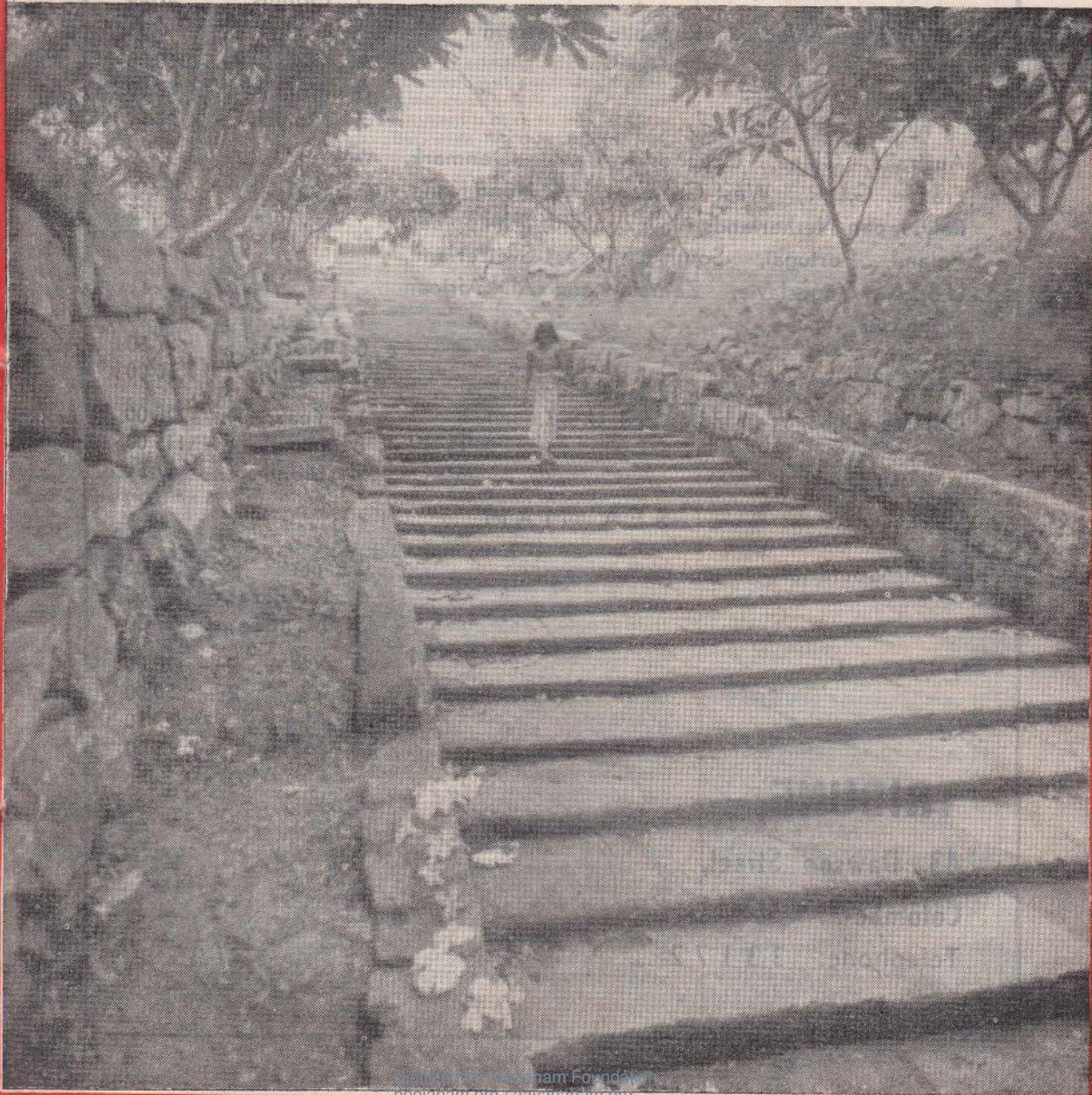


Vol. 22 No. 16 — October 8, 1977 — **RUPEE ONE**

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



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Letter From The Editor

ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE we have published a very important contribution by Mr. R. Kahawita on the question of preventing the recurrence of violence such as this country witnessed in July and August. Violence of this kind, under a communal or political smokescreen, has been growing in volume and magnitude since the year 1956. There were outbreaks of communal violence in 1957, 1958, 1966 and now in August 1977. And, these came long after the Sinhala-Muslim communal riots of 1915. There was also violence that stemmed from post-election tensions in 1965, 1970 and also in July 1977. In 1971, there was violence that arose as a result of the insurrection against the government by the JVP-led insurgents. Mr. Kahawita, like all decent-minded citizens, condemns such violence in no uncertain terms, and is also deeply concerned about the frequent recurrence of such anti-social criminal activities. He points out that, in the latest outbreak of violence, looters and arsonists carried out their attacks in the presence of large number of neighbours and ordinary people who had passively looked on whilst Tamils were assaulted, robbed and their houses set on fire. The problems arising from the paralytic immobility, and often the connivance of sections of the Police Force, in standing idly by, whilst criminal elements looted and burnt, has to be dealt with separately by the Government which has the duty to re-organise, re-structure and re-vitalise the Force. There is no doubt that the Government is alive to this problem and is taking steps to remedy matters. But, even more important, says Mr. Kahawita, is the need to create island-wide public consciousness that every citizen has a duty to help prevent such violence directed at Tamils or any other group. Mr. Kahawita points out that, in the Sinhala-Muslim riots in 1915, the spread and recurrence of violence was stopped by a very simple device—a levy on all persons living in a particular area where violence, looting or arson had taken place to cover the compensation payable to the victims. Mr. Kahawita rightly points out it is an unnecessary burden on the Government to pay compensation to the victims of violence whose property has been damaged or looted. What is particularly exasperating is that the criminals and arsonists, who have helped themselves to loot, go scot-free, and the Government has to shoulder the responsibility of compensating the victims. There is, no doubt, if such a levy is made, the neighbours and onlookers, who do nothing whilst the criminal elements loot and burn, will energise themselves into activity to prevent such disorder and lawlessness. Such a levy is also the only way of neutralising the effect of political (anti-UNP or SLFP, or anti-ULF) or communal (anti-Tamil, or anti-Sinhala) or religious (anti-Christians, anti-Muslim or anti-Hindu or anti-Buddhist) hysteria that has generated in the years after 1956 regular assault, robbery and burning to take place in the presence of large numbers of people. Some persons may argue that such a levy savours of "colonialism" and that it would be tantamount to "imperialist" methods of rule. It is too late in the day for people to argue that everything done during colonial rule was or is bad. There are so many excellent things which we have adopted from colonial times—they are too many to detail—and the levy to stop such violence will be only one more good thing we will have to take from the past. The Government has a duty to rule (or get out), and the country must have peace, stability and communal amity to give people a sense of security and normalcy for economic development. With violence, looting and arson breaking out at frequent intervals on the slightest pretext such a levy is the only way any sane Government can adopt to prevent such criminal activities. We cannot think of any better way of ensuring that the kind of lawlessness which brought such misery, hardship and suffering to the Tamil people in the last two weeks of August is stopped for all time than this levy together with a political settlement. But an attempt to solve the Tamil minority problem at a political level will once again prompt communal and criminal elements to resort to violence and looting—unless the Government reorganises and streamlines its security services and arms itself with legislation to enforce a collective punitive levy on the people (according to wealth) in an area where such violence or looting takes place. As we said earlier, this method of ensuring peace in an area by means of an updated and streamlined RIOTS COMPENSATION ORDINANCE (used by the British in 1915) may be opposed by some on the ground that it was used by a colonial government, but the very system of parliamentary government in which we pride is a heritage of colonialism. If a better way than an updated RIOTS COMPENSATION ORDINANCE can be devised we will welcome it.

TRIBUNE

Founded in 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

Editor S. P. Amarasingam
Every Saturday

October 8, 1977

Vol. 22 No 16

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,
COLOMBO - 2.
Telephone: 33172

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

On Current Developments

Colombo, October 5.

The J. R. Jayawardene government seems intent to appoint Commissions and Committees of Inquiry to investigate every possible matter. *Tribune* has not kept count, nor does it want to take count, of the numerous Commissions and Committees that have been set up, but there is no doubt that some of the best talent in the country is now engaged on these probes.

There is also no doubt that everything is wrong with everything in this country. Commissions of Inquiry may be needed to unearth some of these mistakes, but there are many departments and many places where what is wrong is known to everybody. In such cases, the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry is only a way of postponing the day to take corrective action. It would be invidious to point out the instances where such Commissions of Inquiry are redundant because it would take time and space to draw attention to every one of them, but it is time that the Prime Minister and the other leaders of the Government take note of this situation where there is already a plague of such Commissions and Committees of Inquiry.

The plea is that miscreants of the past regime could be more easily spotted and held responsible by the investigations and reports of such Commissions and Committees, but they can also be used to divert and delay matters so that the scent gets cold and prevent an early start to the concrete work necessary to get things moving. The only concrete accomplishment the JR government can show in a big way so far, is the wholesale appointments of Commissions and Committees of Inquiry. More such Commissions and Committees are in the air, and the only really important Commission concerning the post-election and anti-Tamil violence is yet to be set up.

Goods of a certain kind are more freely available, but the prices have not moved down except in a

few cases. The price of chillies and a few such items of subsidiary foodstuffs have been kept down within reasonable limits (but if other prices do not come down, producers will not want to grow these items for the next season), but fish prices have gone up since this Government came to power—no doubt because of the post-election violence and the anti-Tamil riots. Meat has become even more expensive and eggs have not come down in price. Textiles are plentiful and the prices are less than the unconscionable prices which had obtained during the previous regime.

But the worst thing is the work in the kachcheris and the government departments have not begun to move. Many excuses can justifiably be trotted out, notably excuses that stem from the post-election and anti-Tamil violence, to show why the administration has still not got going, but such excuses are not good enough. Precious time has already been lost in starting the work of revitalising the country in order to generate greater productive efforts.

Except a few cases, most government departments are still dead—"deader" (to coin a word for Sri Lanka) than they have been in the past. Everything is stagnant and getting anything done has become more difficult than it ever was. It is even more difficult to get about one's work—except for those who have private transport, but even in such cases many parts of the country are still considered unsafe for private cars to be floating around at will.

But travel in the CTB and the CGR have become nightmarish. A great deal of propaganda is done about the "improvements" in the CTB, but what is important is that travelling with the continued indiscipline among the rank and file of CTB employees has become hazardous. Only a few cases of drunkenness come to light—when a serious accident takes place—but taking alcoholic drinks, at every important halt on long distance runs, has become a way of life for CTB employees. Supervisory officers—they also drink in the best CTB style—are unable to exercise any control, because

COVER

A LONG LONG WAY

ON THE COVER we have a picture that no one will have any difficulty in identifying. But, to us, it is not the locale that is important. The picture shows what seems to be a never-ending flight of steps going upwards into the heavens. In this case the steps end in a definitive spot, but as we see in it a never-ending upward climb towards fulfilment, whether it is economic, or political, or cultural, or personal, or whether it is towards a spiritual *nibbana* or *nirvana*. In Sri Lanka, today, it is an upward climb in every way. There is no easy and straight path on any matter. On the economic front, especially, it is an extremely difficult future we face—made more difficult by racial upheavals that have disrupted normalcy and stability. In our desperation, the country must not place too much hope or confidence in the IMF or the World Bank. Those who manage these institutions may be willing to extend aid and assistance to Sri Lanka in order to ensure that the pro-capitalist turn the country took at the last elections is completely stabilised. But, once this political aim has been achieved, then contemporary history and experience has shown that the IMF and the World Bank have, in many countries of the Third World, applied the screw in a way that tends to denigrate sovereignty. And, it is also well to remember that all is not well either with the IMF and the IBRD themselves or the kind of capitalism the present bosses and manipulators of the IMF favour. The IMF and the IBRD (popularly known as the World Bank) are in major financial difficulties and they have become more and more dependent on the rescue and salvage operations that only the rich OPEC nations can now undertake. There is still a fair amount of leeway for the IMF to operate in, and countries like Sri Lanka can make a little hay while the IMF sun still shines, but it is necessary to know that the post-war Bretton Woods monetary system (of which the IMF and IBRD were an integral part) has all but disappeared. Until a new international monetary system on a just and fair basis comes into existence bilateral arrangements for economic growth (and not consumerism) will be a better path to tread rather than a blind pursuit of the IMF and all that its stands for.

the "unions" are still powerful with the management. The only difference is that the same kind of indisciplined thugs who control the unions now wear green instead of the red or the blue as in the past.

Whether it is one trade union or several unions, the malady that has begun to eat into the fabric of our society is the total lack of responsibility on the part of trade unions. The last Government and even earlier governments had given a handle to unions to say that only under "socialism"—no doubt only of the variety they will endorse—will they feel "induced" to work as hard as they should. The CTB employees are among the best paid in the country and they are among the least disciplined.

The same is true of the CGR and railway workers—they do not earn as much as CTB workers, but they are still among the most favoured among the working population of the country. The Railways have been going down the path of suicidal self-destruction for a long time—for many many years in fact—but after this Government took over the CGR the rot continues in a worse manner than ever before. Even after making allowances for the disruption caused by the post-election and anti-Tamil violence, the CGR has not pulled itself up by the socks (as the saying goes) or even attempted to provide a satisfactory service even within the limited possibilities.

Train travellers—long and short distance—have brought facts to the notice of the *Tribune* to show that if the CGR went on in this way the entire system will grind to a halt very soon. Already there is no railway system to speak about. The Ratmalana Workshop is more dead than ever, and it cannot be brought to life until the so-called trade union "czars"—who use every little excuse, eg. post-election and the anti-Tamil riots, to further their sectarian ends—are removed. Appeasing such anti-national and anti-worker elements, only because they change the colour of the cap they wear is dangerous and self-defeating. The CGR cannot be put right by placating the present leadership of the trade unions (though they have now bought green caps). Discipline has to be re-introduced at all levels. The CGR is over-staffed, but this staff

does not do the jobs for which they are paid—especially in the maintenance of locomotives and other rolling stock.

One can list a whole lot of other matters which are "wrong" with the Railway but this becomes a futile exercise. What has to be done and can be done, and which is not being done now, are matters which stand out glaringly in front of anyone who looks at the CGR or travels in its trains. Instead, a Committee has been appointed to examine its record for the last seven years. One look at the names in the Committee makes it clear that these worthy gentlemen have rarely, if ever, travelled on the CGR, and it will take them a long time, if at all, to know what is what (and when they travel now they will be provided *de luxe* travel). By that time, the CGR would have ground to a halt.

