Radio and TV for the rest of India.

Watching him on television, one could see the old man getting so excited as to forget his Hindi and lapse into English. He could and should have added another note of warning to the public about journalists and the press too, not as a politician, but as a writer and journalist himself, though not a working journalist.

That Kripalani's warning was very important, and one that the Janata that voted the Janata Party to power should remember, was underlined from the very inception—the very manner of naming Morarji Desai as the leader of the party, and thus the Prime Minister, made the public understand that despite all the talk of the second independence movement, politics was still the same.

And as if that was not enough, we had Raj Narain proclaiming at least thrice after his election, and from the Ram Lila Maidan platform and over Radio and TV, that he would not accept office. And within forty-eight hours he had to accept office "obeying the directive of his leader" (Sri Charan Singh).

And, then, we had Jagjivan Ram and Bahuguna of the CFD deciding to support the Government but stay out of office (and for very right reasons that they did not unfortunately publicly explain, giving rise to much misrepresentation in the press as a power struggle) and having to change their minds on receipt of JP's "message" (or was it an *adesh* or order) conveyed from his sick bed in Bombay.

No doubt that Raj Narain accepted office, not for love of office, but for very eminent public reasons, just as JP sent his message and Jagjivan Ram and Bahuguna acceded to it, for very important reasons of public interest. But the way leaders gave "directives" and "messages", the way their followers obeyed, is reminiscent of the beginnings of the Congress march down the road to perdition.

It all began when individual members subordinated their thinking to the "decisions" of the leader and obeyed it.

The Janata Party and Government could and should of course be excused for their *faux pas*, considering the novel situation in which they found themselves, working towards a deadline, and aware of the rumours in the city and country of the many steps contemplated but not effectuated, steps that might have prevented a smooth transfer of power and precipitated a bloodbath.

This is where the warning to the public about politicians, that Acharya Kripalani gave, comes in; this is where the warning to the public about the press too comes in. For, it is all part of the physical and mental feet touching that has overtaken Delhi and the Indian Republic during the last decade or more.

Touch-feeting is a practice of UP and Bihar and the Indo-Gangetic plain, not sanctioned by any of India's traditions or cultures or religions. In other parts of India, people did and even now prostrate themselves in temples, or touch the feet of the elders in their families or the teachers they respect. It is a religious custom done in a true spirit of humility. In the North here, it became a part of political custom, a part of daily life as wishing one "good morning" or "namaste" abroad or in India.

It came in a big way to Delhi when Pandit Pant migrated from Lucknow to New Delhi, and came as a cultural shock to some of us coming from other parts of India. I had great respect for Pandit Pant, and he treated me very kindly as a journalist, but I never touched his feet, and was not the worse for it. The only time perhaps he was embarrassed was when in my presence a judge of the Supreme Court came in to see him and touched his feet.

And the habit grew with every politician who came in. Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi being the last major politician of UP to have brought that custom to the Central Hall of Parliament. Not that I have anything against Kamalapati Tripathi whom I have met only a couple of times. He at least stood up in the Cabinet in May 1976 against Shukla Neeti, when it was sought to be given statutory backing, and prevented its enactment. Such a man certainly deserves some respect even now.

But even more abhorrent than the physical touch-feeting was the mental touch-feeting that overtook the Congress party when its rank and file totally subordinated their thinking to a leader or leaders, or to the inspiration of hidden outside lobbies and lobbyists. That day the downfall of the Congress began and it never stopped.

And if the Janata Party, or any of its successors to be, want to avoid a similar downward march, they should put a halt to this touch-feeting, physical and mental. This cannot be done by appeals to the public; the leaders must refuse to allow it.

Physical touch-feeting can be prevented if the leaders decide it and when they realise that in a democracy and a republic, anyone who touches the feet of a leader in fact demeans the leader and the republic and our talk of equality. But ending mental touch-feeting is more difficult, and it is a task needing co-operation of all, including the press and pressmen.

Many brave words have been written, many "exposes" have been made (in the press in the last couple of weeks) about the sins of the Government that has been ousted. The columns of material that have poured forth from several pens, have come only

once the wielders became sure that not only Smt Indira Gandhi had been defeated at Rae Bareilly, but even Vidya Charan Shukla at Raipur, and that a new Government has indeed been sworn in. Even now there are some who are looking at horoscopes or consulting tantrics to be sure there will be no return.

If all this was merely due to the rigours of Emergency, and the fears created in our hearts and minds, it would not matter. For only time can remove these fears and traumas. But if one reads carefully the views of newspapers, columnists and editorial writers over a period of time, one would easily find that we have all been truly exponents of *Surya Namaskar* (worship of the rising sun in the morning).

The Minister who is out of office, and seems to stand no chance of return, is often ignored by his own relatives and friends, leave aside the public and newsmen. Even Morarji Desai who is now the Prime Minister, and was a Deputy Prime Minister till 1969, faced this soon after 1972.

For example, many words are now being written by the Western press and uttered by the spokesman of Western chanceries about the robustness of Indian Democracy and the Indian people's courage in asserting themselves. Lest we forget, it has to be noted that since about August 1976, the Western governments had been trying to persuade, and with some measure of success, except in an odd case or two, to look at the "gains" of the Emergency in India—the Indian Government's willingness to open the doors to transnationals and do business with them (provided the necessary commissions were paid to appropriate quarters).

All this only means that we in India should decide things for ourselves and refuse to be bowled over by the criticism or adulatory praises from abroad. In no other country of our size are the leaders so easily accessible to foreign newsmen and media. A white skin is still the entree.

The Indian press as a whole, and the middle classes and urban elite of India, should also be humble enough to admit that they had not been heroes and that, in fact, many of them became Neroses.

If we confess our weaknesses and exorcise ourselves of it, and then proceed to tell the real story of Emergency, we would all have done the greatest service to the people, not only of this generation but succeeding generations.

Our reading and listening public have shown that they are not such fools, and do not have such short memories. They remember those who sang hallelujas. But our people are also a very forgiving lot, provided there is a genuine confession and appeal for forgiveness, but not such "forgive and forget" appeals as were made during the election campaign.

The story of Emergency is yet to be told, and it would require honest-to-goodness, painstaking work by a team of investigative reporters and dedicated writers.

And it perhaps goes back even to 1972. But the story must be written at least for our children to know, as surely as the story of our Independence two generations ago, and dinned into their heads and subconsciousness, not in the strident way of the twenty and five point programmes, but in a professional subliminal way, so that history would not repeat itself.

When Emergency came on us, like a thief at night, there were very few heroes or brave men, at least in Delhi. I do not take into account for the moment the hundreds of our leaders and politicians who were picked up at night, most of them without a real warrant too. These were unwilling and unwitting heroes.

I still do not know what these leaders would have done in the few days or even a couple of weeks before that fateful early morning in June 1975, a if they had had an inkling of the reply they were going to get from Smt Indira Gandhi. One of them who had been under solitary confinement for much of the time, told me after coming out and after learning of the travails of the people outside, that the problems of those outside had been greater than those inside.

The press as a whole—editors, proprietors and publishers, and journalists—were all stunned when the news of the early morning arrests and declaration of the Internal Emergency came on news agency tickers from early morning,

until about 10 am when the Principal Information Officer, who became Chief Censor, ordered us all to stop transmission forthwith, even without serving any written orders and without allowing us to give any explanations.

And explanations of the imposition of censorship, as an advisory to editors and subscribers but not for publication, could be given only a few hours later when it was explained to the powers that be that when news agency tickers stopped transmitting news like this, the normal conclusion would be that there was a *coup d'etat* in progress but one whose outcome was in doubt.

