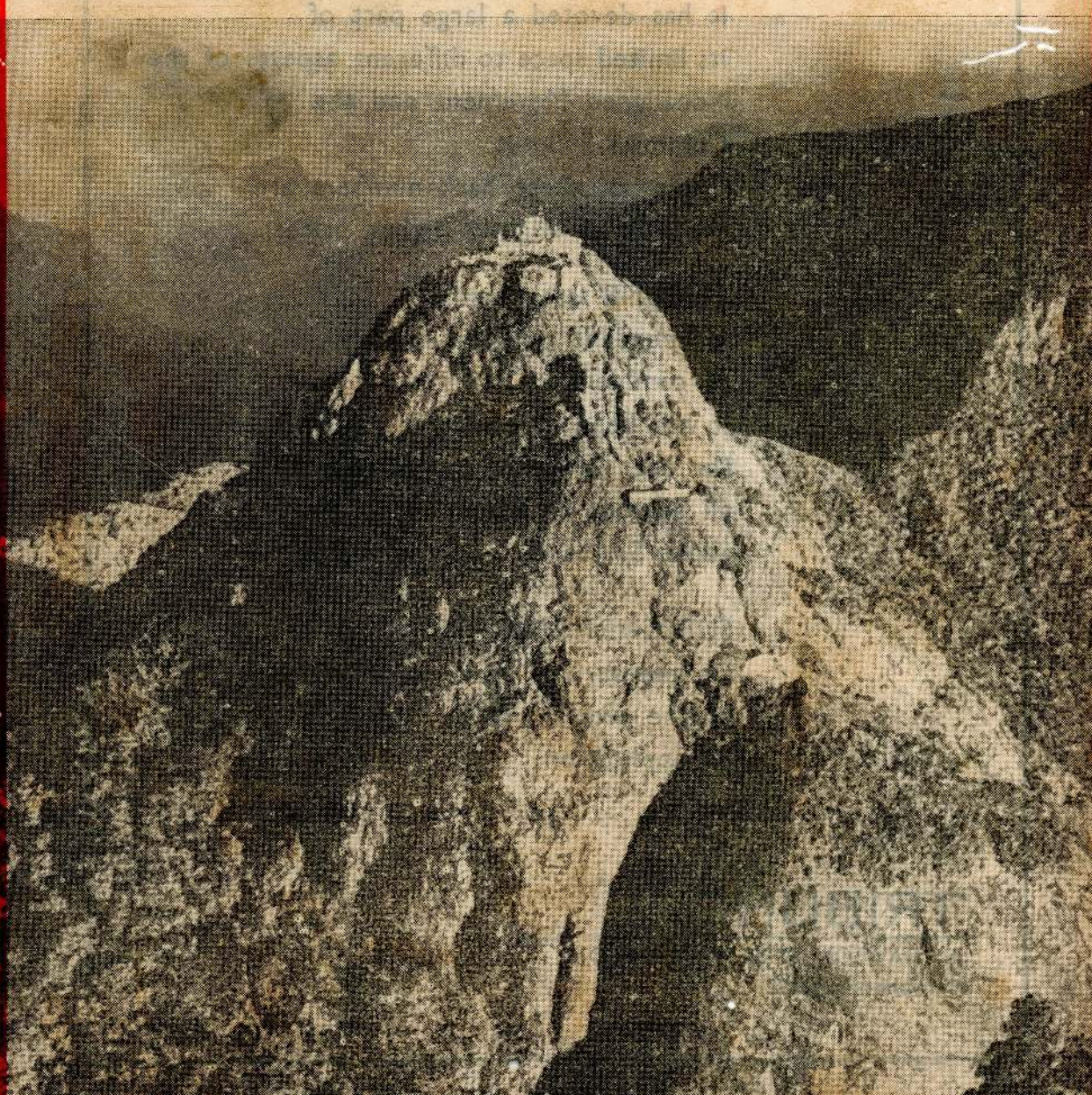


Vol. 21 No. 10 — August 14, 1976. — **RUPEE ONE**

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



TRIBUNE

has not published a bumper special issue
for the Conference

because in the last eight weeks

it has devoted a large part of
its limited space to different aspects of the
Nonaligned Movement and the
Colombo Summit.

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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER, this week, we have a striking aerial picture of Sri Lanka's most famous Summit, Adam's Peak. It was known throughout the ages and has attracted pilgrims and visitors (in times when travel was tedious and difficult) from China, Arabia and Hindustan. It is even today a place of religious sanctity for Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims. Christian do not attach any religious significance to this Peak in the wilderness although some of them have created the legend that the Garden of Eden in which God created Man was somewhere in the neighbourhood of this mountain, hence the name Adam's Peak. To the Buddhist, it is *Sri Pada*, paying homage to an indentation in the topmost rock in the shape of a foot of extraordinary size which the Buddha is said to have implanted on this mountain as symbolic reminder of the Supreme. To the Hindus, the Peak is *Sivan Adi Patham*, the footprint of Siva, or *Sivan Oli Patham*, the light of Siva. The Muslims associate the Peak with Adam (and his creator Allah). Apart from the religious significance attached to this cone-shaped peak, it is situated almost in the middle of central mountain massif of Sri Lanka from which all the big rivers of the island originate. More than one king of ancient Ceylon had, quite correctly, stated that he who controlled this mountain watershed had full control over the island because the agriculture in the plains and elsewhere depended on the waters the rivers brought to the tanks (as also the seasonal monsoon rains). The Kings and the peoples of old knew the importance of keeping the mountainous region under full forest cover to ensure rain and prevent erosion. But the opening of tea plantations and the contemporary denudation of forests for timber in this sensitive area has reduced the forest cover to far below minimum levels—with fateful consequences which have begun to make their disastrous impact on the wellbeing of Sri Lanka. It is in the background of the urgent need to rehabilitate and conserve the Summit which has always been in our midst that Sri Lanka looks forward to the historic Nonaligned Summit of the Heads of States and Governments which is scheduled to open in Colombo on Monday, August 16. Already the Heads of Mission of the participating countries have met from August 9, 10 and 11, and the Foreign Ministers from August 11 onwards. The Nonaligned Conference is already under way as we go to press. It is still too early to say what the outcome of the Conference is likely to be although many of the issues likely to come up before the Summit meeting have been clarified in the course of the last few weeks. One of the most sensitive matters that was expected to cause a major headache concerned the question of admission of new countries as members, observers or guests. The controversy began with the application of Rumania for full membership—seeking to go beyond the Observer status which been accorded to Rumania (together Australia, Portugal and the Philippines) at Lima through an invitation extended by the host country, namely Peru. Though the Foreign Ministers had regularised the presence of these "invited" countries at Lima, it had been understood that this should not be made a precedent for future conferences. At the last meeting of the Nonaligned Bureau at Foreign Ministerial level in Algiers it was decided that the question relating to the admission of these four countries should be decided at the plenary meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Colombo. In the meantime, the press, especially in the West, began to publicise exaggerated stories about a possible split in the nonaligned movement as a result of the differences between some of the founder members. The Western press published slanted and twisted reports about a major difference between India and Yugoslavia on this and other matters. It was hinted, in the western media that whilst India took the Soviet line, Yugoslavia was inclined to be pro-West (as against the Soviet Union). Many reports in the western media had stressed that Yugoslavia and India had "collided" over the question whether Rumania should have a seat at the nonaligned summit in Colombo and also over the question about a permanent headquarters for the Nonaligned News Agency pool. The western media had gone so far as to say: "the Sri Lankan hosts gave in to Yugoslav pressure to invite the Rumanians who have claimed nonaligned status for years. The Indians objected on the argument that inviting a member of the Warsaw pact would make nonsense of the nonalignment idea (indeed it would), while ignoring their own ambiguous status as a treaty partner of the Russians." The first "lie" is that Sri Lanka had "invited" Rumania to participate in the Conference whereas all that Colombo had done was to show a readiness to issue "visas" to the four countries concerned to be present in Colombo when the Foreign Ministers decided the matter. All Western hopes that this issue would lead to a split in the movement have now been laid to rest by Marshal Tito.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Everything Ready

WHETHER EVERYTHING IS READY or not, the Nonaligned Summit Conference is on us. There is no doubt that the city of Colombo has been spruced up, certainly the roads on which visitors, delegates and VIPs are likely to use frequently. Even the buildings on these roads have been white-washed (and how long can white remain white in these difficult times?) The century-old John's Fish Market has been bulldozed to the ground to eliminate unseemly sights, bad smells and unpleasant crowds on a sensitive stretch of VIP's motorcade road; and, the underground tunnel which the demolition of the building had disclosed has been temporarily placed under police custody before our Archaeological Department can start working on it.

The unfinished overflow bridge which was an eye sore at the Kandy Road end of the new bridge over the Kelani Ganga has been (unsuccessfully) covered by a large expanse of canvas on which some pseudo-surrealistic artist has let his imagination run riot. How much this work of art, intended to be a smokescreen (in more senses than one) is not known, but very soon the unfinished structure and the canvas (or is it only jute hessian?) will once again become the shelter for the houseless and the congenial vagrant—thousands of whom have been temporarily banished from the city, under special legislation, to far away places. The city has been full of gossip that a sweet smelling deodorant would be sprayed to ensure that only good smells will afflict the nostrils of our visitors. (As we go to press this deodorant-spraying exercise has not taken place—and it may be possible that this story is only another canard by those hostile circles in Colombo which have been catty and cynical about this Conference). The water pumps from the UK (Britain, our former colonial master is still our saviour?) have at last arrived and the residents of Colombo (but not all its suburbs) have been promised "more water" from last weekend. At the time of writing, a little more water has come on the taps, but everybody in town—even the most catty

and cynical—are certain that at least during the Conference more water will flow through the certain taps in Colombo.

But all these are non-essentials on which some bureaucrats seem to have spent more time and energy than warranted. The visitors, delegates and VIPs come from countries no different from Sri Lanka. They must have bad roads, ugly buildings, unfinished and unwhitewashed structures, water shortage, beggars, bad smells, untrimmed hedges—and all the rest. The authorities have created enough distraction by compelling public attention on non-essentials in logistics, whereas more essential matters pertaining to the Conference seem to have been left to the last minute. However, there is no doubt that the arrangements for the conference and its press coverage have turned out to be excellent.

Everything human must have shortcomings, but the sheer contemporary importance and historic significance of the Colombo Summit will carry it to success.

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has set the pace for the Conference on a high note in the foreword which she has written for the publication **NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCES: BASIC DOCUMENTS 1961-1975** by Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies. Her statement sets out a commendable basis on which the Nonaligned Conference is likely to find the greatest consensus. This is what she said:

This year marks the 15th Anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Non-Aligned Movement since its first meeting in Belgrade in 1961 has grown from a membership of 25 nations and now exceeds 80. The unity of the Non-Aligned Movement had been tested, strengthened and forged in increasingly intensive forms of joint activity in the past fifteen years.

The deepening of this unity will be the cornerstone of the movement's influence in world affairs and all attempts to disrupt this unity must be seen as a threat to the movement itself. The beginnings of the Non-Aligned Movement

lie in the insecurity caused by the dangerous bloc divisions of period.

However, if one examines the aspirations of the nations which support this movement, it becomes clear that the policy of the Non-Aligned represents much more than the desire to steer clear of power blocs; it represents the hopes of two thirds of humanity and has roots in the common cause of those who have suffered for long periods in history from colonialism and imperialism, and are now struggling to achieve and consolidate their freedom, independence and economic well being.

Non-Alignment can, therefore, be seen also as one of the various forms of struggle of colonized and neo-colonized peoples for these objectives.

The Non-Aligned Movement during its initial phase was reviled, as either being romanticist or unrealistic, particularly by the power blocs, who assumed that the smaller and weaker nations had to join one side or the other. However, the development of the Non-Aligned Movement has shown that those who opposed it have, in fact, been the furthest from political reality. The Non-Aligned Movement represents the collective consciousness of the majority of the peoples of the world in whose scale of values, man is the most precious. The changes that have occurred before our very eyes in the last fifteen years have vindicated the movement's goals and shown us that the struggle for the democratisation of international relations is a part of the inexorable march of history in the direction of progress.

The principles of Non-Alignment will guide us and act as the pillars of our policy, particularly in its opposition to imperialism colonialism and racial discrimination and its defence of national independence. The Non-Aligned Movement has had many successes in the past and in recent times it can take credit for a number of developments, including the attempts to eliminate the old economic order and replace it with the New International Economic Order, and to replace the old law of the sea with a more just law for the common benefit of all mankind.

The proposals for an equitable legal regime of the ocean and the ocean floor will continue to dominate international deliberations because they have a direct bearing not only on international peace and security but also because of its relevance to economic wellbeing of the poor nations of the world.

Our efforts must endeavour to seek for our people a fair share of the wealth they own and produce. The Algiers Conference laid down the basis for an economic plan and unlike the various previous attempts made by multi-lateral organisations, this attempt demands justice, not charity. Its aims are to promote development by adopting policies of greater national self reliance and mutual solidarity. I have no doubt that the Colombo Conference will consolidate this position still further. The beginnings of Sri Lanka's Non-Aligned policy were laid down by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, among other actions, when he took over the foreign bases in Sri Lanka and opted for a definite and positive policy of non-alignment with power blocs. Since then, our people have been called upon to face many threats and undergo many trials in their pursuit of political and economic independence. But we have neither yielded to nor been overcome by any of them.

Our experience shows that that policy of non-alignment is not the line of least resistance but is the most challenging and forward looking policy of our time. It is with the strength of this knowledge, that Sri Lanka put forward the proposal for making the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace and we are heartened by the determination of more than 100 nations of the world to support this proposal.

The proposal embodies the aspirations of millions of people in the region to live in peace and to guide their destinies according to their own wishes, free from Big Power rivalry.

The Non-Aligned Movement has come to represent a vast array of cultures, peoples, civilisations, religions and ideologies. These nations represent some of the greatest achievements of the old world and still continue to supply the economic resources of modern

technology and development, without receiving their just share. The problems of agricultural development, energy shortages, food shortages are common to many nations represented in the Non-Aligned Movement. The stress on economic issues and solutions, based on self-reliance and pooled efforts, have reached the top of the priority list for the non-aligned world; at the same time the struggle against imperialism and colonialism in its various guises and manifestations and the fight to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination from the very heart of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Colombo Conference must move forward to consolidate the gains made so far, in developing techniques and procedures for co-ordinating action to ameliorate the economic and political conditions of two thirds of mankind.

The Prime Minister has very carefully worded her statement so as to not tread any corns. She has very carefully avoided the pitfall into which some of the officials of our Foreign Office are alleged to have fallen in the Draft Declarations they had circulated.

There is of course a group in the nonaligned movement which has always been openly pro-West and pro-US. This group has always wanted 'communism' condemned as much as 'imperialism' in the manner in which western opponents of nonalignment have propagandised. The Senegal Government has already set the ball rolling by declaring that it would want the limits of nonalignment to be defined. A Reuter despatch from Dakar, dated August, 5 read as follows:

Senegal will be represented by its Foreign Minister Mr. Assane Seck at the Colombo summit of Non-aligned countries to be held this month. He will insist on the need to "define the limits of Non-alignment" and will call on the conference to reaffirm the organisation's independence from both Western and Communist power blocs informed sources said today.

