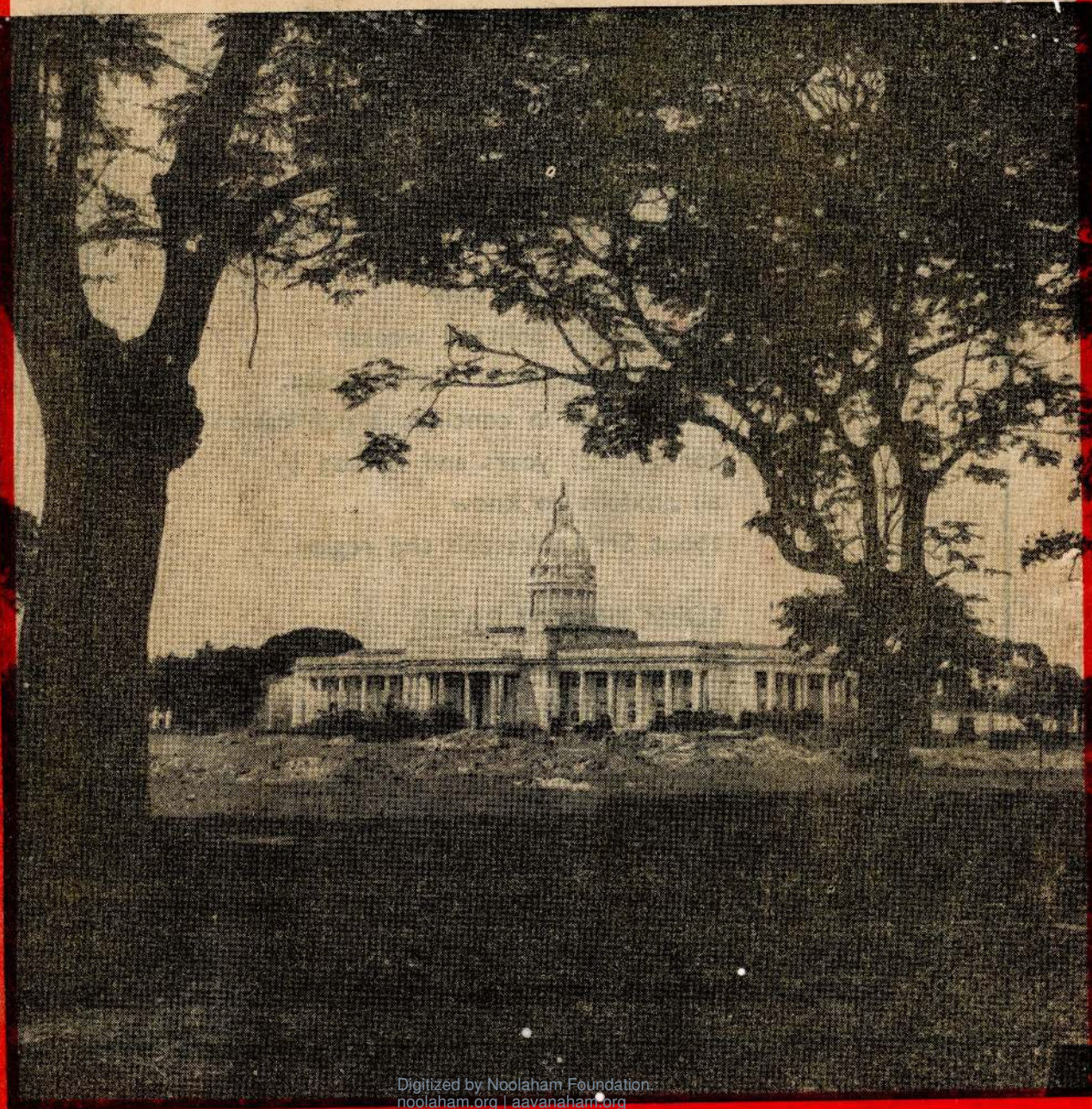


Vol. 21 No. 11 — August 21, 1976. — **RUPEE ONE**

TRIBUNE



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. Copies of these back numbers are available at slightly higher prices.

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Letter From The Editor

COLOMBO has risen to the occasion of the Nonaligned Summit in a manner that even the most optimistic had not expected. During the last two weeks, the city has hosted one of the biggest conferences ever in the world today. There were many, including people who were neither hostile to the concept of nonalignment nor to the present government of Sri Lanka (in fact, they were well disposed to both), who had entertained serious doubts about the capabilities of the Administration and the Establishment to be able to carry a Conference of this magnitude to success. There is not the slightest doubt that they have done very well in spite of the limitations and difficulties of which everybody, even on the outer periphery of the knowledgeable, were well aware. Though we have had too much of the cheap and sloppy self-congratulation indulged in by the SLBC and some sections of the local Press (that has mortified the finer sensibilities of the ordinary Sri Lankan and made the local governmental media the laughing stock of foreign pressmen), everybody is agreed that the arrangements at the Conference Hall and everything connected with looking after the visitors—from the highest VIP to the lowliest member of every entourage—has been excellently conceived and splendidly executed. The only blemish in the arrangements for the Conference was in respect of the one sector about which the greatest care should have been taken: viz. the Press Centre and the manner in which the foreign press and other units of the foreign mass media (TV, Radio, periodical press, etc.) were handled. The SLBC and sections of the managed press in this country have tried to spread a smokescreen to hide the disgrace that was the Press Centre by an overdoze of slimy and slovenly backscratching, but those aware of all that took place know that something very rotten was responsible for fiasco in the Press Centre. The facilities for transmitting news and some of the mechanics of telecommunications were no doubt very good—including the closed circuit TV provided by the Yugoslavs—yet public relations and the approach to the media was devastatingly overbearing and bureaucratically unprincipled in a manner which only petty dictators could have perpetrated. For one thing, whilst important members of the local and the foreign Fourth Estate were denied accreditation on various grounds—lack of space, shortage of TV viewers, etc. etc.—the Press Centre was flooded with a motley mob of relations, friends and hangers-on of the officials allegedly working in the Press Centre. They crowded before the TV making it impossible for the foreign pressmen to work in reasonable comfort. Further, whilst certain well known journalists were denied accreditation because their faces or their writings were not acceptable to the dictators, the Centre was overcrowded with persons—local and foreign—who had the most distant (and often/bogus) connections with the media simply because they belonged to a minority cult that has successfully wormed its way into the hierarchy of media administration in this country. In spite of the blackout and blackmail that such media dictators will indulge in to cover themselves, it is essential that in the coming weeks and months this matter regarding the Press Centre must be thoroughly exposed. Why were visas and accreditation denied to foreign journalists from reputed papers, (even those which championed nonalignment and the Third World) when visas and accreditation were afforded to unknown persons whose journals nobody has read or even heard of? The reason that the papers or journalists so denied accreditation and visas had published or written articles, in the past, which had not pleased the dictators, is no justification for what was done. The Conference was an event of world significance, and the fact that some paper or person had published an article (even if tendentious) which had been "critical" of Sri Lanka in the past was no reason to deny normal press facilities to such papers or persons. *Tribune* will go into these matters in detail in the coming weeks and unless responsible persons in the Government also look into matter very carefully, the "image" which this country has unfortunately created among important sections of the international media—capitalist, socialist, nonaligned and third world—cannot be removed in a hurry. Already a great deal of harm has been done, but it is always possible to remedy matters. And it is most important to ensure that such a mess does not occur again. Whilst the rest of the Conference had gone on without cause for any complaint (there is always room for understandable shortcomings), the Press Centre was a stink reminiscent of a Maha Jana Pola where little children, teenagers, mothers, grandmothers, relations and other friends of "workers" at the Press Centre and also bogus journalists overshadowed and overwhelmed the foreign (and local) pressmen anxious to cover the event.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

The Summit

THE ARRANGEMENTS made for holding the Conference and entertaining the Heads of States or Governments, the Foreign Ministers, the Ambassadorial Heads of Missions, Delegates and all included in the entourages attached to them, deserve all the praise that has rightly showered on them by everybody concerned. (The arrangements for the international mass media and the logistics and mechanics at the Press Centre constitute a different kettle of fish which has been dealt with separately in this issue and which will be subject of critical examination in the weeks and months to come — until something is done to remedy matters and to undo the harm already done in the most sensitive sector of the global information flow).

Apart from the arrangements, it is clear that the Conference itself (at the time of writing right in the middle of the summit) has been proceeding in a way that indicates that, whatever differences that may exist between certain countries in the movement, the overwhelming desire to put a solid and united front against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism has been paramount. So far, differences regarding global attitudes to the Big Powers and, to Big Neighbours — suspected of developing imperialist ambitions and sensibilities — have not been over-stressed by anyone to the point of enveloping the Conference in acrimonious polemics which might have sidetracked all efforts to achieve a forward thrust towards a further stage in fulfilling the avowed objectives of the movement.

The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, in her opening address set the pace and tone which will help to accelerate the tempo of the political upsurge so necessary in every Conference of this kind. Hers was a speech that reflected the growing maturity of the nonaligned movement. She did not indulge in the kind of rhetoric which was considered a necessary concomitant of every anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement. But she did not miss a single point in driving

home the main task before the Conference: that of securing the liquidation of imperialism by peaceful means, if possible; and, if that was totally impossible, to resort to wars of national liberation. The pockets of imperialism, colonialism and racism still left, were much smaller than they were a few years ago, and they were now mainly concentrated in Africa and Latin America. Whilst the economic emancipation from the exploiting clutches of imperialist finance and trade was all important, there were countries where racist, fascist and white minority governments continue to make a mockery of human-rights.

The western media and pro-West leaders like Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore have praised Mrs. Bandaranaike for the moderation shown in her speech: that Mrs. Bandaranaike had not called for a permanent confrontation with the West but that she wanted a peaceful solution to problems in the spirit of detente. It is true that her speech did not have the melodramatic rhetoric and demagogic bombast associated with anti-imperialism, but on every single matter of concern to anti-imperialism today she has made it quite clear that no quarter will be shown to the imperialists. She has denounced the racist regimes in Southern Africa and has called for the total elimination of apartheid and white minority rule, even through national liberation wars (if peaceful transformation through persuasion cannot be secured). She has wanted the dismantling of the American military installations in Diego Garcia and the withdrawal of the navies of all non-littoral states from the Indian Ocean. She wanted Israel to withdraw to her 1967 boundaries. On every single matter — except perhaps in regard to specific and individual demands in Latin America, Asia and Africa — she has stressed the need to defeat imperialism.

In doing this, she has not ignored the pleas of those who claim that Soviet communism had acquired more-than-embryonic traits of imperialism itself by hinting (with naming names) about "other forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism." It is understandable that Sri Lanka should want to pay some deference to current Chinese political logic, which is also shared by a few of the ruling hierarchies

in the nonaligned world. But this was so gently done and imperceptibly put across by Mrs. Bandaranaike that neither Russia nor any of her numerous friends in the movement had occasion to protest.

It must be realised that consensus and unity in the movement can be maintained mainly by keeping to the middle-of-the-road path favoured by the vast majority, whilst paying due consideration to the ideological affinities of a number of countries with the Soviet Union and at the same time keeping an uneasy truce with the articulate and ultra-aggressive propounders of Maoist doctrinaire logic.