A few futile and naive attempts were made in the beginning to protest against censorship, but they collapsed quickly with the arrest of one or two. And, in any event, it all seemed so unbelievable that for a few days a charitable interpretation was given to the Government's actions. It was only as days went by, and the full force and planning behind Emergency became clear that intellectuals and others began to realise that the roof had collapsed over them.

Many soon thought it was all irreversible and began co-operation. One or two, who had been close to JP, even went and made their peace with Sanjay! Others were resigned, and went along in sullen co-operation. A few, who had either no other option, or had been touched at some raw sensitive nerve, stood up and paid the price, but very very reluctantly.

There were no voluntary heroes as in the Gandhian era.

There were a few brave souls, within the administration and in the press who from the very first moment did realise that it was the beginning of Fascism. They also realised that the passivity of the Indian people should not be mistaken for co-operation, and that the sheer cupidity and inefficiency of the power structure would prove to be its undoing.

But those journals or individual journalists who did perceive this, if not on June 25-26, 1975, at least in the next couple of months, began the long fight, a fight against the censor, trying to convey more by what was not written than by what was written, trying to hood-

wink the censor by a catch opening that would mislead him.

One certainly must praise these men, and *Mainstream* was surely in the forefront with its first editorial quoting Tagore and until, its closure on December 25, 1976, with a Biblical quotation.

But there were also some brave and good souls right inside the Government and near the power structure, who stuck to their positions as long as they could, in the hope of averting at some future moment greater catastrophes or alleviating the sufferings of the innocent. As the months progressed, their tasks became even more difficult. These too deserve respect.

Nothing perhaps moved many than the anguishing words of George Fernandes's mother who spoke of her "loneliness" whenever she came to Delhi to see her son in jail, but was severely left alone by most of their friends. This became the fate not only of families of detenus, and not merely such "dangerous" ones like George Fernandes, but much smaller fry, persons who were mere "non-persons". Prisoners in jails saw at least some convicts or even a jailor, but these persons, and their families who once used to meet every day dozens of people, suddenly found themselves severely alone.

And there were some good men in the Government and outside who knew of such cases and did make an effort to contact such persons and talk to them or write to them even on non-consequential subjects, or try to help them when little problems of life overtook those families.

It is these men, too, who are the heroes, heroes who do not want any recognition, but feel at least that the real story of Emergency must be told and that the people should learn the correct and real lessons so that we can truly say this was the first and the last ever Internal Emergency.

For, it is the consciousness and alertness of the people, and the elites—whether in politics, government, administration, judiciary or the press—who in similar or dissimilar circumstances stand up and refuse to bow that can prevent such catastrophes in future. And the only lessons of Mohandas

Karamchand Gandhi really was that the more people come forward to stand up and be counted, the less people will be called upon to pay the penalty.

But we in the press can collectively atone for our faults, and the rich big papers who can afford it and who benefited from Emer-

gency even more, by really commissioning and bringing out such a story of Emergency, a story that cannot really emerge out of even a commission of inquiry, and a story that ought to be free and not one on which money should be made, a story written not in anger or self-righteousness, but in sorrow.

BACKGROUND STATEMENT

ROMANIA

—centennial of national independence—

On 9 May, 1977, the Romanian people celebrate 100 years since Romania's statal independence was proclaimed, a crucial moment in the history of the Romanian people, of the fight for national freedom, for the right to be the master of its own country.

Awareness of its unity as a people and of historical fate, of continuous life since time immemorial on the territory therein they were born and developed was a vital support during all the battles the Romanian people fought against invaders. The ideals of national independence, sovereignty and unity have always permeated the thought and action of the advanced forces of the Romanian people during each and every historical stage; they have indissolubly been tied to the ideals of social progress.

As early as its genesis, the Romanian people had to face a great many invasions by migratory peoples against whom they had to stubbornly defend their ancient abode and ethnical identity. The Romanian people then lived a higher stage in terms of material and spiritual development, which had preserved certain traditions and military virtues inherited from its Dacian and Roman forefathers and it managed to either drive the migratories away or to assimilate them thus gaining in a dignified way the place it deserved in the great family of the world peoples. Characteristic of the whole Romanian Middle Ages was an overall effort from the masses, from amongst which the main role was played by the peasantry, and the armies of Romania to the end of preserving independence and of gaining full independence later on again. Those battles have kept everlasting the name of the Bessarabs and the Musatins, of Mircea the Old, Iancu of Hunedoara, Vlad the Impaler, Stephen the Great, Radu of Afumati, Petru Rares, Ioan Vodn, Michael the Brave, Dimitrie Cantemir, Constantin Brancoveanu as well as of other brilliant heads of state and chieftains.

Forced often to fight enemies which had a higher military potential, the Romanian people tailored its fight upon a pattern specific to it, that is the people's war, whose characteristic feature was the joining of the military effort by everybody who was able to fight, by the whole population able to put up resistance to the invaders. In this context the first political union of the Romanian principalities in the frame of a feudal centralized state was accomplished under Michael the Brave in 1600, expression of the Romanian people's unshakable will of liberty and unity.

New accomplishments were added to the Romanian people's aspirations for independence and unity in the modern epoch. They were tellingly expressed at the time of Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, of the great social and national uprising of 1848 when the Romanians, Moldavians, Walachians and Transylvanians expressed their determination to break feudal relations, to achieve their statal union and to eliminate any form of foreign domination. A highly significant moment historically was the accomplishment of the modern national state by Walachia's and Moldavia's Union

in 1859. Although the question of national union was solved but partially, that grand event provided favourable pre-requisites for both a new organization economically and socially and the winning of full independence by Romania.

Century long sacrifice and uninterrupted efforts for the liberty and progress of the homeland have thus objectively led to the historic act of 9 May, 1877. Voicing the will and aspirations of the whole Romanian people, the Parliament proclaimed by unanimous vote Romania's absolute independence on that day. It meant liquidation of the last vestiges of Ottoman domination and equally, of the tutelage and immixture by the so-called guarantor powers in the wake of the Paris Peace (1856) and Conference (1858). Large-scale people's manifestations all over Romania welcomed proclamation of full independence.

The Romanian people's grand victory on 9 May, 1877 was welcomed with satisfaction by the international progressive forces and the peoples, they in turn engaged in the fight for national liberation. This act aroused a remarkable echo in the South-East European area and in the Balkans where the Serbs, the Montenegrins, the Croats, the Bulgarians and other peoples were then fighting heavy battles for shaking foreign domination off. Romania's independence represented an outstanding component element in the objective process of getting liberated, of seeing the subject nations unified within their own independent states, a process which developed in the latter half 19th century Europe at an impressive pace. The Serbian and Montenegrin armies fought alongside of the Bulgarian volunteer detachments side by side with the Russian and Romanian armies in the war of 1877-1878, proof of the Balkan people's struggle for national independence and emancipation, laying thus the basis of the future co-operation among the states lying in this part of Europe.

Recognition internationally of the 9 May act came in greatly complex foreign circumstances and at the cost of heavy sacrifice. Those international circumstances made the consecration of the 9 May, 1877 act through a complete material and military effort directed

against the suzerain power an unquestionable necessity. The Romanian Cabinet decreed general mobilization and concluded a military convention with Russia laying down strict observance of the principles of independence, sovereignty and integrity of the Romanian state, stipulating also the conditions whereupon the Russian troops were allowed passage through Romania's territory. State of war between Romania and the Ottoman Empire could no longer be avoided.