Of course, bureaucrats and technocrats anxious to make purchases abroad will suggest that it would be easier to import new locomotives, waggons and carriages from abroad rather than set the Ratmalana Workshop immediately to repair and maintain the rolling stock that already belongs to the CGR already. Unless the workers in the CGR in Ratmalana and elsewhere are made to do a job of work, all new purchases will suffer the fate of the old. Bureaucrats who believe that contracts and development work by building new rail tracks (from Matara to Kataragama, for instance) will help to oil the system will also seek to stampede the government into such activity. These are pitfalls the Government must avoid.

It is good thing to extend the mileage of the rail system, but before Government embarks on such costly ventures it is necessary to set the existing CGR right. The Ratmalana Workshop must work, the locomotives, waggons and carriages must be serviced and maintained, the trains must run on time and goods trains must once again become a regular feature of the railways. The stations have to be cleaned, the rail tracks must be kept free of grass and every train must be inspected by the maintenance staff at every big stop—as in the past—to check that the "running parts" are alright (this takes only a few minutes at a time). There are a great many other *do's*

and *don't's* which every senior railwayman—and many of those who were pushed out in 1970—know, and a Commission of Inquiry is not needed to inform the Government of the true situation.

WHILST THE COUNTRY has a plethora of Commissions and Committees of Inquiry, there have been also a great many speeches about a new economic order that is likely to be outlined at the time of the new Budget. The philosophy behind the new UNP economic order has not been spelled out in any detail, but from the very vague guidelines set out in the Manifesto it is possible to envisage the kind of economy which the UNP has in mind. The UNP won the election on "economic plans" set out in the Manifesto which won the approval of the majority of the voters of this country and these plans were based on the fact that the "pro-socialist" and "radical" policies of the United Front and the SLFP had failed.

From the time of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, every SLFP government, under pressure from the Left both inside and outside the SLFP, has tended to favour a completely PLAN-bound system which left-minded ideologues thought suitable for third world developing countries which wanted to by-pass capitalism for socialism. Plans were also drawn up in the time of the UNP from 1947 to 1956 which were pro-capitalist slanted—plans which wanted to curb free enterprise in a way as to create welfarism in developing countries. But these plans—World Bank experts had drawn up a Ten Year Plan in 1952/3—did not go far. Then, after Bandaranaike came to power in 1956, a new Planning Commission was set up, and ever since that time we have had many long range and short range plans (including many crash programmes before each election) in order to help the country to reach out to socialism. The UNP between 1965-70 tried to infuse a dose of capitalism into the planning, but even these failed to get off the ground.

But every SLFP and even the UF government, whilst wanting to reach socialism in a hurry, had sought to give impetus to free private enterprise in the fond belief that it would be subordinate to the public sector. But all these hopes were dashed to the ground because

of the inefficiency and corruption in the public sector. And the tax-free and other concessions given to the private sector created not one but many frankensteins that destroyed the very "socialists" who had wanted to make use of them. (Like Aladdin, they had wanted to use the genie in the lamp. The genie in the case of the Left and SLFP socialists, who wanted to use new capitalists to prop up the economy, destroyed all the "socialism" these governments have wanted to establish).

It was because the failure of the economic plans of the SLFP and the Left to make any real progress that the UNP was able to persuade the voters to try something that appeared new, but something which was only an updated re-hash of what is known as controlled capitalism for developing countries. What the UNP seems to have in mind is a hybrid cross between a Singapore-Hong-kong type of export free zone economy and the more ambitious developmental exercises tried out in countries like Brazil, Mexico and other places. *Tribune* will examine the realities of both the Singapore and the Brazil type of economy, and critically examine whether the hybrid that is being suggested for Sri Lanka will produce the results anticipated. In India, the Morarji Desai government has put forward economic proposals drawn up on the suggestion of pro-western ideologists who believe that modified forms of controlled capitalism constituted the best way of achieving a welfare society in a developing country like India.

It is now possible to see the pattern emerging in India. The Planning Commission has terminated the Five Year Plan one year ahead of schedule and introduced in its place the "rolling plan" concept with a five year span in future. This major policy decision was taken at a full meeting of the Planning Commission about a month ago under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Desai. Thus the entire concept of perspective planning and fitting priorities into every Five Year Plan has been totally scrapped. (India had been more successful in implementing its five year plans than Sri Lanka has ever been able to fulfil any plan that had been formulated). The decision to cut short a full year of the Fifth Plan

is really to translate into reality the Janata Party's concept of planning for agriculture, irrigation and small and cottage industries.

What kind of economic "planning" will emerge in Sri Lanka is difficult to say until the new Budget is formulated and the new Presidential system gets going.

In the meantime, as we go to press, the NSA has passed by a two-thirds majority (128/0) the Second Amendment to the Republican Constitution. Those voting in favour of the amendments were 127 members of the Government party who were present and Mr. S. Thondaman, President of the TULF and the leader of the CWC Political Wing in the NSA. The Opposition had staged a virtual walk out. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, had made a statement as to why the TULF could not participate in the debate and after that all TULF members left the Chamber quietly without making a demonstration of the quitting. The ex-Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, made an explanatory statement as to why the SLFP opposed the Bill (it was pointed out that the speech was a verbatim repeat of the article by Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike published in the *Weekend of Sunday*, October 2), and immediately after this all the SLFP members walked out of the chamber *en masse*.

In the circumstances, the Second Amendment was passed unanimously by 128 votes to nil in a record time of about three hours together with the amendments suggested by the Prime Minister himself. The Amendment will come into operation on such date as the Prime Minister may appoint by order published in the *Gazette*. Mr. Jayawardene moved four amendments to the Second Amendment Bill during the Committee stage. The first one sought to retain the provision in the existing Constitution which grants the President immunity from suit. Clause 7 of the Second Amendment Bill had earlier sought to waive this immunity. By another amendment, Mr. Jayawardene, however moved, for provision in the Second Amendment whereby the President would be open for legal suit when exercising the function of a Minister. Another amendment makes it obligatory for the President to consult his Cabinet in making appointments to the Presidential

Staff. The fourth amendment was a consequential one.

There was no doubt at any time that the Amendment would be adopted by a two-third majority, but many people had expected the TULF and the SLFP to participate in the debate and point out the possible drawbacks of a presidential system. Mr. Premadasa's reply to Mrs. Bandaranaike was effective and knocked the bottom out of her arguments, and without further clarifications and argumentation the SLFP case went by the board through sheer neglect in the NSA. (The SLFP now wants to carry its campaign to the people at large, but if it misses opportunities of fighting the issue it does not look as if it can stand up to the UNP in such matters).

The TULF is still torn between its day dream of Eelam and active participation in the NSA. What the TULF may be waiting for is an Amendment to deal with Tamil Rights, but in view of the position it has once again adopted that as its only mandate was to fight for Eelam it would not be able to participate in any proceedings to amend the Constitution that did not deal with the granting Eelam. Such negative politicking will not do the Tamil community any good.

Already, as anticipated by the *Tribune* the TULF has begun to disintegrate. The CWC has broken away. From the time of the Vaddukoddai Resolution demanding Eelam, the CWC had publicly expressed its reservations about it but had continued to collaborate with the TULF for the sake of Tamil "unity", but with the events following the elections (when the TULF took rhetorical steps to implement Eelam), the CWC has been slowly but surely back-tracking on its commitments to the TULF. With Mr. Thondaman and the CWC thus openly breaking with the TULF on the Second Amendment and joining hands with the Government, a new stage has been reached in the politics of the Tamil minority in this country. There are reports that the TULF High Command will take "disciplinary" action against Thondaman and the CWC. The High Command has no option but to do this in view of the rigid inflexibilities of its tactical attitudes. If the TULF does not go easy and "lay by" the demand for Eelam, more breakways can be expected.

Sept. 18 — Sept. 29

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadipa; DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Cinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanaadu; IDPR—Information Department Press Release

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 18: The PM has severely criticised a recently constituted organisation which protested to him last week against the government's stand on the standardisation of marks at public examinations and language, it is reliably understood. The National Savings Bank has mobilised a massive Rs. 70 million in fixed deposits during the seven working days since its attractive new interest rates became effective on September 7. 15 of Sri Lanka's 24 Ambassadors abroad have been asked to return once their contracts end this December; they have been told that their contracts will not be renewed. The Government of Sri Lanka and Prima Singapore, a private wheat miller, yesterday signed an agreement for the setting up of a 30 million US dollars flour milling complex in Trincomalee. Sri Lanka's pearl beds which abound in several parts of her coastline are in danger of total extinction, the well known underwater expert Rodney Jonklas said yesterday. In six months, the television era will dawn in Sri Lanka; but at the start TV will be utilised only for educational purposes; this was stated by the Minister of Trade at a seminar on Youth Development Schemes. The dismissal of 3,286 employees from the CTB on political grounds during the past few years has cost the board Rs. 6,250,691; this amount has been paid as compensation and back wages to these employees. The British Government has promised to grant extensive support for Sri Lanka's economic development programme; this follows talks Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel had with Mr. James Callaghan, UK PM last Friday. The contract for Pexamin for petroleum exploration in off shore areas around Sri Lanka must be fully probed, the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation Executive Officers Union has told the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs. One hundred and twenty five million rupees, representing the compulsory savings of about 16,000 tax payers, has still to be refunded to them although the previous government announced in March last year its decision to refund the moneys—ST. The Defence Ministry is to set up a special Intelligence Unit in the north to keep a close tab on what is believed to be the organised activities of alleged subversive groups. Former MP's who were issued with revolvers for their protection during the 1971 insurgency have been asked to return them to the Government Agents. The PM is expected to explain the proposed Constitutional Amendments to Government MP's when the Parliamentary Group meets on September 22. The approval of the PM will now be necessary for Ministers to put out publications of their speeches or activities

of their Ministries through the Government Press—WK. Since the government is thinking of appointing 22 Ministers in the 22 districts the question has arisen as to whether the TULF MP's will accept the posts—DP. It is reliably understood that the government is formulating laws to impose penalty of imprisonment for possessing unlicensed firearms, production of hand bombs, giving military training, bank robberies and other such subversive acts against the State—EN. The government is going to start a new project to give jobs as dressmakers to 50,000 girls—SLDP.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19: Sri Lanka's top secret messages to her diplomatic missions abroad are vulnerable to interception by any intelligence agency in the world; Foreign Office sources said the cipher branch of the ministry continued to use the two codes handed down by the British in 1947. The West German government has made a grant of 10 million deutschmarks to help Sri Lanka finance the importation of goods for current requirements. At a meeting of Tamil speaking Government Servants held during the weekend it was decided that those who had left their places of work during the recent disturbances should not report for work today. The Government has decided that all state institutions should display all photographs of PM's of Sri Lanka except the single caretaker PM. A proposal to set up a large scale gunny bag factory has been forwarded to the Minister of Industries said the Chairman of the Jute Industries Corporation. In the latest publication of the Industrial Development Board it is revealed that the tamarind seed could be used in place of gelatine for making jujubes—CDN. A total sum of Rs. 111 million in foreign exchange earned by CRA holders is at present lying idle as a result of severe restrictions imposed by the previous government on the import of goods on CRA. All workers councils and advisory committees in the corporations and statutory bodies coming under the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs will be re-started. A special team of police investigators has been asked to probe the fibre glass fire at Walkers, Kotahena in which several lakhs worth of fibre glass was destroyed. The Federal Republic of Germany will today grant Sri Lanka rupees one million for rural development activities; the agreement will be signed this morning. The Minister of Plantation Industries will reduce the price of tea and make available quality tea at a reasonable price to local consumers. Sri Lanka will import only 30,000 tons of rice from abroad next year whereas this year over 500,000 tons were imported. The Ayurvedic Hospital, Ayurvedic Drugs Corporation and Ayurvedic Research Institute at Nawinna are to be completely re-organised—CDM. Several foreign countries and overseas organisations have offered assistance to the government for rehabilitation and reconstruction work arising out of the recent disturbances. A high-powered Government team arrived in Jaffna yesterday to make an on-the-spot study of the security situation in the North, following a CID probe on the activities of an alleged subversive group. The PM has requested all Ministers to prepare an employment-oriented six month programme of work in their ministries. All recent recruits to the police will have to undergo a refresher course. A project to generate hydro power surpassing even that of Laxapana, has been recommended to the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways to avert an anticipated shortfall of power by 1980—SU. The government of Sri Lanka will seek financial assistance from a private firm in the Federal Republic of

Germany to complete the copper magnetite survey that was initiated by the Geological Survey Dept; it is expected to cost 2.2 million deutschmarks. An appeal has been made by the All-Ceylon Union of Government English Teachers to abolish all tutorials as it feels that private tuition in this country is doing more harm than good—CO. In order to offer protection to Sinhalese employees and businessmen it was decided at a meeting in Jaffna to form neighbourhood groups with the help of the police—EN. Mr. Ronnie de Mel, Minister of Finance who is in London now, met Mr. James Callaghan, PM of Britain and had a detailed discussion on the Financial and Economic policies of the new government in Sri Lanka—IDPR no 220. The Congress of Religions appeals to all religious and lay leaders in the country to work closer together to establish a conducive atmosphere in which the many problems pertaining to the people of our country could be dealt with and solved without recourse to violence—IDPR no 218. The Textiles Corporation has incurred a loss of over Rs. 5 millions during the last regime according to the Minister of Textile Industries—DM.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20: Several top-level transfers have been made in the 17,000 strong police force as a prelude to the re-organisation of the force; police officials said yesterday that 200 persons have been sent transfer orders during the past two weeks including 50 officers—some of them in the gazetted rank. The official organ of the UNP has urged the government to impose restrictions on heads of departments, chairmen and directors of corporations attending diplomatic parties as has been done in the case of ministers. The government's present exercise of offering bank depositors higher rates of interest to flush out undeclared money will not be a set back to the creation of new jobs according to the Acting Minister of Finance. Prospective investors from Middle East countries have started making inquiries about the proposed Free Trade Zone in Sri Lanka—CDN. Legislation will shortly be introduced to compel employers to pay employees' wages promptly and regularly. Hotel Taprobane, managed by the Bank of Ceylon has gone on the rocks financially. Police sources say that they have received numerous complaints from traders about extortionists who exploited the recent disturbances by promising 'protection'—CDM. The PM is seriously considering giving fertilizer free to farmers. The Janata Government of India did not desire a division of the country nor will it support the demands of the Tamils of Sri Lanka for a separate homeland and the Indian government has no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka according to a leading spokesman of the ruling Janata Party. The Livestock Development Board has requested the Canadian Executive Service Overseas to send four volunteers to help in developing the wool-weaving industry which is to be started in the country—SU. According to a Defence Ministry source, about 60% of the people who fled North and East during the recent disturbances have returned—VK. Police will be posted to large public examination centres in the future to help the examination authorities to maintain discipline and prevent dishonesty, the Commissioner of Examinations said yesterday. Street lighting in Colombo is seriously affected because some Colombo Municipal officers are away from their posts. The Minister of Food and Cooperatives has requested GA's in surplus rice areas to take immediate steps to distribute rice that has been in their stores for a number of months, to deficit areas—