At one time it was thought that the small but powerful bureaucratic lobby which subscribes to the logic

COVER

The picture of Colombo's Town Hall on our cover this week was taken some years ago when the mania for tree cutting had not reached the proportions it has attained today. The city has recently been spruced up and beautified for the Conference, but the bureaucrats entrusted with this job have cut down large and beautiful trees which need never have been touched. They have "pruned" trees which needed no pruning. They have mini-skirted Asoka trees (Indian willows) on Independence Avenue after the fashion of the vulgar mod costuming favoured in mayoral circles. Of course, the word "security" is trotted out to cover such abuse of authority but nobody is fooled). In all other countries, in the third world included, there is a drive to plant trees, more trees and yet more trees. But, in Sri Lanka, in spite of the lipservice paid to re-forestation, trees are still being cut down all over the country with impunity. It is Colombo that should set the example, but the greatest denudation has taken place and continues to take place in and around Colombo (including the catchment areas of our reservoirs). Something must be done to make our bureaucrats to think and act differently about trees.

of Peking would tilt the pronouncements of the Government of Sri Lanka in a way that would have stirred up a hornets' nest right from the beginning. It was said that terms like hegemonism, super-power hegemony and the like would be made keynote features and these would surely have acted as red herrings to bring sharp divisions among the nonaligned to please Washington, London, Tokyo, Paris and Bonn. It was also said that some of our officials had become enamoured of terms like "settler-colonists" to describe the apartheid-minded Afrikaners in South Africa which the West want to save as yet another pocket of white supremacy, armed to the teeth with nuclear power like Israel, in the African continent. There is a limit to the appeasement of western arrogance, and there has been a great deal of unhappiness among certain African delegations that Sri Lanka officialdom should take such an unimaginative and incorrect attitude to basic realities in Africa.

THE PRIME MINISTER in her opening address did not fall into any of the pitfalls which some of our officials seem to have fallen in some of the original drafts they prepared. In the Committees, where these drafts are being discussed, various points of view are bound to be reflected and it will be interesting to see what will emerge in the final drafts to be adopted by the Summit.

One thing is clear: nearly all African delegations seem to have lost the glamour they saw in Maoist logic after Angola and it will take a great deal to even restore the status quo ante in regard to Maoism among African countries. Asian countries, which have been disturbed by Chinese support for the US presence in Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and in Southeast Asia, seem to take a pragmatic and longrange view—that changes would soon occur in China itself which would bring Peking once again to see the true realities about US military presence in Asia.

Most Asian groups which have come to the Conference seem to feel that after Mao there will be no Maoism and that Chinese communism will develop new facets and attitudes in the not too distant future. (This will be heresy to the orthodox, but so many changes have taken place in our

little lifetimes that such a change cannot be ruled out in China).

Whilst Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike had adroitly treaded through the political maze of non-aligned politics in the contemporary world, there is no doubt that she has paid the greatest attention to questions relating to the creation of a new international economic order. She has made some concrete suggestions to build a new economic order without confrontation that might lead to armed conflict and worse: a new currency for the nonaligned world which will deprive the reserved currencies of the developed world the capacity to pass the burdens of depression and inflation onto the backs of the developing countries; and a commercial Bank of Asia, Africa and Latin America to service a new non-aligned monetary system.

What Mrs. Bandaranaike sought to establish was that it was essential to ensure the further expansion and improvement of nonaligned commercial and economic cooperation. Very correctly, she outlined guidelines to bring about changes in the political situation to bring about a reorganisation of the outmoded and inequitable system of capitalist international economic relations in the spirit of the new realities of world development. Mrs. Bandaranaike did not mention the socialist world, but it was clear that she was conscious that world of socialism was interested in forging an alliance with the nonaligned and developing world for mutual benefit.

Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike laid special emphasis on detente and how it should be expanded to transform the commercial, economic and political climate of the world. She pleaded for world peace and an early convening of the World Disarmament Conference. Hers was altogether a speech that stood out as a statement which reflected the widest consensus of the movement at this juncture.

Most of the speeches that followed reflected a similar trend. President Boumediene of Algeria in summing up the work since the last Summit in Algiers in 1973 made a strong and firm speech with unbending opposition to anything that savoured of imperialism and western domination. It was a tough speech that was unrelenting in the desire to establish a new international econo-

mic order as soon as possible and without even period of temporary collaboration with the west—in the manner that some countries favoured. As we go to press, other Summit leaders are making their statements in the Conference Hall. It is therefore not possible to examine or comment on these speeches in this comment.

BUT CERTAIN TRENDS can be recognised from the discussions which had arisen during the meeting of the Ambassadorial Heads of Missions and the plenary meeting of the Foreign Ministers. One of the matters which was expected to cause a major "split" in the movement was the question of new admissions. The officials had quietly passed the buck to the plenary session of the Foreign Ministers. When the question of Rumania, Portugal and the Philippines was taken up, Saudi Arabia had indicated that she was willing to sponsor the case of Pakistan. Libya had wanted to sponsor the Maldives whilst Algeria had suggested that she would sponsor a resolution to upgrade Granada from her present Observer status to that of full membership.

From this stemmed a procedural matter which took a long time to sort out. The question was mooted whether it was correct for an application to be brought up at the plenary meeting of the Foreign Ministers without being first made to the Co-ordinating Bureau for processing to see if the country in question was qualified for any kind of status in the movement according to the criteria already adopted at Belgrade. After several hours of discussion, it was ruled that the Pakistan should make a formal application to the Co-ordinating Bureau in the normal way (that is when the Bureau met next). It was significant that no other country—not even any Muslim country—came out to support Saudi Arabia to sponsor Pakistan. In the case of Granada, it would appear that the Latin American group had taken umbrage that Algeria should seek to intrude into a matter which, in the first instance, was a matter for the Latin American group. In this case, too, the consensus was that Granada should make the application in the normal way to the Bureau with the concurrence of the Latin American group. There was also consensus that Rumania,

Portugal and the Philippines could be granted guest status only for this Conference—and that they should renew their applications for participation in the next to the new Bureau.

In the course of the discussions, Saudi Arabia had stated that she had sponsored the application of Pakistan (many members had pointed out that Pakistan had made no formal application) because in a conversation with the Ambassadors—i.e. Pak Ambassadors in Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia—Saudi Arabia had been told that Pakistan was willing to become part of the movement if there was desire on the part of the members to have Pakistan. Therefore Saudi Arabia asserted that Pakistan had never been anxious to make a formal application, but that she would be willing to join as an Observer if a "consensus" of members invited Pakistan to join the movement. This statement, it would appear, had drawn no support or comment even from other Muslim countries. During the discussions on the following day, Saudi Arabia had brought up the matter again and stated that Pakistan was willing to attend even as a guest if the consensus of members so desired—but there was no response from any country.

It is clear that Pakistan's attempt to enter the nonaligned has misfired. She must have thought that once Saudi Arabia sponsored her cause, all the Muslim and Islamic Conference countries would rush to her support and compel an invitation to be issued to her. What Pakistan and many western countries do not seem to have realised is that nonaligned solidarity on the basis of the Belgrade criteria has reached new heights of consciousness and that countries were not willing to override criteria for religious, emotional or sentimental reasons. The Secretariat of the Islamic Conference was granted Observer status unanimously without any discussion—the Islamic Conference has an Observer status in the UN also.

But Maldives had exceptional treatment. Its case was different in that she had made an application for membership. But this application had been forwarded to Colombo, and the Maldivian Government had been told that she should apply to the Secretariat at Algiers or the Bureau in New York. Before Male could take these steps, the Conference had begun. When these facts were known, and Sri Lanka

together with India, Libya and other littoral states of the Indian Ocean showed an interest in granting the Maldives full membership status for which she was qualified. The plenary sessions of the Foreign Ministers therefore accepted her as a full member. In view of the importance being attached to the question of the Indian Ocean Peace Zone, it was felt by all Foreign Ministers that the Maldives should be brought into the movement.

WHILE THE QUESTION of new admissions has been resolved satisfactorily, up to the time of writing the problem of the enlarged Co-ordination Bureau had not been fully settled. At the officials' meeting, after a great deal of heated discussion, it was agreed to submit to the Foreign Ministers that the new Bureau should consist of 25 members—an increase of 8 from the earlier 17. In the meeting of the Foreign Ministers, the question of how the seats in the Bureau should be allotted had come up.

It will be remembered that of the 85 member states, 48 were from Africa, 27 were from Asia, 7 from Latin America and 3 from Europe. The suggestion of the Chairman, Mr. Felix R. D. S. Bandaranaike, that the distribution should be—Africa 14, Asia 8, Latin America 2 and Europe 1—was not acceptable. A subcommittee consisting of Sri Lanka, Algeria, Cuba, Yugoslavia and Nigeria was appointed to make a distribution and it recommended the following: Africa 12, Asia 8, Latin America 4 and Europe 1.

Then, the different groups were asked to choose their nominees and here a major tangle had arisen. In Asia, West Asia seemed to have agreed on Iraq, Syria and the PLO; in South Asia, India and Sri Lanka were acceptable, but Bangladesh wanted the place that was suggested for Afghanistan) one of the founder members. Nobody seemed to object to Indonesia but North Korea wanted the other place for southeast Asia because it wanted representation for a new region Northeast Asia—and if this was granted Korea would for ever be the only country to qualify, because even Japan and China would come within the region known as East Asia.

Whilst the European group had no difficulties about agreeing on Yugoslavia, and the Latin Americans

on Cuba, Peru, Guyana and Jamaica. The Africans, like the Asians, could find no consensus about their choice. At the time of writing, the subcommittee was still seeking to find a way out of the impasse—and one way that was suggested was to expand the Bureau to a larger number like 30 so that everybody anxious to find a place in the Bureau could be accommodated.

The fact that so many countries were anxious to serve on the Co-ordinating Bureau was an indication of the importance and prestige of the nonaligned movement. There is not the slightest doubt that the nonaligned movement has become a major political force in the world. Today even the Western world has woken up to this fact. Leading spokesman for the US, like Scranton and Greenwald, had attempted to re-state, on the eve of the Conference, the US position on a member of matters of economic and political significance that would come up before the Conference. But what the USA and the West do not seem to realise is that they have not sensed the true realities of the feelings among the nonaligned countries even those who for many reasons have to play ball with the industrialised and rich nations.

It is yet too early to pinpoint some of the political problems among the nonaligned themselves that will baffle the consensus-seekers. Among Asians, Bangladesh has been bashing away at India without naming names, and Nepal has done this on a much lower key and in a more disguised manner than Bangladesh. But the real trouble spots are in West Asia and Africa. Lebanon is a tough nut to crack and all Arab states are after a formula for a unanimous Arab resolution. Algeria and Morocco do not see eye to eye on Western Sahara. But every summit has had these problems and it will be interesting how these are resolved or shelved. One thing is clear nobody will quit the movement owing to disagreements of this kind.

Colombo has been overwhelmed by a newspaper-supplements' barrage by different countries. The oil rich—Libya, UAE, etc. have done themselves well. But the most effective propaganda material has come by post from Morocco—from the Embassy in Delhi for some weeks and more recently from

Colombo itself by post. These statements are among the best propaganda material that has come from the Arab world. The North Koreans have spread themselves out in several pages of the local newspapers—the South Koreans, who are not among the Nonaligned had done it earlier.

* * *

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY KAUTILIYA

Pakistan And The Bomb? And Iran?