Since its very onset, the war of 1877-1878 entered the national conscience as a just war of liberation. To wage the war successfully required, as it did do many times in the past, a concentration of the energies of all the progressive classes and strata which made up the modern Romanian society.

Throughout military operations did the Romanian army prove its remarkable military and ethical virtues; heroism, discipline, capacity to adjust to conditions specific to a time-taking siege, mobility, stubbornness and self-dedication for the cause of homeland's independence. The victories of Grivitsa and Ronova, Smirdan and Vidin, their outstanding contribution to Plevna's conquest were as many pages written down in the gold-letter chronicle of Romanian bravery. The blood sacrifice and the impressive economic effort made by Romania contributed substantially to the defeat of the Ottoman Empire.

Winning by Romania of its state independence had a mighty impact on its economic, social, political and cultural advancement and permitted the ever more vigorous assertion of the Romanian people as a self-relying nation. The working class and its political party, which was formed in 1893, side by side with all the social and political forces who were interested in the progress of their homeland, and in the building of the single national Romanian state.

During the first world war, Romania took part in it to liberate its territories from foreign occupation and to the safeguard its independence jeopardized by the imperialist powers. This process was completed by the formation of the national Romanian state on 1 December, 1918.

Thereafter, the goal pursued by Romania's policy was defence of territorial integrity and national sovereignty against the expansionism of fascist imperialism and revisionism, collective security and safeguarding peace. The vanguard in the struggle in defence of national interests and the independence of the country, for peace and a better life, for the revolutionary transformation of the Romanian society was the working class at head with the Romanian Communist Party.

It is the historic merit of the RCP to have pinpointed from the very beginning the greatly serious danger which fascism spelt at the independence of the homeland and the national identity itself of the Romanian people. By using skillfully and with revolutionary boldness the favourable conditions at home and abroad, the RCP organized the national anti-fascist and anti-imperialist armed insurrection of August 1944, leading it to victory, an insurrection which meant a turning point in Romania's history. The significance of the successful insurrection is that besides liberation from the fascist yoke, it opened the path for Romania's liberation from any kind of imperialist domination.

On the centennial of its independence, Romania is a socialist free and independent republic, a blossoming country which proves full assertion of the creative capabilities of its people. By fully harmonizing home and foreign policy, its patriotic and internationalist duties, socialist Romania has placed the principle of observance of national independence among the basic principles of its foreign activity both in the sense of guaranteeing its own independence and of observing the independence of all world states.

The Romanian Communist Party has established an organic link between the principle of national independence and sovereignty and the liquidation of underdevelopment and of the great gaps. The independence of all states—small, medium-sized and large—the observance of the states' sovereignty, regardless of size or economic and military power are sine qua non attributes of a world of peace, creative elan and prosperity of every people and of mankind as a whole, being also the condi-

tion of its progress. In the present-day world, independence is the fundamental principle of the relations among all the countries on the road to a higher civilization.

COCONUT CRISIS—6

Summing Up

—causes of the crisis—
by R. Kahawita

ALL THAT has been achieved under the Land Reforms is to reduce production and destroy a class that was contributing a sizeable slice to our export earnings. While the aspirations of the various Boards set up by the Coconut Authority is to increase production and maintain a high level of exports, the policies of the Minister for Agriculture are working like two buffaloes pulling in opposite directions. So our economy has got stuck in the Mud. And now our Minister for Agriculture can shout—"I have achieved Land Reforms without a whine". At the same time he has been successful to push the price of a nut to the consumer to Rs. 2/- a piece and import Poonac from Philippines to save the livestock industry.

The economic mess that the country has got into in implementing the Land Reforms law calls for a high priority Royal Commission of Enquiry into Land Reforms and its impact on our social and economic life. This should be item one on the agenda of the United National Party when it is voted to form a Government by the people; and where the reforms have departed from the law, the Commission should advise the Government to restore the rights of the owners under the L.R.C. law.

There are other minor causes also that have contributed to the present coconut crisis. There is large scale cutting of coconut trees for urban development. This is necessary but a scheme should have been evolved to develop other areas to compensate for land taken up for urban development. The several rural electrification schemes also have taken their toll in the coconut growing areas.

This may not seem much, but when totalled up comes to a very sizeable figure. The toddy tapping industry has also taken a share of the palms to be put out of production. The acreage given for tapping is very large, particularly at present, when the tree rents are high. In certain areas coconut trees are being uprooted to convert the land into paddy fields, may not be large but these areas are taken out of the 1,100,000 acres under coconut.

THE NETT RESULT of the present policies of the Government has been (a) unprecedented rise in coconut prices to the consumer, (b) shortage of nuts to maintain coconut based industries and the consequent large scale unemployment in the coconut growing areas, (c) a fall in our Foreign Exchange earnings which the country needs to import basic items of food and clothing. At the moment we cannot take advantage of world high prices for coconut products, because we have no nuts to export, (d) for lack of animal feed the livestock industry is being run down and for the first time in the history of Sri Lanka the country is importing coconut products to meet the local market needs.

This is "the summit" (a popular word today) achievement of the Minister for Agriculture in particular and the U.F. Government in general. According to various pronouncements made by our politicians and officials the present state of the coconut industry is due to other causes. How can a Government justify its policies otherwise? Still our politicians think that the people of this country are mud-heads and will believe anything they are told, and so the bluffing goes on.

Let us see what they have said about the shortages and high prices of coconut.

In the Ceylon Daily News of February, the Acting General Manager of the Coconut Board says the shortage is due to late monsoons, droughts and the neglect of the palms by the small holders, as if there were no droughts in Sri Lanka before. 1934/35 was particularly bad. Then there were no shortage nor did the prices of coconut to the consumer go up to two rupees a piece, it was steady at 10 cts. There were other drought years, the worst years were 1947/48,

56/57, 58/59. Even then there was no coconut crisis. The consumer was never called upon to pay such prices. The acting Chairman has to choose between the truth and his job. He has chosen his job. We cannot blame him for that.

Another reason given is the plucking of tender nuts for drink and eating. There is some truth in this but the reason is not because other drinks are expensive. The tender nuts are brought to urban areas from the villages, because in the villages, there is unemployment, no money to buy food items, nor cash crops to convert into money, nor can the village folk wait till the nuts mature, so they pluck the tender nuts to meet their immediate needs.

This is true of fruits like bananas etc. as well. They cannot wait till the fruits mature and is ready for the market. The bulk of the tender nuts come from the lands taken over under the Land Reforms. One did not see so many tender nuts prior to 1972, except in big towns. Now it is seen all over the country side—unemployment food shortages, and lack of cash to buy the bare necessities. These are the causes for such large numbers of tender nuts being plucked. For a villager to protect his palm and wait till the nut is mature to pluck, he must have a unit of holding that will give him a reasonable return to live—not fifteen to forty coconut trees. This is the stupidity of redistribution of land under the Reform Policies.

The most novel reason given recently by no less a person than our Prime Minister is cutting of Gokkola to decorate the roads to welcome the leader of the Opposition and sometimes at receptions to welcome her. So a ban has gone out about the use of Gokkola for road decorations and pandals. With this kind of immature thinking what chances has the coconut industry got? Even the S.L.B.C. has taken up this matter of cutting gokkola seriously that it has put various conversational pieces over the air, based around the Kurumba drinking habit and Gokkola pandals to welcome V.I.P.s.