By the time this issue of Tribune is out the positions being adopted by different groups will be known. But with Tito's statement (published elsewhere in this issue) and Mrs. Bandaranaike's statement,

it is likely that consensus will be sought on the basis indicated by the two speeches, and it is not likely that the pro-west group will want to push matters to cause a split over their demand to condemn "communism" as vigorously as imperialism. It is more than likely that the Senegal move may be only a strategic and tactical one to bargain with the hardline anti-US countries like Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam not to insist over-much on unnecessarily strong resolutions on Puerto Rico, on Panama, on bases in South and Southeast Asia, etc., etc.

But in all conferences of this kind, package deals between regional groups usually determine the final outcome in regard to Declarations and Resolutions. There are a few matters like Puerto Rico, Panama, Palestine, Zionism, Israel and the like which will figure in such package understandings. It would be interesting to survey some of these developments at the conclusion of the Conference. And a compromise consensus on Rumania's application may be arrived at during the Foreign Ministers' Meeting. Rumania herself may opt for guest status as a temporary solution to the "crisis". At the time of writing, it is not known what attitude the OPEC, Arab and African countries will take on this question.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY KAUTILIYA

Southeast Asia

ON THE EVE of the nonaligned Conference in Colombo the situation in South-East Asia has become extremely interesting. The new Vietnam, reunified twenty two years, after its partition following the Geneva conference, has now emerged as a strong power in South East Asia. It is strong militarily: equipped with Soviet weapons during the liberation war and further strengthened by the large quantities of American arms surrendered by Saigon without a fight. The Americans have also left behind in South Vietnam well developed port faci-

ilities and naval bases together with a net work of roads and motor vehicles.

Though the country is rich in natural resources, it has been devastated by the war in which over four million Vietnamese lost their lives. Western propaganda had made it out that the militarily strong Vietnam was a threat to all the countries in South East Asia. At the first meeting of the newly-elected National Assembly, Mr. Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnamese Workers Party, outlining the foreign policy of the new government had stated that his country would first seek to strengthen the bonds with Laos and Cambodia which were also under French rule in Indo-China. Historical affinities had made this a primary necessity, said Mr. Le Duan. He also held out the hand of friendship to all South East Asian countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence, but he at the same time called for a struggle in South East Asia for the emergence of "truly independent nations without imperialist military bases on their territory." There is no doubt that, the major aim of Vietnamese foreign policy is total opposition to American imperialism.

It has been stressed by the Western media that Hanoi was inherently hawkish *vis-a-vis* ASEAN. The five members of ASEAN were, therefore, naturally suspicious about the intentions and policies of Vietnam. The suspicions, however, were reciprocal. Except for Thailand, all the other nations in South East Asia had been, until recently, under European colonial domination. Many of them still had degrees of commitments with foreign powers.

THE LEADERS of the new Socialist Republic of Vietnam, however, have displayed considerable diplomatic finesse in seeking better understanding with countries like the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore. Despite the participation of some of them in the war on the side of the United States, Vietnamese leaders have, in recent speeches, stressed that the Vietnamese people were prepared to forget the past and look forward to the prospects of mutually beneficial co-operation with them.

It must be noted that there is a sharp divergence in the attitude

of China and Vietnam in regard to the question of the continuance of American bases in the region. While China wants the US presence to continue, as a sort of counter balance to what it regards as a growing Soviet influence in Asia, the Vietnamese continue to maintain that there can be no real peace or stability in South East Asia as long as there are American bases in the region. The neighbouring ASEAN countries find it difficult to update their respective positions to the satisfaction of China or Vietnam.

The Philippines have renegotiated the lease agreements with the US to assert its nominal sovereignty over the American bases on its territory. Thailand has gone a step further and abrogated the treaties and ended the leases; and the American have quit Thailand. Though Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore have no American forces on their soil they are faced with problems of insurgency or underground communist activity which they believe draws inspiration from China.

THE SINGAPORE FOREIGN MINISTER, Mr. Rajaratnam, at a press conference in Manila, after the meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers, at the end of June, had stated that South East Asia could become a cold war battleground for a long time because it would need a "miracle" for the great powers to renounce big power rivalries. He saw no early prospect of the big powers completely endorsing the ASEAN's neutralisation plan and indicated that there might be need for the time being for American bases in the region if their aim was to ensure "national security". Mr. Rajaratnam, welcomed the goodwill mission which Hanoi proposed to send to Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines. The Five ASEAN members all accepted the concept of an Southeast Asian Neutrality Zone, but they had their "differences as to how this should be achieved". Mr. Rajaratnam was asked by newsmen how he could reconcile ASEAN's neutralisation plan with the presence in the Philippines of the US military bases. He replied: "let us be honest about it. If the bases are there purely to protect American interests, then we are not interested. If the bases are there for Americans to counterbalance the Russians we are not interested. But if the

American base or any other base for that matter is to guarantee our security as well because it coincides with their interests then I say we would be prepared to consider that". On the Soviet's call for an Asian Collective Security System, Mr. Rajaratnam said that the Soviet Union appeared to have no fixed idea what it wanted. Rather it was sounding out Asian countries to find out that they wanted. The Russians would then work out a consensus and announce it as a system. He concluded by stating that ASEAN may have to face up, for the immediate future, something less than a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality which it was seeking.

There are now many indications that many of these ASEAN countries are in a dilemma. India has sought to woo these countries in a sustained manner. The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs had visited all these countries about two months ago. Towards the end of last month the Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Chavan, had paid a visit to all these countries. The goodwill team from Vietnam had visited Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. New diplomatic and trade relations have been established between Hanoi and these ASEAN countries and a new spirit of co-operation, though still embryonic, seems to have emerged. Reports from ASEAN capitals indicate that after the visits of the Indian Foreign Minister and the Vietnamese goodwill team there was a new sense of understanding among significant sections of people in different ASEAN countries. It would seem that despite the pro-American traditions the members of ASEAN were getting increasingly disillusioned with the Kissinger concept of a five power world, sustained by a global superpower balance in the strategic sphere both political and economic. They seem to feel rather strongly, that the new American doctrine making the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, China and Japan as the main power centers not only denied the developing world its rightful role, but also tended to revive all rivalries in sensitive areas like South and East Asia.

IT IS INTERESTING to note that the puerile and amateurish attempts of the Australian Prime

Minister, Mr. Malcolm Frazer, to enter into the maze of geopolitical intricacies have made matters worse for the West by infuriating the ASEAN countries with his totally one-sided and completely untenable assessment of a complex situation. His pilgrimage to Peking had made confusion worse with his simplistic ideas and elementary solutions to the problems of peace and stability in the Indian Ocean. Mr. Frazer would have done better if he had visited ASEAN countries to ascertain their reactions to his ideas before going to China to propound his theme of a mounting Soviet threat to world peace. It will be recalled that this predecessor, Mr. Whitlam, had adopted an even-handed and balanced approach to China and the Soviet Union—a policy which most ASEAN countries seem anxious to follow. Mr. Frazer's references to detente, followed by China's warm endorsements of his critical observations against the Soviet Union had naturally led to a big outcry in Australia itself that he was unnecessarily involving in his country in the Sino-Soviet conflict under the guise of cautioning the world about

the dangers of Soviet expansionism.

That disillusionment which seems to be creeping over ASEAN countries in regard to the role of the West and the US in the region was reflected in the Manila Declaration after the ministerial meeting at the end of June. While calling for urgent measures to obtain support for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region, they also called for reciprocal initiative towards co-operation of all countries in the area. Although this appeal did not specifically refer to Indo-China, its wording left no doubt that ASEAN sought closer contact with Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, as a means of stabilising peace in the region.

ASEAN countries seem anxious to understand the finer nuances of the policy statement on foreign affairs made in Hanoi at the inaugural meeting of the National Assembly. Mr. Le Duan had stated that socialist Vietnam would base its policies "on the basis of respect for one another's sovereignty and independence." While this would have given ASEAN Foreign Ministers hope of co-operation or coexistence with Indo-China, Mr.

Le Duan had also added that Vietnam "will fight hand in hand with friendly socialist nations and countries of the Third World against US imperialism."

It is in this situation, significance should be attached to a report from Washington dated July 20 that the US was preparing to sell twenty one E-5E Jet fighters to Singapore. The cost of these Tiger Jets is expected to total more than \$ 100 million. It is believed that the request for these planes had come from the Singapore government. The US administration has sought Congressional approval for the sale and it was believed that it will be given soon. The US Defence Department, in a statement to the Congress four months ago, forecast military sales to Singapore totalling 11 million for the Financial Year starting October 1. This forecast included only one C-130 cargo plane, 20 Utility Helicopters 85 armoured troop carriers and 18 Howitzers. Singapore has more than 100 combat planes nearly half of them old American A-4 Skyhawk bombers. The new Tiger Jet is one of the most modern fighters produced in the United States.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

July 22 — July 28

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; TOCSI—Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

THURSDAY, JULY 22: Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, referring to a news item published in the *Daily News* of May 6th '76 under the heading "Premier to Ministers—Mind your Ps and Qs" said that it created an impression that the contents referred to him but actually it did not refer to him—CDN. The Ministry of Education yesterday announced new salary scales for teachers who graduated while in service: the new scale, almost double of what they were receiving, will be effective from September this year—CDN. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, told the *Daily News* claims for compensation by owners of lands taken over under stage 1 of the Land Reform will be settled by the end of this year. Government yesterday decided to invalidate all punishments meted out to government servants for participation in trade union work: this will include victimisation to these public servants who

indulged in a token strike on February 8, 1966 and who were later dismissed: all those victimised public servants will be reinstated get compensation—CDN. The Ministry of Trade and National Prices Commission turned down a request by the Government undertaking of the British Ceylon Corporation to increase the prices of their production—CDM. At official talks held between Indonesian and Indian Foreign Ministers Messrs Adam Malik and Y. Chavan it was announced that both countries would do their best to make the forthcoming Non-aligned Conference in Colombo a success—CDM. Following resumption of air services between India and Pakistan, Pakistan International Airlines will not overfly Sri Lanka in future on its international services linking Karachi and Tokyo—CDM. The *Aththa* in its editorial referred to the active participation of public servants in the preparation for the forthcoming Non-aligned Summit and praised the hard work of those involved with this work: the paper further said the government should see that in future these government servants work with the same interest and ability in serving the public in their day to day activities. The boycott by students of the engineering faculty of the Peradeniya Campus which commenced on Friday is still continuing: the reason for this boycott is the elimination of chemical engineering course from the faculty—ATH. The Government will in future file action against persons indulging in felling trees in jungles belonging to the state, encroaching of state lands, setting fire in jungles etc: those found guilty of these offences will be fined up to Rs. 1000—DM. The Paddy Marketing Board yesterday exported for the first time 4000

tons of maize: the consignment was bound to Malacca—DM.

FRIDAY, JULY 23: Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, will soon appoint a committee headed by Professor H. A. de S. Gunasekera Secretary to the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, to go into the claims of rupee companies whose estates were taken over by the Land Reform Commission under stage II of the operation—CDN. According to the *Daily News* till yesterday morning Sri Lanka received confirmation from 59 Non-aligned nations of their presence for the forthcoming Non-aligned nations conference to be held in Colombo next month: at a press conference held yesterday Mr. Arthur Basnayake, Director General of Foreign Affairs, said Switzerland will attend the conference as a guest state; Philippines and Rumania applied for observer status and Portugal for guest status and the applications of these states would be decided at the Colombo conference, Mr. Basnayake said—CDN. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, speaking at a press conference yesterday said that rights of African nations should be respected: he said this, when questioned about the boycott of African nations and participation of Taiwan and New Zealand in the Montreal olympic games—CDN. Yesterday at the National State Assembly the Opposition including Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Dr. N. M. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva categorically assented that the Constitution was sovereign: the Opposition moved for an adjournment of the House to discuss the point whether the validity of the Constitution could be canvassed in any form including the courts of law—CDN & CDM. The Cabinet decided that government cheques will be sent in Tamil to the people of North and East if they desire to get them in their mother tongue—CDM. Mr. Vernon Mendis, Sri Lanka High Commissioner in UK, has been appointed Secretary General of the forthcoming Non-aligned nations conference to be held in Colombo next month—VK. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, Senior Defence Counsel at the trial-at-bar where four leaders of the TULF are charged, said yesterday that detention orders and emergency regulations were being utilised against political parties and national minorities who were pledged to carry out their just struggles by non-violent and civil disobedience—VK. Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, has devised a scheme under which products of handlooms will be sold at the same price throughout the island—DM. Several roads in the city will be closed on the 24th and 25th of this month in order to enable security personnel assigned for the Non-aligned Summit to rehearse traffic arrangements—ATH. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will participate in several rallies organised on a district level to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party which falls this year—LD.

SATURDAY, JULY 24: Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, read a statement from the Prime Minister regarding the recent incidents at Attanagalle on the eve of a UNP meeting: the statement of the Prime Minister attributed the reasons for the disturbance to that of bringing people from outside to swell the gathering at the meeting which the SLFP supporters in Attanagalle resented: in her statement, the Prime Minister referred to a number of incidents during the past where the

UNP took no action to avoid clashes when meeting were held by opposing political parties: Mrs. Bandaranaike also referred to statements by UNPers after the Attanagalle incident which said that if they were returned to power they would "give a day off to the Police"—CDN. The NSA yesterday elected Mr. C. Arulampalam, MP for Nallur, as Deputy Chairman of Committees: Mr. Sepala Samarasekera, former Deputy Chairman of committees, has been now appointed Deputy Minister Public Administration and Home Affairs—CDN. The UNP decided to nominate Mr. T. D. Francisco as its candidate for the Mulkirigala by-election—CDN. Mr. Martin Wickremasinghe, the well-known Sinhala writer, died yesterday aged 86: funeral will take place on the 26th at Koggala, his birthplace—CDN & CDM. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, will seek government approval to appoint a committee to redemarcate the country's 22 administrative districts and to make recommendations—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, leader of the House, announced to party leaders that the government will go ahead with its original pension scheme for MPs under which all those who served as MPs for at least for a period of five years will be entitled to pensions. A supplementary estimate to provide the Deputy Speaker with an official car was passed yesterday in the NSA—CDM. Ministry of Finance yesterday announced that the *Daily Mirror* story of July 23 that government servants are likely to receive a bonus of Rs. 100 in view of the Non-aligned summit is totally false—CDM. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, told a press conference recently that Sri Lanka is contemplating on the formation of a national news agency—CDM. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, Senior Defence Counsel at the Trial-at-Bar in which four leaders of the TULF are charged said the LSSP whose member was in charge of the ministerial functions relating to the Constitution had been committed to a complete repeal of the Public Security Ordinance: he further said their intention was that the President should act only on the delegated authority of the National State Assembly and not on his own and that was why section 45(4) giving special law making powers to the President was included in the Constitution—CDM. A large tunnel leading into two separate directions has been discovered under the debris of the recently demolished St. John's fish market in Colombo and this has been brought to the notice of the Archaeological Department—VK. A District Court in Colombo yesterday ordered that certain defence witnesses and documents cited in the case in which Mr. R. Premadasa First MP for Colombo Central, is claiming damages in a sum of Rs. 150,000 from Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, be struck off: the judge also ordered that the plaintiff was entitled to Rs. 200 as costs of the inquiry—CDM.