CO. Mr. N. Wimalasena of Kandy is to be appointed Ceylon High Commissioner in London—IDPR. The government of Sri Lanka, in concurrence with the Government of the Republic of India, has decided to appoint H.E. Mr. Arthur Basnayake, as High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in India, in succession to H.E. Mr. Justin Siriwardene—IDPR. Her Excellency Miss Ampha Bandranawik has been appointed by the Government of Thailand as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Sri Lanka—IDPR. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Burma, with the concurrence of the government of Sri Lanka, has decided to appoint U Saw Tun as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Burma to Sri Lanka—IDPR. The Minister of Plantation Industries will issue manure, seedlings etc to improve coconut production in the country—LD.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21: The blueprint for the re-organisation of the armed services is now being drawn up, according to the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence; one of the features would be that all service personnel would be trained in guerilla warfare, essential to combat terrorism; another feature would be that all members of the armed services would be given refresher courses and he said that recruitment would be on merit and smartness. Mr. R. Premadasa has promised to build a larger fish market soon in Colombo. The National Lotteries Board will conduct sweeps in foreign countries and famed gems will be the main prizes while free airline tickets for a holiday in this country will be consolation prizes. The PM will notice members of the NSA on the presentation of the second amendment to the constitution; the NSA meets at 2 pm tomorrow. Fifty senior police officers yesterday conducted the first in a series of pep talks to 2800 policemen manning the city's 20 police stations aimed at restoring a shaken public confidence in the police and building a new image. Rs. 23 lakhs worth of textiles were discovered in go-downs of the Nattandiya Textile Mills. The Ceylon Bank Employees Union has threatened to stage a walk out in all banks of the Colombo Metropolitan region on September 27 and a one day general strike on September 30—CDN. With the abolition of standardization of marks for University admission, the Ministry of Education and the University of Sri Lanka are working on a formula to safeguard the interests of rural students. School text books—58 in all covering the whole range from the kindergarten to the University—will be provided at cost from January next year, in keeping with an election pledge held out by the PM. The scheme to streamline the railway will start from today with a change in the administration of the Railway—CDM. The Defence Secretary has directed the Police to indict persons in the North against whom there is evidence of involvement in illegal acts during the past seven years. The new NSA will be sited on a 20 acre block of land at 'Duwa' in the Kotte electorate. The high powered police team which is investigating into the causes of the recent disturbances in the city and suburbs has estimated the damages caused to property within the area so far covered by the investigations at Rs. 700,000—SU. About 25 schools which were affected during the recent disturbances are not in a state to be used—DP. Four youths in the Valvetiturai area have been arrested and kept in custody after investigations regarding the recent spate of robberies were conducted. The Tamil Workers Union has requested the govt. to grant 3 months leave to the people

affected by the recent disturbances—*EN*. The World Bank has predicted that Sri Lanka's Gross Domestic Product will grow between 4 to 5% this year compared to the 3% growth recorded the previous year. The government has decided to pay Rs. 3,000 as compensation in the first instance to each widow who lost her husband during the recent disturbances in the country—*CO*. 60 lakhs of sardine tins have been discovered in the CWE stores recently, therefore the government will reduce the price of this commodity—*LD*. The Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways requests the public to lodge their complaints immediately at the Flying Squad set up for this purpose at the Ministry—*IDPR* no. 229. Employees of Government and Statutory Boards, who had left their places of work on account of the recent disturbances and who have still not returned, are informed that they will be regarded as being on no pay after Monday, 19 Sept. unless they apply for and obtain leave—*IDPR* no 233.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22: Positive proof of an extensive hidden trade in rare live animals as well as dead specimens has been received by the Wild Life and Nature Protection Society of Sri Lanka. The Bank of Ceylon will in the future, extend financial assistance to the small holder in the agricultural and industrial sector with less stringent loan conditions. The CWE has warned all co-operative societies that they must draw their quotas of foodstuffs to be issued on the ration by the 25th of each month. A school health survey recently conducted by the National Joint School Health Committee has revealed that scabies is fast spreading among the primary school children in the country—*CDN*. The leader of Sri Lanka's UN Delegation, Foreign Minister Hameed yesterday opened the General Assembly with sharp attacks against the white minority governments in South Africa and against Israel. The Bank of Ceylon would encourage local engineering firms to venture out and obtain foreign contracts particularly in the oil-rich Middle East countries as part of a new approach to earn foreign exchange and stem the brain drain to some extent. The NSA and the President will be supreme instruments of State power under the proposed amendments to the Constitution. The Tamil Refugees' Rehabilitation Organisation has put forward proposals to various social service and welfare organisations to provide housing and employment to refugees in agricultural complexes for a year commencing preferably before the rainy season—*CDM*. The CTB is planning to establish seven Boards to represent seven regions in the country in a bid to streamline the transport services. A joint operation by the Army and Police in the north yesterday led to the discovery of several face masks and chemicals. A pay rise for employees in the state and private sectors is to be announced by the Minister of Finance in the first budget of the new government to be presented on November 2—*SU*. The State Flour Milling Corporation this week purchased 10,000 tons of Australian wheat at US dollars 99 a ton—one of the lowest prices ever. The public galleries of the NSA, which were closed to the public on the last two occasions that the assembly met, will be re-opened today. The Colombo Municipality with the help of the police has allotted 250 pitches in the 'World Market'. The Ministry of Trade will import before the end of the month 23,000 cwt of dry fish and 4,000 cwt of dried chillies from Pakistan and India respectively—*DM*. The Minister of Transport has instructed the Chief Mechanical Engineer's Division of the Railway Department to take immediate steps to

remedy the shortcomings of the Kelani Valley train service—*IDPR* no 234. The Ministry of Health is taking steps to launch a fresh programme of work with the assistance of the MP's for the areas concerned for the purpose of remedying the shortcomings in Government Hospitals and Ayurvedic Hospitals—*IDPR* no 236. For the benefit of commuters and employees the Minister of Transport is pursuing action to complete the construction of the Central bus stand in Colombo initiated by the previous administration but which remains incomplete—*IDPR* no 238. Mr. K. G. D. D. Pathirana of the Sri Lanka Administrative Service has been appointed Additional General Manager of Railways—*IDPR* no 239.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23: The free sale of a mysterious drug in pill form which has resulted in 13 persons being so far admitted to hospital during the past two weeks is causing alarm among Health and Narcotics Bureau officials; apparently people show criminal tendencies after taking the pills. Rice millers have alleged that they are being regularly fleeced by some store keepers of the Food Department and the PMB; this was revealed during official inquiries into the breakdown of the movement of rice between the PMB and the Food Department. Pirith and Dana will be held at the SLFP Headquarters to mark Bandaranaika Commemoration Day. The Minister of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism yesterday issued instructions to the effect that no protected species of wild life be permitted to be exported without her express permission. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany gifted equipment worth 8 lakhs of rupees through the Freedom from Hunger campaign in this country to be used in centres run by the Agriculture Ministry. The PM and three Cabinet Ministers met a TULF delegation headed by the Leader of the Opposition in a one and a half hour discussion yesterday—*CDN*. The Minister of Education has a plan to set up a campus of the University of Sri Lanka in each of the 22 districts; he said he would first set up campuses in Matara and Batticaloa. The engineers in the public service have conveyed to the PM that the economic progress of the country has not been rapid because of the failure to develop an independent local technology to bridge the gap between resources and requirements. The second shipment comprising 9,000 tons of cement from the Republic of Philippines (to meet the acute shortage of this commodity) arrived in Colombo yesterday—*CDM*. The government has approved a recommendation of the PM to appoint Parliamentary Consultative Committees to every ministry. Two major schemes—one in the Kalu-ganga and the other from the Gin Ganga—will be inaugurated within the next two months; the cost will be met by the already negotiated World Bank loan of 14,000,000 dollars. The number of days of meeting of the NSA is likely to be increased. The Commander of the Sri Lanka Army is to be appointed Additional Secretary of the Ministry of Defence—*SU*. The Acting Minister of Finance said that Credit Councils were set up to bring relief to those in debt—*IDPR* no 243. Anyone who wishes to start industries worth less than a lakh will get 75-85% of it as a loan from the bank, according to the Ministry of Information and Scientific Affairs. The Water Supply and Drainage Board will spend 34 million dollars to improve the water supply scheme in Colombo and the suburbs—*LD*.

STURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24: The PM told the NSA yesterday that the government was wedded to

the principles of the sovereignty of the people and the multi-party system; the PM who was speaking on the proposed amendment to the constitution said that the main thrust of the amendments was to provide for a President elected by the people; he said that an elected President will permit a stable executive even if the elected government has to bow out before its time. The Minister of Local Government has issued an ultimatum to the water works engineers to improve the water supply scheme quickly. The TULF is satisfied that the PM is making an honest effort to rehabilitate and give financial assistance to persons who have been affected by the recent communal disturbances said the leader of the TULF. Air Ceylon is seriously considering stopping the sale of cut price tickets in Britain from next month—CDN. Sri Lanka's garment export industry which has been fast expanding since 1972 is now faced with import cuts by major buyers in the European Economic Community and the Scandinavian countries. The PM in the course of his speech said that he was not afraid of the insurgents. Two armed gang robberies, one in Batticaloa dist. and the other in Colombo were reported to Police headquarters yesterday—CDM. The PM yesterday announced that he would repeal the Criminal Justice Commission Act. The PM has given a directive to all ministers that no person can hold office as director in more than one corporation. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives will appoint a one-man tribunal for each co-operative district to go into complaints of political victimisation of Co-operative employees—SU. In the Jaffna district, outside the refugee camps, there are about 1500 refugees in private homes and farms—EN.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 25: The government is seriously concerned about the issue of thirty thousand gun licences without any proper security screenings or checks during a nine-week period between March and May 1976. The University of Sri Lanka which has remained closed for the past several weeks on account of the recent disturbances will be re-opened in mid-October. Eight persons were killed and 41 were injured yesterday when a Pettah-bound CTB bus crashed into a tree. The Assistant Administrator and Regional Director for Asia and the Pacific said that the Free Trade Zone would be assured of help from the UNDP. The Lanka Salu Sala has called for world wide tenders for the purchase of 20 million yards of synthetic and 10 million yards of cotton textiles to meet any possible shortage during the Christmas and New Year season—SO. The proposal to increase the salaries of all employees in the public service and state-sponsored corporations will cost the government an additional Rs. 750 million annually. Saudi Arabia has imposed several strict conditions on the employment of foreign labour including thousands of Sri Lankans in that country—ST. The Police and Armed Forces are to launch a country wide operation to crack down on subversive elements attempting to disrupt normal life in the country. The Department of Immigration and Emigration has now been brought under the Ministry of Defence; this means it will come under the direct charge of the PM. Pre-dawn search operations by combined Army, Navy and Police squads are now under way in the north. Seventeen Asian and Far Eastern countries will meet in Colombo in December this year to work out a joint action programme to combat smuggling in the region. The debate on the second Amendment to the Constitution will begin on

October 4—WK. Many politicians, religious leaders and social service workers have expressed the opinion that the promise given by the PM, that no citizen for the sole reason that he does not know Sinhalese will be a second class citizen, should be put into practice—VK.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26: A top level probe of Police and Ministry of Trade officials has been summoned on Thursday to map out a strategy to combat a well organised gang of hoodlums operating in the Pettah who are reported to be responsible for artificial increase in the price of vegetables in the wholesale market which supplies the city and suburbs. The Indian High Commission has said that it will not be able to accept any application for Indian citizenship from persons who have already been granted SL citizenship; after the recent disturbances, many have sought Indian citizenship. Police have alerted health authorities to have stricter control on ten types of drugs following disclosures that they are being used as substitutes for alcohol and opium on a widespread scale. The governments of Netherlands and Iraq have indicated to Sri Lanka their willingness to start two massive fisheries projects in this country. The 18th Bandaranaike Commemoration Day ceremonies will be held today at the Horogolla Bandaranaike memorial; Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the President, and representatives from the diplomatic corps will participate—CDN. The infrastructure for the proposed Free Trade Zone to be completed by the end of this year, while production within the area is likely to begin in June 1978. Price control men conducted over 120 successful raids on errant traders during the past two weeks—CDM. The government has decided to appoint a Presidential Commission of Inquiry to probe the 'illegal activities and excesses' of the previous regime. A decision will be taken tomorrow on whether the countrywide security alert, including the co-ordinating Authority system that came in the wake of the recent disturbances should continue or not. The PM has conveyed to TULF leaders his decision to nominate former Chief Justice Mr. M. C. Sansoni, as the one man commission to probe the recent disturbances. The Parliamentary Group of the TULF last week decided to abstain from voting when the second Amendment to the Constitution comes up for a decision in the NSA—SU. The Tamil Teacher's Union has decided at a meeting that the government should grant leave to teachers till the 30 of this month—EN. The Armed Forces have urgently undertaken the task of stopping highway robbery and such criminal acts that are taking place in the Polonnaruwa district—VK.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27: The PM addressing the inaugural convocation of the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies held at the BMICH said yesterday that Sri Lanka's foreign policy stood for the preservation of its freedom, strengthening of its democratic principles, not-aligning with any powers and devotion to prosperity and welfare of the country. Mr. S. de S. Jayasinghe, Minister of Fisheries and MP for Dehiwala died yesterday afternoon at the Coronary Care Unit of the Colombo General Hospital. A water taxi service run by the Colombo Municipal Council on the Beira Lake will come into operation soon. The General Council of the Bank Employees Union has decided to launch its one day token strike scheduled for September 30 in connection with the termination of services of 971 persons who were recruited to the banks after