THE PLANTATION INDUSTRIES MINISTER has understood the problem in a different way. He says the drop in the yield of coconuts is due to not extending the re-habilitation scheme in the estate

sector. The Minister does not seem to realise that there is no estate sector, as such, today. All are small holdings, even the 50 Acres of statutory holding in several cases have been segmented as stated above. All such holdings are uneconomic to operate so they are neglected. There may be a few who carry out fertilizing their small holdings etc. These are exceptions. The idea of a 20 Ac. and below to be treated as a small holding is a colonial concept. "A progressive Minister" should not entertain such a concept. But he is in the process of reducing all the estates to Village holdings. When the Land Reforms were accepted, the Minister of Agriculture in his hurry to bring the guillotine down on the estate owners, forgot to revise the colonial definition of small holdings, and the Plantation Minister has not woken yet to the fact that there are no estates in the Private Sector today. How informative our policy makers are?

The Acting General Manager of the Coconut Cultivation Board further says that out of 1,100,000 acres under coconut 870,000 acs. are in small holdings in 20 acs. and below and "the ordinary villagers who are owners OF THESE PLOTS DID NOT CARE MUCH ABOUT FERTILIZATION owing to the difficulty in obtaining the fertilizer at Village Level." The General Manager has not understood the problem and the plight of the "Ordinary Villager". He does not use fertilizer for very good and cogent reasons; his income from his holdings is insufficient to maintain himself and his land and if artificial fertilizer is applied it must be done regularly, so he prefers to apply what he can afford to get at the village level—crude form of compost. His income is so insecure that he avoids artificials. He knows that unless he adheres to a regular programme of fertilizer application, he will not get results.

Whether he has the fertilizer at the Village Level or not, he must have the spare cash to buy it. In short his income must be adequate to meet his needs as well as the needs of the palm. By redistributing the well managed coconut estates in 20 to 30 perches lots, according to the land reform policy of a Minister of Agriculture,

the General Manager cannot expect his ordinary villager to fertilize his palms.

By now it must be clear to the powers to be, that, if results are to be obtained by Land Reforms in a predominantly agricultural country, land consolidation and security of tenure must get precedent over political exigencies. Not that the Land Reforms Law has overlooked this fundamental requirement in land reforms. It is there but the implementation is quite different to what the law requires. The Minister, after he got the law passed used it for the advantage of party policies to destroy its opponents. The result is a coconut crisis which everyone, who has had a hand in creating the crisis, deny their responsibility and blame the drought, gokkola cutting, receptions to the rival party leaders and the plucking of young coconut for food. So the bluffing goes on.

There must be a solution to this problem so that the consumer can get his nuts for food at a reasonable price, and the whole Coconut Industry should be put back on an economic footing so that the Country can earn the foreign exchange which has been lost due to the bad policies of the Government. We shall deal with this in our next article.



UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Social And Cultural Role In Developing Countries

by P. Chandrasegaram

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UNIVERSITIES should develop national identity. This would mean the promotion of a common national culture and a unity of purpose in social action. This would involve, as part of this process, a flowering of literature and other arts and the adaptation of traditional aesthetic and moral values to economic exigencies, in such a way that they retain their essential spirit and

yet interact constructively, with the needs and impact of technological and social change. As a consequence, the Universities, would be called upon to disseminate cultural values apart from the specialised interest of their various disciplines, though the disciplines themselves would be part of cultural values.

There is, throughout particularly in the educationally advanced countries, a growing concern for the 'liberal education' of the University student; this has implied that time available for specialised training is reduced. The recent example of U.S.S.R. in this regard is a case in point. The problem really is not to reduce the number of hours devoted to special disciplines, but to enable the student, to integrate his knowledge, to understand his speciality in a wider cultural context, and to play an active part in the total cultural process. Each discipline, has its own social, cultural and aesthetic context, and the teaching and study of it should be conducted as to make the student conscious of the discipline's inter-connection with other streams of knowledge and its philosophical, historical and cultural implications.

This demands a size and quality of teaching resources, which many countries can hardly secure in the foreseeable future; more so, in emerging, developing, Asian, African and Latin American nations; but this should be an educational priority.

OPINION is divided, on how far the Universities in developing nations engage in promoting creative pursuits in the fine arts, music and literature, the exercises of the human spirit, which normally transcend material concepts. Is the contention that, the Universities producing Graduates in Arts, 'more in proportion to graduates in science', express an attitude, that pursuing the promotion of Creative arts, is not in immediate consonance of the aspirations of developing nations?

Language is the original situation of mankind; the national languages are more original; the mother tongue is the basic original. The mother tongue is the language of wider communication. It is a peoples' identity; it is an expression of the genius in an individual. The Universities, are special institutions, and every nation in the

world gives its Universities, a sometimes unusually high place. It is incumbent on the part of the Universities to make the language of the countries optimally developed and optimally usable, for and in every aspect of education. Culture begins with language; and more so with the mother tongue.

How far are the Universities in developing nations formulating their education policy, with respect to the national languages? Of these countries, the University of Sri Lanka in spite of its intellectual idiosyncracies, are trying to relate the national language to the public policy of the country. The African nations are trying to do the impossible, by separating cultural nationalism from political nationalism. The Universities are becoming 'minority culture' institutions, fostering remote class culture.

The classic example of Israel, where all the Universities are geared to national language development programmes, are worthy of commendation and emulation. The national language, Hebrew, has become a language of wider communication and University advanced science level of education.

In the transitional social and economic stage, at which the developing countries find themselves it is not surprising, that various national policy statements, put special stress on the social responsibilities of Universities. The claims of social development, stretch far beyond the economic minimum and are also matters of political decision in which finance will play a major role.

The developing countries are obliged to assimilate decades of technological innovations without adequate preparation. Consequently, they must diagnose what is happening, and study how to reconcile economically necessitated social change with the transmutation of cultural values. Bridging the gulf between modern processes and traditional attitudes would help speedier social and economic progress. To this end, Universities must become dynamically involved, preparing critical analyses and submitting constructive ideas for the resolution of social and cultural problems.

Interdisciplinary research would enable Universities to perform such a function.

RESOURCES is specialised; it is undirected; it is in relation to isolated problems. This is a basic method. But, it needs to be supplemented by a systematic approach, that in various areas, co-ordinates the selection of problems and correlates the results of research on these, both to provide comprehensive data for balanced action and to discover mutual implications for further research. From the socio-cultural view point, this in general terms means that all the departments, Humanities, Medicines, Agriculture and Engineering need to combine resources and conduct team research to understand what is happening in current situation.

They will be able to diagnose tendencies, and able to give a prognosis of the future, determine desirable direction for change and suggest the scale and kind of action, and help work out feasible measures to promote selected development goals.

These would of course be chosen on the basis of national policy and therefore involve political factors.

In the broad social field, the success of policy relating to, such matter as agricultural productivity, social mobility, community development, distribution of high level man power, national identity and languages, in each case requires that various relevant disciplines carry out studies in a variety of fields, custom and tradition, attitudes and motivation, technology, economics, mass communication, administrative organization and education.

The needs of such research are great; difficulties are great too: establishing interdisciplinary approach is not just organisational and administrative action. Adequate trained staff is necessary; collaboration within and between specialised disciplines is necessary. The Universities should also, concentrate on the creation of a national research machinery in relation to Planning bodies instituted by the Governments of various countries.

The attitude of Inter-disciplinary approach, influences the orientation of University education as a whole. This would produce University teachers with the desire and ability to investigate, the inter-relationship of their real interests,

with other areas of inquiry. To the student it gives a sense of unitedness of knowledge and its efficacy to him and to the society.

The potential field for service to the community by the University is very wide; but in the immediate and direct sense, it is not felt; often the resources are limited; very often even the available resources are not used. Universities vary in undertaking community responsibilities and programme, too.