SUNDAY, JULY 25: The government is formulating a scheme to provide retiring benefits for self-employed professionals like doctors, lawyers, technicians and other professionals: the professionals will be entitled to relief granted by way of deduction, of actual premia paid or 15 per cent of income or Rs. 6000 which ever is the least, from their assessable income, according to the Commissioner of Inland Revenue—CO. Three non-member countries of the Non-aligned movement

Rumania, Portugal and Philippines will be represented by their delegates when their applications for observer and guest status would be taken up during the summit conference—CO. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, who paid her last respects to the late writer Mr. Martin Wickremasinghe in a tribute said that the death of Mr. Wickremasinghe was a great loss to the literary and cultural world—CO. Police announced yesterday that their first traffic rehearsal held yesterday in preparation to the Non-aligned summit conference was a complete success—CO. According to the *Sunday Times* the accused in the Alfred Duraiyappah murder case will be tried before a trial-at-bar comprising three High Court judges: the Attorney General will file indictment against seven of the Tamil youths now in custody in connexion with the murder of Mr. Duraiyappah former Mayor of Jaffna—TOCSI. Several Ministries have recommended to the Government to increase the salaries of Chairman of State corporations as it was difficult to find suitable persons under the present salaries—TOCSI. When questioned by *Virakesari* as to why five of the Tamil youths under detention who were to be released were not released Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, said that it has been suspected that some of these youth had a hand in the murder of Mr. Alfred Duraiyappah, former Mayor of Jaffna, and as such the detention orders were renewed in respect of these five youths: when the reporter asked the Minister about the intended fast unto death by Tamil youths in prison the Minister said the government will watch the situation closely and the Tamil youths too should realise that they cannot achieve anything by fasting—VK. According to the *Silumina* the government will provide accommodation and food only for four of each delegation attending the Non-aligned summit and the rest will have to pay for their board and lodging and this will enable the country to earn foreign exchange: an estimated gathering of 5000 foreign visitors are expected in the country for the August conference—SM. The *Aththa* editorially alerted the government to the separatist attempts of the Federal Party and cautioned the government to be very careful about these attempts: the paper branded the Federal Party as "friends of the UNP."

MONDAY, JULY 26: The Industrial Development Board has announced a loan scheme for small scale industrialists under which priority will be given to users of local raw materials: the industrialists will be given loans up to a sum of Rs. 450,000 of which Rs. 150,000 will be in foreign exchange: the scheme is sponsored by the Industrial Development Board in co-operation with the People's Bank, Bank of Ceylon and the Development Finance Corporation—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Justice and Finance, sought government approval to amend certain chapters in the appeal procedure which required a security deposited before an appeal is made by a litigant—CDM. *Daily Mirror* quoted an article on Sri Lanka in the *Economic Review* published by the London Economic Intelligence Unit which says that the UNP's efforts to change its image in the country are thwarted by its "discredited old guard" which is still involved in the policy-making body of the party machinery. The Acting Vice Chancellor of the University warned that if Tamil students of the Vidyalkara Campus fail to accept the transfers to the Colombo Campus they will be forced to go there: students of the Vidyalkara

Campus boycotted lecturers on last Tuesday in protest against the transfer of Tamil students from the Campus—VK. Nearly 400 mechanics trained by the National Apprentice Board in various depots of the CTB were served with quit notices: they were not even issued with a certificate to testify their training—LD. Netherland gifted a consignment of building materials and stationery to the government of Sri Lanka: Mr. Pieter Keuneman Minister of Housing and Construction, will accept this consignment worth Rs. 50,000 at a simple ceremony tomorrow—ATH. Distribution of yarn to handloom industrialists will be through Co-operatives from the beginning of next month and this has been decided upon after information that yarns distributed direct from the corporation has found its way to blackmarket shops—DM. Eight people including young girls, boys and an infant died when a boat in which they were travelling capsized in the sea off the shores of Balapitiya—DM. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands will this week brief the Maha Sangha how the continuance of traditional temple rituals will be ensured after the abolition of the Rajakariya system: the Temporalities Ordinance is to be amended to abolish the Rajakariya system—CDN.

TUESDAY, JULY 27: The *Daily Mirror* quoted an article from the *Economic Review* published by the London Economic Intelligence Unit which said that the LSSP is trying to oust the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and the Minister of Finance and Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, from the SLFP: the paper further said that this is obvious from the support the LSSP gives to Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways and Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands implicating them with the success of the Mahaveli diversion and nationalisation of foreign owned company estates—CDM. Today is the first death anniversary of Mr. Alfred Duraiyappah, former Mayor of Jaffna, assassinated on July 27, last year—CDM. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, Senior Defence Counsel at the trial-at-bar in which four leaders of the TULF are charged said that the validity of the Constitution can be challenged in a court of Law—VK. At the party leaders' meeting held last week the Federal Party urged the appointment of a committee of the NSA to examine the application of the present Emergency Regulations: Mr. V. N. Navaratnam, MP for Chavakachcheri, moved a resolution urging the appointment of such a committee: Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, leader of the House, said that he would convey the resolution to the Government—CDM. The Insurance Corporation will open its second foreign branch in Singapore very soon—CDM. Government will buy dried chillies at Rs. 9.00 a pound from producers according to a decision by the Ministry of Trade—CDN. At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the People's Bank held yesterday Mr. M. B. Abeywardene was elected Chairman of the Bank—CDN. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, and top Police officials along with Muslim religious dignitaries conferred yesterday regarding arrangements for Muslim leaders attending the Non-aligned conference to participate in Jumma prayers—VK. According to the *Aththa* Central Bank has warned that if Finance Minister's crash program to provide employment to several thousands is implemented there will be inflation in the country within six months and this

will result in prices of goods shooting up: according to the *Aththa* the Bank has attributed the reason for the expected inflation as these jobs promised by the Minister are not productive oriented: the paper also said Minister's "crash program" has not been officially informed to the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs or to the Cabinet: the paper in an editorial too criticised the crash program of the Minister of Finance.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28: Twenty MPs holding posts in various co-operative societies in the island have refused to resign from their posts as wanted by the government: according to these MPs they were appointed to these posts by the co-operative management societies of their areas and the Ministry of Co-operative could take action against them if there were allegations against them—*CDM*. Mr. M. Thiruchelvam, Counsel for the defence before the trial-at-bar where four TULF leaders are charged argued that the Republican Constitution which has been devised by the party in power in their own interest is no more than a scrap of paper in the absence of consensus by the Tamils—*CDM*. On the recommendation by the Minister of Justice, Mr Felix Dias Bandaranaike, the President, Mr. William Gopallawa, yesterday commuted the sentences of death on two insurgents to that of 20 years rigorous imprisonment: there are eleven more insurgents in the death row—*CDN*. A five-member team of the Presidential Cabinet of the Arab Republic of Egypt will arrive in the country today to hold discussions with authorities with regard to arrangements in connexion with the visit of President Anwar Sadat to Colombo for the Non-aligned conference—*CDN*. Police said that a complete dossier on all taxi drivers numbering nearly 1500 in Colombo and suburbs have been prepared as a security measure in connexion with the Non-aligned conference—*CDN*. According to the *Aththa* the CTB suffered a loss of Rs. 94 lakhs in the year 1975. Bank of Ceylon has decided to close down 185 branches, all of them agricultural branches, as the bank found them to be running at a loss—*ATH*. Mr. W. P. G. Ariyadasa, Minister of Local Government, decided to give political rights to employees in the local government service: this will be in accordance with a recommendation by a committee appointed by the Minister which was headed by Mr. P. D. P. E. Perera—*LD*. Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, Minister of Co-operative and Small Industries, has decided to supply yarn to nearly 100,000 handlooms in the island continuously to enable each handloom to produce at least four yards of cloth each day—*DM*.



INTERNATIONAL DIARY

July 22 — July 27

THURSDAY, JULY 22: Tunisia was the latest country to pull out of the olympic games now being held in Montreal, Canada. British Parliament yesterday passed a bill which empowered the government take over aircraft and shipbuilding firms. Forty of the sixty countries that participated in the Non-aligned news pool conference recently held in New Delhi have earth stations with facilities to contact communication satellites. Irish guerrillas assassinated Britain's Ambassador

to Dublin yesterday by setting off a huge land mine under his car: the Ambassador, Mr. Christopher Ewart Biggs (54), took up his post in Dublin just two weeks ago. Syrian President Hafez Al Assad said he had rejected an ultimatum from Israel, relayed by the US, threatening possible intervention over Syria's role in Lebanon: Left wing Beirut Radio announced that a Palestinian team left for Damascus yesterday as a first move towards reconciliation with Syria: the Radio further said as soon as the delegation arrives in Damascus Syrian troops in Lebanon will make further withdrawals. The *New York Times* reported that a US Ambassador received \$ 25,000 from the Aluminum Company of America for officials of a foreign government. Black violence once again erupted in several parts of South Africa yesterday: black youths attacked whites and Indians of mixed race. Former child actress Shirley Temple was yesterday sworn in as US's new Chief of Protocol: she is the first woman to hold this post. A Kenyan paper said that more than 2000 Ugandan soldiers have mutinied saying that they did not want to fight Kenya: the paper *Daily Nation* said the mutiny was spreading. Air service between India and Pakistan commenced yesterday.

FRIDAY, JULY 23: America's Viking-1 spacecraft has discovered nitrogen on the planet Mars and with this discovery scientists are of hope that there could be life on the planet. Algeria's Youth and Sports Minister, Abdellah Fadel, said that if the International Olympic Committee applies sanctions on countries that pulled out of the current Olympic games they would find other ways of organising international sport. With the departure of a Palestinian peace delegation to Damascus Arab peace keeping troops moved under fire to positions in troubled areas in Lebanon. Ugandan President, Idi Amin, said yesterday that he would return the French Airbus to France which was hijacked to his country last month. Cuba and India yesterday signed an agreement in New Delhi in the fields of culture, education, sports and mass media. Pakistan donated 3000 tons of rice to help flood victims of Bangladesh. Vietnam announced that all Americans in Vietnam are free to leave the country after August this year. Mr. Syed Fidal Hassan, Pakistan's first Ambassador to India in five years, arrived in New Delhi yesterday: hours before Mr. Hassan's arrival India's Ambassador left for Islamabad. Well informed Arab sources in Beirut said that the USSR threatened to cut off supplies of spare parts for Syria's Soviet made weapons if Syria failed to pull out its troops in Lebanon. A report from New Delhi said India is planning to increase her co-operation substantially with the developing non-aligned nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the field of science and technology.

SATURDAY, JULY 24: The United States Food and Drug Administration yesterday warned that women of child bearing age should avoid taking common tranquilisers because this can cause children with birth defectives: the Administration named two commonly used tranquilisers valium and librium as dangerous. The Viking-1, America's spacecraft on Mars ran into a technical hitch and space scientists were busy yesterday to correct this: meanwhile the Russian space laboratory Salyut-5 made several more experiments and made 460 orbits around the earth and 217 of them were with the two-man crew abroad. The United States

called on China and North Korea to begin talks with America and South Korean representatives in New York to work out a new Armistice on the Korean peninsula. Mr. Nicholas P. Callahan, Associate Director of Domestic Intelligence Service of the US's Federal Bureau of Investigation was dismissed for having taken bribes from producers of bugging equipment. The FBI in New York yesterday arrested two men who attempted to throw bombs at the Ugandan delegation to the United Nations: the Agency described one of them as a pro-Israeli. President Agostino Neto of Angola was given a rousing welcome when he arrived in Havana yesterday. Portugal's Socialist Party's Secretary, General Mario Soares, assumed duties as Prime Minister. The leading British Archaeologist, Sir Mortimer Wheeler who devoted much of his work to Asia, died yesterday aged 85. President Anwar Sadat blamed Libya's President Muammar Gaddafi for the attempted overthrow of the Sudanese government: he called Gaddafi as "Libya's mad man." Conditions in South Africa is returning to normal and black students in the township of Johannesburg and Pretoria returned to their classes.

SUNDAY, JULY 25: A Cache of dynamite was discovered in the heart of Montreal and Police carried out intensive investigations of reports that an Arab guerilla leader has slipped into the city just before the start of the Olympic games. President Suharto and Vice President Hamengkubuwono, have announced that they will not be present for the forthcoming Non-aligned nations conference in Colombo because of the commitments at home in connexion with the 31st independent-day celebrations in Indonesia. Egypt reacted coolly to a threat by Libya that the latter would sever all connections with Egypt: President Anwar Sadat ignored the threat and did not make any official comment. President Ford's Deputy Campaign Manager Jim Baker said that Mr. Ford is certain of winning the Republican nomination for the November Presidential elections: he said that Mr. Ford has claimed the support of 1,185 delegates which meant five more than the needed to defeat Ronald Reagan: four days ago Reagan headquarters reported that their candidate had 1,140, ten more than the required majority. A Pakistani delegation led by Foreign Secretary, Agha Shahi, left Dacca after a four-day goodwill visit. Portugal government of Prime Minister Mario Soares is described in Lisbon as the first democratic government since 50 years. Space scientists worked round the clock in California to correct the technical hitch in the American spacecraft Viking-1 now on Mars: they were hopeful the present hitch will not seriously hamper the functioning of the spacecraft. Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith said his government has rejected proposal by a special commission on racial discrimination that blacks living in Rhodesia should be allowed to buy land in white farming areas. :

MONDAY, JULY 26: According to the New York Times Western News Agencies are worried over the establishment of the Non-aligned news agency pool; these agencies are of the view the Non-aligned news agency pool will give only official views of the non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Right wing Christian artillery pounded a major Palestinian refugee camp and over 500 men, women and children are feared trapped in an underground bunker. The Official Libyan News Agency quoted President

Muammar Gaddafi as saying that Egypt has mounted troops along the country's border: he said the troop concentration was along the eastern border of Libya. President Idi Amin of Uganda warned that his country will have to fight for survival of Kenya continued to "blockade" goods destined for Uganda: Kenya has denied the Ugandan charges. According to independent counts published by several US newspapers President Ford is sure of getting Republican nomination for the Presidential elections in November. *London Sunday Times* announced that its journalist John Swain, foreign correspondent in Ethiopia, and Britain's journalist of the year for 1975 has been missing for the last one month. According to statistics compiled there are over three lakhs of children waiting to migrate to Britain as dependents of coloured immigrants living in Britain. According to reports from London several hundreds of white Rhodesians are fleeing their country to avoid being called up for the "illegal regime's" national service to fight the terrorists.