the NSA had been dissolved—CDN. The Acting Minister of Finance has said that all those persons who have been dismissed from the services of the three state-owned banks are free to apply for fresh appointments as and when vacancies occur. Helitours—operated by the Sri Lanka Air Force has earned a record sum of Rs. 165,800 in foreign exchange during the month of August. The PM stated yesterday that the country should stay out of power blocs and preserve democratic ideals for the welfare, peace and prosperity of all humanity—CDM. The government has decided to set up a Food Production Board to spearhead one of its top priority projects—stepping up the country's food production. The dependents of the victims of last Saturday's bus accident are to be paid immediately 50% of the compensation payable by them to the CTB. A draft bill to repeal in toto the Administration of Justice Law, is to be introduced in the NSA next month by the Minister of Justice. A country wide general census will be held in October by the Department of Census and Statistics. Only locally grown rice will be distributed on the ration from today. The number of Administrative Districts in Sri Lanka is to be increased from 22 to 28—SV. The National Savings Bank has attracted a massive Rs. 124 million into fixed deposits within the two week period following the launching of its new savings scheme offering attractive interest rates. The Sri Lanka Navy will take over the Habarana Rest House this week to billet a company of sailors who, together with the Army and Police will help stamp out terrorism in this area. The Minister of Health has decided to appoint a committee to co-ordinate the functioning of the Civil Medical Stores and the State Pharmaceutical Corporation—CO. It has been alleged that during the recent disturbances in the country, about 25 insurgent leaders were creating trouble in Jaffna and afterwards they are supposed to have escaped to India by boat; the authorities here have apparently informed the Indian authorities about this matter—DW.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28: The Minister of Plantation Industry has embarked on a complete reorganisation of the tea industry to rescue it from the depths it had fallen into during the past few years. The cremation of the late Mr. S. de S. Jayasinghe will take place tomorrow at the Dehiwala People's Park. The District Judge of Colombo yesterday issued an interim injunction restraining the Ceylon Bank Employees Union from implementing a decision taken by the General Council of the Union for the members to stage a walk out yesterday. The Ministry of Textile Industries had decided to step up production of synthetic textiles in the country. The Sri Lanka Air Force will operate a base at the Palaly Airport, Jaffna from next week—CDN. The Up-country Tamils and the plantation workers have always vehemently opposed the demand for a separate state for the Tamils in Sri Lanka and they are for a united country, according to a memorandum they have addressed to the PM. The government will grant relief in foreign exchange to persons who opt to return to India because of the recent disturbances—CDM. A series of far reaching changes are to be introduced in the country's educational structure from next year. Special Police action stations have been set up at several strategic points in the NWP frequented by tourists. An armed gang of young men broke into the Bank of Ceylon branch at Palugama, seventeen miles south of Batticaloa and got away with Rs. 13,500 in cash according to reports reach-

ing Colombo yesterday. All five suspects who were airlifted to Colombo from Jaffna in connection with certain incidents of robbery and violence that took place in the Jaffna area are to be sent back to Jaffna so that they could be tried there—SU. The government has instructed the police to file action against 15 youths in the Northern Province who are supposed to be responsible for much of the thefts, murders, hijacking of cars etc committed during recent months—DP. The security alert clamped down in the height of last month's disturbances will be lifted very shortly, but the authorities are taking every precaution to meet any situation that may arise there—CO.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29: Authoritative sources said yesterday that unscrupulous rice millers were making quick money by dumping unpolished rice on the Food Department as rice was now being accepted by weight and not volume. The Minister of Trade will visit Vietnam next month on his return from China after talks on the Rubber-Rice pact. The IGP has warned his senior officers to maintain maximum vigilance on subversive activities. The former PM said yesterday that they should re-organise themselves to oppose the threat of a dictatorship in the country—CDN. The amendment to the Excise Ordinance seeking to empower the Minister of Finance to issue, renew or cancel liquor licences has been challenged before the Constitutional Court. Sri Lanka is expected to receive 200,000 tons of flour from the US under PL-480 next year. Sri Lanka borrowed a sum of over Rs. 272 million from the IMF last year to finance vital imports and to settle other outstanding payments—CDM. The Colombo Municipality has drawn up plans to train bakers and bakery workers in modern hygienic methods of baking flour based food items. Mr. S. Thondaman is to appeal to the help to those who have now opted for Sri Lanka citizenship to renounce it and obtain Indian citizenship on 'humanitarian grounds'—SU. The PM's office has called on the major political parties to nominate a representative each to sit on a Committee that will examine incidents of post election violence—CO. An additional 9,000 classrooms are needed to accommodate the children who will be entering schools next year and while the Education Ministry is taking all steps to build as many as possible, they will also have to put up temporary cadjan structures—LD. The flying squad of the Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways has achieved excellent results within the past three weeks—IDPR no 253. A new telephone exchange will be commissioned at 11. am on Friday, 30 September at Embilipitiya—IDPR no 250.

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- TRIBUNE AND EELAM

FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

Elections In Pakistan

by The Recorder

Elections are scheduled to take place in Pakistan on October 18. In a broadcast to the nation early in August, General Zia-ul-Haq, (who had proclaimed Martial Law on July 5 and had taken over as Chief Martial Law Administrator in an Interim Government replacing the administration of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto), had announced that elections would be held in October when power would be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. He said that he wanted to make it absolutely clear that neither had he any political ambitions nor did the Army want to be detracted from the profession of soldiering. Political leaders had failed to steer the country out of a crisis and the armed forces had to fill in the vacuum to prevent it plunging into a more serious crisis.

While the Armed Forces took over the administration, former Prime Minister, Mr. Bhutto, some of his Cabinet colleagues and top PNA leaders were taken into protective custody. The National Assembly and the Senate and the four Provincial Assemblies were dissolved and the Provincial Governor and Ministers were relieved of their posts. The Chief Justices of the High Courts were to act as Provincial Governors and Provincial Martial Law Administrators and would head the Provincial executives. The Constitution has not been abrogated but some of its provisions were suspended. The Military Council consisted of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and the Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

About the man who has taken over power, little was known before July 5. The London *Financial Times* had an interesting article about him by David Housego: "The Pakistan and Indian armies are both products of the British tradition that soldiers keep out of politics. The Indian army has not wavered from it. But this week's coup in Pakistan organised by General Zia-ul-Haq, the Army Chief of Staff, is the third time

since Independence that the military have taken over the government. Part of the divergence in history is due to the shared pride of the Moslem officer corps, who along with the Moslem troops, were regarded as the pick of the army in former British India. When partition came in 1947, it was natural that a Moslem army should regard itself as the guardian of the fragile Islamic State of Pakistan—particularly when the fragility was exacerbated by sterile political squabbling. It was Mr. Bhutto's aim when he took over in 1971 to transform the Pakistani army into the same apolitical animal as India's army. He soon dismissed those commanders who had placed him in power even though they were amongst the few whose reputation had survived intact the humiliating defeat by India. He had frequently replayed on television the film showing the Pakistan surrender at Dacca. Above all he picked out mediocrities to fill the key posts in the services. General Zia is of that mould.

"Until Tuesday's coup the distinctive feature of his career was that he was an officer who lived by the rules and could be counted on to follow orders without question. A Brigadier in 1971 with a respectable record behind him of active service in Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia during world War II, and then of combat experience in the 1965 and 1971 wars with India, his subsequent promotion was dramatic. He became a major general in 1972, then a Corps commander and in 1976 was elevated over the heads of several other commanders—much to their anger—to be Army Chief of Staff. He had no particular flair for leadership or military strategy. But then Mr. Bhutto did not envisage another war and did not want a personality who would challenge him.

"In appearance General Zia, dapper and moustachioed, looks the cardboard caricature of an Indian army officer. An important difference is that he is not out of the same upper drawer as many of his military colleagues or Mr. Bhutto himself with his wealthy land-owning background. He was born in 1924 in Jullander in East Punjab—now part of India—to a family of modest means. He has always lived frugally and followed Islamic principles in abstaining from

liquor. When he took over as Army Chief of Staff, he forbade alcohol to be served in officers' messes. Mr. Bhutto evidently hoped that his social origins would deprive him of weight. The paradox is that they contributed to Mr. Bhutto's overthrow. For it was the small shopkeeping class, devout if not fanatical Moslems, who took the lead in the street agitation in pursuit of Mr. Bhutto's resignation. General Zia had an instinctive feeling for their grievances.

"Throughout the 11 weeks that the army administered the key cities of Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad under Bhutto's limited declaration of martial law, General Zia kept his ear close to popular feeling by regular meetings with civilians. Officially he was sounding out opinion for Mr. Bhutto, but he was also making his own political assessment of the mood on the streets. As a military man, General Zia now faces immensely complicated economic and political problems. In the two best known political figures in Pakistan—Mr. Bhutto and the Opposition leader Air Marshall Asghar Khan—he is also up against strong personalities. He has embarked on a course whose end is impossible to predict but which is likely to leave the army the dominant force in Pakistan for a long time yet."

In the absence of any newspapers from Pakistan—except a few official publications which give no real information—it is only possible to gather information about Pakistan from foreign newspapers and magazines about the complicated and fast-changing situation in that country. In the main, only papers and periodicals from India pay adequate attention to developments in Pakistan and though there may be an element of bias stemming from old Indo-Pak sensibilities, by and large the reports in the Indian press have a surprisingly high degree of objectivity.

Daily newspapers in Sri Lanka have not devoted enough space to developments in Pakistan, and to help *Tribune* readers understand developments in Pakistan, *Tribune* will publish selected extracts from different papers about recent happenings in that country.

The Madras *Hindu* of September 19 editorially summed up the situation up to that date thus: "With General Elections scheduled for

barely four weeks from now, the military leaders of Pakistan are certainly cutting whatever they are up to very fine. The third incarceration of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto since July 5 clearly shows that they have had enough of the authoritarian demagogue who, on the morrow of his unexpected release on bail by the Lahore High Court, charged that an unholy attempt was being made to destroy him politically and appealed over their heads to the 'highest court' in the land, the people. The arrest of Mr. Bhutto in connection with a political murder dating back to 1974 and his release on bail a few days ago could be said to belong to the rule of non-martial law in relation to which the military bosses could, with some credibility, claim a role of non-intervention. This time Gen. Zia-ul-Haq has intervened in a political capacity—under the martial law—to 'detain' Mr. Bhutto and some of his top associates on grounds of endangering 'peace and security and the purpose for which the martial law has been proclaimed.' Has the timing of the latest detention of Mr. Bhutto and others any special significance? Only time can tell but, closely following Gen. Zia's discussions with the Shah of Iran and also the Junta's selective and discriminatory relaxation of emergency measures, the whole thing done suggest the external and internal factors at work in the politics of Pakistan. Iran is no small element in the politico-military complex in this part of the world and the Shah, who has shown himself to be a sympathiser, if not a benefactor, of military regimes in Pakistan, is likely to have been taken into confidence about the course of action the present Junta proposes to follow in the coming weeks. And the political opponents of Mr. Bhutto, who have charged the 49 year-old leader of the Pakistan People's Party with high treason and subversion of the Constitution, also seem to have their prayers to Gen. Zia answered. The use of preventive detention on vague grounds of endangering the peace and security of the country and the institution of court martial proceedings to force the issue raise disturbing questions concerning the role of the military, but then Mr. Bhutto, with his profoundly anti-democratic record, is certainly not qualified to speak up for civil liberties. He took far

too many liberties, in his time, with the parliamentary process, with his political opponents, with the people and even with the military leaders to survive and flourish in Pakistan's never-reliably-stable political situation. The people of Pakistan will not easily forget that although Mr. Bhutto's regime started with a breath of fresh air after the stifling barrack-room atmosphere of the regimes and Ayub and Yahya, the democratic professions of this civilian rule did not stand up to the test of practice. Economic policies incapable of solving the basic problems of the people combined with fierce intolerance of form of dissent or protest against his policies, harsh suppressive measures directed against a very wide front of political forces, corruption and nepotism on a large scale, the extinguishing of democratic freedoms and civil liberties and utter disregard for the need to hold the scales even in elections—such was the record of the civilian rule that aroused bitter and uncontrollable forces of opposition. In a situation that was moving rapidly towards open civil war, the intervention of the military appeared to have the effect of bailing Mr. Bhutto, out. The leader of the July 5 coup proclaimed himself a non-political umpire who was temporarily fed up with politicians, but whose job would be to see that the parliamentary game was played according to rules in the shaping of which the likes of Mr. Bhutto would have no say. The truth is that Mr. Bhutto, like Mrs. Gandhi in India, has been slow to realise that riding a tiger is a hazardous business even at the best of times. Though confronted with specific charges ranging (according to his own facetious observation) from murder to the import of poodles, Mr. Bhutto still seems to maintain the overriding national principle that he has done and can do no wrong. He has resorted to the demagogue's usual claim to be the sole representative of the 'masses' and has even had the political nerve to compare himself with Dr. Allende of Chile. None can deny, when all is said and done, the basic inconsistency in the latest action of the military junta. The emergency imposed six years ago by Yahya Khan has been lifted, the obnoxious curbs on the press and the rest of the media have been formally abolished. But Mr. Bhutto and his top party associates

are to be deprived of the benefits of the restoration of the rule of law and must face a summary court martial, that is a military-style emergency procedure. The military bosses expect to be able to announce in a matter of days whether Mr. Bhutto is guilty or innocent of the various serious crimes he is charged with relating to his five-and-half-year record in office. The fallen civilian dictator might be getting a strong dose of the same anti-democratic medicine he has been liberally administering his political opponents, but the larger question facing Pakistan at this critical juncture is: Will there be a real return to parliamentary democracy free from 'guidance' by the military bosses or will the menacing clouds of a military dictatorship continue to overhang that much-troubled land even while the motions of restoring civilian rule are gone through?"