WITH THE NONALIGNED CONFERENCE very much in the news, the focus of attention has been directed on the Indian Ocean Peace Zone plan. As it was originally mooted, and as it probably stands now, there is no amendment or proviso about it being "nuclear free zone also". In the UN, Pakistan had brought in a resolution demanding that South Asia should be made a nuclear free zone. This was directed at India because it excluded the area in which China experimented with its nuclear devices. India, which pleaded that it was only interested in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, had brought in a resolution which many countries found acceptable. Sir Lanka had supported both resolutions. India has not exploded her second device and there is speculation whether she will or will not do so in the near future.

In the meantime, Pakistan has been doing everything possible to develop its nuclear capacity. There were reports about Pakistan buying nuclear equipment from France and recently when it became known that arrangements had been made to purchase a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant, questions were raised in the USA and Canada whether Pakistan had decided to build a nuclear bomb. Prime Minister Bhutto has denied that he has any intention of going nuclear. The USA, which is one of chief suppliers of nuclear fuel and equipment, has its doubts and has apparently told Pakistan so. It is also significant that the announcement of the French deal

coincided with a visit by Mr. Bhutto to Canada which had set up Pakistan's only power-generating nuclear reactor in Karachi about seven or eight years ago.

The Canadians, who are a little sore about what had happened in India (and have cut off nuclear supplies to it in consequence of the Indian nuclear test in 1974) have reacted very strongly to the French deal with Pakistan. They are said to have threatened to shut down the reactor in Pakistan should an attempt be made to recover plutonium from it or make a single move towards building a bomb. The USA has joined Canada in objecting to the French deal. President Ford is said to have raised the matter with the French President Giscard d'Estaing during his visit to the United States and is also said to have written to Mr. Bhutto urging him to give up the reprocessing plant and have his spent fuel reprocessed elsewhere. Mr. Ford is believed to have told Mr. Bhutto that if he persisted in his reprocessing plant he would not be able to count on American aid in setting it up or running it. Pakistan has to set up six other reactors to support the plant due to be commissioned in 1981.

Pakistan is one of the countries which refused to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. It has its own deposits of uranium that could provide the raw material to build a bomb. But Pakistan has neither the money nor the technology to enrich the uranium. The sellers of enriched uranium—the USA, Canada, France and Belgium—have all refused to supply it to Pakistan. This does not mean that Pakistan has been stymied in its efforts to build a bomb. There are reports from Karachi that Pakistan may soon collaborate with China in its nuclear research and programme.

It is useful to recall that Mr. Bhutto has a long record of advocating nuclear armament. As Pakistan's Foreign Minister, ten years ago, he had told a British paper: "We will produce an atom bomb even if we have to eat grass". A year later, in his book *The Myth Of Independence*, he advised Pakistan to keep pace with India in the field of nuclear technology and "not to allow itself to be deceived by an international treaty limiting this (nuclear) deterrent to the present

nuclear powers". More recently, at a press conference in Tehran he was asked whether he intended to produce a "smiling buddha"—India's code name for its first underground nuclear test in 1974. He had replied: "...Back home we have a statue of the starving buddha".

It was in this context that Mr. Kissinger had paid a visit to Pakistan and Iran during August 4-8—and he had thrown in Afghanistan for good measure. But his visits to Iran and Pakistan had more to do with nuclear programmes than anything else. The USA, it would seem, had a multi-billion dollar programme to sell American nuclear reactors to Iran. Under an agreement signed in March, 1975, Iran was scheduled to buy eight nuclear power plants from the USA to produce 8,000 megawatts of electricity. But the final agreement had not been signed, as some tricky problems had yet to be resolved. In the meantime, both France and West Germany have, in principle, agreed to sell their own nuclear reactors to Iran.

One of the matters that has stood in the way of finalising the American deal was the prohibition devised by the Americans to prevent the plutonium produced for civil use to be utilised for nuclear weapons. These conditions had been unacceptable to the Shah who had declared that such controls constituted an interference with Iran's sovereign rights. Americans complain that the West Germans and the French were less scrupulous in these matters and the French have agreed to build two 900-megawatt power stations while Germany was planning to build two 1200-megawatt plants in Iran. It is believed that both projects will provide for the building of fuel reprocessing plants which the Americans have refused to include in their agreements.

THE SHAH has asserted that since Iran has signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, there is no reason why his country should be expected to observe stricter controls than certain other countries which did not sign the Treaty. Brazil is a country which has not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty and it is getting a full nuclear package including a reprocessing plant from the West Germans.

The Shah has said that his impatience was understandable. In 30—50 years time Iran is estimated to run out of its oil reserves and before that happens he wants to switch over to nuclear energy.

Whilst the Shah has the money to carry through a full nuclear programme and build a bomb for that matter — (he is only short of trained and skilled manpower but these can be hired until Iranians catch up)—Pakistan does not have the money or even the trained personnel to build a bomb on its own. In spite of this, Mr. Bhutto had refused to agree to Mr. Kissinger's suggestion that he should give up, for the time being at least, the idea of buying a reprocessing plant. Mr. Kissinger had been rebuffed in Iran also. On his way home, Kissinger had stopped over in Paris and had tried to dissuade the French from supplying the reprocessing plant to Pakistan.

On his departure from Lahore, after the "no" from Mr. Bhutto, Mr. Kissinger had told newsmen that the USA and Pakistan will continue to hold discussions on the proposed purchase of a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant from France. But after his failure in Paris, Kissinger was a troubled man. A despatch from London, dated August 12, from Bathuk Gathani makes interesting reading:

"The U.S. Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, sounds like a troubled man because his one-day diplomacy to stop the Franco-Pakistani nuclear deal has produced no result. He is also hurt by the comments of the tough-talking Gaullist Premier Mr. Chirac, who yesterday virtually told Dr. Kissinger to mind his own business. Premier Chirac was blunt when he suggested that Dr. Kissinger's concern over the Franco-Pakistani deal was prompted by the American domestic politics. Both France and Pakistan are now more than ever determined to go ahead with the nuclear deal. Mr. Bhutto reaffirmed his desire to acquire the plant when he spoke on Radio Luxembourg yesterday. However, Mr. Bhutto added that his talks with Dr. Kissinger were concluded on a note of co-operation and not confrontation, as suggested in sections of the Western media.

"The Government of Pakistan is determined to have the atomic bomb and hence its desire to buy

a nuclear reprocessing plant. Such a plant could produce the plutonium which is required for atomic weapons. It is realised that Pakistan's nuclear energy programme, is scarcely even off the ground and even if it has, it would be cheaper to have reprocessing done abroad. But Mr. Bhutto is determined to have it his own way and hence he is seeking the plant from France, even before Pakistan has spent-fuel to reprocess. Dr. Kissinger maintains that in spite of supervision by the International Atomic Energy Agency, provided for in the nuclear contract, the U.S. Government felt that about five per cent of the plutonium produced might escape control. In the background of Mr. Chirac's outburst yesterday, Dr. Kissinger is now suggesting diplomatic discussions among the three parties—U.S., France and Pakistan—to resolve differences. Originally he had suggested a full-fledged conference. Both France and Pakistan have ruled out such an idea because they consider it a bilateral matter."

"Mr. Chirac has utilised the occasion to re-assert French independence of action. In the process the U.S. Government is even denied a fair hearing of its anxieties over the sale of the plant to Pakistan. Asked if Dr. Kissinger's move had been motivated by American commercial or domestic political factors, or by an urge for hegemony Premier Chirac said it was 'all three.' Dr. Kissinger telephoned the French Foreign Minister who is on a holiday to assure him that there was no question of American "pressure". Dr. Kissinger has been staying out of Paris at a friend's country house. But the little diplomatic exercise in Paris has turned out to be a daunting experience and a depressed Dr. Kissinger flew out of France yesterday with a flea in his ear after being bitterly rebuked by the French Premier. The French are convinced that Dr. Kissinger is playing a domestic political game at France's expense."

Back home, in the United States, the failure of the Kissinger mission on the eve of the Republican Convention and the shadow of the Presidential Elections has created new misgivings. A report from Eswar Sagar, from Washington dated August 12, stated:

"Several senior State Department officials are reported to be ques-

tioning the wisdom of the U.S. acceding to Pakistan's request for half-a-billion dollars worth of military aircraft but it appears that others including the Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, favour the sale of such a large quantity of arms to Pakistan on the ground that that is the only way to persuade Mr. Bhutto to call off the purchase of a nuclear reprocessing plant from France. While some American officials are reported to have taken the stand that 'we are not about to put ourselves in a blackmail position where any country can get arms out of us by threatening to buy a reprocessing plant'. Pakistan seems to be succeeding in doing precisely that judging by Dr. Kissinger's inclination to sell the planes that preventing that country from acquiring a nuclear processing facility—the argument of those favouring the sale of these arms to Pakistan seems to be that it is more important to prevent nuclear proliferation than it is to stop a conventional arms race in the Indian sub-continent.

'Such a U.S. policy, however, runs counter to the declarations and assurances given by the U.S. over the years and which were presumably repeated when the U.S. decided to lift the embargo on arms sales to Pakistan in March

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last year, over India's objections. It had been stated the U.S. policy that it would only sell defensive weapons to Pakistan and the A-7s that Pakistan now wants are attack aircraft which are perhaps only a little less advanced than modern versions of Russian MIG's and French Mirages. The U.S. which is supposed to be concerned about the developing nations spending too much of their resources on military acquisitions does not seem to have pondered too deeply on where Pakistan is going to find half-a-billion dollars for the planes it wants to buy and the two billions it would have to find if it is serious about buying a reprocessing plant from France. (According to sources here Pakistan originally sought only 70 A-7s from the U.S. but it has apparently increased the asking figure to 100 believing that it is in a better bargain⁸

position with a U.S. which is anxious to prevent it buying a nuclear facility).

"Observers here meanwhile suspect that Dr. Kissinger's reported motive in reducing the choices before the U.S. to one of either permitting nuclear proliferation (the greater evil) or abetting an arms race in the sub-continent (the lesser evil) is somewhat contrived and is really aimed at justifying the sale of the planes to Pakistan. The U.S. Congress wants the U.S. to lead a crusade against nuclear proliferation; but it is also not happy about the U.S. becoming an indiscriminate arms peddler. But Dr. Kissinger could now presumably tell the Congress that the U.S. is selling those planes to Pakistan only in order to achieve the greater good of nuclear non-proliferation."

It is under the shadow of two CENTO countries acquiring nuclear power that one must examine the perspective of the Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal. India obviously has the know-how and the capability of making atomic or even hydrogen bombs. But ten years before India did so, China had the bomb. And China has exploded over 18 bombs in the atmosphere—the number of its underground explosions are not known.

Will Pakistan and Iran soon have the bomb also? Israel is said to have it already. South Africa is the way to becoming a nuclear power. It will not be long before Brazil will have the bomb.

Where will all this lead to? This is a challenge to the non-aligned as well as the rest of mankind?