TUESDAY, JULY 27: Officials of Algeria, Liberia Senegal and Yugoslavia drafted a program on co-operation among non-aligned nations in the field of sports to be submitted to the fifth non-aligned nations conference to be held in Colombo next month. President Idi Amin of Uganda in telegrams to the United Nations and Arab League accused Kenya of blockading his country's supplies of fuel: the Ugandan leader further said that the blockade has left his country with supplies of only five days of fuel. President Amin denied non-payment of oil bills: in his telegrams to the UN and the Arab League President Amin urged them to send fact-finding missions to assess the situation failing which he said his country have to fight for its survival and this would endanger world's peace and order. Newspapers in Baghdad, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Malaysia and Ethiopia welcomed the decision taken recently in New Delhi to set up a Non-aligned News Pool Agency. A Radio signal sent from earth has corrected the hitch in the American spacecraft Viking-1, now on Mars according to America's space scientists: a jammed locking pin which caused the hitch has dropped out owing to the radio signal sent from earth—a distant of 214 million miles. Ethiopia's military government announced that an attempted coup to overthrow its government has been foiled and the saboteurs killed. Former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, arrived in Peking yesterday on a four-day visit. Arab peace keeping troops in Lebanon came under fire between warring factions and two soldiers believed to be Sudanese were killed: meanwhile the Arab league appealed to its member countries to reinforce its peace-keeping mission in Lebanon. Pakistan Parliament passed a law limiting the dowry to Rs. 5000: according to reports this is an initial step to abolish the dowry system.



MARGINALIA

The Reality Of Power

by Bryan de Kretser

The successful Israeli raid into Uganda serves to show us once again that history belongs to those who, at the right moment, know how to use force. Both ancient and modern history make it plain that in the end what counts are guns. Our naive Third World folks appear not to have grasped this truth when they expostulate on world problems. Of course here too there is much dis-relation between what they themselves do at the national level and what—for lack of effective power—they preach internationally. Almost all Third World nations internally have used the armed forces to maintain order within their own territories, but on the World stage they talk as though they themselves eschew power and seek to run both national life and international life on the precepts of the Dhamma or the Sermon on the Mount. Whom do they fool? Or when will they grew up and relate to international life as it really is?

THE ILLUSION OF STRENGTH THROUGH NUMBERS.

Third World folks have the most number of votes in the United Nations. This makes it possible for them to put through any resolutions they choose through the world body. This may serve some purpose. It may help even to build up national morale. But let us realise its strict limitations. The World Body, unless its acts are unanimously backed by the Security Council, serves only as a platform for the ventilation of points of view. It does not guarantee implementation. All sorts of pious hopes and aspirations may be reflected in resolutions passed by the Assembly and they remain, for the most part, in the air. Indeed, in a lot of hot air usually.

THE DEMAND FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER.

Third World nations have repeatedly asked for better terms of trade, and repeatedly apart, from the Oil chaps, they have gotten little or nothing for the asking. Who

among us would buy a shirt for ten rupees if he could get the same thing for five? It is as simple as that. What appears to be a far more important measure is to take steps within Third World nations, on a regional basis, to build inter-trading activities. Forget the First World, Forget the Second, define our economic life within the areas which we ourselves control. Grow up. Trade with both First and Second World groups wont suffer and will probably change somewhat to our advantage as we pick up economic strength. But part of our task is to learn to use our material resources as Third world nations. Now we still keep talking in the hope the First World chaps anyways will listen, pay heed, and yield to our impotunity. They couldn't care less. They wont.

THE CREDIBILITY GAP. The Press and Radio in this country have helped to create a remarkable degree of disbelief among the mass of our peoples. Inevitably. When everyone knows that bandakka can only be purchased at 90 cts. a lb, the Radio blithely announces it can be had for twenty cents! More, when describing agricultural achievements, we have done the impossible. If a careful record of the new acreage brought under production in the past few years had been maintained—the records as announced triumphantly over the Radio, we mean—then, by now, Sinhala goviyas have penetrated far into the inhospitable regions of the Antarctic and planted the Green Revolutionary Flag successfully. Each year, leaders announce that in the following year, no rice will be imported into the country. The pattern is so familiar as to have become dreary through useage.

THE GROWING FRUSTRATION.

One of the great needs of an open society in order to preserve its openness is for a continuing public, critical, and constructive spirit to be allowed to pervade throughout the land. Where this is absent politicians parade their nakedness, all unconsciously, in the market place for only their loyal followers speak and they speak only to exclaim how wonderfully attired their leaders are. The rest nurse their grievances, imagined or real, in silence and plot dire revenge when the occasion arises. Criticism

therefore is fundamental to development and to help free the atmosphere from revenge pollution. The increasing role Government plays via employment and favours tends to reduce greatly the numbers of people who can best serve the nation by maintaining a critical and helpful attitude through the communications media. This loss will not do the nation any real good. Leaders will not be told the true state of affairs. Frustration will grow. Tensions will mount.

WHY ARE THERE NO WATERGATES HERE?

Reading the World Press one gets the feeling that in most lands much corruption in high places prevails. Not so however in Sri Lanka. Apart from a few chaps who have fallen from grace for obvious political reasons and who have had to face trial in one form or another, our political chaps have remained immune to offers of aid either from locals or from the multinationals. Course, it could mean that like the Virgin Mary, they have all been immaculately conceived. Unlike the majority of Sri Lanka citizens who only attain arahathood at death or so we are informed at solemn funeral orations, our political chaps achieve this much desired goal in their life time. So it would appear anyways. Or so we are asked to believe.

RELIGION THE POPULAR AND DONE THING.

All our leaders espouse the religious cause. Publicly they proclaim their tender loyalties to Buddhism or some other religious persuasion. Actually this open patronage of religion by politicians serves the religions they espouse ill. There is something about it all that savours of hypocrisy. Do these chaps at the top really believe sabba sankhara dukka, sabbe sankhara anicca; if so why have they amassed so much wealth and power for themselves? Youth listen to the religious enthusiasm of their elders, as proclaimed in the marketplace and wonder at the open contradiction between words and deeds. Can anyone blame them for growing up sceptics?

TIME IS AGAINST US. Whatever results may flow from the non-aligned conference nothing should tempt us to forget that for us in Sri Lanka the most urgent need

is to make ourselves sufficient in food. The UNP plans did not bring this to pass and the present Government after six years in power equally has failed to achieve this much-to-be-desired goal. Time is running out on us. Today more than yesterday world opinion remains more firmly convinced that population is outrunning food supplies and that world priorities need to be redefined. In the old order of the sixties, our structures did not deliver the goods, food wise and so far the changes in structures effected by the present Government have also failed. I suggest that among the chief reasons for failure is that there is a tenuous link between State officials and village goviya, the gap between the two parties remains. Indeed, the State official successfully freezes goviya initiatives. Why?



COLOMBO SUMMIT

On The Eve

by Tambapanni

THESE NOTES are being written on the eve of the meeting of the Heads of Missions (i.e. the officials at Ambassadorial level) of the Non-aligned Countries scheduled to meet in Colombo in Conference. The officials will endeavour on August 9, 10, 11 to narrow down the different points of view so that Foreign Ministers meeting in plenary session the August 11, 12, 13 and 14 will be able to put together drafts for the consideration for the Heads of States and Governments who will meet at the summit conference on August 16, 17, 18 and 19. Only the differences which cannot be resolved by the Foreign Ministers who will come before the heads of States.

There is no doubt that differences will arise in the matter of formulating the Declarations, the Resolutions and the Strategies to be adopted by the nonaligned countries in the coming period. The nonaligned movement is built on the principle that all major and fundamental decisions will be made on the basis of consensus. This means that if any country or a group of countries disagree on any matter the majority in

the movement will not force its point of view in a Resolution or a declaration. It is on this basis that the unity of the movement has been maintained and has grown. As the numbers of the nonaligned have grown from year to year, the difficulties of reaching consensus have, naturally increased, but from Belgrade to Algiers the movement has been able to secure consensus on the more important issues confronting the nonaligned countries.

There are many misapprehensions in Sri Lanka and elsewhere as to the meaning and significance of the term "non-alignment". Many unknowingly believe that nonalignment is a kind of non-committal non-involvement, a sitting on the fence or on several fences trying to keep people and governments on both sides (of fences) happy. Some mistake non-alignment for passive neutralism. In fact, the word nonalignment had come into use in the context of the cold war in which military blocs and alliances had been established in order to sustain the imperialist, (political and economic), system and also to "contain" the growing world of socialism. The cold war, with its system of military alliances, was also intended to check and curb the growth of national liberation movements and struggles for independence in the developing world.

In this setting, the imperialist groups had pressurised countries, newly independent after the Second World War, to come within the orbit of their cold war alliances and blocs. A number of countries in the developing world, either voluntarily or through compulsion, had joined these military alliances. But a few countries like Nehru's India, Sukarno's Indonesia, Nasser's Egypt, Tito's Yugoslavia, and Sri Lanka had taken the initiative to convene the Bandung conference where the principles of the *Pancha Sila* were enunciated. It was from Bandung that the principle of nonalignment, that is, not being aligned with the military blocs either of the world of imperialism or of socialism, had developed. The

nonaligned movement was based on non-involvement in military blocs and alliances.

But this did not mean that there was no "commitment". The non-aligned movement was fully committed to fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was committed to fighting for the independence and the national independence of all subject countries. So it would be wrong to think of the nonaligned as passive neutralists who do not take side on any matter. It is on the basis of these principled objectives, accepted at the Belgrade Summit in 1961 that the nonaligned movement has grown. It has grown in the face of serious opposition from the world of imperialism. But the world of socialism, which is politically, economically, and ideologically, opposed to imperialism and all that it stands for, has thrown its weight on the side of the nonaligned. At first, the imperialist, powers, still obsessed with cold war ideologies and strategies, sought to laugh the non-aligned movement out of the world. They also believed that by branding the nonaligned as "fellow-travellers of communism" and by describing the movement as "immoral", it would be possible to snuff out the nonaligned from the face of the earth.

INSPITE OF THIS OPPOSITION, the nonaligned movement has grown and has become a major force in the world of today. So important has it become that the US Secretary of State has resorted to intimidation and blackmail by talking "of the tyranny of the majority." There is no doubt that the 85 nations which are now members of the nonaligned movement, together with a large number of other countries which go along with them on many important issues, constitute a majority in the United Nations. Kissinger's latest speech on the "tyranny of the majority" follows in the footsteps of the tough speeches made by Mr. Moynihan when he was US Representative in the UN. Mr. Moynihan had told Third World countries that they should "toe the line" of the West if they expected to receive aid or even favourable terms of trade.

But together with these intimidatory statements, the US and the West have sought to weaken

and divide the nonaligned movement through various devices. After they had failed to frighten the nonaligned with the bogey of communism, they adopted the new technique of stating that the socialist countries were no different from the Western powers. This argument was further strengthened by the Chinese Maoist logic that communism in Russia and Eastern Europe had degenerated into capitalism and imperialism. The Chinese sought to label these communist states as "social imperialists." This meant that the West and the Chinese, each for reasons of their own, sought to bracket the USA and the USSR in order to blunt the thrust of the nonaligned movement.

This has certainly created confusion in many circles and in many countries. Even officials in the Sri Lanka Foreign Office seem to have been swayed by this argument. It is one thing to condemn the Soviet Union or any other communist country for any act of interference or intervention in any part of the world, but it is another thing to bracket, on a permanent basis, an imperialist power with a socialist power. It is naive to argue that Russia and other socialist bloc countries had developed neo-colonialist tendencies on the facile assumption that the growth of affluence had made them no different from the imperialist powers.

The nonaligned movement is fundamentally opposed to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is committed to fight for emancipation for all developing countries for imperialism. This is the main commitment of the nonaligned movement. If socialist or communist countries, or even developing countries develop undesirable tendencies it would be for the nonaligned to deal with such a situation in a separate resolution. But, to bracket wholesale imperialist countries with socialist countries in one package is to fall victim to a propagandist trick no different from what cold war specialists had earlier hoped to achieve by raising the red bogey. This time the imperialist powers seek asylum behind the smokescreen claiming that they are no

different from "affluent" socialist countries.

It is in this context that one must examine the Declarations and Resolutions which will come before the Conference. At Algiers, for the first time in nonaligned history, the Maoist term "hegemonistic" appeared in a statement in an innocuous form. It is known that the term "hegemonistic" did appear in the draft which Sri Lanka officials had prepared for circulation—in an obvious bid to bracket the USA and the USSR on the basis of the superpower fallacy. This draft was, unfortunately, leaked by a comparatively new nonaligned country with a mission in Colombo to certain Western diplomatic circles here. This led to a furious attack by the local communist daily paper, *Aththa*, on the officials in charge of the Nonaligned Division of the Foreign Office. The *Aththa* accused these bureaucrats of having gone Maoist paving the way for the imperialist game of seeking to divide the nonaligned world. The term "hegemony" on the basis of the concept of "superpowers", if included in any draft resolution, will prove to be a red herring that will tend to distract and divide the nonaligned movement from its main objective of fighting colo-

niaism and establishing a new international economic order.

It is not known whether the controversial Maoist terms (like "hegemonistic", superpower") in the Sri Lanka draft was put in deliberately or unwittingly; but whatever the reason or the motive it will raise very serious difficulties in the final formulation of an acceptable Declaration or Resolution. How this matter will be resolved will depend mainly in the manner the Foreign Ministers arrive at consensus.

There is also no doubt that there are a group of countries in the nonaligned movement, which tend to accept this logic of the Chinese and the West, that the affluent USA and the not-so-affluent USSR should be bracketed together. Some of these countries believe that if such methodology is accepted by them openly it would be easier for them to obtain aid and assistance from the West as well as from China. This leads to a fundamental problem within the non-aligned movement.

There are many countries genuinely interested in fighting imperialism and which do not subscribe

VALUES TO LIVE BY TODAY

The fate of men and nations is determined by the values which govern their decisions.

Our national crisis is basically spiritual although focused through political and economic issues. National crises test the national character giving us opportunity to reappraise the values we accept as a standard for daily living. The innate good sense, the wisdom, justice and the will-to-good of the people of the world are today in confrontation with those elements in nature which are materialistic and self-seeking, causing division and destruction. What are the self-evident truths and the values which should determine our decisions today?

A LOVE OF TRUTH as the only safe standard for a just, inclusive and progressive society.

A SENSE OF JUSTICE which includes love and compassion, generosity and understanding, and a willingness for self-renunciation.

A SENSE OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY for group, community and national affairs and for self-control in personal matters.

A SPIRIT OF CO-OPERATION based on the active energy of goodwill and the principle of right human relations.

SERVING THE COMMON GOOD by personal concern and the willingness to share. Only what is good for all is good for each one.

These are soul qualities inspiring the affairs of daily life with spiritual energy. Let us identify and support those whose decisions are determined by these values.

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to the superpower theory (or seek to bracket the USA and the USSR) which are undecided in regard to the manner in which they should, on the one hand, approach Western countries and, on the other, how they should deal with the socialist bloc. Some of these countries want a tough hard line against the US and other Western countries: they think that no quarter should be shown to the imperialists. There are others however who think that the soft approach to Western countries would be conducive to better relations and better trade in a growing world of detente. In between, these two groups, there are others who want to use moderate terminology and middle-of-the-road strategies in order to cope with general problems like trade and transfer of technology, but are willing to adopt stronger resolutions in regard to matters like Racism, South Africa and Israel.

It will be interesting in this situation to see how discussions develop in the conference that is taking place in Colombo now and how these discussions will be translated into formal declarations and resolutions.