With the Supreme Court in Pakistan not cowing down to the military Martial Law Administrator—in spite of the compulsory retirement enforced on the Chief Justice by lowering the retiring age—the tussle between the army authorities and Bhutto has reached an interesting stage. Under the heading "WILL ZIA OUTSMART BHUTTO?" Batuk Gathani sent the following despatch on September 22 to the *Hindu*: "There is a sudden upsurge of sympathy and compassion for the cause of the deposed Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, in the Western capitals. Mr. Bhutto, languishes in prison with his bank accounts frozen and the noose of military rule tightening menacingly round his neck many observers here feel that Mr. Bhutto may emerge as a national hero if the military Government under Gen. Zia continues to blunder its way in the minefield of Pakistani politics. Now that the Pakistan Supreme Court has agreed to hear Begum Nusrat Bhutto's writ petition on the constitutionality of the detention of Mr. Bhutto and his 10 colleagues, there is some hope for Mr. Bhutto's future. Obviously all this amounts to a serious and surprising setback for Gen. Zia and the Army authorities in trying to outsmart Mr. Bhutto. Apart from the fact that the admission of the petition has created an interesting legal situation, observers are wondering if Pakistan's Constitution will give way to the

Martial Law or the Martial Law will break down in the face of the Constitution. In the past the Supreme Court of Pakistan had admitted the supremacy of the Martial Law by invoking the doctrine of necessity. All along Mr. Bhutto had been confident of his ultimate victory. The other day, he told correspondents that if he was ever handcuffed and dragged into the court, he 'would create a crisis in the country's jurisprudence'. Mr. Bhutto's People's Party, under Begum Nusrat's leadership is attracting sizable support. At this crucial hour can Gen. Zia and his men let the Bhutto bandwagon roll on? This is the most daunting and imponderable question in Islamabad now."

While this tussle goes on, there are no indications as yet of any attempt to postpone the elections. According to the AFP "Twenty political parties and groups will contest the October 18 general elections in Pakistan, according to a list released by the country's Election Commission. The Commission named the contestants when it allocated elected symbols to each one of them. The former ruling Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) of deposed Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto got the symbol of a sword while the nine-party Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was allocated the symbol of a plough. Both had the same symbols in the March general elections, which led to a bloody political crisis. All other parties, except the PNA and the PPP have little standing among the electorate. Some of them comprising defectors from the PPP may however draw votes from Mr. Bhutto in the coming elections."

What the AFP report did not mention is that for the first time a new Left Front had been formed to fight the elections.

● After we went to press, it was announced that the election in Pakistan has been postponed indefinitely. Whether this was what the military had always wanted is not clear, but normal elections, as understood in democratic countries, could not take place under the conditions laid down by the army. The second part of this article, consisting of excerpts from the foreign press, brought up to date, will appear next week.

FOR PEACE AND AMITY

Collective Locality Levy

—To prevent violence,
looting, arson —

by R. Kahwita

1. According to newspaper reports, brutalities against man have calmed down. Curfew has been lifted, refugees have been sent to their homelands except the stranded stateless who are still without any living space. Refugee relief funds are growing and a few refugees are trickling back to their deserted or ransacked houses and work places. Even like after a storm, there are a few vultures still hovering around, looking for trouble spots.
2. The wounds inflicted to the minorities from the 18th to 31st of August will take a long time to heal. Particularly those who trusted their comrades in work and play, but to their dismay discovered that those comrades carried daggers of hatred in their innermost thoughts. This kind of disillusionment is hard to clear by peace missions. There must be radical changes, both within and without to guarantee their rights and their acceptance as friends and partners. It is now left to the present administration to work that out to win the confidence of the minorities.
3. This is not the first time the nation has experienced this kind of barbarism. We have gone through it in 1956, 1958, 1965 and 1970. All these were not communal. Some were political. All the same the crimes were against society. We have been playing with it for twenty years. Time has come to put an end to this, if we are to unify the country and move forward as equal partners in governing and developing the country and to establish a democratic society—just and free; that is our goal.
4. On more than one occasion, before and after the "communal riots", the present Prime Minister has said that in no circumstances the country would be divided. Therefore the present administration and the citizens of this country must see that the circumstances which forced a curfew on the people of Sri Lanka do not occur again.
5. Sri Lanka population is multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-cultural, and economically multi-structured. This is a fact and nothing one group does to another group can change this fact. We have to live with it. Every one has a right for protection from unruly criminal elements, to maintain that cosmopolitanism.
6. A government must take steps to see that law and order are maintained throughout the country so that every citizen is free to go about his business with dignity and without fear. The instrument a Government has to maintain law and order is the Police Force. There may have been lapses on the part of the Police during the last episode. This may have been due to shortcomings in training, education, and instructions. These can be easily overcome by revitalizing the force. But the task of the Government is to ensure that the kind of looting, arson, violence and murder by various communal groups setting upon one against the other, do not recur hereafter. Any individual or group who is guilty of communal violence must be severely punished, and punished in a manner that such punishment is a deterrent to others who may entertain such thoughts. For, by their acts, they forfeit their right to justice within the normal law of the land. A Government must realise this fact and do everything in its power constitutionally, legally, and administratively to respect and honour each other's rights, irrespective of ratios in numbers etc. as some theorise now.

7. To deal with crimes against society and its members, there must be special laws and codes of punishment included in the statutes of the country. This is very necessary in a multi—this or that society.
8. Preaching of violence against any communal group, writing of anti-social articles, or commentaries that may incite anti-communal feelings should be prohibited by law and punishable if found guilty of such a crime according to the same codes of punishment as above.
9. After the past experiences this class of legislation has become necessary and urgent if the JR administration is to establish a just, free and democratic society. The voters have endorsed this though, there may be a minority who have opposed it. It is to deal with that minority such special legislations and laws are necessary. One bad apple can infect a whole basket, so is the natural law.
10. If we look back over the past half a century or more, the first communal disturbances were in 1915. It was as serious and as disrupting a situation like the recent one, but the then colonial Government had a solution to such anti-social activities to prevent their recurrences. Today we criticize the policy of a colonial power and accuse them of a divide and rule philosophy. When we think of the good done this seems far from the truth. Their policy made the people united and united even to the extent of ousting them out of power; and so united in their objectives that when Independence was being discussed at the negotiating table, except for the minor diversion of fifty-fifty-all communities worked and talked to a man to be free from the colonial power. Then there was no communal tension. So one could not say "divide and rule policy" gave birth to anti-communal activities.
11. Thereafter they, the imperial power, was able to build up communal harmony and goodwill till complete independence was bestowed on Sri Lanka and withdrew in 1947. Even on that date when there was what was to be called Fifty-Fifty formula for independence, there was cordial and harmonious inter-communal relationship. There was peace for ten years till in 1956, when the language issue was raised as a political weapon to gain power and having got into power by various acts of commission and omission the rift between the Sinhala and Tamils began to be felt in the country and erupted in the Eastern province in 1956. The rot set in that year, with the catch phrase of "Sinhala in twenty four hours", coined to win favour with the majority community and get into the seats of power. The Ceylonese people then became conscious of two communities overnight, separated by language, religion, culture, etc.—Two communities at variance with each other to maintain their identity as separate units. It was a Bandaranaike who gave this catch phrase political significance and ever since then it has kept on erupting periodically with the force of a volcano. Since then, the kind of violence that the country went through last month became a feature of our life style. It was repeated in 1958, 1965, 1970 and in 1977, for the least provocation but the pattern of crimes was the same, looting, arson, murder, rape etc. On all occasions the culprits got away with it due to political patronage. It is only the present administration that has taken positive action to punish the anti-social elements and compensate those who suffered.
12. This is the volcano that has to be smothered once and for all by judicious statesmanship and legislation to outlaw communal incitement at all levels and for all times. Those who indulge in it and those who look upon it as a means of vindicating their rights must be called upon to share the responsibility—former by severe punishment, latter by reparations for any damage caused. What we have gone through during the last two weeks of August, and within four weeks of JR's administration, it is hard to believe that the hand of the vanquished is not stained with the blood of the victims.
13. Why do our people, who claim a 2500 year civilisation and adherents of an ancient religion, preaching compassion, equanimity etc; commit such barbarous acts against fellow humans, uncommon even among animals? These anti-social activities seem to be as regular as the annual ragging in our seats of learning. It is because successive Governments were so preoccupied as to find ways and means of staying in power that any solution on the basis of give and take with the minorities was foreign to them as it would have jeopardised their political stake. Whatever may be the reason time has come to remove the disabilities of the minorities regardless of what may come; but to prevent a repetition of August for conceding the minority demands, the Government must pass special legislation to prohibit anti-communal propaganda and such other acts which may incite anti-communal feelings. Anti-communal activities should be declared "out of bounds" so to say at meetings, speeches, publications in the press and other mass media.
14. It is difficult to fathom, why the majority community is so afraid of the minority community. One could understand if the majority community is ignorant, illiterate and are just emerging out of the bush like the Blacks of Rhodesia who are demanding majority rule and equality with the minority whites. The minority in Sri Lanka is only asking for equality, and freedom as members of a common country and of a common constitution. And the majority by mob violence do not want to accept that position. This to me, is the real cause of the trouble, incited by political vultures who want to prey on the sentiments of the masses. This

- has to be eradicated before the Promised "just and free society" can be built up and nurtured to full flowering.
15. Considering the explosive nature of the situation today, such legislation should have been enacted and enshrined in the statutes after the 1958 riots. But then it was that administration that gave cause to it. The present administration should not gloss over it. It has a committed duty to remove the disabilities of the minorities. The slogan should be "those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword" and more, those who allow such things to happen in the community must share the responsibility and pay reparation to those who suffered while they looked on.
 16. The colonial Government of 1915 had a solution and passed special legislation to prevent a repetition of such anti-social activities which enabled the citizens to exercise their democratic rights and freedom, to live and move about any where they liked, irrespective of race, creed or language. Their solution was to hold every member of one community that inflicted harm to the other community collectively responsible to compensate for the harm done. The damage was assessed and a levy imposed on all the members of the community to pay reparation to the community that suffered, on the theory that by their omission and lack of civic duty they also must share the blame. In 1915 Sinhalas had to pay collectively to the Muslims. The levy was legalised, collected and the Muslims compensated. What was the result? The communities themselves took care to prevent such anti-social activities and if committed assisted in apprehending the evil doers and punish them.
 17. The present Government has accepted the obligation to pay compensation for the victims and instructions have gone out calling for reports and assessment of damages. In certain areas damage is extensive, like in Kandy, Maho, Anuradhapura, Galgamuwa—these are places I have seen—the damage to immovables and movables may run into hundreds of million rupees. The question may be asked, and very rightly too, why should a Government pay compensation from the normal revenue of the country? The revenue is collected for specific purposes approved by the NSA in the annual appropriation bill for that. If these funds are utilized to pay compensations, there will be a setback to the programmes and services covered in the appropriation bill.
 18. If a Government takes over the responsibility of paying compensation and exonerates the culprits who did the damage and those who just looked on as if a demolishing squad were in action, while their neighbour's properties were looted, damaged and burnt down, the whole episode becomes a carnival of terror with no one responsible for it. No, everyone of us must be made responsible to pay compensation. Sinhalas, Tamils, Muslims etc. living in a defined "area of destruction." Such collective responsibility will make everyone conscious and alive to their obligation to the society they live in, irrespective of any kind of social, economic, or cultural divisions. Everyone must feel the omissions they have committed.
 19. A levy must be made from every member of the community whose members were responsible for the crimes by acts of commission or omission. If it is a Sinhala community that damaged etc. the property of the Tamils, then the levy is from the Sinhalas to pay the Tamils, vice versa and so on. The levy must be started at the village level from each Grama Sevaka area and work upwards. The levy may be spread over a period.
 20. There should also be other kinds of relief given to the sufferers; those who lost their sole means of livelihood must be compensated to rehabilitate themselves, those who suffered damage to their property and movables must be given relief to make good the damage. There may be others, though they suffered damage, but are in a position to rehabilitate themselves—for them the relief may be given in the form of tax concessions, repair and reconstruction as an item deductible from income. The case of each victim will have to be gone into and according to the merits of each case a schedule of compensation worked out. The basic principle underlying the collection and payment of compensation is to make every member of the community feel guilty of the wrongs done and pay at least a fraction of the compensation. Those who are not in a position to pay, they must be called upon to organise shramadana in rebuilding what has been damaged.
 21. We appreciate that a plan of reparation as suggested above may be politically inadvisable, when viewed with the next election. But to build a just and free society with unity among all communities is a greater political obligation than staying in power.
 22. To remove the disabilities of the minorities, there must also be safeguards to ensure that the trouble makers do not run amok as they did in August. Having done all the damage before the very eyes of the Law and to get away with only a punishment is not a sufficient deterrent to a repetition. They must feel materially also and legally bound to pay for the damage.
 23. The present Government has committed itself to remedy the disabilities of the minorities. There must be a permanent solution with the necessary legislation to protect the community till the conscience of the majority is penitent and are willing to accept all groups as one people, one nation. At the commencement we must anticipate trouble. As in a volcano steam and fumes will gather force,

as there are many ready to ignite for their own advantage. So anti-communal activities of any form or shape should be out-lawed by special legislation and should be in force till we begin to live together as one human society. Such legislation must precede the steps to be taken to build a just and free society.

* *

TAMIL RIGHTS IN SRI LANKA

A Plea For Autonomous Regions

by Kumar

Our Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene in a recent policy statement broadcast, says he understands the disabilities the Tamils in Sri Lanka have been suffering from and says he is determined to remove them. He has already removed Standardisation and has resisted a powerful Buddhist organisation which tried to pressurise him. He says that a Sinhalese must have the right to live in a Tamil area and a Tamil in a Sinhalese area and that all citizens are equal.

These are impeccable principles which if enunciated and practised a generation ago, at the dawn of political independence, would have avoided the communal bloodshed which has occurred four times since independence. The communal clashes with Muslims, the other ethnic group, have been localised while with the Tamils it has become islandwide.

I think it is generally realised now that recurring communal strife hurts everybody and must be stopped. Mr. Jayawardene in the course of the policy statement broadcast referred to above stated he proposes to have 22 District Ministers and this will be tantamount to creating separate 22 states, not one or two! We have had a taste of decentralisation through Political Authorities appointed by the last government. It is argued that the proposed District Ministers will be different as they will be responsible to the National State Assembly. The Political Authorities were appointed by the then government and were Members of the NSA. The similarity is too close for comfort!

If Mr. Jayawardene aspires to go down in history as the man who solved the communal problem in Sri Lanka he will do well to have a closer look at the underlying causes of communal clashes. The generalisation adumbrated above about all citizens being equal does not face up to the proposition that in Sri Lanka there is a multiracial society and that the Sinhalese and Tamils are separate ethnic groups with separate languages, religion and culture. These two ethnic groups have lived in the island for thousands of years in separate areas. Just as the Sinhalese are keen to foster language, religion and culture in their area, so are the Tamils in theirs. There cannot be possibly any harm to the Sinhalese in this.

Unfortunately, due to politics, the idea that Tamils should develop their own language, religion and culture is taken as dividing the country. This is completely wrong. It is now being increasingly recognised that every separate ethnic group has the right to do so.