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

July 29 — Aug. 4

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 29: Mr. Gustavo Robreno Dclz, General Director of 'Prensa Latina News Agency' told the *Daily Mirror* that the Non-aligned conference to be held in Colombo next month will be a crucial one: Mr. Dclz has set up an office in Colombo for the Non-aligned conference and according to him there is either discreet silence or complete distortion about information concerning the Non-aligned countries by the trans-national news agencies controlled by imperialist countries. Sri Lanka will be one of the eighteen countries that will receive interest free loans from the International Monetary Fund shortly: the IMF will make the first payments under the interest Subsidy Account to 18 member countries and a total amount of Rs. 130.8 million will be paid to these countries—CDM. Regarding the payment of pensions to MPs, Messrs Prins Gunesekeera, MP for Habaraduwa, and W. Dhanayake, MP for Galle, have moved for an amendment according to which MPs who have been elected to the Parliament at least twice and who have served at least for a period of five years should be paid pensions; this formula is to be moved as an amendment to the proposed Bill—CDM. On the recommendations by the Ministry of Justice the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs released 12 youths detained in prisons in connexion with the murder of Mr. Alfred Durayappah, former Mayor of Jaffna: the Ministry in its recommendation has said that there

is no evidence against these 12 youths—CDM. Mr. Siva Pasupathi, Attorney General, arguing on behalf of the State at the Trial-at-bar in which four leaders of the TULF are charged, said that if the Court were to decide that the offences for which the accused are charged are not offences then in the same breath the judges may decide that they are not judges: the order on the preliminary objections raised by the defence was reserved—CDM. According to a scheme formulated by Mr. W. P. G. Ariyadasa, Minister of Local Government, 32,000 youths in villages will be provided with employment under various local bodies at village level throughout the island—CDN. Police appealed to the public living along the state drive for delegates of the Non-aligned conference not to allow any stranger to occupy their premises to watch the state drives—CDN. The University authorities announced yesterday that the Katubedde Campus will be closed from today till August 31 owing to the water crisis—VK. According to the Aththa, government has changed the earlier proposal to import printed fabrics from abroad to ease the shortage of textiles in the country and instead will import yarn to be distributed to the textile industries. Aththa in an editorial criticised certain actions taken by Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, under the proposed re-organisation of the co-operative sector. Nominations for the by-election to the Mulkrigala seat will be received at the Hambantota Kacheri today—DM. Government is engaged in talks with officials with a view to reduce prices of several consumer items from next month: action will also be taken to increase the quantity of ration sugar from the present 3/4 lbs to 1 lbs and to reduce the price of sugar in the open market—LD.

FRIDAY, JULY 30: Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, told a press conference yesterday that MPs who fail to resign from offices they are holding in co-operatives will be removed from their posts when the scheme to re-organise the co-operative sector is implemented—CDM. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence

and External Affairs, told a press conference yesterday that up to yesterday sixtyfour Non-aligned nations have confirmed their attendance for the summit—CDM. Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse (SLFP), Mr. D. Francisco (UNP), Mr. Neil Rajapakse (Independent) and Mr. S.W. Rajapakse (Independent) handed in their nominations at the Hambantota Kachcheri yesterday to contest the forthcoming by-election for the Mulkirigala seat: the by-election will be held on August 27: Mr. Neil Rajapakse and Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse are both brothers of late Mr. George Rajapakse who was MP for Mulkirigala—CDN & CDM. Government yesterday cancelled the export order of a local firm which was recently detected attempting to export 75 tons of coffee much below the world market prices—CDN. According to the *Virakesari* the Railway Stations Masters' Union decided to launch a strike from the 10th of August in support of several monetary and promotional demands: this decision was taken by the Station Masters yesterday—VK. The Department of Immigration and Emigration sought the help of Police to arrest and deport foreigners who overstayed their visas: this is being done according to an earlier decision taken by the government that all foreigners should leave the country before the non-aligned summit begins—VK. Following foreign orders for locally produced handloom textiles the country will soon export large quantities of these textiles—ATH. According to a scheme formulated by Mr. S. K. Suriyarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, in future the system of appointments to the co-operative boards will be changed: seven members will be appointed to each board and five of them will be elected by the public, one by employees and the other will be appointed by the Commissioner of Co-operatives—DM. The Bank of Ceylon changed its earlier decision to close down all agricultural branches following an appeal by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands to the Minister of Finance—ATH.

SATURDAY, JULY 31: In his order against the closure of 171 agricultural branches of the Bank of Ceylon Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, said continuing the functions in these branches would make that it easier for farmers in these areas to participate in banking and it would be easier for the Bank too to play the role of a development bank at grass roots level—CDN. According to the *Daily News* Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will place Temple Trees, official residence of the Premier at the disposal of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, during the latter's stay in Colombo during the Non-aligned Conference. The Government in a statement issued yesterday denied reports that government servants would be given a bonus or an advance in view of the forthcoming Summit conference: in the statement it was also said that no country where this conference was earlier held had given such advances or any other cash payments for its employees and further said that there has no basis for such special payments—CDN. Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, addressing a meeting of Government Agents and Political Authorities in Colombo yesterday said that he would soon introduce a uniform system of promotions in the state services which would be so implemented as to eliminate frustrations that prevail today—CDN. The Central Consultative Committee of the Ceylon Transport Board has recommended a reduction in bus fares: it has recommended that the present

minimum bus fare should be reduced to 10 cents from 20 cents—CDM. Following a government decision to give a pay rise to all nursing staff in government medical institutions the Nursing Services Trade Union Federation has decided to call off their proposed trade union action—CDM. The Cabinet will discuss the Stations Master's issue following a threat by the latter to resort to trade union action from the 10th of this month if their monetary and promotional demands are not met—CDM. When government announced an amnesty for unlicensed guns 30,473 guns were produced at various kachcheries and DRO offices and out of this 29,467 guns were licensed, according to Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Home Affairs—CDN. According to the *Virakesari* the Government will seek Rs. 500 million either from the World Bank or from a Middle East country to implement its crash program under which several thousands would be found employment: the decision to find this money from outside the country has been arrived at after the warning by the Central Bank that according to earlier plans this would cause inflation in the country—VK. According to the *Aththa* teachers who were suspended from service for alleged involvement in the April insurgency and who were later given their jobs would be paid arrears of salaries during the period of suspension. Forest Department will plant trees in 20,000 acres of land within the next five months: this has been decided after it was found that deforestation has caused rain failures—DM.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1: Several Sri Lankan families will be affected by a recent decision by the UK government to send back home all those who are overstaying in the UK after completion of their studies: this is part of Britain's tightening-up of her immigration policy—CO. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, inaugurating the first television service from the BMICH on Friday thanked the Yugoslavian government and its technicians for making it possible for the world to watch the proceedings of the Fifth Non-aligned conference by TV: Prime Minister's speech at the inaugural ceremony and a cultural show was televised to viewers in Yugoslavia and Italy for the first time from Sri Lanka at the BMICH on Friday—CO. An International Health Service Centre will be set up at the Bandaranaike International Airport for the benefit of delegates visiting the Non-aligned Summit Conference—TOCSI. According to Customs Intelligence sources diamonds, wrist watches and other luxury goods were smuggled into the country by ships entering Colombo in exchange for silver, ganja and opium: according to these sources the smuggling took place mainly in the areas between Wattala and Negombo in the north of the city and in the southern coast up to Beruwela—TOCSI. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, sent a message of sympathies to the government of the People's Republic of China following the major earthquakes that occurred in the East Hopei province recently—TOCSI. A Japanese gem merchant presented the government with Rs. 300,000 as aid for the Non-aligned summit: this gem merchant, Mr. A. Sajaan, was the first individual to assist the country by cash for the conducting of the conference—VK. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, told the *Silumina* that he would soon discuss with the Prime Minister a proposal to ban the dowry system: Minister said giving or taking dowry is against socialism

and religious practices—SM. The Commission appointed to probe the State Gem Corporation requested the public who wish to represent matters to do so before the 25th of this month: the Commission is headed by Mr. L. B. de Silva, former judge of the Supreme Court—LD.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2: The Government in a statement issued yesterday debunked all rumours that there would be a grave food shortage in Colombo during the Non-aligned summit conference: the statement said necessary steps have already been taken and there won't be any shortage of food and other items during the conference—CDN. A second full dress rehearsal of the opening of the Non-aligned conference will be held in Colombo today: however there will not be any restrictions on pedestrians who want to transact legitimate business according to the Police: many roads in the Fort and Kollupitiya areas will be closed for traffic till 10.30 am today and from 9 am to 3 pm tomorrow—CDN. A well-known Attorney-at-Law, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, has been taken into custody by the CID in connexion with an incident where allegedly acid was thrown on a company executive disfiguring him—CDM. The annual Esala Perahara of Kandy will begin today and will end with the day Perahara on August 12—CDM. Arrangements for the stay of Yugoslavian President Marshal Tito has still not been finalised and according to Parliamentary circles he would be on board his luxury yacht in the Colombo harbour during his stay in Colombo for the Non-aligned conference—CDM. All members of the National State Assembly and their wives have been invited for the opening of the forthcoming Non-aligned summit conference: wives of the delegates attending the summit too will hold a seminar on the role of women could play in the non-aligned movement at the agrarian Centre, Wijerama Mawatha, Colombo, on August 18 and 19—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* Sri Lanka's gross external assets increased by Rs. 54.5 million during March and stood at Rs. 1,042.7 million at the end of that month—CDM. According to the *Virakesari* a summit between the SLFP and the CP led by the Prime Ministers Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike and Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, will be held today to discuss the present political situation in the country. Two major postal unions of Post Masters and Telephonists are likely to go on strike from the 4th of this month: meanwhile following the decision to strike by these unions Mr. Aloy Padmaperuma, President of one of the unions, Sri Lanka Post and Telecommunication Service Union, resigned from his trade union post: according to him it was very unfair to decide on direct trade union action at a time when the non-aligned conference was about to be held in the country—VK. A programme has been drawn up by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands by which produce of small estates adjoining large estates of Janawasama would be purchased at good prices by the Janawasama estates—DM.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3: Mr. Maitripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, who was Sri Lanka's representative at the ESCAP Regional Preparatory Meeting for the United Nations Water Conference which opened in Bangkok last week was elected Chairman—CDN. The President, Mr. William Gopallawa, and the Prime Minister, Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, were present and played their respective

roles at yesterday's full dress rehearsal in the opening ceremony of the Non-aligned Summit at the BMICH CDN. Government will appoint a Commissioner of Internal Trade to enforce all quality control and distribution measures for public and private sector industries: this official will be empowered for the distribution, price control, quality control and other duties now divided among various other officials—CDN. Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, an Attorney-at-Law, arrested by the CID in connexion with an acid throwing incident on a company executive has been remanded till August 6 by a Colombo Magistrate—CDN. Boneless beef will be available in 2 lbs packets from tomorrow in the Marketing Department stalls at Rs. 3.00 a pound: this is under a new scheme devised by the government to ease shortage of essential food items during the Non-aligned conference—CDM. Government imported rice, flour and sugar worth Rs. 263 million during the first three months of this year: in the corresponding period for last year the imports cost the government only Rs. 122.1 million—CDM. Officials connected with the Non-aligned summit will meet at the BMICH today to make arrangements for the Ambassadorial level meeting of Non-aligned nations to be held on the 9th and 10th in the BMICH—VK. Soon after the present discussions to pay compensation for Rupee companies taken over by the Land Reform Commission is over, payments will be made to the owners without delay: this was revealed by Mr. K. H. J. Wijedasa, Chairman of the Land Reform Commission, to the *Lankadipa*. Two new stamps of the denominations Rs. 2.00 and Rs. 1.15 will be issued today at the General Post Office to mark the holding of the 5th Non-aligned Conference—LD. *Aththa* in an editorial, criticised the use of government vehicles for private purposes by officials in the government sector.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4: In a statement issued yesterday, signed by seventeen major trade union leaders, the action of certain trade unions to launch strikes before the Non-aligned Summit conference was condemned: the statement further said however genuine the grievances are they should be taken up after the conference is over and at the present juncture the working class should give its fullest support to the government to successfully conduct the summit conference—CDN. Postmasters and telephonists belonging to two major trade unions will commence their proposed strike action from midnight today meanwhile station masters have informed that they will commence their strike action from the 10th of this month—VK. Several representatives of trade unions in the Postal Department had discussions with Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, yesterday: at these discussions the Minister pledged to take up their matter with the Cabinet next week and solve their problems within a period of three months—LD. *Aththa* in an editorial criticised the decision by trade unions to strike when an international conference is about to take place in the country: the editorial further said this action would not only bring disrepute to the country but will harm the strikers, too. A committee has been appointed to examine the working conditions, salaries, recruitment and training of every grade of worker in estates run by public sector estate management agencies: the committee has also been asked to submit its report within a period of

three months—CDN. The Central Committee of the Communist Party which met yesterday decided to contest 21 more seats at the next general elections: the Committee directed its leadership to seek permission from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party to contest these seats: at present the CP has six seats in the NSA—CDM. According to the *Virakesari* which quoted pro-government sources it was decided at a summit conference of SLFP and CP leaders held at the Temple Trees on Monday night on a solution a national basis should be found for the problems facing the Tamil speaking community in the country—VK. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, Leader of the Opposition and President of the UNP, addressing a meeting in Kandy said that members of the Maha Sangha who were disciples of Lord Buddha should not align themselves to any political party, but serve as advisers to leaders of the nations—CDN.