WITH THIS PREVIEW of one aspect of the problems before the conference, it is interesting to note some of the highlights of the current international situation. A random survey will indicate that the conference meets at a time of great complexity in international affairs. Apart from confrontations, stemming from human conduct, unprecedented natural disasters have shaken the world in recent weeks. The major earthquake in the Peking-Tientsin area has turned the spotlight on China at a time where there was a seeming lull in the internal political conflicts. News from China is scarce but estimates from nearby countries place the casualties at anything from 100,000 to 1,000,000. There have been other earthquakes too in recent months: in Guatemala, in Italy, in Turkey, in Indonesia and other places. Drought has afflicted many parts of the world including Sri Lanka. There have been floods in Assam and other places.

Besides these natural disasters, political upheavals have erupted in several countries in recent weeks. On July 20, the Burmese

government announced the arrest of a group of army officers alleged to have plotted to assassinate President Ne Win and also the Chairman of the ruling Socialist Programme Party. The Burmese government had also announced that the plot had been foiled and the ring-leaders arrested. It was also reported that the plot was engineered by three army captains and supported by eleven other military officers all of whom were arrested on July 2. The announcement on July 20 followed persistent rumours in Rangoon that there had been a number of arrests of Junior and Senior officers. Observers in Rangoon seem to connect the plot with a former Defence Minister, General Tin Woo, who lost his job last March and is still under investigation for alleged corruption. Other names of the conspirators have also been announced over the State Radio. But there appears to be speculation whether the coup was inspired by the C.I.A. It is known that the USA was interested in de-establishing the Ne Win regime at a time when the country was facing severe economic difficulties, but what is problematic is whether the CIA after the battering it has received in the Senate investigations in Washington will want to venture into such adventures at this juncture. However, a number of countries will propose Resolutions at the Colombo Conference to condemn US interference in Southeast and South Asian delegations. Vietnam can be counted on to take the initiative in this matter.

The attempted coup in Burma is small trouble compared to developments in Africa: in Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, Rhodesia and South Africa. There is also trouble between Libya and Egypt, and Libya and Sudan. Algeria and Mauretania have unresolved problems with Morocco about the Western Sahara recently evacuated by Spain. Lebanon is still boiling and over had the Arab Israeli conflict is getting worse. In Latin America there is political instability in a large number of countries.

Two states in Central America, Puerto Rico and Panama, are likely to figure in a big way in the non-aligned conference in Colombo this week. Cuba and a number of Latin American countries will

definitely press for strong Resolutions on Puerto Rico and Panama, demanding complete independence for them from the United States. The pro-West (pro-US) group in the nonaligned movement will seek to prevent such Resolutions and will no doubt endeavour to achieve this by doubling red herrings about "hegemonism", "superpower domination" and "affluent rich countries versus the "poor countries." These discussions about Panama and Puerto Rico are bound to generate a great deal of heat just as much as the Arab Resolutions on Israel and Zionism also will. Some Arab states may want to secure the adoption of a Resolution to expel Israel from the UN, but it is unlikely that there will be any consensus on this issue.

LEADERS OF MANY NONALIGNED COUNTRIES will seek to utilize the opportunity to define their attitude to all major current problems of the day. But all of them will stress that the non-aligned movement was a mighty progressive and anti-imperialist force capable of playing a vital role in the struggle for peace, security, the elimination of colonialism and racism and the establishment of equal political and economic relations between the countries.

A majority of the nonaligned heads of states are likely to assert that the socialist bloc of countries are true allies of the nonaligned movement: that the socialist countries have contributed, morally and politically, to strengthening the sovereignty of new liberated peoples and also accelerating their social, economic and cultural developments. It will also be pointed out, judging from speeches made at Lusaka and Algiers, that the socialist countries do not look upon developing countries as competitors in world trade and seek to arrive at mutually beneficial bilateral trade arrangements with them: that the establishment of the socialist system was responsible more than anything else for the growth of anti-imperialist movement in the developing world: that it was the alliance between the nonaligned countries and the socialist camp that has led to the democratisation of international relations and the successful struggle against imperialism and racial discrimination.

It must be mentioned in this connection, that there are a number of countries which fight shy of speaking about the natural affinities between the nonaligned world and the socialist camp: and that some of these countries like to turn the nonaligned movement into a "third bloc", isolated from socialist world. But, important nonaligned leaders have pointed out that this would weaken the movement and limit its chances for achieving its basic aims. Further, many nonaligned leaders are likely to point out that the growing detente in the world has helped small and medium countries to achieve real progress in a number of spheres: that though there are certain circles in the West and China which maintain that the relaxation of tension was to the advantage of socialist countries only, detente has really helped capitalist as much as socialist and also nonaligned countries.

It will undoubtedly be stressed that the strength of the nonaligned countries was in their unity, based on anti-imperialism: that any attempt to depoliticize nonalignment by weakening its anti-imperialist content will lead to a general demoralisation of the movement: and that it would be suicidal, to substitute passive neutralism for the positive anti-imperialism that has characterised the non-aligned movement so far.

Reference will undoubtedly be made at the Conference to the tragedy of Chile, the Cyprus crisis and the South African and West-sponsored mercenary intrusion in Angola. Recent events in these three countries show that there is a constant struggle going on within the movement between those who stand for the vigorous anti-imperialist policies of non alignment and those who are inclined to collaborate with the West and imperialist powers. Many leaders will say that it was wrong for nonaligned states to take a passive stand as an outsider in matters of critical importance like Chile, Cyprus or Angola: that it was necessary to display persistence and solidarity in stopping imperialist intrigues: that every concession given to imperialists on the part of non-aligned countries was fraught with new provocations against other developing countries.

IT WILL BE RECALLED that at the Fourth Conference of Heads

of States or Governments of Non-aligned Countries in Algiers, in September 1973, and that at the Foreign Ministers Meeting in Lima, in August 1975, the nonaligned countries had resolutely opted for the relaxation of tension, disarmament, prohibition in the production of nuclear weapons, the elimination of foreign military presence on the territory of nonaligned countries and for a firm struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. This position of the non-aligned countries was reflected in the political declaration of the Algiers Summit and the Lima Conference and in UN Resolutions adopted on the initiative of the non-aligned and socialist countries. However, it has been pointed out that the nonaligned movement has not given enough consideration in regard to implementing these decisions. It is likely that proposals will be brought before the Colombo Summit to initiate practical measures to secure implementation of the Resolutions that are adopted.

A Resolution supporting the convening of an International conference for disarmament, which has been long delayed by Western countries and China will most likely figure at the Colombo Conference: will indicate that in the forthcoming UN Sessions some practical and concrete action should be taken to expedite holding the Disarmament Conference. Suggestion will also be made that the UN should insist on a ten percent cut in the military budget of Permanent Members of the UN Security Council and to allot part of these monies to help developing countries.

Some countries will undoubtedly raise the question of Collective Security in Asia through the collective efforts of countries in this region. Nonaligned Asian countries would be called upon to take the initiative to find ways to strengthen peace and security in Asia and to develop equal, mutually beneficial co-operation, for the establishment of such a system, which will help to eliminate many contradictions inherent in Asia today, stabilise the situation and enable Asian countries to utilize all their resources for the economic development of their countries.

Perhaps, the most important of the items on the Agenda will be

the Resolution in regard to the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Attempts will no doubt be made to confuse issues by raising bogeys about "the rivalries and competition of superpowers." Much has been written on this question. Some have pointed out that the imperialist powers still maintained bases in the Indian Ocean and others have stressed that the Soviet Union had an unnecessarily large of naval presence in the region. In some earlier conferences, the arguments on this matter had tended to detract from the real significance and importance.

What is important to realise, and it has been frequently emphasised, that these Western bases in the Indian Ocean are not directed against the Soviet Union but against Asian and African countries and are also intended to safeguard the extensive economic investments of Western countries in this region: that the noise being made about the "rival superpowers" in the Indian Ocean, continuously repeated by Western and Chinese press as well as other circles in Asia, have been really used to conceal the increased military intrigues of the imperialists in this area: and that these bases were maintained and even expanded in spite of the Resolution adopted in Non Aligned conferences wanting the removal of Diego Garcia and other bases in the Indian Ocean.

References are also likely to be made by a number of non-aligned leaders to the attempt by certain circles to divide the world into "rich and poor" countries. It will be stressed that this will only help to play into the hands of the imperialist powers by side-tracking developing countries from solving their main task, i.e., of fighting world imperialism: that this concept of "rich" and "poor" countries and "equal responsibility of all developed countries in regard to the continuing legacies and hangovers from colonialism will only perpetuate the *status quo*. Only the very naive will be tempted to fall for the propaganda that the Socialist Countries had as much responsibility for the poverty in a newly liberated country as the colonial powers which had exploited such countries.

The Nonaligned

Even the term *Third World* is fraught with danger for the non-aligned. It is one way of creating a new bloc which will be set up not only against the first world of capitalism but also the second world of socialism. This is no doubt a method of creating a "third bloc" the dangers of which have been pointed out. The fact that Mr. McNamara of the World Bank has chosen to adopt the concept of the Third World is an indication that this division into the rich versus poor and the north versus south is definitely intended to help the perpetuation of the *status quo* of imperialist domination.

All this will become apparent in the discussions at the conference about the sharpening of the contemporary struggle between developing and imperialist countries for the control over raw materials and the prices for them. This McNamara-approved *Third World* as a "poor" one as against the "rich" group of the First and Second World: is no doubt intended to deprive the developing countries of the support from the socialist world.

FINALLY although the question of the admission of new members and observers will be resolved by consensus on the Belgrade criteria, many nonaligned leaders will, in the course of the conference, stress that the entry into the non-aligned movement of countries involved in military blocs would lead to the growth of divisions and contradictions within the movement turning it into an arena for the clash of 'Big Power' interests. Such entry, it will be pointed out, would deprive the movement of its fighting spirit diverting it from active work aimed at defending the rights of nonaligned countries.

Stress is bound to be laid on the fact that imperialist forces were behind some of the countries that now seek to join the nonaligned movement. It is clear that the imperialists hope to strengthen their positions within the movement in this way and would thereby be able to exert more effective influence over the activities of the movement.

To coincide with the Colombo Conference a number of publications on nonalignment have already come before the public.

Lake House has produced a book on nonalignment in Sinhala. So far as English publications are concerned, there has been a great deal of publicity for a commemorative book by the Bandaranaike Centre. It is said to contain all the relevant documents of the non-aligned movement together with a foreword by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Copies of this book have not become available to members of the public and even to newspapers.

The well known political commentator, Mr. Basil Perera, has brought out a little booklet entitled "Problems of Nonalignment". In 37 pages of Octavo size Mr. Basil Perera has traced: (1) the birth and growth of non-alignment; (2) the essence of the policy of nonalignment; (3) from Bandung to Algiers; (4) A rout of the disrupters at Algiers; and, (5) the problems of today. This booklet is a handy little one in which the main problems confronting the nonaligned movement have been spotlighted.

A more ambitious production has come from New York. Entitled FROM BANDUNG TO COLOMBO, editors, A. W. Singham and Tran Van Dinh, have produced a comprehensive book with complete documentation on the Conferences of Nonaligned Countries from 1955 to 1975. The authors have written two commentaries: the first by Tran Van Dinh entitled *Non Aligned but "Committed to the Hill"*; and the second by A. W. Singham on *The World Capitalist System and the Non-Alignment*. The Book is dedicated "to all women and men in the world who have been and are struggling for independence and freedom. It is especially dedicated to our Afro-American Students in whom we have tried to instill the spirit of solidarity with the peoples of the Third World. They have, in turn, educated us about the realities of the first world, for which we are very grateful.

A. W. Singham is currently a Professor in the Political Science Department at Howard University. He had taught at the University of West Indies in Jamaica for several years and has published extensively on aspects of politics in the Third World and is himself from Sri Lanka. Tran Van Dinh, a former Vietnamese dip-

omat, is currently with the Pan-African Studies Department at Temple University. He has published extensively on Vietnam and was a delegate to the Bandung Conference. This book is certainly a "must" for all those interested in the nonaligned movement. The two commentaries throw a revealing light on many aspects of the current international situation.

COLOMBO SUMMIT

The News Agency

By T. M. G. Samat

Reuter's network in the world of the media of Information is not second to any other.

Of the foremost News Agencies, AP, UPI, AFP, and Reuters, the last named has perhaps the widest world wide network and most a romantic story. It takes its name from Paul Julius Reuter, the man who changed the whole pattern of news transmission. It took almost two months for the news of Napoleon to reach Europe. Within a period of a few years, Reuters established new standards in the transmitting of news that brought a revolution in methods and speed.

During World War II, Reuter's correspondents had to work hard to keep the news flowing. Not a few of them in the Far East were taken POW and more than one made the supreme sacrifice while on duty. The last words from the Chief Correspondent Far East who had previously escaped from Singapore and arrived in Java was "I am afraid it's too late. Good luck" He was never heard of again.

The News Agency Reuter created took to London news of his death when Reuter died in February 1899.

Today Reuters have a most extensive cable and radio communication network. They were the first in the field to transmit news internationally via the space communication satellite Telstar.

At the time of his death Reuter was 82. He was born in the small town of Casse! In Germany on the 21st July 1816.

His first adventures into business ended in failure. The telegraph

posts of those times, one from Paris ended in Brussels while another from Berlin ended at Aachen and in this 100 mile gap between Aachen and Brussels, Reuter saw a chance for success.

An Aachen brewer-baker-pigeon breeder was supplied with 40 well trained pigeons. Reuter's agent here would copy the latest stock prices on to thin tissue paper and place them under the wing of one of the birds. A team comprising of Reuter, his wife Heinrich and a 13 year old boy caught the pigeons as they landed, extracted the messages copied them out and distributed them to the circle local subscribers as well as telegraphed them to Berlin.

Keeping his contacts in Europe he crossed over to London and with a small capital and a small boy Reuter started a telegraph Office in two rooms in close proximity to the Royal Exchange buildings. The fast and reliable service of Reuter was welcomed by the continent and the Stock Exchange.

There were two classes of news "Run and walk" messages and there was a third "Cycle" messages. Soon he was transmitting news to provincial newspapers as his name and reputation for speed and impartiality was recognised. Queen Victoria placed implicit trust in Reuter telegrams delivered to her. She wrote a testy request to Disraeli to pay more attention to these telegrams. A barony conferred on Reuter by the Duke of Saxe Coburg was recognised by Queen Victoria. It is clear and understandable that the bourgeois and socialist press play a decisive role in the context of press and other mass media but the best results are when the people participate are put in a position to differentiate between the hidden purpose and aims without ignoring the obvious contradictions between the two sides in every field.

Undoubtedly the socialist mass media are by their very nature always concerned with searching and publishing those topical news and events which deal with the majority of the masses and which have a direct and indirect influence. Leaders who uphold their national interests and resist the blandishment of the capitalistic press, their multinational corporations and agencies are denigrated and their image falsified in every con-

ceivable way". Reuter's foundation in its news service "honesty and impartiality" have come a long way.