The right of the Scotch and Welsh to be able to look after their own internal affairs, separate from the English, is now accepted. This is a group with the same language, religion and culture and who have lived as one people in a United Kingdom (UK) and have been so close that many a Scotchman and Welshman has been Prime Minister of the entire United Kingdom without cause for comment (Ramsay MacDonald and Lloyd George are recent examples).

A Tamil being PM of the whole of Sri Lanka is as remote as one of us landing on the moon. The Tamils are not aspiring to be PM of Sri Lanka. All they are asking for is that in areas which have been their homelands for centuries they should be able to look after their own internal affairs.

One point needs clarification. It has been argued that if the Tamils are given this right, the same should be given to the Muslims who also form a separate ethnic group. There is no objection to having more than one ethnic group in a country and every facility should be given to each ethnic group to develop its language, religion and culture. With regard to creating an autonomous area for them, this cannot be done unless they live

in sufficient large numbers in a sufficiently large contiguous area to enable such an autonomous area to become viable.

The most urgent need in Sri Lanka today is for the Sinhalese people to realise that providing an autonomous area is not dividing the country. It is only recognising that in this beautiful island of ours there live more than one ethnic race who must be free to develop their own language, religion and culture. If they live in sufficiently large contiguous areas they should be permitted to look after their internal affairs, like local government, education and health.

What harm can accrue to the Sinhalese people if in an area where most of the thousands of people in a whole district are Tamils and they run their own local councils schools, hospitals etc? They can be helped to develop their local resources by joint effort. Mr. Jayawardene, in that important policy statement broadcast recently, stated that the UNP under his leadership recognises that socialism is necessary for a poor country to develop. The first thing a socialist country does is to look after the minorities and help them to develop.

China, soon after liberation, identified more than 50 minority groups and sent people belonging to the Han race (their largest ethnic group, corresponding to the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka) to live and work with the minorities. These people helped to develop the local language (some had not even an alphabet and one was created for them) and fostered the local culture. Together with the local people they developed their natural resources and brought prosperity not only to the minorities but to the country as a whole.

The numerous autonomous regions of China have not divided China. China remains a united country. It was liberated after we won political independence. During this period it has abolished poverty and provided all its people, including all its minorities, with adequate food, clothing and shelter.

We, both Sinhalese and Tamils, without adequate food, clothing and shelter and in the struggle to survive, are slaughtering each other.

* * *

FROM SATYODAYA'S BULLETIN

No. 54, SEPTEMBER, 1977

Hope For A Nation In Anguish

"My family left for Jaffna yesterday with my cousin who is a doctor. There has been no trouble at my place. Even so, I have sent them to their parents' home. I too hope to wind up my affairs in Kandy and go for medical treatment abroad and then think of our future. When one's life is not safe, and one's family and the hard-earned essentials of every day cannot be kept safely in one's custody, one cannot live in that style for long. Hence...I have definitely decided to wind everything up by the end of September. It is my duty to thank—and—for all the assistance given to me and I am extremely happy to have come to know you both...Until September I will continue to give you my assistance... After that, however, my small services will not be available to you. It is my duty to inform you in time so that you might get another person to continue our work....."

This is from a letter which we received at Satyodaya on 30.8.77 from a Tamil friend who has worked with us for our people over the past eighteen months. It needs neither explanation nor comment.

Satyodaya is fully committed to the task of rebuilding hope in those who have lost all hope because of the recent sad events. Many of our collaborators and friends at Satyodaya have been Tamil. All of them, like the writer of the letter which we have reproduced, have suffered great mental agony. Several have had their homes mercilessly looted.

One of our resident Tamil collaborators who speaks Sinhala fluently and has several good Sinhala friends not only had his home close to Kandy completely plundered but has also had to endure the killing of his father in a shop a few miles from Satyodaya. He has nevertheless continued to work with us every day during the terrible crisis, seeking seemingly against all odds to keep hope alive in his heart and striving with the rest of us to rekindle it in those who have lost it.

But Satyodaya is fully committed to yet another task: recreating the hope of their own humanity in those who have done their utmost to stifle it in others. We have to do all that we can to recall the killers, the looters, the purveyors of communal hate to their senses. We have to rekindle in them too the hope that all is not lost even in themselves, that they can still come back, seek the pardon of those they have wounded, retrace their steps over the blood they have spilt to that common humanity which in their brief hour of madness they had so tragically forgotten.

The full extent and intensity of the tragedy is not yet known. Setting out from Satyodaya we have seen some of it: the refugee camps in Kandy and Matale, the looted houses, the burnt homes, the senselessly broken furniture, the smashed cooking utensils, the desolate line rooms of poor estate workers around Gampola, Nawalapitiya and Matale and Kandy, the hunted looks on the faces of hundreds and thousands of Tamil children and their powerless parents, their anxiety, their fear, their despair.

But neither is the full extent and intensity of the heroism of some Sinhala people yet known. We at Satyodaya have seen some of this in action too. There was the Sinhala family in Ampitiya that protected the aged grandmother of a Tamil family by hiding her under a bed and then spent five days walking the streets of Kandy looking for the grandmother's children and grandchildren. When they finally found them, they learnt that the father had been killed and broke down in tears. There was the estate superintendent who sent a group of Tamil workers and their children into the rooms of his house and kept an all-night vigil himself alone on his verandah, determined that if any life was to be lost, the first would be his own.

Where then are we to find the sources for the nation in such deep anguish?

First, in the basic and ever-present religious culture of our country. In this connection may we point to the tremendous responsibility that rests upon the religious leaders of our land, especially the Buddhist clergy, to recall our people to the fundamental and socially so potent values of ahimsa,

maitreya, karuna and bhakti? Second, in the basic good nature and the natural kindness of the overwhelming majority of our people. Whether Sinhala or Tamil. Third, in the numerous friendships that exist between Sinhala and Tamil individuals, families and groups. Fourth, in the natural moderation of most of our people in the face of the extremist demands of Tamil separatists on the one hand and of Sinhala chauvinists and great-nation theorists on the other. Fifth, and most importantly, in the basic identity of interests between workers in the urban areas and on the estates on the one hand and peasants on the other, whether they be Sinhala, Tamil or Muslim.

We have to return to these sources to find hope.

The alternative is too dismal to consider.

—Editorially

30, Pushpadana Mawatha,
Kandy.

"The present unrest in the country has assumed a communal nature. Communalism by any means is not a solution to the problems confronted by the Tamils or any other race. While we categorically state that the one and only solution to such problems is the creation of a socialist society, we strongly deplore the wrong direction offered by the TULF. We would also remind that unfortunate results have occurred in the country owing to certain estranged sections of the society taking the law into their own hands. Such tactics only aid and abet the degrading activities of looters and other law breakers. We therefore humbly appeal to all sections of society to think of their national responsibilities as members of a decent society and deplore the victimization of innocent people and to assist in bringing all law breakers under control" (from a Statement of the Engineering Students Union of the Peradeniya Campus as reported in the Ceylon Daily News, 26 August 1977).

A SUGGESTION

To The National Parties

by S. Sri Kantha

So much had been written by so many in the press in recent times that the UNP Manifesto unequivocally declared that there would not be discrimination against the Tamils. Well, in the seven provinces (barring North and East) nearly all the Tamils accepted the Manifesto as it is and voted for the UNP and contributed their share to bring the party into power. But, it is a surprise that in the selection of candidates to these seven provinces, for the last General Election, the UNP Nomination Committee failed to satisfy the sentiments of the Tamils residing in seven provinces, by failing to nominate at least a single Tamil (be Ceylon Tamil or Indian Tamil) as a candidate. Even the other National Parties (SLFP, LSSP and CP) had failed in this matter.

If the majority is willing to accept the minorities as a part and parcel of this country, then they should enable candidates of the minority races to contest a seat (on a party ticket) in electorates dominated by the majority race, and win it. It is a matter for satisfaction that this should happen in two of the single-member electorates, respectively Borella (Mr. M. H. Mohamed, UNP) and Balangoda (Mr. M. Aboosally, UNP). The UNP must be congratulated for making this bold decision. But, why the UNP, as well as other national parties, failed to nominate a single Tamil in the seven provinces, in other electorates, especially, those with large Tamil populations?

If it is that it is suicidal for a Party to nominate a minority-race candidate, in a majority-race dominated electorate, because, the election campaign in Sri Lanka is still conducted on narrow sectarian race-religion-caste basis rather than on the wider interests of the country, what about the following electorates in the seven provinces, where the minorities tip the scales on above 50% level?

Electorate	Indian Tamils & Moors	Cey. Tamils	Cey. Moors
1. Passara	53.38%	4.31%	1.81%
2. Hali-Ela (formally Sorantota)	47.67%	3.09%	1.99%
3. Haputale	53.33%	4.05%	2.44%
4. Kotmale	53.56%	2.32%	2.93%
5. Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya (3-member)	71.20%	6.97%	1.59%

Even in these five electorates (returning 7 MPs,) the National Parties failed to nominate a single Tamil-speaking candidate? If national harmony should be maintained on an excellent level in the future, all the National parties should make it a point to nominate candidates belonging to Tamil minority at least in these five electorates.

It seems now that, Mr. Thondaman, 3rd MP for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya, is the sole Tamil voice, representing the whole population of Tamils (Ceylon as well as Indian), scattered in the majority-race dominated seven provinces. Even Mr. Thondaman's performance in the hustings was not that creditable, when taking into account his stature in the trade union sector.

In the same electorate, we had to witness a sad spectacle, where another trade union leader of equal stature, representing the minority interests, Mr. A. Azeez (who had been earlier an elected MP, in the First Parliament) made a very poor three-figure score in the polling contest, and had to suffer a humiliating defeat, foregoing his deposit also.

If two Tamil candidates had been nominated by UNP and SLFP (in this particular electorate, where

78% of the voters are Tamil-speaking) and if they would have won the 1st and 2nd places I would not have bothered to discuss the 'eroding behaviour' of the National parties, at the expense of the minority races. But looking at what has happened, many of the neutral-minded Tamils feel that the interest shown by the National parties in the welfare and the future of the minorities (especially Tamils) is at best skin deep. It is this kind of parochial behaviour on the part of National parties (they have their own reasons for acting the way they do), that demoralises the fair-minded Tamil (who is proud of his ethnic background), and he therefore abstains from taking a keen interest in the National parties.

My point is illustrated further by the following example. According to Father Tissa Balasuriya, "Colombo with 103,000 'Ceylon Tamils' is the biggest city of 'Ceylon Tamils' in Sri Lanka." (*Sunday Times*, 18.9.77). But the statistics released by the Peoples Bank Research Department (*Economic Review*, July 1977) enlightened us that, out of the five lowest polls recorded in 1977 Election, 3 electorates comprising the Colombo City tops the list. They are:—

Electorate	Electoral strength	Votes Polled	Total No.	%
1. Colombo West	37,983	27,509		72.4
2. Colombo East	43,574	33,566		77.0
3. Borella	41,634	32,167		77.3

The minority ethnic representation of these electorates are as follows:

Electorate	Cey. Tamils	Cey. Moors	Ind. Tamils & Moors
1. Colombo West	27.56%	11.47%	5.93%
2. Colombo East	16.67%	4.12%	4.75%
3. Borella	12.39%	8.37%	4.98%

I have heard many of the fair-minded Tamils (not the die-hard TULF supporters) say: "Right, we accept that TULF is communal; but equally communal have been the UNP, SLFP, LSSP and CP in

the post-1956 era, and they haven't practised what they preached."

Will the National parties pay attention to my suggestion, at least in the future, and prove themselves national as well as rational?

The Anagarika's Letter To Ramanathan

During the Sinhalese-Muslim Riots of 1915, Ponnambalam Ramanathan was the only leader among the people of this country who stood up against the British rulers who had run amok and had inflicted untold hardships on the Sinhalese people. To compensate the Muslim victims, the Government collected a punitive tax from the Sinhalese under a Riots Compensation Ordinance. Ramanathan's speech at the Legislative Council was one of his boldest and greatest speeches. The following is a copy of the Anagarika Dharmapala's letter to him after reading this speech.

Sri Saddharma Mandir
44, College Square
Calcutta.
October 21, 1915

Dear Mr. Ramanathan,

Please accept my sincere congratulations for the historic speech you made at the Ceylon Legislative Council, which I read in "The Ceylonese."

The day that you are taken away from Ceylon, from that day there will be none to defend the poor neglected Ceylonese. They are a doomed nation, with none to guide and protect them. Unhappy Sinhalese! If only they are under the Government of India, a hundred newspapers would be there to ventilate their grievances. The two religions, Buddhist and Hindu, that are to be found in Ceylon, came from India; and the two races Sinhalese and Tamil, do trace their origin to India. Their civilisation is Indian, and just as the Colonial Britisher looks to England as his mother-country, so should the Sinhalese look to Northern India as

their mother-country. Under the Colonial Office, the Sinhalese and the Tamils will never get equal justice with the British Settlers. Not so with the India Office. It is time to commence agitation in Ceylon to have Ceylon brought under the Government of India. Without the protecting shadow of India, Ceylon would decline. It is the view of able Indian politicians, that to get justice, Ceylon should be brought under the India Office and made part of Madras and Bengal. Burma is under the Government of India and Burma is to India as Ceylon is to South India. May you live long to see Ceylon and India working together under the same Government.

The Indian papers know very little about the Riots, and the best thing that the Ceylon people could do now is to scatter broadcast your speech in pamphlet form. The British papers should be especially addressed and the agitation kept. The Riot Bill, when passed into law, will be a blot on the British escutcheon. It is a pity, when the Germans are being criticised for their brutality, that the British should go down to history with the tarnished name.

The Proclamation of Fraser that the people should be shot at sight is frightful and the demand of Rs. 2000/- for a male goat unsupplied has a terrible frightfulness. When the War is over, a true account of the riots will be welcome reading. The atrocities committed under the Orders of the Court Martial should go into history.

The Sinhalese alone escaped from the invasion of Mohamedans in the 10th and 12th centuries and all India went down. Even Java was Mohamedanised in the 15th century. When Ceylon goes under Muslim rule with the help of British Officials then will the end of Buddhism come and the reign of righteousness and mercy culminate.

You will, I hope, do all you can to save the poor Buddhists, for you are trying to save the people from injustice. The Governor is a Pali scholar and yet to the Buddhists he has come not as a guardian-angel. He is able to help the Buddhists more than any other Governor. Will he do it or leave the Island signing the death-warrant of the Buddhists?