The Universities, should at least in some areas, determine their proper roles, for the mutual benefit of their own society and their own work.

Research into the inter disciplinary as well as the educational and methodological aspects of adult education and literary campaigns and provision of special post-secondary courses in professional and cultural fields directly related to adult needs and demands, would foster this commitment.

These two are immediate necessities for developing countries. The first produces an educated citizenry; the second produces middle grade skilled people who are an asset to developing nations.

LITERACY campaign offers a challenge; it is a challenge for the resources, and the capabilities of the University teachers and students. Literacy campaign, would involve in teaching media and techniques, the preparation of material and equipment, the continual evaluation of results, and the development of follow up material.

This calls for the deployment of the full resources of a University.

The contribution of the University of Sri Lanka, in this regard is a shameful betrayal of intellectual treachery.

Second, Universities must themselves provide, and assist other institutions to offer, appropriate post-secondary opportunities to adults to improve their professional competence and enlarge their cultural background which, for one reason or another, they have been unable to do by taking up, or completing University level studies. A large number of students, completing secondary

education, are unable to enter Universities; very often those who qualify even by the University's standards, are not offered places; some drop out even before they complete their courses; this is well marked in Indonesia and the Philippines of the Asian countries.

The moral is, that vast potentials of skill are wasted and the educational investment already made in them is left relatively unproductive.

Two general basic questions need to be resolved in determining budgetary policies for these programmes. University level adult education should be given merited consideration. There are good economic and social reasons for this. The government must make adequate financial provision for this; and the government Radio should be at the disposal of the Universities, for this is one of the very best institutions of communication. The developing nations are very Radio-minded to-day.

Adult education, should also, through part-time and correspondence study, be a pathway toward full University degrees and diplomas, by the establishment of which, pressure on the expansion of full time school facilities can be reduced.

UNIVERSITIES could and should contribute to community development, in direct as well as in indirect ways; but action to put this principle into practice, has been very limited, in developing countries. Some agricultural extension work and community development work, have been undertaken, in Indonesia and Philippines, and by some Universities in India, like Calcutta and Delhi. Israel, stands pre-eminent and it may be remembered that the whole governmental machinery and the Educational institution are geared to community development work in Israel.

The Universities have three opportunities in relation to community development. Training of community development planners and leaders is one of the tasks. Such leaders must combine professional competence, with a wide cultural background, a basic understanding of the principles underlying the thinking and the operations of a wide variety of discipline, and the interlation of their operations and an intensive know-

ledge of human nature. Secondly the University, should initiate the student into an understanding and appreciation of community development, so that all graduates who ultimately come to occupy positions of recognition, and leadership, may help in promoting it, as an important instrument of economic and social progress. Much can be done through a new orientation that make extension work become an integral part of the various disciplines, rather than something added on to the regular curriculum; the principles involved would not be, basically different from those governing the provision of field and practical work in the curriculum of such subjects as agriculture, engineering and medicine; all social welfare subjects in fact. The students of medicine, could for the completion of their public health course, be requested to spend some time in non urban, rural areas and devote part of their training to assignments in rural hospitals, and clinics. This would given them a sense of belonging to the people and to the profession. Students of social sciences department, may be required to form teams to carry out, socio economic surveys and studies in rural areas. Rural Industries are getting a rightful place in our country; the University social science departments could explore the possibility of entering into this field. Social science would become applied social science in this instance.

Community development studies also could involve in the study of folk culture and art.

A wider range of student involvement in economic and social development, should be encouraged as part of co-curricular activities. It would not be resented by the students of African, Asian tradition, if they are well oriented, because, the African, Asian traditions are rural.

AN INITIATION into this environment and also into this type of thinking would also eliminate the danger of the creation, of a self styled, self imposed new class.

All University students at some appropriate stage of their studies should be made to devote a specified period to training and work in the field of community development and social welfare.

This would above all inculcate a right sense of living values among our students. It could almost approximate to compulsory military service. Community development could be national conscription.

The Universities' contribution to the development of cultural aspects of the newly emergent countries' national identities, the significance of inter-disciplinary research in strengthening the over-all contribution of higher education to the planning as well as to the operational aspects of development, and the desirability, through extra-mural and similar activities of broadening the University's field of influence, including adult education and community development, are three aspects of which Universities in developing countries, contemplate upon.

The responsibility resting upon institutions of University rank, to be consciously and deliberately recognizing national needs, in the planning of their activities is clear. Human resource development is a natural and traditional function of Universities. In the context of developing nations, this function has to be construed and interpreted in the light of national goals at the present day. These goals are related to the achievement of economic growth; social objectives and cultural purposes and political structure are not inseparable from them.

Teaching and Research in Universities have a common part to play in the realization of these national aims.

Education is the source of all power; the developing nations are in a hurry.

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NEXT WEEK

- INDIA
—Janata's False Step
 - SRI LANKA
—Perspectives
 - MILK BOARD
—Livestock
-

Sri Lanka And The Dravidians

By J. R. Sinnathamby

There appears to be an impression that Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is essentially Aryan and Sinhalese, mainly due to the vulgar and crude view held that those who speak Sinhalese are from North India and those who speak Tamil are from South India, (Senake Bandaranaike, *Sunday Observer*, 23/11/73), and also identifying the ethnology of a people only by the language they speak).

Even according to the Mahawamsa the colonisation of Ceylon at the beginning of its recorded history is Tamilian. Wijeya came from Vanga a Dravidian Mongoloid country. Even if it is assumed that he was Indo-Aryan, the colonisation was mainly Tamilian as his Queen and the wives for the 700 followers of Wijeya and their retinue and the 18 guilds would have far outnumbered the 700 who arrived with Wijeya, as the Queen came from the Pandyan kingdom in South India. This Pandyan kingdom is referred to by Megasthenes (4th century B.C.) and also by Asoka in his inscriptions. This kingdom is shown in Ptolemy's map (C 100 A.D.) and Tamil Nad (Damirice) of India is shown in Pentinger's Tabel prepared under the direction of general Agrippa (C 20 B.C.). In this context reference may also be made to Walkers (Hindu World, P180), Geiger (culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval times), B.C. Law, (Historical geography of Ancient India PP 180-181), Mendis (Early History of Ceylon P9, P20, FN 2), Paul E. Pieris (Sinhala and Patriots, P7), Ananda Coomaraswamy (Mediaeval Sinhalese Arts P2).

Since the advent of Wijeya there has been intimate and close cultural, religious, linguistic, social and ethnic contacts with South India from the remotest times according to Malalasekera (Pali Literature of Ceylon) Paranavitane (Art and Culture of the Sinhalese), Mendis (Early History of Ceylon), Geiger (Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times) P. E. Pieris (Ceylon Daily News, 22/2/1919) Nell ("Ethnology of Ceylon", RASCB, Vol.

12, No. 42, 1892), Induruwe Panatissa (Times Weekender, 18/3/69).

It is very relevant to note in this context that the port at which the Pandyan Princess disembarked at Mannar was already a flourishing port according to the Mahawamsa itself which refers to it as the great landing place and as pointed out by B. J. Perera (Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. 1, No. 2, P110), it was "no doubt a port of Tamils long before the Aryan settlement in Ceylon". It has also been referred to by Brohier as a trading emporium well-established before Wijey's arrival as testified by the Mahawamsa. Even the port Uratota, (Ur-Kavul-Turai), Kayts, is mentioned as a port as early as the reign of Pandu-vasudeva in the 5th century B.C. in the Rajawaliya, (Nicholas, JRA SCB, 1959, Vol. 6, Special number, P84). Reference may also be made to "Society in Mediaeval Ceylon" by Ariyapala, PP 2,3.