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

July 28 – Aug. 4

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28: Former Japanese Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka, was detained by the Public Prosecutor's Office on suspicion of violating the foreign exchange and trade control laws in connexion with the Lockheed payoff scandal. President Ford ordered a full-scale probe into the killing by security men a black who entered the White House on Sunday night: security forces in White said the 30 year old man, a taxi driver by profession, had a long pipe with which he threatened a policeman and this pipe could have been a bomb. The Arab League appealed to its member nations to help reconcile differences between Uganda and Kenya and also to supply Uganda with necessary fuel. Four persons began a fast unto death opposite the Bangladesh High Commission in London and vowed to continue their fast unless the Bangladesh government withdraws the death sentence passed on an Opposition leader for alleged involvement in attempts to overthrow the Bangladesh government. President Idi Amin said that his country's army had sufficient fuel for three months in case of a war and according to *Reuter* his comment two days ago that Uganda had fuel only for five more days apparently referred to reserves for civilian population. Ronald Reagan, Republican Presidential challenger, told a press conference in Los Angeles that he would name a Pennsylvanian Liberal, Senator Richard Schweiker, as his Vice Presidential candidate if he is elected to contest. Egyptian Foreign Minister, Ismail Fahmi, has invited Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua to visit Egypt. Schools in the black township of Soweto in Johannesburg were closed yesterday when black students started throwing stones at white students returning to schools: no further troubles were reported from Johannesburg.

THURSDAY, JULY 29: Mexico is of the view that all or most of the non-aligned countries should join the non-aligned news pool in their own interests to be truly informed about themselves and the events in the world. A powerful earthquake struck the Chinese port city of Tientsin yesterday and the tremors were strong enough to damage buildings in Peking 100 miles away: Chinese officials were unable to give details of the damage and casualties but indications were that considerable damage has been done. American Viking I spacecraft now on Mars yesterday began scooping earth from the planet which will be tested in the laboratory in the spacecraft to find whether life existed in the planet. Britain announced that it was severing diplomatic ties with Uganda. According to political observers in Washington, Republican Ronald Reagan's daring gamble of picking a Liberal Senator, Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania, might ruin his chances among his supporters in the race with President Ford for the Republican nominations. Zambia sought the support of the United Nations Security Council to end the genocide of South African and Rhodesian whites against blacks in the region. A report from Tokyo said the President and Managing Director of Japan's domestic All-Nippon Airways (ANA) were charged for receiving £ 95,000 from the US Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. A team of Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) left for Damascus from Beirut to draft a Syrian-Palestinian accord on supervision of a ceasefire in Lebanon. Indonesian government will soon release nearly 2,500 hardcore communists now detained in Buru islands. Malaysia's Prime Minister, Datuk Hussain, warned foreign oil companies in his country that his government would take over them if they fail to agree on a product sharing basis with the national oil company. A Czechoslovakian airliner crashed in Bratislava and most of the 75 people aboard are feared dead.

FRIDAY, JULY 30: A second huge earthquake hit northeast China yesterday and President Mao-Tse tung expressed concern for the safety of millions of Chinese living in the area: large quantities of medicine, food, clothing, building materials and other relief goods were rushed to the region around the coal mining city of Tangshan according to New China News Agency: Australia's Opposition leader Gough Whitlam who was in Peking told on his arrival in Tokyo yesterday that the hotel in which he and his wife were staying split into two owing to the earthquake: Mrs. Whitlam was slightly injured: Japan felt the earthquake that hit northeast China but there were no damages. Indian Deputy External Minister, Bipin Pal Das, told in Calcutta yesterday that the Colombo conference of the Non-aligned nations will examine how the proposal for the creation of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean as passed by the United Nations could be implemented. American spacecraft Viking I now in Mars completed the scooping of earth on the planet yesterday and scientists in Pasadena, California, waited for the results to find whether life existed in the planet. Bangladesh President Mohamed Ayem said in Dacca yesterday that the country will have a general election early next year. In a press conference in Bangkok Cambodia's Deputy Premier, Iyeng Sary, said that the US had planned to take over Cambodia within six months but the plan was defeated. The Spanish Communist Party which was having clandestine activities for the

last forty years yesterday had its Central Committee meeting in Rome: Spanish authorities refused permission for the meeting in Spain. The Indonesian government decided to revise the terms of the profits of the oil sharing accord with Western oil companies before the end of July: Indonesia is of the view that the present terms are unfair. Trinidad and Tobago will become a Republic on August 1. Rhodesian troops killed sixteen Africans according to a report from Salisbury.

SATURDAY, JULY 31: Chinese authorities said yesterday that they expected another earthquake and as a precautionary measure have moved out millions of people to safer areas: officials blowing whistles in the night roused nearly six millions people in the city of Peking and urged them to go to safer areas. The Malagasy Prime Minister, Lt. Col. Joel Rakotomalala, died in a helicopter accident. The *Guardian*, Britain's liberal national daily, will bring out a special 12-page report on Sri Lanka to coincide with the forthcoming Non-aligned Summit. Scientists in Pasadena, California, yesterday received first reports on the analysis of the earth in Mars carried out by Viking I, the US spacecraft in Mars, and results will be announced today. Syria and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation signed an accord in Damascus which is expected to end the three-month old conflict between them in Lebanon. The Ghanaian newspaper *Palaver Tribune* charged the Central Intelligence Agency of America for stepping up subversive activities in African States in the recent past. President Idi Amin yesterday pledged that troops of Uganda will never invade Kenya and invited new relations between the two countries. Receiving the credentials of the Indian Ambassador to Paris France's President Valery Giscard d'Estaing said he looked forward for a visit of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to his country: he praised Delhi's attempts to construct sincere dialogue between rich industrial nations and poor developing countries. An attempt to blow up the Cuban Embassy in Mexico by counter-revolutionaries was foiled. Soviet Union has so far won 34 gold medals at the Olympic games now being held in Montreal: East Germany was second with 32 golds and USA third with 23: the main feature of the Montreal games was unfancied small nations winning gold medals in popular events.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1: A seventeen year old competitor from Soviet Union is said to have asked political asylum from Canadian Immigration authorities when he came to Montreal to participate at the Olympic games: Soviet officials at the games warned that unless Canadian authorities returned their 17 year old diver Sergei Nemtsanov they would withdraw from the Olympic games but later withdrew their threat. A spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry told *Reuter* that the country could be hit by another massive earthquake within the next 48 hours: Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, sent a message of sympathy to her counterpart in China Hua Kuo-feng over the massive earthquakes in China. Following a complaint by Zambia that South Africa killed eight African villagers, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution strongly condemning that country's action: the resolution was sponsored by six non-aligned nations and Romania: the US abstained. Racial troubles were reported against in the township of Soweto near

Johannesburg and Police blamed the "black thugs": attempts were made to organise a student march from Soweto to the white city of Johannesburg. Britain has disputed Ugandan President Idi Amin's claim that Anglo-Ugandan talks on compensation for British Asians expelled from his country in 1976 were on the point of reaching fruition: in a letter to the Secretary General of the Commonwealth, Sridhath Ramphal, Mr. Amin said that Britain has severed DPL ties with his country when his government was ready to finalise talks on compensation for British citizens. Mr. Idi Amin said he had agreed to a Kenyan proposal to send a delegation from Uganda to talk on normalisation of relations between the countries. Power in the Italian Parliament between the Ruling Christian Democratic Party of Giulio Andreotti and the Communists is divided in a such a way that if the Communist Party just voted against Signor Andreotti his government will be defeated: observers believe this has placed the Communists in a very powerful position in the government. President Ford told a meeting of Republicans in Mississippi that he would poll thousands of party workers before choosing a Vice-presidential running mate for the November elections.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2: The Chinese Foreign Ministry has told the Japanese Embassy in Peking that China would decline any aid from foreign countries in connexion with the earthquakes: families of foreigners began to leave the country following warnings by authorities that another severe earthquake might hit the country: the warning was earlier issued to all foreign embassies in China: people were requested to evacuate all buildings and asked to stay well away from buildings: for the third day running the population of 6 million Chinese in the capital city of Peking spend the night out in make-shifts shelters: estimates of the dead range from 100,000 to over one million but no official announcement was made by China. Syrian Prime Minister Mahmud Al-Ayoubi resigned. The two-man crew on the orbital station Salyut-5, a Soviet spacecraft now in orbit, carried out technological experiments for the 20th and 21st working days according to a report from Moscow. At the end of the 8-day visit of Angola's Presidential Agostinho Neto to Cuba a technical, economical and scientific accord was signed between both countries: Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister, signed on behalf of Cuba. The US State Department denied the accusations and defended its Ambassador to Yugoslavia whom President Marshal Tito said interfered in the internal affairs of the country. Yugoslavia accused Austria of being the first country to directly violate the Helsinki East-West Agreement saying Austria had legalised Neo-Nazi discrimination against its Yugoslav minority. President Idi Amin of Uganda in a list of warnings to Britons living in his country said they would be under constant surveillance and any act of subversion or malicious propaganda would be severely dealt with: Ugandan Radio in a report said that in future any British citizen wishing to see the President has to be kneel down before him.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3: A Chinese spokesman in Peking said China has been hit by 15 major earthquakes since last Friday: officials said most of the