There are about 50 news agencies in non-aligned countries. But owing to the domination of the capitalists press they rarely publish much news about Non-aligned countries. Naturally no correct picture of tremendous effort made by the Third world finds a place in the Western press or rather the dominated newspapers.

The Colombo Summit will make a determined effort to pool their news and achieve a step towards a progressive social service for peace and progress.



FOR THE RECORD

Non-aligned Countries exposed To great pressure

Belgrade,

Practically all the Non-aligned countries are being exposed to great pressure pending the Colombo conference. Yugoslavia, itself, is not spared from external pressure, President Tito stated in the interview given to Tanjug. Tito assessed that these pressures are not coming from the people but just certain quarters.

The Yugoslav President offered in illustration the conduct of United States Ambassador in Belgrade Silberman. "Silberman has a campaign against Yugoslavia in the United States", President Tito said. "He is saying that it pays to exert pressure on Yugoslavia, and is criticising those who think differently. He is giving lessons on Yugoslavia's internal affairs," the President said. As concerns Yugoslavia President Tito underlined, it will continue to pursue its policy in the same manner as so far.

President Tito assessed the pressure put on Yugoslavia as part of the attempts being made to compromise Yugoslavia among the Non-aligned pending the Colombo conference.

"I must, nevertheless, set out that the forces interested in preserving the existing relations in the world are attempting, espe-

cially now pending the Colombo conference to exploit differences among certain Nonaligned countries", President Tito said. "Moreover, they (these forces) are inflating these differences in an attempt to cause discord among the Non-aligned and weaken their unity of action and role".

President Tito added. "I am convinced that the Non-aligned countries are aware of these attempts and that they will exert maximum efforts to preserve and further strengthen their own unity."

Yugoslav President Tito has set out that the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the Non-aligned countries is a condition for the success of these countries' joint actions, and expressed the conviction that the participants in the Colombo conference will, just as at the previous conferences, concentrate on what is essential and of common interest.

Speaking on this during an interview given to Tanjug, President Tito emphasised that his conviction that the Colombo conference will offer the greatest support to everything principled, especially when the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and even the very existence of a Non-aligned country or a national liberation movement are threatened.

Tito spoke of the various pressures being put on the Non-aligned countries especially now pending the Colombo conference and the attempts made by the forces interested in preserving the existing relations in the world to exploit differences between certain Non-aligned countries. "I am convinced that the Non-aligned countries are aware of the danger of these attempts and that they will invest maximal efforts to preserve and further strengthen their unity". The Yugoslav President underlined that the Non-aligned conferences and meetings to date have set a series of positive examples to this effect. It should not be doubted that the spirit of unity and solidarity will be even more strongly present at the conference in Colombo", President Tito said.

—Tanjug



HISTORY

Caste In Jaffna

— 1900 to 1950 —

by K. Arumainayagam

In previous issues, *Tribune* has published two articles by K. Arumainayagam on Caste in Jaffna in the 18th and 19th centuries. In this issue, we publish the first part of an article *Caste In Jaffna 1900-1950* by the same author. The concluding part will appear in the next issue.

In the early years of the twentieth century caste issues became much more clear and attempts were made by enlightened high caste Hindus and low-castes to eradicate the observance of some of the evil practices. Depressed classes wanted to enjoy equal rights and privileges, to cremate their dead-bodies to the accompaniment of tom-tom beaters; to have equal seating accommodation for their children in schools; access to inner precincts of the temples for worship and adopt modern attire.

Riots: Most of the disputes arose and riots occurred between Vellalas and low castes. In 1914 Vellalas had trouble with Carpenters at Pandaterruppu; Goldsmiths at Tannakkarakuricchi; Pallas at Kerudavil; Pallas and Nallawas at Varani. In 1922 with pallas at Urumpiray and dhobies at Chivateru; In 1926 with Nalawas at Moolay and again in 1933 with Nalawas in Jaffna. In most of these cases, the troubles arose, with regard to cremation of dead-bodies of the Pallas or Nallawas. In 1931 Chandars of Pirampattai attempted to prevent the cremation of a Palla and there was a riot. In the same year there was a repetition of the incident and Police were stationed for three months. Riots broke out in 1933 when a Roman Catholic man of the Pariah Caste wore a shoe. Several people were killed and the high castes burnt down the houses of Pariahs at Pungudutivu.

Religious Conversions. These type of caste riots provided enough fodder for a native Catholic missionary to convert large number of Pallas and Nallawas to his religious fold. The action of the mis-

sionary further wounded the pride of the high castes and they reacted still more violently. Commenting on this type of conversions, a Catholic writer recently wrote "Because these slave caste communities were harassed by others the missionary perhaps capitalised this situation. That they came 'en-masse' to embrace christianity for the ideal it presented or to attribute exclusive zeal to the missionary, is to over simplify matters. Gnanapragasar found the ground fertile for emancipating them socially, economically and educationally, provided they embraced Catholicism. Figures of such converts estimated over 3000 are quoted but statistics of those who had lapsed are conveniently absent and some actually did." Gnanapragasar founded 37 churches and of this only one was for Vellalas. Of the balance 36, 12 for Nallawas, 10 for Pallas, 4 for Thurumpars, 4 for mixed, 3 common, 1 for Kurukular and 2 for Pariahas.

Regarding temple entry issue, too, the age-old usages were given sanction by the courts. In India the dhobies were not allowed to enter temples belonging to high Castes while barbers were allowed entry. On the other hand in Jaffna the dhobies were allowed and not the barbers. When the barber caste challenged the temple managers at Pallali in 1910, the Supreme Court held that "where according to the Hindu religion and custom, persons of the barber caste have no right to enter a particular temple, the managers of the temple have a right to prevent their entry and the court may grant an injunction for that purpose."

Indian Influence: While the afore-mentioned developments were taking place, a gradual change of heart also came about among the high caste educated Hindus. This was partly spontaneous and partly influenced by developments that took place in the neighbouring subcontinent of India. The Indian national movement under the able guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, was converted into a mass-movement. Mahatma Gandhi would not have easily succeeded in bringing the low-castes into the main stream of national life without the promise of a social emancipation. Gandhi, so was the local reformers, were a great admirers of Ranade. Ranade had always

emphasised that freedom means a perfect harmony of all inter-related affairs of men. He admonished thus, "you cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights; how can you fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economic system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and are grovelling; you cannot succeed in social, economic or social sphere. This inter dependence is not an accident but is the law of nature".

Convinced by such noble ideals Gandhi and his band of reformers began their fight against casteism. Net result of their agitations was the relaxation of Temple entry rules of the high classes. Leading Brahmins like Rajagopalachariyar and Dr. T. S. S. Rajan were responsible for passing the Temple Entry Bill in Madras State; and another Brahmin Sri A. Vaidyanatha Iyer was responsible for leading Harijans for Dharsanam into the famous Meenakshi temple at Madurai. Such happenings really awakened the conscience of the educated classes in the peninsula. Besides these, Indian periodicals widely read in Ceylon—*Indian Review*, *Modern Review*, *Sutesa mitran* and poems of Subramania Bharati exerted tremendous influence over the local elite. It is in this background one has to seek answers for the awakening of social consciousness among the Jaffnese. Local novelists and poets too began to incorporate caste issues in their works.

Y.M.H.A. and Caste: Finding that the caste riots, and as a consequent of it, Christianity spreading fast, the Hindu youths raised a note of alarm to their co-religionists. They emphasised that low castes cannot any longer be neglected and their interest must receive the attention of the high castes especially their education. Through the means of education they hoped to effect improvement among the low castes. Their arguments are worth quoting "the education of the Panchama classes ought to engage the serious attention of those who are really intent on the advancement of the Salva-community. If we fail to make

immediate and adequate provision for their secular and religious education we should not grumble if Christian missions undertake the task and make additions to their fold of converts. If we have not the strength to face the question and attempt a solution, common-sense at least demands that we should stand by and watch if other religionists offer facilities for the education and upliftment of the Panchama classes. We should not merely tolerate their endeavours but even welcome them. We feel that our question may be revolting to some of our leaders but we must trust they will bear in mind the world is marching at a pace which makes it dangerous to pursue the Dog-in-the-manger policy in this or other public question. If we would move with the world we should shake off the crude, laissez-faire or 'wait and see' attitude of viewing things."

Such thinking on the question of caste was very revealing and more sensible than what was followed in the previous century. There was the open confession and acknowledgement of the services rendered by the Christian missionaries, whether the services rendered by the Christian missionaries elevated them to higher social status is entirely a different matter. The young men Hindu Association achieved its ambition when it opened a school on the 9th July 1919 at Anjoipanthiady for the Depressed classes.

They were also critical of some of the funeral customs prevailing in Jaffna, which were just the reverse of those obtaining in India. As an illustration of this they pointed out that "the low castes in India are given the privilege of tom-toming as much as they like at funerals, the Vellalas consider it disgraceful to employ that accompaniment. Out here, the Vellalas claim these right of use of tom-tom as their peculiar privilege and go to the extent of knocking on the heads of those who aspire to such honours. We invite Saiva vellalas to consider the propriety of the practice." The agitation of the Young Men Hindu Association formed in 1916-1917 fell on deaf ears. Widespread support in the form of finance or otherwise was not readily forthcoming to put their idea into practice. The *Social Reformer*, a quarterly published in Jaffna, expressed its satis-

faction of the work undertaken by the Y.M.H.A. and undertook to train panchamas by holding lecture classes on Sanitation, Public health, Temperance and Morality. However, a feeling that "something" should be done to uplift the depressed classes had been admitted.

School & Equal Seating: At the close of the 19th century and first two decades of the 20th century schools both vernacular and English, were opened up in Jaffna to cater to the Saivite Community. But all these schools were not open to children of the depressed classes. School Managers, and teachers opposed any such move. The attempts of Jaffna Saiva Paripalana Sabai and Hindu Board of Education to persuade Hindu Managers to admit depressed-class children were not received with any favour. In his Presidential address at a conference of the Head Masters, local managers of the Hindu Board Schools, held in August 1, 1926, Sir P. Ramanathan pointed out "education is the only lever by which we may hope to raise them (depressed classes) in the social scale" and emphasised that "to place them any longer in their present low social condition is surely nothing less than a blot on our civilization." Even in those schools where low caste children were lucky to find admission they were not given equal seating accommodation. Contemporary evidence will show that they were either kept away from the other children and not allowed to sit and if allowed to be seated they were to sit on the floor.

In 1929, Director of Education issued a fiat insisting that all Government Schools and Grant-in-aid Schools should give equal seating

accommodation to children attending schools regardless of race, caste, nationality or creed. This was vehemently opposed by Managers, Teachers and Village committees in Jaffna. However, the Hindu Board of Education, Jaffna came in support of the Government fiat and issued a circular to teachers "urging co-operation" in the matter. As the Government refused to yield to these pressure and opposition, the vellala parents reacted violently. The period between 1929-1932 was a period of high social and political tension in Jaffna. The entire attention of the administrators was for a moment directed to Jaffna. In some areas the parents withdrew their children—vellala parents as an objection to the fiat and low-caste for fear of reprisals. In 1930, fifteen schools were set on fire and the incendiarism was only checked by the stationing of punitive police at Tunnalai and Urumpirai. Puttur offered vehement opposition.

As such, low-caste parents, sought admissions in schools where their children were permitted to sit on the floor. The low caste were too weak in number and financially to go to courts over this issue. In 1932, though there was a marked improvement, yet at Sirupiddy, the Management and staff of a school threatened the low-caste children. After an inquiry into the matter by the Government agent and Inspector of Schools, the registration of the school was cancelled. The tension also could be judged by the number prosecutions entered for irregular attendance of children. In 1932, there were 14,286 prosecutions for irregular attendance of children, against 8098 in 1931.

"NON-AMERICAN NAMES"

Sir,

I was reading Herbert Keuneman's piece about Names in *Tribune* for 31 July when I was stopped short by the reference to a "non-American" name. A priori, there should not be any non-American name. The USA is a nation of immigrants, as was emphasized on July 4 when, as part of the bicentennial celebrations thousands took their oath and became citizens. Except for some of the descendants of the original inhabitants (whom Columbus called "Indians"), the present citizens of the USA bear names representative of all nations of the world. *Babyhamy* cannot be classed as "non-American". It is just as much at home in the USA as Daly, Eisenhower or Ponnampereuma.

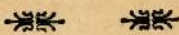
Claude R. Daly S.J.

31 Clifford Place,
Colombo 4.
1976 August 4

9447 in 1930 and 5376 in 1929. The Government Agent of the Northern Province, commenting on this irregular attendance wrote that "the abnormal increase in prosecutions in 1930 is due to the fiat issued by the Education Department in 1929 enforcing equal seating and consequent resentment of the high caste people shown by withdrawing their children and preventing by threats the children of low caste attending."

Though the Government appears to have been satisfied with the report saying that no discrimination was shown, still the problem remained intact in most of the Hindu Schools till the mid 1940's. The experience of C. Subramaniam and S. H. Perinpanayagam, two of the prime movers and stalwarts of the Jaffna Youth Congress, will illustrate how they found the problem still lying low, years after they campaigned against it in their prime of their youth. Mr. S. H. Perinpanayagam's comments and description of an interview they faced for the principalship of Skandavarodaya College for C. Subramaniam will illustrate this point. The Founder-Manager of the school Kandiah Upathiyayar "was a well known embodiment of social conservatism. Subramaniam's radicalism was notorious and the Upathiyayar was apprehensive that the new Principal would practice his radical social Philosophy at Skanda. My presence could not have assuaged his fears. Very politely and in soothing tone he asked whether the new Principal would admit Harijan children to the school and create headache all round. We both had an uncomfortable ten minutes. Of course we wanted the Principalship for Subramaniam but we did not want to repudiate our convictions. We assured him that Subramaniam would not initiate any major changes without fully discussing the matter with him. But before long, the social values of Jaffna had changed so much, and Subramaniam had won the confidence of the Upathiyayar to such an extent, that Harijan children were admitted in large numbers with his blessings and encouragement without any repercussions from the community."

(To be Concluded)



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—87

Comment

By Herbert Keuneman

Comment is free. If so, it is about the only damn thing in this country for which you don't have to pay through the nose and only in order to be fobbed off with a pretty poor product. But is it free?

1st VOICE: 'You go round saying that?'

2nd VOICE: 'Well, I think it's true!'

1st VOICE: 'Maybe. And of course it's all right saying it to us.'

2nd VOICE: 'But then you mean

1st VOICE: 'Nothing, nothing!'

2nd VOICE: 'But that's simply impossible! I haven't heard anyone suggest such a thing before: why, that would be like living under Idi Amin or somebody.'

1st VOICE: 'So, there is Idi Amin! And there will be others like him. And The Lady has said, hasn't she? that it's all right for her to do as Indira Gandhi does. And we haven't had MPs arrested for subversion before.'



This was a true (though I will not say by any means a typical) village conversation. Still, thinking, thinking the conversation over, I am not all that sure it must needs be dismissed as hysterical. Not even chimerical. After all, a Government that has lived five years under the pressure of a State of Emergency could well be at a pretty explosive point and may not be so very far away from the qualitative change from State Capitalistic democracy to fascist?