Professor Rabin of the Hebrew University of Israel has pointed out that the Tamil people lived in South India and traded with western Asia in about 600 B.C. in a paper read at the International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, 1968, at Madras, he has pointed out "This brief survey has, I think, proved that at least some Tamil words came into Hebrew, certainly in the 6th century B.C., probably even in the 10th. This, I think, clearly points to the presence of Tamil speakers in Tamil Nad at this early period."

From the authentic data presented above namely Hebrew Bible (6th century if not 10th century B.C.), Mahawamsa, Wijeyan expedition to Ceylon and arrival of the Pandyan Princess at the well-established port of the Tamils, (Mahatirta), 5th century B.C., Megasthenes's reference to this Pandyan Kingdom (4th century B.C.), Pentinger Tabel's reference to Tamil Nad 20 B.C., and Rajawaliya's reference to Uratota (Ur-Kaval-Thurai) Kayts, and Panduvasudeva 5th century B.C., definitely establishes the occupation of Ceylon by Tamils before the arrival of Wijeya. If the authentic history of Ceylon is presumed to commence only from the time of Devanampiyatissa the case for the proposition that Tamils were in Ceylon long anterior to the arrival of any Indo-Aryan speaking people,

Aryan Or Dravidian?

if at all, in Ceylon, is made even stronger. On this subject what Mudaliyar Gunawardene (RASCB, 1921, Vol. 28, No. 74, P57), says is of interest "Be that as it may, we have but one assumption possible with regard to their race, that they were Dravidians of the branch of Kols or Kohls.

But it is claimed that Wijeya and his band were Bengalese. Even if the claim is allowed for what it is worth, Wijeyan contingent would still be mainly Dravidian, with a slight admixture of Mongoloid and Aryan elements," while Ellawala, (Social History of Early Ceylon, PP 155, 158), has pointed out "it is also believed that in the pre-Aryan period only country beyond the sea known to the people of the Tamil land was Ceylon. It is, therefore justifiable to suppose that South India has a strong influence on Ceylon both culturally and socially"; he has also pointed out that Brahminism was the earliest civilized religion in Ceylon. And in reference to North Western part of Ceylon, Brohier has pointed out (Ancient Irrigation Pt. 3, pp 18-19), the extraordinary ancient irrigation system in the littoral district of Mantai, Musali, and Nanaddan comprising the whole of the Mannar plain, offers indisputable evidence of the boldness of conception which characterised the more ancient practice of tank building in ancient times and of the fact that there must have been an immense population congregated for commercial and agricultural purposes". He goes on to say "Sir Emerson Tennent's very elaborate work establishes, beyond all doubt by reference to specific authorities, that Ceylon was a great mart in very ancient time for the interchange of traffic between the Eastern and Western World. Eminent authorities demonstrate that the entrepot of this early trade was confined to the North Western shores of the island. This part of Ceylon cannot but have been known to enterprising inhabitants of South India long before the Prince and his men from the Ganges accomplished a voyage to the island."

The three authorities quoted above by me confirm beyond all doubt and are in turn confirmed by the data presented by me at the commencement of this article which establish beyond doubt that

Dravidians, came to or were in Sri Lanka, anterior to the arrival of an Indo-Aryan element, if such a colonisation did in fact take place. Reference may also be made to "Sinhalese Social organisation," A.P. 4, 5, by Ralph Pieris.

Even the propagation of Buddhism and Pali and Sanskrit literatures can be traced largely to Tamil Nad of India.

The well-known Buddhist monks and missionaries of Ceylon, Sanghamitta, Buddhadata, Dharmapala, Vajrabodhi, were Tamilians (Pandyans or Choliyans) and not Sinhalese.

The above is confirmed by what H. Dharmaratna Thero has pointed out in his book on Buddhism in South India that the Tamil nation has made an outstanding contribution to Pali and Sanskrit literatures.

It is also of interest to note that the author of Pali Grammar "Rupasiddhi", Buddhapiya Thera, is a Cholian and that Dharmakirti Thera who wrote the first part of the Cula-Vamsa and the famous Buddhagosa were also Cholians and that Bodhidharma who went to North China and founded the Dhyana School of Buddhism is also a South Indian.

The above facts are based on works by Dutt, "Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India", B.C. Law, "South India as a centre of Pali Buddhism", Dharmaratna Thero, "Buddhism in South India", Geiger, "Culture of Ceylon."

It is also not generally known that Keppitipola, Sri Lanka's No. 1 National Hero is of Tamil descent. His ancestors, as pointed out by Ralph Pieris of the University of Sri Lanka, were full-blooded Tamils.

What G. C. Mendis has pointed out that many Dravidians who came from India adopted the Sinhalese Language as some of them still do in some of the coastal districts, "Early History of Ceylon" (P8) is significant as it is in agreement with the data presented in this article and proves that language alone does not indicate the ethnology of a people. Reference may also be made in this context to the article on "Ethnology of Ceylon" by Nell referred to already.

* * *

PAPAW CULTURE

Suitable Plant For Large And Small Scale Cultivation

by M. Nadarajah

The Papaya (CARICA-PAPAYA) or papaw is indigenous to tropical America. It is an important crop and is at present grown in practically all the subtropical and tropical countries in the world. As a health giving fruit the Papaw has few equals. It should receive wider recognition in countries outside the tropics.

Description of the Papaw plant: The papaw is a large herbaceous plant with a hollow and fibrous trunk. The leaves are usually seven lobed, two or more feet across. The general appearance of the tree is somewhat palmlike. It has two varieties. Dioecious (Male and Female flowers borne on separate plants) a few small percentage of monocious type (Male and Female flowers borne on the same plant) intermiscad the fruit may be oval, feet shaped or round.

Varieties: (1) C.P. 123 (2) Hawaiian Solo.

Climatic conditions Required for Papaw cultivation. The papaw plant is a heat loving plant. In South Africa it thrives best in a subtropical climate. This atmospheric heat is conducive to fruit development and quality.

Strong winds carrying sand and grit may injure the skin of the immature fruits, causing the milky white juice (PAPAIN) to ooze through injuries. Such damage renders the fruit unsightly and impairs the keeping quality. When the site for commercial planting is selected due consideration has to be given for establishing natural and artificial protection (WIND-BREAKS)

Seed Selection. Since the papaw is cross-pollinder the progeny is usually very variable. Therefore it is of utmost importance for the grower to obtain his seeds from a reliable source, whose selections had been in progress for a number of years. If such seed is not available, the grower must select his seeds only from the best trees and due regard must be

given for the following points: (1) vigour of trees; (2) size and shape of the fruit; (3) colour of ripe fruit; (4) thickness of the fruit (5) yield and optimum spacing of the fruit so that the shape of the fruit is not affected by overcrowding.

Seed Beds. The best time to sow the seed is from September to December. The beds are first thoroughly watered and then shallow furrows are drawn 9" apart and the seeds are dropped 2-3 inches apart in the row and covered with well powdered soil and watered. Then the seeds are covered with straw or coconut leaf. When the seeds begin to germinate remove the cover. When the seedlings are about 6-9 inches the plants are ready for transplanting. Irrigate the beds thoroughly before the plants are lifted for transplanting. Then the seedlings are carefully wrapped in old gunnies and taken to the planting sites in a basket.

Transplanting. Dig hole 8-10 feet apart depending on the fertility of the soil. The holes should be 2 ft square and 2 ft deep. Fill the pit with equal parts of fine soil and compost with wood ash also added. The pit is filled about 2 inches high from the ground level and allowed to settle for 2 weeks prior to planting. The planting should be done in cool weather preferable in the evening and watered and shaded until the plant take root. When there are no regular showers water the plants once a week.