On Race Riots

Let us hope that his heart will melt with the pleadings and the wailing of the Buddhist mothers in 10,000 Buddhist homes. May you succeed in softening his heart.

Yours sincerely,

Sgd. Anagarika Dharmapala

FROM JAFFNA CAMPUS

On The Recent Incidents

We publish below a statement of the University Teachers Association (UTA) of the Jaffna Campus issued on 22.9.77. A friend in sending us this statement wrote to us as follows:

"It is very unfortunate that a whole community was harassed to satisfy the frustrations of some disappointed politicians and bureaucrats. Of which I will be writing to you later. This is not the time to judge events. But certainly TULF cannot be blamed for the recent events. However their demands may have contributed its share in certain instances. I am personally aware that the Campus Sinhala community was given all protection—within and outside the Campus by the Campus staff and students and by the public. They were well aware that any harassment of the students will have worse repercussions on the other side. In the meantime, I am sending a statement issued by the Campus Staff (Jaffna) of the events. I understand that students (Sinhalese) of the Jaffna Campus have sent a petition to all the members of the National State Assembly with the idea of prejudicing their minds against any idea of sending them back to Jaffna much of which is false. The UTA pamphlet, I understand, is to scotch any such development."

—Editor

The UTA of the Jaffna Campus notes with regret that the public has been presented with distorted versions of what happened in the Campus during the recent disturbances and feels the necessity to clear any unfavourable impression created in the minds of the public

The Two Russians

by such versions, so as to help the Campus to function normally again.

The UTA expresses its satisfaction that, from the time clashes occurred between the police and the public in Jaffna town on 16th August, the Campus authorities took all precautions to protect the Campus community. From about 9.30 a.m. that day the Campus gates were kept locked and all students were advised to wait inside the premises. About 300 Sinhala students, Lecturers and employees were among those who were gathered in the Thirunelvely premises from the morning of 16th August till 4.20 p.m. on 17th August when a convoy of buses took the Sinhala members of the Campus community to Anuradhapura. During this period, the Campus authorities, academic staff and students, both Sinhala and Tamil, worked hard to provide the necessary protection and meals to those who were confined to the Campus premises. As tension mounted outside the Campus in consequence of incidents in the Jaffna town and of rumours about violence elsewhere in the country, several Tamil students, staff members and employees ventured out many times in the face of possible danger in order to provide security to the Sinhala community of the Campus. On the first day of the disturbances, the Acting President sent the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and the Students Counsellor (who is also the Secretary of the UTA) to meet the Government Agent and seek his help to protect the Campus. They conferred with the GA, the IGP, the Army Commander, the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and the Leader of the Opposition and, as a consequence of this, an army unit was stationed in the Thirunelvely premises and an army patrol was provided for the Vaddukoddai premises, from 16th August till the Sinhala students left these premises the next day. At the Vaddukoddai premises, where students were unaware of the developments in Jaffna town and elsewhere, work went on as usual till buses were sent there to take the students home. The UTA expresses its appreciation of the manner in which the Acting President handled the situation with utmost circumspection and insight during the entire period of the crisis.

The UTA notes with satisfaction that no incident occurred inside the Campus premises, whether at Thirunelvely or at Vaddukoddai, in which even a single Sinhala student was attacked or bodily harmed.

The UTA now eagerly looks forward to the normal functioning of the Campus and extends its fullest co-operation to the authorities to achieve this.

FOR THE RECORD

Who Took Govt. For A Ride?

"In the matter of the two Soviet trade unionists, the Government of Sri Lanka has committed a *faux pas* for which very few governments will be pardoned by the people of their countries," said Mr. Batty Weerakoon, General Secretary, Ceylon Federation of Labour in a statement to the Press. "The Government ordered the two trade unionists, Enver Kapba and Konstantin Tuzikov, to curtail their visit here and leave the country on the basis of what one John Barron had written about a Vladimir Vasilevich Ignatov in his book 'KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Agents'. The reasoning was that Konstantin Tuzikov had come to this country on an earlier occasion with this alleged KGB agent and that, therefore, Tuzikov's presence here is not welcome. Tuzikov is an official of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union and has in that capacity visited Sri Lanka on several occasions and over a number of years. An important asset he has is his knowledge of the English language. And in the Soviet Union it is very rarely that one comes across a man with knowledge of a foreign language. After his predecessor Nikitin was promoted elsewhere it was Tuzikov who invariably accompanied the various Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Soviet Trade unions who, without any knowledge of a foreign language, were visitors to Sri Lanka on the invitation of fraternal organisations here.

"But the fact is that Tuzikov never visited this country in the company of a Vasilievich Ignatov—the name said to be mentioned in Barron's book. The Ignatov who had come here with Tuzikov bears a different patronymic viz. Nikitovitch." Mr. Weerakoon further stated: The question that would in these circumstances, naturally arise is whether any of the authorities concerned had referred up Barron's book, or whether these persons, every one of them, collected the incorrect information on trust.

"The further question is whether these authorities pondered on the degree of credibility that should attach to Barron. The *International Herald Tribune* a top bourgeois paper, published with The New York Times and The Washington Post, carried in its issue of September 2nd, 1977 an article by The New York Times correspondent in Moscow, Christopher S. Wren, in which Barron's name is mentioned. The article is about the Soviet painter Ilya Glazunov who at the moment is having problems with Soviet authorities on his creative efforts. This article carries the following paragraph: "In the book KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Agents," the author John Barron, charged that I Glazunov had gained a plush apartment and travel privileges by informing on foreigners for the KGB. Glazunov who calls the allegation 'contentious slander' sued in a West German court to clear his name and won. The reference, he said, was deleted in the next German edition of the book."

"Well, so much for Barron!"

"In the light of all this, Mr. Weerakoon asked, "how was it that the Government rushed to its conclusions? Whose task was it in Sri Lanka to inform on the Ignatovs and the Tuzikovs? Is it that our authorities readily lap up what other foreign agencies serve as tip-off, or, if they did their home work on their own, how was it that they came to commit this grievous error? Should not the public be fully briefed on this matter? This becomes even more necessary now that the Prime Minister has, according to the daily press, reviewed his order that the guests should quit before 5th September which was the scheduled date for departure."

—Socialist Nation, 9 September 1977

IN CANADA

The Language Issue

— Canadian Federal

Government Statement —

The following excerpts from the Canadian Federal Government's *A National Understanding* deal with the two official languages and the Provinces:

"In reviewing its experience with the official languages policy to date, it is evident to the Federal Government that it cannot by itself ensure that the policy succeeds. The policy must also have the active support of the provincial governments if it is to make its fullest impact on our country. To say this is not to attempt to tell the provincial governments what they should do. It is simply stating one of the major facts evident in the experience with the policy thus far.

"In perhaps the most significant area of all, that of education, the provinces have exclusive jurisdiction under the Canadian constitution. In many other areas that have a very important impact on peoples' lives and on the language they speak, such as the courts, social and health services and culture, the provinces have as much and sometimes more authority and influence than the Federal Government. Moreover, the provinces have the authority to determine the language of public administration at the provincial and municipal levels and, except for the province of Quebec, in the debates of their provincial legislatures and their records and journals. Indeed, even in connection with the education of Canadians who may some day wish to enter the federal public service, action by the provinces is of prime importance.

"Many people, including the Commissioner of Official Languages, have recommended that, as a country, we should emphasise the teaching of the official languages to Canadians in general and to youth in particular, rather than maintaining a large federal establishment for teaching languages to public servants.

"Implementing such measures would place greater emphasis on the role of the provinces and make more obvious that the Federal

Government cannot alone be fully effective in regard to the educational, cultural and other rights of Canada's two official language groups. It has, over the years, established programs designed to encourage the provinces to take initiatives in these matters. However, strong independent initiatives by the provincial governments are crucial, particularly if these minority groups are to be given the means to preserve and strengthen their identities.

"If commitment to the concept of a Canada united in linguistic duality and cultural diversity is shared by the provincial governments, the Federal Government believes they will also be willing, as a condition of the continuing existence of Canada as one country, to recognise the principle that the English and French languages are the official languages of Canada and have equality of status in the country.

"It is not possible to propose to French-speaking Canadians that Canada is their country from coast to coast and from the American border to the Arctic seas unless that principle is accepted. Within that principle, there will be differences of situation from province to province, but in those provinces where the majority is English speaking, the basic rights of French-speaking Canadians must be respected. And in the same way, in the province of Quebec, where the majority is French speaking, the basic rights of English-speaking Canadians must be respected. If that principle of equality is not accepted in spirit and in practise across the country, there can be no enduring community of our two peoples. There will be rather two separatisms that must lead ultimately to the political reflection of that fact.

"The Federal Government is already providing assistance to the province to give Canadians the right to have their children educated in the official language of their choice. It is prepared to discuss with each of the provinces ways in which it can assist in the full realization of this objective, particularly with regard to marginal situations where there is a question as to whether the actual numbers warrant the provision of necessary facilities for the exercise of this right.

"It may be that arrangements for federal participation in such circumstances could be crystalized through experience into new constitutional provisions designed to enable the Federal Government to assume a direct constitutional responsibility if that seems to be desirable.

"The Federal Government is very much aware of the fact that, outside the province of Quebec, actual freedom of choice is possible only in certain parts of the country. This de facto situation has, in addition to other factors, created among French-speaking Canadians a considerable feeling of insecurity concerning the future of the French language in the province of Quebec as well as in Canada generally.

"The Federal Government, as a matter of principle, strongly favours a policy that gives to English-speaking Canadians the choice, wherever in Canada it is reasonably feasible, to send their children either to an English-language school or to a French-language school. Similarly, French speaking Canadians should have the choice, wherever in Canada it is reasonably feasible, to send their children to a French-language school or to an English-language school.

"It is unacceptable in Canada that Canadian citizens should be deprived, either by the failure to provide facilities, or by force of law of the right to send their children to the public or separate school of their choice, or at least to a school of the official language group to which they belong. Measures in Quebec designed to force parents of French-language background to send their children to French-language schools only would have the paradoxical effect of permitting less choice to French-speaking parents than to English-speaking parents in the province.

"It is incompatible with the unity of Canada that Canadian citizens should not be able, when they move from province to province, to send their children to school where they are taught in their own language. The Government believes that necessary facilities should be provided, wherever they do not now exist, for people moving from the province of Quebec to other provinces, and that they should continue to be provided for people moving from other provinces to the province of Quebec. In both

cases, there will be particular situations where this will not be feasible. But the principle remains.

"If the province of Quebec is to remain a predominantly French-language province, as the Federal Government believes it should, it is only natural to expect that people from other countries who immigrate to that part of Canada should participate in the French-language community. However, it is by far preferable that immigrants should be attracted to the French-language education system for reasons that do not include coercion. By the same token, it would also be preferable if immigrants to the English-speaking province enjoyed a similar choice.

"While these difficult matters are being discussed, and while Canadians are genuinely attempting to create or improve the institutions, educational and otherwise, that will ensure equal rights and dignity for the English- and French-language communities in the country, the Federal Government accepts that circumstances may make necessary a deferment of the application of this important principle.

"In this connection, it should be recognized that the educational rights of the English-speaking minority in Quebec have been, and still are, better respected and served than the rights of French-speaking minorities of comparable importance in the other provinces of Canada.

"However, New Brunswick, through the adoption of an Official Languages Act that will come fully into force this year, has established the equality of the two official languages in the legislatures and the courts, in the provincial public service and in its educational system. The province also offers an extensive range of programs to develop and maintain minority language education and to promote a knowledge of the two official languages in the public service and in the schools. Ontario and Manitoba, while choosing not to establish the equality of the two official languages through legislation, have nevertheless also made progress in the provision of educational facilities for their French-language minority groups.

"Acceptance of the principle that knowledge of English and French by Canadians who choose to learn them is desirable entails that the provinces be willing to assume

the obligation to offer the university levels of schooling so that by the time each Canadian student has completed such schooling, he or she will have had the opportunity to obtain a basic knowledge of the second official language.

"The cultural agencies of the country, public and private, including particularly the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, could play a more significant role in providing young Canadians across the country with additional opportunities for learning their second official language....."

Grama Sastra

Scribbling On Uva Villages

From Ella Down To Wellawaya

by Gamiya

No, let's not call it Gramasastryology because that would be redundant. *Grama sastra*, the science of the village, would do. Let's talk of the Ella-Wellawaya road which dips down from Ella, close to Bandarawela and takes 52 bends and enters the Moneragala-Wellawaya plain: imagine that 44s-bends, 5-U bends and 3 L-bends in all. Going down at 6.30 a.m. on a Friday makes you recall that it is *pola* day at Wellawaya: 38 traders went down carrying vegetables, and fruits from various spots on the way. In fact it was cut before 1970 as a splendid bit of service done to the peasantry who have an outlet for their produce. One could well understand why Emerson Tenent raved about this exclusive, "unbeatable bit of landscape in the world" when he referred to the Ella gap (*ella kapolla*). In 50 minutes, one goes down from 3500 to 600 feet in the shadow of the benign majestic Ella falls or Ravanella falls where legend says Sita stopped with the King Ravanna, king of a decapolis of yore. Ravanna's cave in which he hid Sita is also en route to Wellawaya. Bunches of plantains, sugar-

cane, paddy, firewood, *moda gal* (mud-bricks), red-bricks, papaws are all stacked by the roadside for immediate sale or for being spirited away by *Mudalali's* lorries, away to the hill-town of Bandarawela or the plain-town of Wellawaya. Eggs, for example, are sold by peasants to the town shops of Wellawaya at 60-65 cts, but they are sold to the customer at 1.00. Expert drivers give you a pleasant ride down, and you pass Ravanella, Gaalgoda, Karandagolla (with an enterprise of friendly uplift of people, called *Gus mudun tree-tops*), Kiriyaigolla, Kande vi-hara of the time of Valagamba (*Vatta gamini*) with its cave and a superb gamsabha road with arch-ed-packing in redbrick, Randeniya where Constantine de Saa and three other Portuguese generals met their Waterloo (I know the anachronism, but let it pass!) Kurugama (supposed to have been corrupted from Kirigama, place where the great King Parakramabahu was wet-nursed), Veliara, Dimbulamure and Wellawaya.