miners of Tangshan city survived after being trapped underground following the earthquake. Scientists reading the laboratory reports of Viking I from Mars believe there could be highly developed life forms in Mars but reports from Pasadena said the findings are still not conclusive. The Law of the Sea Conference represented by delegates from 158 countries resumed in United Nations presided by Sri Lanka's Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Shirley Amarasinghe. Maj. Gen. Abdel-Rahman Khleifawi was appointed new Prime Minister of Syria. Pakistan press reported that many people are feared dead in floods in the Punjab and Kashmir valley areas: troops were deployed to battle the raging floods, according to reports from New Delhi. United States announced yesterday that it began a contact with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) late last month to ensure the security of US Embassy staff in Beirut but now would continue the contact with the PLO: this is the first time US admitted contact with the PLO. South Africa agreed to allow UN investigators into the country to probe into charges by Zambia that several black Africans were killed by troops of South African government. Four athletes from Romania and one from Russia sought political asylum in Canada at the end of the Olympic games in Montreal in which Soviet Union emerged champions with 47 gold medals, 43 silver medals and 35 bronze medals: East Germany was second with 40 gold medals 25 silver and 25 bronze medals: US was third with 34 golds, 35 silvers and 25 bronze medals.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4: Lord Killanin, President of the International Olympic Committee, at a press conference in Montreal after the completion of the Olympic games issued a stern warning to the Soviet Union that if USSR made any attempt at political interference with the 1980 olympics it would either end with the cancellation of the games or it

being held elsewhere: Lord Killanin further said the USSR has assured the International Olympic Committee that it would not seek to keep out any country from the games which are recognised by the IOC and he accepted Russia's word. Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia, said that criteria for full membership to the Non-aligned community should be rigorous though there could be some flexibility concerning the admission of guests. *Samachar*, India's unified national news agency, said that it would start issuing from today a digest of news items received from news agencies of Non-aligned countries. China issued another warning of an earthquake and security staff cordoned off Peking railway station. *Pravda*, Russia's official daily, in an article on Sri Lanka said positive changes have taken place in the country since it became a Republic in 1972. India's Petroleum Minister, K. D. Malaviya, told a Parliamentary Legislative Committee on Petroleum that oil or natural gas had now been struck in high fields around Bombay. Scientists examining the reports of America's Viking I spacecraft now in Mars were unable to say definitely whether life existed in the Mars: scientists said experiments will continue in a systematic and methodical way before coming to a conclusion. Law of the Sea Conference President, Mr. Shirley Amarasinghe, told delegates of 158 nations at the UN that unless they made progress in the coming seven weeks of negotiations they might lose the chance to conclude a comprehensive treaty. Kenya said that it was ready to receive a Ugandan delegation for talks aimed at bringing cordial relations between the countries. Indian government took over a large jute mill in Calcutta, believed to be the largest in Asia, which was owed by Opposition Member of Parliament Ramnath Goenka: Mr. Goenka who is also a newspaper magnate is the owner of Indian Express Newspaper chain.

LETTER

• Population

Sir,

Various correspondents have written to the press on the vital subject of 'water-water-water'. Food and water are no doubt 'first cousins'. Some have blamed the elements, the failure of the monsoons, to the 'rape' of the forests and others to the lack of prayers and devotion. Never-the-less all except the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, failed to mention the population explosion.

The P.M. has gone deeper into this problem with fore-sight and has focussed attention that one of the causes for water shortage is population explosion (CDN 25.06.76) which is unquestionably true because the consumption of water increased in beeping with increasing population. 50-60 years ago the population was only six million and has

now escalated to nearly 14 million to-day. Thousands of houses and other buildings have sprung up since then especially in large towns where pipe-borne water is supplied. The 65 million dollar question is why reservoirs were not enlarged or new ones built to cater to the demands for water.

The world over, scientists etc. are delving into this question of population control for mankind to enjoy life. Therefore I shall leave this all important question of birth or population control which are bed-fellows in the hands of scientists, Demographers etc. and also those interested in the welfare of the present generation and those yet unborn. Happiness and success in life do not depend on circumstances but ourselves. It has been said that God never intended to disclose to man what man should find out for himself.

George L. De Silva

Kurunegala,
31.07.76.

Mrs. Bandaranaike's Address

IS IT NOT STRANGE that the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC) did not broadcast a Sinhala and Tamil version of Mrs. Sirmavo Bandaranaike's speech at the opening of the Summit Meeting of the Heads of States or Governments on August 16? That even if the BMICH Secretariat had not made any provision for Sinhala and Tamil translations, the SLBC (and the Ministry of Information) should have made arrangements for such translations? That the least the SLBC could have been done was to have given a live-translation of the PM's speech in Sinhala and Tamil over the SLBC? That even if such a live-translation had been not possible simultaneously with the speech, such translations should have been prepared and broadcast later?

COLOMBO SUMMIT

The Nonaligned And The Change In The Economic System

By T. M. G. Samat

Blamed for most of the difficulties economically of the peoples, the plea for a change in the economic system to the Nairobi UNCTAD IV would seem to have put the ball to the Colombo "Summit" court. Does it mean in the ultimate analysis the Colombo "Summit", the economic life internationally for purely peaceful reasons in order to raise the standard of life is the problem of the "Colombo Summit" of the Unaligned?

Rather it should be a matter for Capitalism with the collaboration and the co-operation of the others. One thing stand out prominently, effective selfhelp is the key note to the solution of the difficulties not the intervention of war or other contingency.

The origins of the problem go as far back as 4000 B C or earlier when self-help was the solution for most problems. It is so even now. A brief note on how collaboration and coordination came in should be interesting. The Assyrians (1000 B C) combined trade and a well developed agricultural system.

The Phoenicians in the fertile Mediterrean littoral had extensive commercial relations. Damascus (Aram) had a considerable trans-desert trade. Transit trade for goods exchanged between Europe and the East (China and India) were extensive. Syria sent Egypt timber and oil. Zagros exchanged for their for agricultural and animal produce, Copper and iron. The ancient trade routes were fully utilised and Sri Lanka was able to send its precious stones and ivory.

Following the Persian conquest (539 B C the Middle East was for the first time organised as a single unit. During the Greek and Roman periods the Middle East developed into an important transit trade zone.

The crusaders (1099—1189) were mainly attracted by religious motives, but were equally attracted by economic prosperity by business they conducted. The Crusaders

were followed by Mongol invasion True, devastation was there but not "exploitation". When exploitation took the position of "profit", capitalistic countries began to think of more and more "Profits" and gave evidence they had no intention of respecting the U N charter in economic matters. They began to intensify and expand the vice-like hold in which they would have their victims perpetually under exploitation—unemployment, under financed Education and Food Production.

World War II brought a blockade of the sea ways of sources of supply and markets. Shipping space was

extremely scarce. The result was economic stagnation for undeveloped countries which supplied the raw material and had to buy the industrial goods of the capitalistic countries.

But this kind of economic cooperation cannot go on forever whole regions by strengthening its production and trade among themselves have shaken some spheres of influence. A change in the economic system of benefit to Capitalistic countries too, though not so profitable through economic cooperation will come.

The Colombo Summit, is faced with the difficult task of declaring a precise decision.

SRI LANKA ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE
SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL SESSIONS—1976

Scientific And Technological Co-operation Among Non-aligned Countries

—report of the working committee on physical planning—

PREAMBLE. In Physical Planning it is important to distinguish our renewable from our non-renewable resources and devise plans of development to conserve as far as possible, for posterity, the non-renewable resources, while at the same time exploiting to the full, available renewable resources. In such development all the available scientific and technological expertise should be fully utilised. Physical Planning is not an end in itself. The fundamental aim of such a plan is the utilization of the natural and human resources in such a manner that the masses of our people are assured of an ever improving standard of living and an ever increasing sense of well being and social security, which in short involves the enhancing of the quality of life. Since the Non-Aligned countries are developing countries, whose populations are mainly in the rural environment, a conscious effort and direction in development should be focussed towards the rural areas.

POLICY. The Conference, considering the predatory role the urban settlements have so far played at the expense of rural settlements in most developing countries,

Recalling that around eighty percent of the national population of these countries live in the rural areas,

Recognising that the cultural identity of these countries is best preserved amidst the rural masses being aware that as the scientific community alienated from their local cultures,

Noting that the minimum infrastructure of transport, energy, social overheads like health, education etc. has been denied to the rural sector,

Bearing in mind that the high percentage of youth in these coun-

tries is restless due to lack of employment opportunities and other facilities,

Emphasising that the national economies of developing countries are to a very large extent dependent on the rural and agrarian sector,

Realising that rural technologies which have withstood the test of time have been downgraded in the recent past,

RECOMMENDS to the governments of Non-Aligned countries that:

1. The emphasis in planning human settlements should shift to the rural sector. Infrastructure development and environmental considerations should be integrated in the development of rural sector to improve the quality of life;

2. The resources which are capable of supporting human life in rural environments must be fully and scientifically utilized to sustain existing settlements and new communities;

3. The scientists of the developing countries must enter into a dialogue at the grass root levels so as to fuse their own knowledge with the empirical wisdom of the village. Any strategy for planned development must take into account the built-in-structure or nucleus of the village,

4. Planned rural settlements should in all instances include a rational and inexpensive transport system for people, produce and goods. Electricity, renewable resource based conventional and unconventional forms of energy must be made available and developed in the rural sector. A planned village centre should meet all the needs of the community such as post office, medical centre, school, transport centre, weekly market, shops, administrative complex, agricultural extension unit, rural court, police station etc. The houses of personnel manning the village social service centres should be located within it,

5. An awareness of the potential of the rural environment must be inculcated to the minds of the youth through the school curriculum.

STRATEGY. The Conference,

Considering that the cities in developing countries have evolved primarily through phases of subjugation and dictated by colonial needs so that much of the functions are now obsolete as these countries have now achieved independence and are seeking a new economic order,

Recalling that the ill-planned growth of urban centres during foreign colonial rule and the subsequent rural migration have now created major social hazards such as shortage of housing and the slum problem,

Recognising the fact that the backlog of housing has to be cleared in the shortest possible time within the limited financial resources,

Bearing in mind that there is a limitation on space in the urban areas,

Noting that the high transport costs are a limiting factor in the spread of urban settlements and is

a cause in the neglect of rural economic development.

RECOMMENDS to the governments of Non-Aligned countries:

1. The recent historical processes of urban growth should be reviewed and strong planning institutions established which would sensitively recognise and utilise the salient elements of traditional planning principles of each nation.

2. The processes of planning should include economics and physical planning and environmental considerations to cover all aspects and should be treated as an integral whole.

3. Plans should be formulated and executed at national (macro level), regional (intermediate level), and urban/rural (micro-level) levels. In order to make effective regional and urban/rural plans, these areas should not necessarily be confined to existing or traditional boundaries but instead be reviewed and re-conceived organically and dynamically in relation to the resources, natural and cultural boundaries and the objectives.

4. The institutions of planning and implementation should work in close liaison and be in close interaction with each other.

5. There should be a regular informed updating of legislation pertaining to physical planning at all levels, whereby obsolete laws do not pose a constraint.

6. In the preparation of physical plans, regional and urban planners, environmental scientists, sociologists, economists and personnel from other disciplines should work jointly as a team.

7. The formation of efficient and specialised units in sectoral authorities to feed information and participate in the formation of national plans should be promoted.

8. The feed-back information to assess the impact of physical plan implementation on social, cultural and psychological aspects of human life, should be fully available and utilised.

9. The UNESCO Resolution No. 30 of the Yogyakarta Conference (Dec. 1973) where it suggests that a get-together of physical planners and architects to work out a 'Code of cultural ethics concerning ancient city centres in town & country planning' is desirable and should be given serious thought.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. The Conference,

Recognising the need to harness the best elements of traditional technology and to utilise the indigenous material,

Noting the high cost of conventional building construction and infrastructure development,

Recalling that transport forms a major component of urban and rural cost of living,

Bearing in mind the high costs of energy,

Realising the importance of utilising scientific knowledge and technological skills available in the world,

RECOMMENDS to the governments of Non-Aligned countries that:

1. All forms of renewable energy including hydro, wind, solar, biogas, photo-synthesis and others be developed for the urban and rural needs. Micro-hydro power schemes as well as larger schemes should be developed and that the economies of scale calculated on the basis of highly sophisticated models in developed countries need re-evaluation in less developed countries.