Bearing: The papaw plant starts bearing in 9-10 months and gives fruit all round the year. The plants will continue to produce fruits profitably for over 5 years.

The Uses of Papaw Fruit: The unripe fruit of Papaw is rich in Papain, a digestive enzyme. The green fruit can be cooked and eaten as curry. It is also used for softening meat while cooking. The seeds of the fruit can be eaten. The seeds are commonly eaten in Australia. The papaw leaf is relished as green food by poultry. The ripe fruit is eaten after lunch and dinner as it helps digestion and easy bowel movement.

Commercial Aspects: The demand by Japan for the papain of Sri Lanka is quite considerable for beer manufacture in that country. The Japanese who have

forsaken their traditional, sake for light beer have doubled this demand for Sri Lankian Papain, according to Mr. Rajpal Jayatilleke an assistant Director of the I.D.B.

Jayatilleke says that a government authority in Japan has forecast an increasing consumption of beer and therefore prospects of papain are bright. Papain is used for Beer chill proofing.

Papain holds a good industrial potential for its uses in food, pharmaceutical and industrial production are many. In the 1950's Sri Lanka was the world's leading exporter of Papain but following a mosaic disease there was a crippling setback in papaw culture and papain exports.

Beer is Medicine: Beer stimulates the secretion of digestive juice and is a natural cure for constipation. It clears toxins from the liver boosting appetite in the process. It stimulates the circulation of blood and steps up the supply of oxygen to the brain.

These are the conclusions of two well known scientists in West Germany (i.e. Prof. Runkel of Berlin and Prof. Kioninger of Munich). The professors also claim BEER even assists in cancer treatment alleviating the after effects of Radiation. On the average cancer patients had 8c. grammes a week in the wake of Radiation treatment. But this loss of weight can be literally decimated or reduced by one-tenth by drinking beer. But they also add a note of caution. "BEER has to be consumed in moderation".

* * *

LETTER

1977—U.N.O. Year Theme:—WATER

Sir,

The U.N.O. Theme for 1977 is WATER.

The target: Piped Water for all the world's people by 1990. Such a target dramatises the importance of water for maintaining good health and for fighting poverty and its consequences. Once again the world contrast and 'obscentiy'

are painful: the rich have water in abundance. There is water in all the many rooms of their big houses and palaces. There is unlimited water for their swimming pools and pleasures. The poor (and that includes most of the world's rural population, in our country, the fishermen, the villagers, the plantation workers) get their water from wherever they can. Usually it is a woman's job (and sport?) that occupies many hours a day. When the water supply is insufficient, then water-borne diseases strike at health.

WATER FOR THE WORLD'S PEOPLE will be the slogan for the next 13 years till 1990. Will the heart of man and of the rich (person and nation) be 'changed' and orientated towards the needs of the others, overcoming selfishness and greed? World religions have to preach and to impie ment such 'metanoia' i.e. change and spiritual development. Political slogans and shouting will never be able to obtain such changes. It is the challenge of every religion and of every religious man. In our midst "Sarvodaya" movement seems to stress more than anybody else such a spiritual transformation.

The water of our rivers is still abundant. Yet, by a paradox, people are still without water. The Mahaweli Ganga and other rivers have been or going to be diverted in a national effort to give water to everyone.

WATER IS MATERIAL, BUT THE GIVING OF IT IS SPIRITUAL.

The U.N.O. theme for 1977: WATER will have a deep spiritual influence. It will re-echoe Jesus' very demand: "GIVE ME WATER", and His final judgement: "It was I who was thirsty and you gave or refused WATER TO ME."

Jesus' Face is there hidden under the mask of every human face. All human lips burnt with thirst are the modern lips of Jesus' Himself who will not forget even a drop of it GIVEN TO HIM.

The symbol chosen by the U.N.O. for such a theme represents a drop enclosing the very life of persons and peoples. MAN PRAYS FOR WATER. On this 759th anniversary of St. Francis Assisi's death, one cannot afford to forget Francis's poetical, affective evaluation of WATER:

"Be praised, my Lord, through our Sister WATER, for she is so greatly useful, humble, precious and chaste" (Canticles of Creatures).

God created WATER for all his children.

God gives water-rain to all his children.

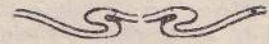
Let NO ONE DARE TO MONOPOLIZE IT for one's own selfish use and abuse depriving one's own brothers and sisters of it. WATER FOR ALL THE PEOPLE but first and foremost for THOSE WHO NEED IT MOSTLY. Let a stop be put to the selfishness of a few and an egalitarian distribution be made of this God-given gift: WATER, our beloved, loving and lovable SISTER WATER.

The U.N.O. theme and strategy of study and action deserves the united co-operation of all men of good will.

From the Plantation hill country, I cannot conclude without an appeal: Bring once again WATER TO THE LINES. STOP the exploitation of removing even the existing old pipes for a little money. That's Blood MONEY.

Pia Ciampa SJ

Kahawatte.



LETTER

Freedom Of The Press

Sir,

The Letter From The Editor appearing in your journal of 9.4.77, merits the congratulations of every freedom loving citizen. It exposes the myth, in lucid and perspicuous language, about the freedom of the press, which was enunciated in the Throne Speech on 14 June 1970. Two years ago, I happened to read an old copy of the Tribune—really because I had nothing else to read. There was something very nice about the way you say what you have to. From then, I have been one of your subscribers—not because I agree with all you say (I am 70) but because you say it, as I said before, very nicely—straight off the bat and no pun.

Breast Feeding

ches below the belt. Now Sir, I would be happy if you repeat what you said on 9 April, viz. "Of the big daily paper groups, the Lake House has been reduced to a Government propaganda unit of dubious validity; and it does not publish news that may be distasteful or unpleasant to the Government. What is worse, it publishes slanted news to bolster Government propaganda". That truly is the position today in regard to the so called freedom of the Press. Mr. Alles of Dehiwela's letters appear frequently in the Daily News. His pet subject is vilifying a particular political party. Some of his facts are factually contrary to what has been declared in Parliament. I wrote to Lake House refuting Mr. Alles' assertions. I challenged them to publish my letter in toto, at least to prove that there was, in fact, a freedom of the press. That was months ago and my letter has not been published. I was a regular subscriber to the Daily News from 1927 and stopped after 47 years—reason, slanted news (I do read the Daily News when I don't have to pay for it.)

Richard Wickremeratne

Telijjawila.
16th April 1977

* * *

REVIEW

The Creme De La Creme

By Jayantha Somasundaram

"One sure way to build up a nation devoid of neurotics and psychopaths is to demonstrate your love to the infant by breast feeding. By some primordial instinct the baby feels and nourishes your warmth and your love," said a recent issue of the Daily News. This statement is not only true, but it carries far reaching implications that we have never paused to consider.

The impressions and images conveyed in infancy leave an indelible imprint on both our conscious and unconscious mind. They go to determine our stability and balance as individuals and guide our interpersonal relations in later life.

The human breast is unique and has a profound significance. It becomes the focal point of a human's first outside contact. And the signals picked up during this formative period are important. To baby, feeding time is loving time. While he nurses, Mother whispers to baby, caresses him, and showers him with affection. Baby soon gets the message, and consequently breasts have an irresistible attraction for every man. This is why in later years, perfectly normal men subscribe to magazines with centrefolds of young ladies with mammoth mammary glands. To his unconscious mind the female breast has a fascination, it stands for love, security and everything that goes with it.