Over-use can become abuse, especially if great care is not taken towards the upkeep of this precious road, boon to the peasantry. I counted fifty trees burnt, the surrounding brushwood parched; erosion had already set in. Large boulders are known to detach themselves from parent-rocks of this rift. True, a 1000 tomatoes got in on a man's head as he was taking them down to W'waya; true, that fifteen uniformed school-children, some shod, others unshod, got in as a full load from Randeniya to a school at Wellawaya (or close to the terminus), but it is also true that there does not seem to have been much input to maintain this superb roadway, which some say has been hurriedly done. Of that I am not so sure, but conservation is important. After the 8th mile, it is all sporadic erosion. Large-scale de-rocking operations make the top-soil of even nearby areas, slip down: a senseless, selfish operation, if ever there was one. Parched stretches alternate with green, hopeful ones; on either side of the road, steadily-earning farmers have changed their local tiles for calicut ones, their zinc-sheets for local or calicut. The untended road, untended at many spots, cried for attention; the only sore spot at the Wella-

waya approach was the cluster of aged line-rooms of the rubber-tapping people, "shell-holed" (for that was what it looked like) and drab. There has been much thoughtfulness for the peasant-people using the road, but perhaps not much consideration for the road used by the people, which is also another way of forgetting people, since the road is for the people.

THE SECOND AMENDMENT

Parliamentary Bodies For All Ministries

—PM ensures active participation of MPs—

The Government has approved a recommendation of the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, to appoint Parliamentary Consultative Committees to every ministry. Provision for this purpose is to be made in the Standing Orders of the National State Assembly. A Select Committee of the National State Assembly appointed to consider and report on the Standing Orders is expected to study this matter in detail. The Parliamentary Consultative Committee will comprise MPs of both the Government and the Opposition political parties. They are expected to hold meetings periodically (presided over by the Minister concerned) and are intended to ensure the active participation of all MPs in the working of the ministries. According to authoritative Government sources the Parliamentary Consultative Committees are expected to commence functioning soon after certain Cabinet changes are effected with the passage of the Second Amendment to the Constitution.

The Second Amendment to the Constitution—Bill to Amend the Constitution, was presented in the National State Assembly yesterday by the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene. Mr. Jayawardene told the Assembly that he would consult party leaders both in the House and outside on the proposed amendments. He said he would make a detailed statement on the amendments when the National State

Assembly meets today. United National Party sources said yesterday that the Prime Minister would hold talks next week with leaders of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Communist Party—two leading political parties which are not presently represented in the NSA. This stems from the Government's keenness to ensure that the amendments receive the widest possible discussion before they are enshrined in the Constitution. These sources disclosed that the amendments would be debated at the next sessions of the NSA which begins on October 4. They are expected to be passed during these sessions.

The Second Amendment to the Constitution which will subject Sri Lanka to a Presidential form of Government is expected to become effective from a date in the last week of October, it is learnt. In terms of the Bill, the amendments come into operation "on such date as the Prime Minister may appoint by Order published in the Gazette."

Among others matters, the Bill—

- * provides for the Prime Minister to appoint a date for the Second Amendment of the Constitution to come into effect.

- * amends section 4 of the Constitution by providing that the Sovereignty of the People is exercised through the National State Assembly and the President;

- * repeals the existing section 5 of the Constitution, and inserts a new section 5 whereby the National State Assembly and the President are the supreme instruments of State power, and

- (a) the National State Assembly exercises the legislative power directly and the judicial power through courts and institutions created by law; and

- (b) the President exercises the executive power, including the defence of Sri Lanka;

- * amends section 20 of the Constitution by providing that the President shall be the Head of the Executive as well as the Head of the Government;

- * amends section 21 of the Constitution by providing that the President shall have power to appoint Ministers who would not be members of the Cabinet and to preside at meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers;

- * makes a consequential amendment to section 22 of the Constitution necessitated by the repeal of section 27 of the Constitution;

- * amends section 23 of the Constitution by enabling the President to waive his immunity from suit;

- * amends section 25 of the Constitution by providing for the Oath of Office to be taken by the President and for the President to have a right of audience in the National State Assembly;

- * amends section 26 of the Constitution:—

- (a) by providing for the President to be elected by the people for a period of six years;

- (b) by setting out that any elector over thirty years of age and nominated by a recognized political party may stand for election as President.

- (c) by providing for the National State Assembly to make laws relating to the election of the President;

- (d) by providing that the President may resign his office by letter addressed to the Speaker; and

- (e) by deleting paragraphs (c) and (d) of subsection (2) of that section;

- * repeals the existing sections 27 and 28 of the Constitution and inserts the following sections:—

- (a) section 27 which provides that where the President is temporarily unable to perform his duties the Prime Minister shall act for him and that the President may appoint another Cabinet Minister to act as Prime Minister during that period;

- (b) section 28 which provides for the election by the National State Assembly from among its Members of a succeeding President where the President vacates office and that such succeeding President shall hold office for the balance period;

- (c) section 28A which provides for the President to appoint any officers and advisers he deems necessary to his staff and to have the power of dismissal and disciplinary control over them; and

- (d) section 28B which provides for the present Prime Minister to assume duties as the First President on the appointed date.

- * makes a consequential amendment in section 40 (2) necessitated

by the repeal of subsection (2) of section 134 of the Constitution;

* amends section 87 (2) of the Constitution by providing that the consent of the President shall be necessary for authorising advances from the Contingencies Fund;

* amends section 92 of the Constitution by providing that the President shall be the Head of the Cabinet;

* amends section 94 of the Constitution by providing that the President may determine the assignment of subjects and functions to the Prime Minister and the Ministers of the Cabinet of Ministers and may likewise make alterations in such subjects and functions. It further provides for the assignment of subjects and functions to himself and that he shall remain in charge of any subjects and functions not assigned, and any Ministry to which a Minister is not appointed;

* inserts a new section 94A in the Constitution providing for the President to appoint Ministers who would not be members of the Cabinet of Ministers and to assign subjects and functions to such Ministers, and to make alterations in such subjects and functions;

* amends section 96 of the Constitution by providing for the tenure of office of the Ministers who are not in the Cabinet of Ministers;

* amends section 97 of the Constitution by providing that Ministers of the Cabinet of Ministers and other Ministers shall continue to function between dissolution of the Assembly and the conclusion of the General Election;

* amends section 102 of the Constitution by providing that the Secretary to the Cabinet shall function subject to the directions of the President;

* make amendments consequential to the section giving the President the power to appoint officers and advisers to his staff;

* amends section 134 of the Constitution by deleting sub-section (2) thereof;

* inserts a new section 135 in the Constitution providing that all laws enacted up to the date of assumption of office by the First President shall be construed as if for the words "Prime Minister" there has been substituted the word "President".

—SUN, 23/9

LETTERS

• Comment

Sir,

How instructive it was to read in your issue of 24.9.77 the reasoned and unprejudiced articles by Mr. R. Kahawita and Dr. C. R. de Silva that go a long way to pave the way to a better and united nation. But how different is Fr. T. Balasuriya's article. If, as you say, "Confidentially", he is a great friend of the Tamils, then the Tamils do not need any enemies. In his attempt to prove that the TULF is an illusion, (the fact is that the TULF won 18 seats and is the leading opposition party in the NSA) he has put together a lot of figures except the number of unborn voters who did not vote for the TULF!

May I ask Jayantha Somasundaram one question? If the violence after Aug. 17 was not caused by UNPers who had spent their fury after the election results were announced by then, or by SLFP inciters and non-violent (and non functioning) SLFP policemen, then who was responsible?

A. C. Joseph

44, Galpotta Road,
Colombo 13.
27, Sept. 1977

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• Can We Even Hope To Do Well?

Sir,

As a man who has just completed 77 years of age and one experienced enough to know things and so articulate as to verify what is what, I don't think we can do well as we have been!

We grudge the Westerners exploiting us to their benefits. Now without the exploitation of that kind, we as Sri Lankans have been at each other's throat destroying everything—neither we nor any other benefiting. When the SLFP comes to power, insurgency surfaces and when the UNP comes to power, communal uprisings!

As busy as you are, I cannot hope for your undivided attention to what I write, but might request your goodself to direct one, who can visit this area, hear some of us cultivators, and ventilate all shortcomings, so that the governments might open their eyes and do something to alleviate our sufferings. Even the political interferences during the term of the last government that led to the utter ruin of the country are violent.

Our Scheme started in 1954 by the GODB during UNP's time has been in a parlous state due mainly to political interferences, causing bureaucratic lapses. From the lowest to the highest, I had ventilated our grievances. Result: pique and vengeance.

I have been in the list of your regular subscribers for a long time and had complained to you of non-delivery of certain copies of the *Tribune* earlier. Now again, after Volume 22 No. 11—September 3, 1977, no paper had reached me. Even volume 21, No. 51, June 11, 1977 and Vol. 22 No. 2—July 2, 1977 and Vol. 22, No. 3—July 9, 1977 had not reached me.

To know the seriousness, I attach herewith copies of memos written to the Divisional Supdt. of Post Offices, Eastern Region, Batticaloa. It is understood that last time when this Postman was to be dealt with adequately, political interference caused the man to escape to do us and the country, the maximum harm.

If you might be pleased, you can with your admirable ingenuity comment on these in your valuable paper so as for the authorities to open their eyes and act so that all might be saved. If you and I do not do, who else could and would help others who are not so articulate.

T. Arulanathan

Middleclass Allotment 21,
Bakiella.
19.9.77

Confidentially

Is Eelam Viable?—4

IS IT NOT INTERESTING to refer to letters and articles sent to *Tribune* regarding the viability of Eelam? That we quote below further extracts from the article referred to in this column last week? "When late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, the leader of TULF (a 'conservative and moderate' in your terminology), put forward the Tamil Eelam proposal, to safeguard the community he represented, from the onslaught of ultra-Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism of Mrs. B's Govt. two years ago, there were many (included are the so-called 'Colombo Tamils'), who ridiculed his move as suicidal, that his proposed Eelam could not stand on its feet economically. Let me cite some reports in the press and in journals, within recent times, showing the prosperity of the regions of Tamil Eelam. **FISHING**—the boundaries of the two Tamil provinces provide ample marine area, ranging from Mannar on one side, to Pottuvil on the other, for exploitation by fishermen. (Ref. Model Net Fishing In Trinco, *Daily News*, Sept. 4, 1976; Fan Mussel: Now A Money Spinner *Daily News* Sept. 7, 1976); **CEMENT**—one of the two established factories in the North, the KKS Cement factory, at full capacity can produce, 850 tons a day approximately. (*Daily News*, July 31, 1977); **SALTURNS**—The opponents of the "economically prosperous Eelam" theory are invited to peruse the research article by George Thambyapillay on 'The Salt Industry of Ceylon: A Geographical Appraisal' (*Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Jan-June 1964, pp. 73-87); he had listed the basic requisites for successful solar evaporation of salt. They are: (1) a hot, dry climate; (2) accessibility to the sea; (3) clayey soil for the salt pans, preferably with bare rack exposure on the windward scale. All these three requisites are ideally supplied in both Northern and Eastern provinces; **TOURISM**—When Mrs. B's Govt. developed the tourist industry on a large scale during the last seven

years, Northern and Eastern provinces were comparatively neglected (may be purposely for political reasons or otherwise). The incoming tourists were not provided with ample data regarding these provinces and they were tactfully persuaded to limit their sojourn to the other seven provinces. Only those, who had the abiding interest to have a look at the Tamil areas, were let out but with so many precautions and restrictions. Sufficient coverage were not given regarding the tourist attractions in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Some may ponder, 'What tourist attractions are there! In the Dry Peninsula?' These cynics are invited to glance at the news item 'Jaffna, Top Tourist Attraction' (*Daily News*, Sept. 10, 1974). Some citations are worth giving. 'The picturesque isolation of the casuarina beach would be of captivating interest to French tourists, remarked a member of the party. The vast stretches of sandy tracts at Point Pedro known as *Mannelkaddu* (sand jungle), they said would give a typical picture of a real desert to both local and foreign tourists who had never seen one.' Another article which appeared in the *Ceylon Observer* (Sept. 28, 1975) on *The Land of the Singing Fish* ends as follows: "...and the soothing melody of the famous singing fish dwelling in the placid waters of the adjoining Lagoon will no doubt continue to attract visitors for ages to come." I would also like to quote a paragraph from the booklet *Human Rights in Sri Lanka* by Nihal Jayawickrema (1976), pp. 53 to press my point of view further: 'In the general programme of economic development, the Northern and Eastern Provinces play as vital a role as any other province of the country. The Government has established a number of major industries in this area, including a cement factory at Kankesanthurai, a chemical industry at Paranthan, the Saltern at Elephant Pass and Palali and a paper factory at Valaichchenai. In 1974, 77 private sector industrial units located in the districts of Jaffna, Vavuniya, Mannar, Trincomalee and Batticaloa, with a predominantly Tamil population of 1.4 million people, had a production value of Rs. 302 million or 7.4% of the total production value of the whole country. Finally, *Economic Review* (March 1977), also contains a box-story on *The Northern Region*,

Ground Water and Lift Irrigation. Certain relevant passages from it, are worthy of recording. "...Ground water is tapped for irrigation of subsidiary crops including chillies, onions and potatoes, from a number of irrigation wells. A long term proposal for converting three lagoons into fresh water reservoirs is also being implemented. These are the Elephant Pass Lagoon, to the east of the Elephant Pass; the Vadamarachchi Lagoon extending in a north-western direction along the peninsula with a sea out-fall about 13 miles north of Jaffna; and the South Lagoon with a sea outfall about 4 miles south-east of Jaffna. There are also several natural wells or *kerni* in the peninsula region which hold freshwater. By far, the best known of these is the so-called tidal well, Puttur, usually known as Nilawarni. This well has been found to be 164 ft. 6 in. deep. It has a surface area of about 50 ft. by 40 ft. and contains freshwater of the highest portable quality to a depth of 50 ft. Pumping tests were carried out in 1946 to determine the potential for irrigation from this well, and a project for cultivation of subsidiary food crops of 250 acres has been functioning since 1950? I can go on like this."

That this is one of the most laboured studies on the viability of Eelam that has reached us? That the arguments advanced speak for themselves? That even if these resources referred to are developed after giant-size doses of capital investment over a number of years, the territory covering the Northern and Eastern Provinces cannot make Eelam become a viable state?

The *Tribune* does not propose to labour the question of the viability of Eelam any more? That whilst leaving the columns of this paper open to anyone who wishes to argue (on a reasoned and factual basis only) about the viability of Eelam, *Tribune* will in future go on the footing that the viability of Eelam is as much a myth as Eelam itself? That the country, and the Tamils in particular, have paid a heavy price because of myths like Fifty-fifty and Eelam and the sooner these myths are forgotten the better?

Concluded

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