2. Appropriate techniques of house construction should be developed taking into account climatic conditions and socio-cultural aspects.

3. Research should be carried out nationally and cooperatively between Non-Aligned countries to bring down the cost of all forms of construction.

4. Urban and rural settlements should be designed to minimise transport by linking housing and work sites as far as possible. Thrifty transport systems using little energy such as the cart, and the bicycle should be further improved, and their use encouraged.

5. Maximum limits must be established to the land space utilised by individual households in builtup areas.

6. Standards be established to limit expenditure on building and maximise unit production at all levels of buildings;

(a) a maximum cost per square foot be set up on a graded scale for housing, school buildings, hospitals, administrative buildings etc.,

- (b) a maximum area per unit user be fixed for all buildings such as houses, schools, hospitals, hotels of different grades etc.
 - (c) the location of buildings in built up areas should be in keeping with the legally approved town or village plans of each country.
 - (d) the storage of food, water and other essential commodities be provided, so as to be inexpensive and yet serve the purpose of protection from deterioration, pests etc.
7. Research and information banks must be set up and specialised journals be published by developing countries and made available to to Non-Aligned nations covering all disciplines and all fields such as physical planning, power, transport housing etc. as they are applicable to the problems of developing countries.
8. Measurements of performance and viability in any activity should be based on scarce resources consumption in relation to output; and less reliance should be placed on profit and loss concepts which are dependent on costs and revenues internal to the activity, and on arbitrary pricing and taxing decisions. Future benefits should be measured over longer periods than are traditionally considered by international lending institutions.
9. Expertise from developed countries should be used with reservation as there is a degree of pre-conception arising from the traditions and commercial interests of the experts own country. Moreover, the time required for data and environmental assimilation is excessive and hence experts should be from countries of like development and circumstances.
10. In selecting priorities for investment in transport, the over emphasis in developed countries on constructing highway systems, for private vehicles be not repeated in less developed countries despite the pressure of interest from aid giving agencies. In the operation of transport, priorities should be in apt circumstances, for electric as against fossil fuel propulsion; for waterborne and railway as against highways, and in respect of highways, common carriers (buses and lorries) as against cars and vans.
12. Study of conservation, management and utilization of water from all sources.

CONSERVATION OF ENVIRONMENT. The Conference,

Considering the need for the conservation of natural ecology representing special vegetative, animal and microorganisonal types within the national physical planning,

Recognising the rapid denudation of natural forests and trees and green areas in the rural sector and the urban sector,

Bearing in mind that the recent tourist influx to the Non-Aligned countries has had in many instances damaging impact on major ecological, social and cultural systems,

RECOMMENDS to the Governments of Non-Aligned countries that :

1. Natural ecosystems should be protected particularly fauna and flora and should be preserved to ensure that the rich gene-pools available in the diverse biological species are preserved for future generations ; and the natural beauty of the country, its hills, sea shores and forests should be kept intact for the enjoyment of the citizens and for posterity.

2. Suitable legislation to curtail forest clearing and to simultaneously replace every tree cut, should be formulated.

3. In the case of utilisation of forest wealth policies for energy purposes, industrial products, such as paper etc., housing timber should be formulated with by the governments. In doing so, emphasis should be given for its growth and regulated exploitation.

4. As human contact between different social and cultural backgrounds helps to advance the objectives of human understanding, certain misguided growth of tourism, particularly in the Non-Aligned countries should be reviewed and policy guidance formulated by each nation, whereby the local inhabitants and national tourists who are given priority before foreign visitor growth is accelerated. This is to be viewed in the context of the growth of the so called international tourism (i.e. one-way tourism from the rich country inhabitants to the poor countries) and also within the context of the new International Economic Order which is aimed at eliminating dominant-dependent relationships. Therefore tourism in the Non-Aligned and the developing countries should not reproduce

enclaves where these dominant-subordinate relationships in the ecological, social and cultural spheres are further perpetuated.



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—88

A Trick Of The Wind

By Herbert Keuneman

'ONCE more unto the breach (of faith? promise? contract? of what will you) dear friends, once more!' Ah! to be able to close the walls that separate the rights of the governed from the cheats of those that govern or help govern them! With piled bodies of National Milk Board executives, CWE panjandrums, national propagandists, representatives of our hammer-locked 'free' press! Even I—most pacific of men, believe you me— have it in myself to 'imitate the action of the tiger', you would be surprised, did you know me, my 'modest stillness and humility', at the currently 'terrible aspect' of my normally quite languid (not to say torpid) eye.

And the stimulus that has roused mild me to this phantasization of bloodiness? Appropriately enough, MILK!

But when I say 'G.I.' milk, so to speak, Government Issue, as frustrating to lactibibulants as ever was Britain's 'government ale' to a toper in the worst years of D.O.R.A. —see, I am old enough to remember that: which proves how temperate and un-hypertensive I am by temperament — you will begin to understand. And when I say Condensed Milk you will (if you have ever tried the local humbug) understand completely.

Perhaps you remember that some months ago—some months ago, bear in mind—a few of the more articulate amongst its consumers, having for long borne in silence its gradual deterioration in quality (ist reduction in sugar content; an unwarrantable adulteration of it with some dishonest farinaceous additive; a progressive degeneration in flavour caused by sourness and rancidity, if by nothing more sinister, so that 'condensed' as applied to milk came to bear a pejorative

connotation such as 'iced' as in *ayis-malu* has come to bear as applied to fish: i.e. artificially and inadequately preserved) were at last moved to more or less voluble protest when the product finally became altogether unusable by a stubborn resistance to dissolve at all—what good is insoluble condensed milk? unless you consented to eat it as a very inferior yet quite expensive kind of toffee, which it resembled.

Needless to say, the protesters were urban folks—Colombo 7-ish folks, chiefly, at that—but the furore they made was sufficient to call forth an apparently sincere (but, as I shall show, wholly disingenuous) admission from the Milk Board that there had indeed been an error (but the tone of the admission suggested that it was a negligible sort of error that far from justified from a patriotic consumer) and the trouble was caused by a mere meter-misreading—or an even merer misreading meter—which had resulted in the spoiling of a batch of some 12,000 tins, (a mere bagatelle of public money and productivity it was inferred) and the Board magnanimously offered to replace every tin of the offending 12,000 if the disappointed purchaser brought his complaint to the Board's notice.

This announcement sounded very well and many were mollified by it; especially those who never got to the point of calling its bluff.

Now, TRIBUNE has recently been exercising itself considerably in this matter: it was referred to, and the emptiness of the Milk Board's gesture bared, in the column *Confidentially* on May 22ff; and I myself in *Village House* have mentioned it in passing, since (June 19). What, then, persuades me to resurrect this played out subject (as you might think it) once again?

I am not flogging a dead horse—This horse may be dead from the Milk Board's always sanguine point view—You Can Fool Most of the People Most of the Time—but it won't lie down: the latest kick out of it came only the day before yesterday, 3 July, and I—as a villager—was at the receiving end!

Now, I am indignant not only because this happened to me. Not only because from the beginning of May, when the matter became a public scandal and the Milk Board pretended, deliberately pretended, to have made honourable amends,

to the beginning of July is two months yet the cheat continues; only, its victims have been more circumspectly chosen. But because my best efforts to secure for myself the redress the Board has publicly promised have (as I shall immediately relate) failed; as I maintain they were always intended to fail by an official attitude, by a Government, that advertises its record of minor and very relative 'achievements' only in the cynical confidence that the great majority will never get round—can never get round—to claiming whatever benefits these achievements are touted to bring; and I am, in many ways, in all economic ways, by adoption and grace a member of that majority....a... 'villager'.

Listen to my tale of woe! It would, like that old song, be comic... if its implications were not tragic in the cold-blooded decision they reveal to make of the peasant, the *goviya*, though he be never referred to save by the honorific *govi-mahatmaya*, a second-class citizen to be calculatedly deprived of whatever the Authorities enthroned in air-conditioned splendour reckon a second-class citizen can do without. Condensed milk, for instance.

As I was saying, it is now two months and over since the ultimate in unusable condensed milk was supposed to have been disposed of: the 12,000 bad tins were withdrawn. Yet they have continued in the village co-ops all that time, a great deal of time for 12,000 tins to last among...how many co-ops? Some time ago, the *Ehetuwewa* Co-op ran out of condensed milk completely; and several of us—repeat 'several', despite whatever the Government might think—were hopeful that meant the defective stocks had been run through. So when I heard by the village grapevine that the commodity was again available, believing fondly that this must be new and sound stock, I sent Pema post-haste (what an outdated idiom, in these days) to secure some before the *mudalalis* should get their paws on it. He came back with two tins (why? if there is no village demand for the stuff). I opened the first tin. It was dark brown, there was a sort of thick mottled scum on its surface like a dead growth of some unnatural algae, the flocculent mass underneath had to be kneaded with hot water before it could be

used at all...one of the old unholy inexhaustible '12,000' all over again, without a doubt.

I determined to put up with this cheat no longer. I sent Pema back with the offending—the offensive—tin, to ask the Co-op Manager what arrangements there were to take advantage of the Milk Board's explicit promise to 'replace every one of these tins'. The Co-op Manager replied—Mr. Suriyarachchi please note; the Chairman, National Milk Board need not worry, for it can hardly be doubted that he counted on this—saying that once the bill was written he could do nothing about taking an article, even a manifestly defective article, back. (Now, how does one find that a tin of condensed milk is defective unless one takes it home and opens it? and how does one take it home unless a bill in respect of its sale has been written? Does one open each tin, before accepting it, in the co-op manager's presence (one can imagine!) and then walk home bearing an open tin in each hand like some kind of new, industrialized *pun-kalasa*?)

Nevertheless, such was by now my state of indignation that this was precisely what I intended to do. I would take my spoilt tin (the one opened one) all the way in person to the Milk Board Chairman, together with the unopened one ready to be ceremonially broached in the august presence, and the co-op bill, all the way to Colombo and justice.

Alas! there is no such thing; not even with the gods of Sri Lanka. Either that, or Somebody Up There Doesn't Like Me. On reaching *Galgamuwa* in my wildly galloping bus (which, whereas I had risen at 3.0 a.m. to make sure of it, itself came 20 mts. late and galloped more spiritedly than ever to compensate, so that I had to sit circumspectly with my tin) I was told there was a railway strike on! though at 6.30 in the morning the official media—the press and the radio—still were blissfully unaware or deliberately cagey about the situation which had obtained since midnight.

There was nothing for it but to return unfairly defeated: to have pressed on, with luggage and my tin, would have called for fortitude I do not possess. Still balancing my tin I boarded a bus back; for I had every intention when and if the mysterious railway situation resolved

itself of taking up my crusade afresh, even if the evidence smelled a little 'cheesy' by then. But those gods (who must be in Parliament's pay) would not have it so; halfway to Ehetuwewa a masterful lady in a Nylex sari crowding into the bus knocked the evidence out of my hand to where it made a viscous puddle on her feet and on the floor where several passengers subsequently trod in it and leaped away in startled disgusted surmise for it looked like vomit. It would soon smell as bad, too. But the whole thing stank, from the beginning.