The link between food and his emotions persist in man throughout his later life. A successful or skillful man can feed himself enough calories to keep him in physical shape, but what he needs is enough calories plus good vibrations to keep him in emotional shape.

"While the most important physical experience for every man is eating, the most important emotional experience for every man is his relationship with his mother. The girl who can combine the concepts of 'food' and 'mother' has constructed a psychological hydrogen bomb that relentlessly wipes out all resistance," says psychiatrist David Reuben.

Inside every grown man is that little boy who remembers a kitchen full of the aroma of home-made food made just for him by the only woman in his life. He couldn't notice at that age if the food was a little too greasy or under-cooked. All that mattered was that mother made them. And in this modern world where you can buy most anything—no man can buy food lovingly prepared just for him.

Food in general is the most effective method of controlling human behaviour. The closer food or the feeding situation approaches his earliest experiences, the more unconscious emotional power it exerts. And now all you ambitious young ladies, trying to find the key to unlock the hearts of men, here is the ultimate weapon—milk.

From his first moment on earth the most important substance in

a man's life is milk. Milk leaves behind an indelible impression engraved on his mind, making it synonymous with love. For every man the world of the subconscious is ruled by the symbol of milk. Milk shakes, ice cream, even alcoholic beverages like beer with that 'milky foam', carry the theme of mother's milk throughout everyday. The 150-pound man sipping a cup of cocoa with milk is emotionally only moments away from a 15-pound baby happily drinking at mother's breast.

As they grow older, men shift their emotional attachment from the actual white liquid to common substitutes like coffee, tea or beer. But milk chocolate, puddings made with milk and cream custard have more unconscious influence than a glass of beer or a cup of coffee.

That young ladies is the priceless secret. The girl who can establish herself as the provider of milk makes herself part of the man's unconscious mind. Nice legs, a good figure, bright conversation, feminine flattery, can turn the head of most men, but not the one whose woman supplies milk and love in abundance.

While food, milk in particular plays a disproportionate part in influencing a man, the method of feeding is also vital. Hand feeding is an emotionally supercharged technique known to animal trainers, primitive tribes and mothers of finicky eaters.

The most ferocious lion, after a period of hand-feeding by his trainer becomes docile and submissive, but only towards the trainer. In the animal's unconscious mind, the trainer has taken the place of the one being even the king of the beasts respects—his mother.

The girl who takes every opportunity to hand-feed will soon find her man literally eating out of her hand. Hand feeding milk based food is the ultimate. So watch it next time chaps—when she serves that cup of cocoa, heavily laced with milk, you are in big trouble.



Confidentially

Smuggling Of Antiquities

IS IT NOT A FACT that the Government only woke up to the true realities of the outflow of antiquities very recently? That for some years there has been public agitation about the manner in which the most valuable antiquities were being spirited away from the country? That the Tribune has, from time to time, spotlighted the growing outcry in the country about the "export" and smuggling of antiquities out of the island? That it was only in the beginning of this year that the Government informed "the Diplomatic and Other Missions accredited to Sri Lanka that the Government has decided that all antiquities and other cultural property which are in the possession of Diplomatic and other Missions accredited to Sri Lanka and personnel including foreign experts should be registered with the Commissioner of Archaeology and that the export of such items is prohibited except by permission of the Commissioner of Archaeology. Pending adoption of the appropriate amendments to the existing Antiquities Ordinance of Sri Lanka, the Government has taken the following decisions for immediate implementation through administrative means: (a) the export of antiquities and other cultural property is prohibited with immediate effect; (b) all foreign personnel should register with the Commissioner of Archaeology, (through the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs), items of antiquities and other cultural property of Sri Lanka origin which are in their possession. No export of any such items would be permitted unless they are cleared by the Commissioner of Archaeology. The Antiquities Ordinance, after it is duly amended, will cover not only antiquities as already categorised in the existing ordinance, but also cultural property which, following UN & UNESCO practise, are defined as follows: 1. Rare collections and specimens of fauna, flora, minerals and anatomy; 2. Property relating to history, including the history of science and technology and military and social history, to the life of national

leaders, thinkers, scientists and artists and to events of national importance; 3. Products of archaeological excavations or of archaeological discoveries; 4. Elements of artistic or historical monuments or archaeological sites which have been dismembered; 5. Antiquities more than 50 years old, such as inscriptions, coins and engraved seals; 6. Objects of ethnological interest; 7. Pictures, paintings and drawings produced entirely by hand; 8. Original works of statutory art and sculpture; 9. Original engravings, prints and lithographs; 10. Rare manuscripts, old books, documents and publications of special interest; 11. Postage, revenue and similar stamps; 12. Archives; 13. Articles of furniture more than 50 years old and musical instruments. The Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs requests the compliance of Diplomatic and other Missions accredited to Sri Lanka and their personnel, including foreign personnel as defined below in this regard and has the honour to include three copies of application forms for registration of antiquities and other cultural property. Additional application forms for registration may be had on request from the Protocol Division of the Ministry. For the purpose of the implementation of the above mentioned decisions, the term "Foreign Personnel" shall mean any privileged or nonprivileged foreign national employed in the capacity of a diplomatic agent or as a member of the staff of any foreign Mission and will also include Experts, Advisers, and technical personnel and any foreign employees of an international, foreign Governmental or foreign Non-Governmental Agency".

IS IT NOT A FACT that this ban—if ban it is—has come too late? That this is a splendid example of bolting the stable doors after the horses have fled? That it is well known that the best, especially of books and statuettes, have been sent out a long time ago? That many of them were also smuggled out in recent years? That expeditions, under the cover of wild life conservation and archaeological excavations, have penetrated hinterland temples and other places which are off the beaten track? That some of them were carried away behind a euphoric smokescreen about unlimited love for the country? That many of those who have systematically removed these objects of cultural and antiquarian interest

were able to do it because of the halo of being "Ceylon-lovers"? That a few words of praise in the newspapers about everything Ceylon gave them immunity which could not be challenged? That the Government was now seeking to bring in non-diplomatic personnel and experts attached to the Missions within the orbit of the "diplomatic and other missions" to ensure what bureaucrats think is a "fool-proof-system" based on protocol? That the question has been raised whether among "foreign experts" should not be included foreign employees of foreign based companies and multinationals some of whom are old stagers and veterans in this country? That it is not enough to cry "wolf! wolf!" after all the damage has been done? That some method must be devised to bring back what has been taken away? That if the Government were serious about this business it should make a determined effort to find out how many items, which come within the classifications mentioned above, were taken out in the last five years? That it would not be difficult for the Government to obtain a list of purchases from "leading auctioneers" in recent times? That the books of antique dealers should be examined? And the information so gathered should be compared with the registrations made in compliance with the protocol circular sent out by the Government in February this year? That a fairly comprehensive list of antiquities and other objects has been made by Dr. P. H. D. H. de Silva in his book A CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES AND OTHER CULTURAL OBJECTS FROM SRI LANKA (CEYLON) ABROAD? That Dr. de Silva's "catalogue lists more than 15,000 objects of cultural interest from Sri Lanka (Ceylon) which are at present in the custody of foreign Museum and Libraries; it covers twenty three countries and the collections of one hundred and forty institutions including the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museums, the Rijksmuseum, the Tropenmuseum, and the Museum Fur Volkerkunde, Basel: the collections are dealt with under five headings—namely Prehistory, Numismatics, Art and Antiquities, Palm Leaf Manuscripts and Anthropology" That in addition to this there are large collections with private individuals?



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