Anyway, though the rest of is going to consist of similar if less tendentious scraps of commentarial conversation—I repeat: village conversation—as accurately recorded as I can recall them, I shall keep them anonymous. For safety's sake.

Don't go running away, either, with the idea that even the second part of that noble manifesto can in today's Sri Lanka be taken for granted! To whom? Whose facts? The SLBC's!

1st VOICE: It was said on the radio this morning.'

2nd VOICE: 'Then it's lies, you can be sure it's lies!'

3rd VOICE: 'Always, would you say?'

2nd VOICE: 'Well, a good deal of the time.'

4th VOICE: 'It isn't that they tell lies. Not proper lies that you can contradict. Only, they almost never tell you all the facts about something but just some of the facts, and the ones they don't tell you may make a lot of difference.'

2nd VOICE: 'Yes, well that's it. But isn't that lies? They told us bicycle tyres were going down in price, to some Rs. 14 something, when I'd just bought one at Rs. 35, too! so I went and bought another. And it's split! it's split right down the middle, and now the tube's gone, also.'

3rd VOICE: 'Well, one does get a dud tyre sometimes. Even in 'Dunlop' days. Couldn't you exchange it?'

2nd VOICE: 'Exchange it! Spend the rest of my days behind the Co-op Manager? Who exchanged any of that bad condensed milk? No, that money's gone. No, my son in Colombo told me why. He said India returned a whole shipload of tyres we had sent, because the same thing was happening, they were splitting. Those were the tyres they promised us at reduced prices; but the radio didn't tell us that part.'



Yes, certainly these conversations are selected: out of hundreds I have taken part in or listened to. All I claim is that they are not invented. There was this, about the co-ops, for instance.....

1st VOICE: So they've taken our advice!'

2nd VOICE: 'Who's taken our advice? What advice?'

1st VOICE: 'Why, the CWE. Or the Minister. Anyway, someone. Never mind who, if it's taken'

2nd VOICE: 'You mean those suggestions we made: about posting new co-op stocks on a notice board and not beginning to sell until—'

1st VOICE: 'Yes, yes. All that, you remember we were talking about...right here, on the bund.'

3rd VOICE: 'You say they really are going to? How d'you know?'

1st VOICE: 'Radio. On the radio last night.'

3rd VOICE: 'Well, that's fine, that's just fine! Mind you, but.. posting notices is one thing who's going to check they put them up on time? Post one late some evening and be sold out early the next morning! And of course the old tricks will go on: short measure, and spillage, and damp sugar, and.. Did they say about a Flying Squad?'

1st VOICE: 'Well, no, they didn't — I don't think so—but.. don't grumble, I say! Isn't it something they've taken our advice? Our advice, here from our village?'

2nd VOICE: 'Was it really our advice? How had they heard? Did anybody write to them?'

1st VOICE: 'Why not! At least, I don't know whether anybody actually wrote to them; but our mahatmaya, here, he put it in the *Tribune*. Sir, didn't you put our talk about the co-ops in the *Tribune*?'

4th VOICE: (my own) 'Well.. *unnahaya*, the fact is I did write it for the *Tribune*.. but it hasn't been published as yet'

ALL VOICES:

Two subjects are on everybody's tongue: the Colombo Summit..

1st VOICE: 'They say prices are going to go up like anything for this conference.'

2nd VOICE: 'Why should they?'

1st VOICE: 'Why wouldn't they? Anything's a good enough reason for a *mudalali* to put up prices. And once he's put them up he won't put them down again! Think of all the demand there'll be with all this crowd.'

2nd VOICE: 'What crowd? A few hundreds! We've thousands of tourists and the prices don't go up *specially*. I mean, they are up; but not *specially*.'

3rd VOICE: 'Surely tourists are a big reason why they go up? No fish, no vegetables, no fruit.. people still catch them, and grow them.. who gets them? Tourists!'

2nd VOICE: 'But now they're driving the tourists out (thought they said that was the thing that brought money to Sri Lanka) and there'll be less conference visitors than tourists.'

1st VOICE: 'So you think for that reason the *mudalalis* will put the prices down?'

2nd VOICE: 'I don't suppose, for a moment, they'll put them down; but I don't see why they'll especially put them up.'

3rd VOICE: 'They'll put them up because they're *mudalalis*! They don't need reasons; they only need opportunities.'

1st VOICE: 'Well, Government's certainly giving them opportunities with all the official fuss being made. Nor only fuss. Government's suggesting that what this conference costs the *mahajanaya* doesn't doesn't matter if only the conference makes a big show. All those people along the Jaela road. With their houses cut in half or pulled down altogether. And no compensation; not yet, anyway. And when it comes to them to rebuild, at ten time the prices they paid to build in the first place? That's banditry! Government should do all that rebuilding themselves, and free.'

2nd VOICE: 'What I want to know is Why was it necessary to have this conference at all this cost here in Sri Lanka at all? Surely, if such a conference was needed it would have been held anyway, somewhere? Why not an Arab country? They have all the money. Why here where we can no longer feed ourselves? And it seems we're going to pretend we have money to burn. Next thing we know we'll get no more aid: people will be asking us for aid!'

3rd VOICE: 'And you wait and see: if it isn't altogether impossible and it will impress some Africans or someone, we'll give it!'

1st VOICE: 'Why should I pay to advertise this Government?'

* * *

..and Mahaveli Water.

1st VOICE: 'You finished your contract?'

2nd VOICE: 'Yes, but I haven't got paid yet.'

1st VOICE: 'Then what good is that?'

2nd VOICE: } 'No good
together at all.'

3rd VOICE: } 'As good as the Scheme!'

1st VOICE: 'What's wrong with the Scheme?'

3rd VOICE: 'For one thing, it isn't going to benefit us here in Ehetuwewa, because the water can't reach us.'

1st VOICE: 'We mustn't judge it only that way; we can look at it from the country's point of view, if the country benefits? And

anyway it's brought this *ralahamy* and several others—and not only in Ehetuwewa—good money if not water. I wish I had a contract.'

2nd VOICE: 'Why don't you take one? Felling and clearing. Easy, if you don't mind not getting paid. I finished this job before the New Year. I could collect nothing then; now it is the end of June and there's still over half the money to come?'

1st VOICE: 'But there are ways to hurry it?'

3rd VOICE: 'Oh yes! there are ways. Like there are ways to collect votes. And ways to pretend to people who can't go and see for themselves that the whole Scheme's a huge success!'

1st VOICE: 'Then you think it isn't? But I've seen the water at Kalwewa, coming in and coming in.....'

3rd VOICE: 'Kalawewa! Kalawewa never had Mahaveli Water and now they have it. Very good. But have you seen the river lower down: Somawathiya, Verugal, Mutur. Those people have always had Mahaveli Water and now they haven't.. because Kalawewa's got it! What kind of Scheme is that? You know those Ehetuwewa girls who have gone to live in that place at Kantalai: what'll you bet they'll be back home within the next six months? No water! no water which Kantalai had.'

2nd VOICE: 'Not they! They won't be back in any hurry. They're well established there. Besides, they believe in that project of theirs.'

3rd VOICE: 'They believe in the project they were promised. They didn't go to Kantalai, all that way and on their own, only to be Dairy Assistants. They were promised their own collective land, ready watered. Well, their own tank was to be opened on Poson Day. The opening was put off: no water. It was put off again: less water. Is it was put off a third time, and this time indefinitely, because their water is still feeding Kalawewa and collecting Kalawewa votes!'

1st VOICE: 'But—'

3rd VOICE: 'And even the Kalawewa water is being handled wrong. They told the Rajangane farmers to go ahead and use all the water they had and sow, and Kalawewa would replenish them. And now? Now Kalawewa needs replenishing!'

and the Rajangane crops is done for!

1st VOICE: 'But the rains—'

3rd VOICE: 'Exactly! The rains have failed the Mahaveli itself! Yet the original Mahaveli Scheme was not to divert the day-to-day Mahaveli flow: it was to use the Mahaveli and the diversion channels as a conduct system to carry where it was needed the spare water which at various seasons would otherwise flood down the Mahaveli to the sea.'

1st VOICE: 'But—'

3rd VOICE: 'But they were in such a hurry to collect what praise for the moment they could that they never built the reservoirs that would make this possible. Well, they've got shown up nicely, thanks to the weather.'

2nd VOICE: 'Or they would get shown up, if people only took the trouble to look and not just listen?'

VOICE OVER THE RADIO (singing) 'Ma-Ha-vel-li Ma-Ha-veli Ma-ha-veli!'

3rd VOICE: 'There we go again.....!'



FORTY YEARS AGO
ON A TEA ESTATE — 5

Settling Down

By Ina Trimmer

The small bungalow where we had taken up temporary residence was originally built for the S.D. (Sinna Dorai, Small Master) in other words the Assistant. But years before my husband arrived on the scene, the old Scotsman who was then in charge had dispensed with assistants and my husband followed this routine. The Small Bungalow was therefore now redundant; but its upkeep was carefully supervised and though by no means a sumptuous dwelling it was most useful to us our present circumstances.

I was indeed the new broom; and full of high hopes and strong endeavour. My husband went out into the field soon after breakfast, and I, left alone, set out on a tour of inspection. In and around the house I poked an enquiring nose. It was a neat little place, compact

but well found in an austere kind of way, definitely an outdoor man's home. The front verandah had two small rooms at either end and opened into a living room which was dining room as well. I walked into the other bedroom which was as sparsely furnished as ours. Both were cheerful, bright, with a large window that looked out on the garden, and each had a bathroom attached. Old time cane matting covered the floors.

My next place of call was the kitchen. A large old-fashioned Dover stove held pride of place there. It had just been stocked up for the imminent preparations for our lunch. Heavens! How it smoked.

"What's wrong with this stove?" I asked vigorously wiping away my tears and blowing my nose.

"Mitcham nalla stove," said the kitchen cooly quickly leaving his beat at the coconut scraper.

The cook hurried in.

"Yes, yes, Doraisani, very good stove."

"Then why all this smoke?"

"Aiyo what to smoke! When sending wet firewood why won't smoke."

"Why don't you dry it out in the sun before you use it?"

"Then where to put? No shed! Nothing!"

"Arumugan, Doraisani, I only acting cook. Now too old. Mrs. Gray, she who taught me. She very fine lady, one German. Can cook all the things."

Arumugan looked a bit dishevelled at that hour of the morning. His white Thalappa had been wound round his head hurriedly, evidently on hearing my voice. He usually didn't see Teddie till one o'clock when he dished up lunch, and so must have cursed me with all his gods for my inquisitiveness; but he smiled as engagingly as anyone could with several teeth missing. I turned away without even inquiring what he was preparing for lunch, as I hadn't taken over the reins yet.

"A-a-a Doraisani, I want cruppin paper. No cruppin in this kitchen."

"What's that Arumugan?"

"Cruppin paper, Lady don't know cruppin' paper. His surprise was apparent."

Rather than delve deeply into the subject and face his look of pity at my lack of knowledge, I moved out quickly.

"Yes, Yes, You can have your cruppin paper. You shall have it today."

To this day I don't know exactly what he meant but I kept him well supplied with old newspapers and even packets of oiled paper and he seemed satisfied.

The little garden in which the Small Bungalow stood was smothered with roses. Great bushes of Field-of-the-cloth-of-gold lived up to their lovely name. Marechal trailed over the white fence, and pink roses of all sorts and shades bloomed in such profusion that had I cut a basket load it would have shown no decrease on the trees. I came in with a large bouquet to await my lord and master.

From the kitchen billowed forth a smokescreen worthy of a battle-field. In acrid clouds that stung it rolled through the house. Arumugan was cooking our lunch:

"That shed! even a lean-to, anything, or I shall be suffocated."

Palanmittu came in. "Dhoby" he said laconically. An old Sinhalese man followed him, carrying a bundle.

"Master's clothes," said Palani mittu.

I was surprised to see a Sinhalese in what I thought was all Tamil domain, and I spoke to him in Sinhalese, glad to be able to do so. The old dhoby looked at me. He was a very old man indeed and seemed to be suffering from palsy for his head kept shaking from side to side. In Sinhalese I told him that he would have to wash for me too. Evidently he didn't like my looks or perhaps he thought I would be real nuisance in his life. Women may have been his bugbear. He fixed me with a baleful eye.

"Mama-nam hithanne naha," quavered his old voice in sepulchral tones.

"You will not wash for us," I repeated astonished at his sudden decision.

"Na-ha" was the quavering answer.

"Aiy" (Why).

"Mata-nam baha" (As for me, I will not).

I took the account of the clothes. Two shirts were missing, a towel, a sheet. Here was the answer to his refusal to wash. A woman was going to be troublesome.

"What about these missing articles?" I asked.

"What articles?" asked the ancient tremolo.

"The shirts, the sheets."

"Mama gaththe naha." (I have not taken them).

"Who took them then?"

"Ha ha ha how do I know, must be a wrong account," he mumbled his shaking voice faltering over each word.

There was no gainsaying him. I left the ancient of days alone, thankful that he had taken my measure even as he saw me.

"That old scoundrel, Lainsuwa," said my husband when I told him later of all that had happened, "Drink is his sin. He knows the way to the tavern blindfolded."

"But he quavers," I protested.

"You mean he gurgles," said Teddie.

How many married couples remember their first quarrel, I wonder. Mine is indelibly printed on my memory. We never had any really acrimonious disagreements but we certainly did not deserve the Dunmow Fitch. My husband disliked "Yes Women". A meek-peace-at any price was not his ideal, but he abhorred scenes. So our arguments were more in the nature of orientating our different view points.

The little Bungalow which was fairly new was originally for the Sinna Dorai but was now occupied because there was no assistant. My husband was in sole charge of the 800 acres of tea fields in the sprawling valleys of Brae. It was quite a nice little bungalow, compact and comfortable except for the lack of a few conveniences that would have helped to make things easier and keep a woman in particular more contented.

The morning after our arrival I was busy unpacking and arranging the house to my satisfaction, turning the little verandah in front into a lounge and thus reserving the one living room as a dining room only. Suddenly I was enveloped in waves of smoke. They came billowing forth from the kitchen close by, acrid, heavy

as from a forest fire. Stinging tears filled my eyes. I made my way to enquire what had happened. I found the cook as busily wiping his eyes as I was wiping mine.

"What's all this smoke for?"

"Lady, always I like this. Wet firewood bringing, putting in the stove and then smoking. Cannot stop, cannot cook because of smoke."

I registered a decision straight away and when we were seated over the evening cup of tea sure of my ground I said:—

"Could I have a lean-to behind the kitchen for firewood?"

My husband looked at me, his cup of tea half way to his destination.

"A lean-to whatever for?"

"It's very necessary," I answered. I must have been very dense that day for I did not see the danger signal and continued to press home my request. "You see, the smoke from the kitchen is simply dreadful. It's like the fires of hell. It just envelops the house."

Very coldly came my husband's voice. "I see no necessity at all. We are only here for three months and it's useless expenditure for the estate. You know I am trying to bring down costs and every little item we can save, helps."

In a second my spirits were as damp as the firewood. I was guilty of non co-operation. I felt I was a stranger in a strange land. The next day however, the very next day, coolies were busy putting up the lean-to with jungle trees and tagarams. There was no more smoke because the firewood was stacked there to dry out. My husband and I never referred to the incident again. It was only at the end of the month I learned who paid for the lean-to. We did. The coolies were charged to husband's account.

Our departure from the Little Bungalow was hastened by news from England. One of the co-owners of Brae had written to say he would be visiting his many estates in the East and Brae would be included. We had six weeks to prepare for this august personage, so we moved at once into the Big Bungalow even though it was still unfinished. Our bedroom at least was ready, so there we camped, having our meals in

the dressing room, while our bedroom was everything else combined.

The big Bungalow was our permanent home. It was three and a half miles from the factory and the Little Bungalow, perched high above, on the last outlying spur of the main range that encircled Brae. In those days it was not the custom to build a factory on a ridge, so Brae factory was sited somewhat deep down in a hollow, only 1600 feet above sea level while the bungalow stood 4000 feet in the Top Division.

It was a strange site for a house in spite of the view, unsurpassed from any other part of the estate. The narrow gorge-like valley that extended the full length of the estate fanned out into a vast expanse of forest plains where the Ambanganga wove a shining thread to the sea. In the near distance Rambukoluwa Peak from which the plains fell away steeply stood sentinel over our lonely eerie.

But in spite of these natural amenities I wondered why the old time planters chose an exposed and vulnerable a spot for their abode. There was hardly a quarter acre of flat land round the house. A high embankment built of stones held the hill side in front of the house from slipping away into the road twenty five feet or more below. At one point only two feet of ground lay between the house and the edge of the bluff.

We immediately got busy urging on the workmen who cooperated by working late into the evenings.

If the old Scotsman had seen the changes wrought by my husband he would have turned in his grave. Gone was the old weather boarding, gone the crazy bathroom, the rickety wooden floors, the antiquated heating stove with twisted iron chimney which carried the warmth from one room to another in its snaky coils. My husband decided to keep it as a museum piece, this strange contraction of a by-gone period.

Not all of the original building was demolished. There were certain parts still so good that they were an asset even to a modern bungalow. The large sitting room

of beautiful proportions with a bay window overlooking the rose garden, separated by a cosy passage from "Queen Victoria's Bed Chamber" as I called Bedroom No. 1, a turn to the sitting room—these were retained but the other two bedrooms had to be remodelled and partly rebuilt. New fireplaces were built into every room with large chimneys that 'drew' perfectly modern, efficient, faced with red bricks and white painting, heavy, black, polished mantel pieces. These were my delight.

Each room had its own dressing room and bathroom, new built of stone; no jerry built stuff there. My husband had a new office room on one side of the dining room; while on the other there was a similar den for me which my husband called the Gossip Room. Large windows gave light and air to the dark old house which flowed with the security of brick and stone and good hard concrete.

I was in clover but impatient. A hundred men, they say, make an encampment, but it takes a woman to make a home. Oh! for a magic wand to turn this bungalow into a real home in a moment of time!

(To be Continued)



LETTER

* Beggars

Sr,

I read an article in the *Tribune* of 24.4.76 by "Confidentially" about the beggar problem and this gave me "the incentive" to trace the evolution of the beggar with my limited knowledge. The ethology of Beggar is not very clear. Beg and beggar first appeared in the 13th. century, according to Chambers Dictionary (old edition). Dr Murray thinks the most likely derivation is from O. Fr. Begart, begard and beggar. In the 13th. century mendicants or beggars calling themselves by these names swarmed over Western Europe and centuries later spread through the world, mainly due to poverty as the population increased. Begging became the key to survival, man's first priority. Thus begging for reasons of survival was con-

ceived in the womb of necessity. Starvation not sin is the parent of modern crime said Oscar Wilde over a century ago.

BEGGARS can be divided into three categories. *Firstly*, the deformed, blind, maimed and deaf-mute who came from very poor families. *Secondly*, the able-bodied and lazy who take to begging as a lucrative profession hiding the above mentioned unfortunates. They cash in on them and exploit them as exhibits. *Third*, and the most dangerous of beggars the 'feining' beggars who roam the country. Some beg by day and rob at night. They adopt many ruses to bamboozle the innocent and gullible into believing that they are real beggars. Some lie on pavements almost naked, others with twisted hands and fingers and yet some with a hand or leg bandaged and oiled. If one even out of curiosity were to examine such beggars closely one will find them to be healthy citizens at least by the severe blow he or she would receive.

We have yet another class of beggars, the *Rodiyas*. According to legend and Robert Knox, rodiyas are supposed to have royal ancestry reputed to be descended from Navaratna Vallie, the daughter of King Parakrama Bahu. As the daughter had some connection with the supply of human flesh instead of venison, the King enraged by this brazen act gave her in marriage to a Rodiya or sweeper of the King's palace as a punishment and drove the whole lot of them out with the curse that "they should beg from Generation to Generation, from Door to Door". There are more legendary versions as to how rodiyas came to beg.

Here is a true story I am able to recount. I was chatting with a friend on a street pavement one day when a beggar approached us with his hand twisted and curled-in fingers which were stiff. Quite aware of these common-place ruses my friend got hold of a flat ruler and dealt a blow on to his knuckles and Hey! Presto! the fingers shout out and the "beggar" got lost. This is the case of the dumb beggar who spoke. One day while paying his weekly calls at a certain house he saw a nice pair of sandals and got so cock-a-hoop that he spilled the beans "meka mata hondai" (this is good

for me) and those who heard the dumb man speak were themselves dumb founded. Having let the cat out of the bag the man vanished. Some beggars are well-to-do. They are so parsimonious that they prefer to wear dirty clothes and practically starve or live on alms and save the money collected and die leaving a couple of hundred of rupees on their person. This is an obsession. I have read about a hunchback of a foreign country whose 'hunch' was an artificial pouch into which all his collections went. He died leaving behind a couple of hundred pounds sterling. The beggar prefers his status quo.

It is said that beggars are not choosers—but not so always. Some in a belligerent mood would either refuse or throw a few cents given almost at your face, and abuse after passing the gate. Kurunegala where I live is a beggarmod. The pavements are their bedrooms. The tragedy of it is that not a dog cares for them as if they are not human. Only the blind would fail to see their sufferings. There is nothing for them to look forward to in their sad wheel of life except death and burial sans wreaths, sans hearse, sans pall bearers, sans mourners.

EPILOGUE. Philosophically and paradoxically whatever our station in life is whether King or beggar our only repository of our dead body is the common earth shared by all which some people, even beggars do not realise. Though some have gilded tombs it was the bard Shakespeare who said "gilded tombs do worms infold."

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NEXT WEEK

- * Highlights of the Conference
- * Nonaligned "Unity"
- * Pakistan & the Bomb?

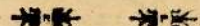
Confidentially

News And News Agencies

IS IT NOT STRANGE that the reference in this column to the fact that New China News Agency *Hsinhua* only gives publicity to the views of the Sinhala weekly *Janawegaya* has made some people ask us questions why we have singled out *Hsinhua* and the *Janawegaya* for special mention in this way? That these somewhat fanatic, and no doubt dedicated persons, have accused us of bias against China and Maoism? That this kind of ultra-sensitivity on the part of these persons only betrays a lack of understanding of the democratic process and the freedom of debate where a dialectic clash of contradictory views will lead to a new synthesis? That not long ago when *Tribune* had published a devastating exposure of the present working of the compulsorily unified State-controlled India's monopoly news agency *Samachar*, there were no indignant accusations against the *Tribune*? That *Tribune* has published similar articles on a whole variety of matters without malice only motivated by a desire that a particular point of view was something fit to print in the public interest? That the local supporters of *Hsinhua* and the *Janawegaya* should be able to take a little sermonising from *Tribune* (or any other newspapers) without getting all worked up—and without rushing into allegations of *mala fide* and evil intent? That the true measure of the maturity of a political party, a government, a country, a nation, a culture and civilisation is the capacity to "take" criticism without being thrown off the balance? That a further stage in maturity is when a society is able to permit self-criticism to the point of laughing at itself, to enjoy the pillorying national follies and foibles and to benefit from criticism of every kind? That the manner in which the United States took the Pentagon papers and the Watergate exposure was a clear indication that America in less 200 year had reached maturity of a kind

that is characteristic of stable cultures and civilisations? That this transformation in the USA has been accelerated in the last two decades? That in the fifties the Americans had (or at least those who were able to project themselves on people outside) had reacted in the most stupidly paranoid manner whenever anyone criticised the policies of John Foster Dulles? That at other times Americans had indulged in unbelievable hysteria about the "red menace"? That anyone criticising American policies was branded a commie, or a fellow traveller or some other word considered dirty? That today Americans are able to "take it" much better than two decades ago? That whilst it is true that most newly independent countries betray unnecessary touchiness even on inconsequential matters, one would have expected that *Hsinhua*, with a background of 4000 years of Chinese civilisation, to show far greater universality in reporting news? That after this column was written last week and before the paper was out, *Hsinhua* had reported on August 3 a commentary "published recently by the weekly *Sinhale* organ of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party?" That it was not made clear whether it was an editorial of just an article (or letter) which had appeared in it? That the only reason why publicity was given to this article was that commentator had accepted the super power theories of current Maoism? That the *Sinhale* article has set out its central theme thus: "...that the nonalignment movement is in the present powerful state because it has refused to join either side and kept to its determination to follow an independent line: therefore the strength of the nonaligned movement has not been the result of the grace of one of the superpowers: it has come about because the nonalignment movement is in keeping with the economic and political reality of the modern era and the process of history has compelled the superpowers to recognise it: the nonalignment movement grew amidst indifference and threats from the superpowers: while one superpower from the commencement has looked on it as an immoral movement and threatened it the other superpower has adopted a more tactful attitude and waited for an opportunity to make use

of it: therefore though there appears to be a difference in the attitude of the superpowers, both are equally the expression of selfish power-interests..."? That there is no doubt that the *Sinhale* commentator is entitled to his views, the question this column had posed is why *Hsinhua* cannot present other points of view which have been expressed in Sri Lanka on this and other matters of topical interest? That there is also no doubt that *Hsinhua* is only following in the tradition of the news agencies in the socialist world? That they have generally published only news and views acceptable to the prevailing ruling hierarchy according to the Bible of the current version of the accepted ideology? That the only foreign news and views they published were from sources (however insignificant) that echoed the ideological orthodoxy of the country concerned? That even after Helsinki, the news agencies of the USSR and socialist bloc of countries have not yet grown out of this straight-jacketing of news and views? That in an era of radio and satellite communication this kind of news agency reporting does more harm than good? That it is in the context of the "managed" news, distorted half-truths and slanted views of the western media (which has ruled the roost unchallenged up to date), on the one hand, and the government communiqués on the basis of ideological orthodoxy (however temporary) of the socialist world, on the other, that the News Agency Pool proposed by the Nonaligned Movement must be viewed? That if the western media or even the socialist media had been adequate for a free flow of information the demand for a nonaligned news agency pool would not have arisen? That for this reason, the nonaligned news agencies pool, and the national news agencies that are likely to emerge in the nonaligned countries, have a historic role to discharge? That if the Nonaligned News Agency network were correctly and realistically operated—to make all the news available—it will help to improve the functioning of both the western and the socialist media? That if the Nonaligned News agency system tried to follow in the footsteps of either of the existing models, it will be a fiasco?



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He can also tell you what to wear, what to see, what and what not to eat—and whether you should drink the water.

Say you're flying to New York. You could get ticket and recommendations on all of the above for the same price you pay for the ticket alone. That's the difference a travel agent can make.

All for nothing? All for nothing.

What you get for something.

You may have to pay for exceptions like an unusual itinerary, extended or independent arrangements, late

cables, or last minute changes such as deciding to go to Paris instead of Pocatello.

But there are no hidden charges. You'll know about any charges before you're charged. If you are ever charged.

Who pays?

Travel agents are paid a commission by the air, land or sea carriers they book you with, by most hotels, car rental companies and sightseeing tour operators.

Why? Economics. Convenience. There are more than 9,000 travel agencies in the U.S. Most airlines, for example, couldn't afford to have 9,000 convenient sales offices around the country. This way, the airlines pay the travel agent when he delivers passengers, and don't pay him when he doesn't. Fair enough.

So it naturally figures that the travel agent is going to try to sell you the most expensive travel package he can, right?

Wrong. The travel agent is out to make you happy, not the airline or cruise ship.

Because he wants you back. He'll be honest with your travel agent. He can't arrange a champagne vacation on a beer budget. But he can get you a lot more for your buck than you yourself can arrange. Because that's his business.

And the travel agent is not a mind reader. If you say you want a secluded two weeks away from it all in Tahiti, and you're bored after a day and would rather have the two weeks in Vegas, don't blame him.

Who should use a travel agent? Business travelers. Vacation travelers. Kids being sent to grandmothers. Grandmothers. Anyone who travels.

A travel agent is the simplest, most efficient way to get

where you want to go, stay at the right places, pay the right prices and get the most for your money. And not be furious with the relative who gave you a bum steer.

Why it's better to plan with a travel agent than your Uncle Harold.

Unless your Uncle Harold is a travel agent. Chances are, your travel agent has been where you want to go. Maybe your uncle has too. But the travel agent has the latest facts. He can tell you that the new Paris Plaza is now under new management and is nothing like the Paris Plaza Uncle Harold stayed in a month ago. Because it's his business to know.

If he doesn't know from firsthand experience, he knows the right people to ask. So he's been around.

And how do Uncle Harold's qualifications stack up?

Before a travel agency manager can hang his shingle on the door, or write tickets, he must have received an appointment from the Air Traffic Conference (ATC) or International Air Transport Association (IATA), the International Passenger Ship Association, and others. This appointment requires at least two years of full-time experience in creating, generating and promoting passenger transportation sales and services and at least one year's experience in airline ticketing and reservations.

About financial responsibility? Glad you asked. A travel agent is bonded for at least \$10,000. That's a lot of travel insurance. He must pay his bill to the airline in full every ten days—or his appointment may be cancelled by the ATC or IATA. That means he would

not be allowed to issue tickets on any airline. That's not a threat. That's a promise.

In addition, travel agents take many of those glamorous familiarization trips every year. The difference between your glamorous trip and his is that on his trip, he may check out five or six hotels in one day. He looks at singles, doubles, twins, suites, restaurants, bars, convention facilities, kitchens, chef's management—all in a single day in a single city. That may not be fun for him, but that's not the purpose. It's to make a better trip for you. Would your Uncle Harold do that for you?

One more thing. If you do have a travel agent and you do have problems on your trip, you also have a built-in problem solver. Because, believe us, we listen to travel agents. When they have a problem, we have a problem and those problems get solved. In a hurry.

How do you choose a travel agent?

You would ask that question. Choosing the right travel agent is like choosing the right doctor, lawyer, architect or CPA—except your travel agent doesn't cost you anything.

Your best bet is to shop around. Ask friends. Look for agents who specialize in the destinations you choose. There are mom and pop agents. Giant corporation agents. Specialists in business and particular countries. Package tour specialists.

Choose one that you're comfortable with. But whichever you choose, you'll be further ahead if you do go with a travel agent.

And what have you got to lose? Nothing.

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