It is easy to be frivolous in recounting this nevertheless significant tale. Indeed, it is necessary to be frivolous if one is to avoid the far worse effect of accidental comedy which is the usual effect of shrill and hysterical (because futile) indignation. But there is plenty, plenty to be indignant about. Not so much the simple unavailability, as such, of condensed milk fit for human consumption, we in Ehetuwewa are only accustomed to that sort of deprivation: at the moment the village is short of any drop of kerosene; there has been for several weeks not a bottle of methylated spirits with which to light a Petromax, even at the unprecedented price of nearly Rs. 15 a bottle, for which the strange excuse offered is that otherwise people drink it, though anyone ought to be able to think up several more effective but cheaper ways to inhibit its being drunk; cement is often not to be had from the store even by special permit-holders; textiles are invariably in short supply while 'more important' co-ops are adequately stocked; if the poorest quality of coupon rice must be disposed of, ours is one of the co-ops where the disposal is made. No, our indignation springs rather from the fact so demonstrated: that the Ehetuwewa co-op and thousands of 'village' co-ops like it are arrogantly regarded as the logical ones to be neglected short-supplied, supplied with inferior goods, if any must be. When it comes to a choice between us and more sophisticated communities (more able and hence likely to raise a fuss, therefore more expedient to placate) we are 'only' villagers who probably know no better and should not be encouraged to.

Pema brought me back this morning from Galgamuwa the in-

formation that there are obviously new stocks of condensed milk, presumably now of comestible quality. So Galgamuwa, for all it is a mere market town of mushroom growth, a 'colony' centre whose enchorial 'govi-mahatturu' (word beloved of the propagandist when the village farmer is somehow to be wooed) certainly never outnumbered those of Ehetuwewa, in the People's Government's value scale?

But this attitude of bureaucratic Olympianism does not stop vis-a-vis the villager only: when they can get away with it, there is a great gulf still fixed between the People the actively-ruling Elect: the and People—town OR country—are still 'the masses' to be deceived and manoeuvred as the panjandrums see fit. Well...the attitude deservedly earns its own penalty: nobody trusts a Government *communiqué* any more. Ponder this.

On the noon news yesterday — 12 hours late—the radio finally got around to acknowledging the railway strike, if only to mention in a throw-away manner that there had been such a thing 'at some places' but all was now in order. True, as it happened; yet nobody believed it. And how foolish a thing the village set against the august Government Word (foolish; but, with confidence eroded as it has been, how inevitable!) Ordinarily, during the southwest monsoon we can hear distinctly the growl of the big Diesels between Galgamuwa and Ambanpola, to say nothing of their whistles sounding into the night. Last night nobody, it seems, had heard any of them. That was all upon which the local rejection—an *SLFP* rejection, in effect—of the official announcement—an *SLFP* announcement—was based. And of course it may have been, it must have been, a mere trick of the wind.

LETTERS

The *Tribune* welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials or a pseudonym but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address.

TOPICAL

Sri Lanka's Drought And Water Crisis

By Harrison Peiris

IT has not been sufficiently realized, I think, here in Sri Lanka, that the prevailing drought and severe water crisis are part and parcel of an inexorable global phenomenon.

For instance, just now in western Europe, a record-breaking heat-wave is causing considerable concern. According to newsreports of what has been labelled as "one of the worst droughts of the century", in northern Italy certain seaside resorts have started rationing water.

And in Paris, thermometers have pushed up 100 degrees for the first time in 30 years. In Germany, farmers have started slaughtering prize cattle because of the lack of fodder. In the Hesse area alone, it is estimated, the drought damage exceeds twenty five million rupees!

Newsreports also refer to London being baked in a near 50 degrees temperature, and the sunboiling away village duckponds in the French rural areas, and scorching crops!

Meanwhile, in Vatican City, Pope Paul VI, this month, has called for prayers for "the problem of the drought...which is causing incalculable damage to agriculture and livestock" and jeopardising the economy.

The Pope, referring to the "inexorable forces of nature and "the meteorological misfortunes" stated that "God can help and in fact He is waiting for our humble and filial prayers for the restitution of the balance of nature, the fruitfulness of the earth, the flowing of the rivers, and the refreshment of human thirst...."

Alongside these apparent climatic changes, proponents of the Ice Age theory—that the world's climate has been getting colder in recent years—have confirmed that a study of ground ice-wedges made recently in the Arctic on behalf of the Geological Survey of Canada, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, has proved their contention.

Vertical ice wedges on the ground, the study team noted, are extremely abundant in several areas with

CASTE IN JAFFNA—2

The Youth Congress

by K. Arumainayagam

THE AGITATION for social changes received an added impetus with the emergence of the radical youth movement in the North. This movement, popularly known as the Jaffna Youth Congress, was one of the most misunderstood movements of the recent years.

The movement composed chiefly of "teachers and students" was perhaps the first organisation of its kind in Sri Lanka to have a comprehensive programme of action. On the national level they agitated for complete swaraj like the Indian National Congress, Racial harmony, revival of ancient traditions and literature and eradication of social abuses like the caste system.

At the inaugural meeting itself the guideline for action was defined. Mr. J. V. Chelliah, Vice-Principal of Jaffna College, who presided over the sessions in the course of his speech said "Just imagine what this country would be, if for instance, they unitedly made up their minds that the shameful system of caste and dowry should go, that a cleaner political and social life must come into being, and that the mutual animosities and jealousies of various communities and races and creeds must give place to national unity". Inspired by such noble thoughts and intoxicated by Indian national movements the Youth Congress set up their plan of action. They invited men of the Indian National Congress, like Mahatma Gandhi, Rajagopalachariyar, Kalyansundara Mudaliyar, Kamaladevi, Chattopadhyaya and along with other matters, got them to preach against casteism in Sri Lanka. Gandhi during his visit made it a point to attack the caste system in all his addresses and praised the Christian schools for abandoning it in their schools.

Besides doing verbal propaganda Youth Congress organised, inter-dining sessions immediately after their meetings. They had inter-dining at Kankesanthurai, Thirunelveli and at Tellipalai. Of these the inter-dining at Thirunelveli was noteworthy because it was held under the Chairmanship of S. Sivapathasundaram, noted exponent of Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy. These events were not free of troubles. High castes and scheming politicians

whipped up caste feeling and set fire to the paddals (sheds) put up for the Congress meetings. When the inter-dining was planned at Thirunelveli, the high castes polluted all the wells in the vicinity of the Training College overnight and in the morning encircled the Training College compound and pelted stones. It was the timely intervention of the Police that brought the situation under control and saved those who participated in the Conference.

In 1931, under the influence of the Youth Congress, Jaffna boycotted the first general elections held under the Donoughmore Constitution. Though the main reason for the boycott was that Donoughmore Constitution fell short of Complete Swaraj, there were some who attributed it to the prevalence of caste issues. A correspondent in the Indian Review wrote: "Briefly it is suggested that caste rivalry and the clashing of accompanied interest rendered it impossible for any degree of political unity to be achieved and that as a compromise was impossible, the electors preferred to refrain from taking part in a ballot, that could only result in the election of a candidate was represented but a minor section of the community." J. G. Wall, author of "Britain's Folly" said, the high caste candidates considered it, below their dignity to canvass the votes of the low-castes. Though these statements were far from truth yet it shows how caste issues coloured the vision of the people.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP in Hindu Temples engaged the attention of the enlightened Hindus and low-castes for a long time. In fact Saivaparipalana Sabai as early as 1928/29 openly canvassed Hindu Managers of temples to throw open their temples to the low castes. Happenings in India further induced them to campaign vigorously for temple entry. They pointed out that when the famous temples of India like Thiruchendur, Sri Meenakshi Amman and others, and in Sri Lanka, Kataragama were open to all classes, there is no reason to restrict this to temples of the Peninsula.

The Government nor the private individuals could not make any headway as the temples were considered to be private properties. Even the Hindu Temporalities were

continuous permafrost. These are fed by water seeping in through cracks. During cold years the wedges grow steadily, becoming wider at the top; the wedges are cut off in warmer years.

The recent study team observed that a major cut-off of the ice wedges occurred five to ten years ago. Since that time, the secondary wedges began to grow on top of the old ones, thus indicating that the climate was again getting colder and the upper level of the permanently frozen ground was rising!

It is quite obvious that the forces of nature are reacting today in a manner which tomorrow may prove more hostile and unbearable for mankind, unless meaningful, more positive measures are taken.

Three years ago, in an article in the national press date-lined 17 September 1973, I stated: "Each time the water level at Labugama and Kalatuwewa drops, there comes up the invariable: 'We have done everything and all depends on the rain over which we have no control' mumbo-jumbo from the CMC authorities.

"Make no mistake about this: there will be a growing and increasing water-shortage and other inter-connected problems cropping up intermittently in the immediate future.

"In an article headlined: *Is Sri Lanka heading towards Drought and Famine* as early as on 23 January 1973 I stated: There are knowledgeable experts in Sri Lanka who have been closely studying the morning and evening skies these days.... The present pattern of day and night skies over our country seems to indicate a severe drought and a prolonged one, and may be, a famine.

"Where was our time-and-again expected South-west monsoon this year? It was not the usual bang but only a whimper.... what is happening is an unmistakably clear warning signal to us. It would be unwise, not to say tragic, and disastrous to ignore these warnings...."

I wrote thus over three years ago. Today, the same warning signals are still there—but they have become only more clear, more insistent.



not properly managed. The opinion in favour of a thorough reorganisation of Temporalities of Hindu temples and agitation for temple entry became very persistent in the third and fourth decades of this century. But, as observed earlier the English Government and since independence the Government of Sri Lanka felt a draft legislation to control Hindu Temporalities should be the work of the Hindus.

The Hindu Conference held at Jaffna Hindu College grounds in April 12, 1948 resolved to request the Hindu members of the Jaffna Urban Council and Saiva Paripalana Sabai to take necessary steps to prepare public opinion so as to facilitate the entry of Harijans into Hindu Temples. Colombo Vivekananda Society took a decision to negotiate with the Saiva Paripalana Sabai to provide the necessary education and enlightenment to the Harijans in order to realise early the object of granting them equal opportunities for worship in all Hindu Temples. In July 1948, Mr. S. M. Subbiah, First M.P. for Badulla, gave a notice of a motion in the House of Representatives to urge all the Trustees and Custodians of Hindu Temples to throw open their temples to worshippers without distinction. The *Hindu Organ*, the prestigious spokesman for the Hindu public opinion, demanded that any ordinance enacted to control and administer Hindu Temples should include a provision to enable Harijans to enter Hindu Temples.

All this necessitated the appointment of a Special Committee of Hindu Members of Parliament under the chairmanship of Mr. K. Kanagaratnam M.P. for Vaddukodai to report on the Hindu Temporalities and Endowments, animal sacrifice and freedom of worship. The terms of reference was issued to the committee by the Minister of Home Affairs and Rural Development on September 30, 1949. The Hindu members of Parliament also willingly took up the matter and went into the problem in details. Their report on the Freedom of Worship was very exhaustive and they appeared to have considered the problem of Freedom of Worship more important than others. To quote their own words, "A new and dangerous inroad is now being made into our religion and society, and a new panacea has been actively canvassed by a great

leader of the Harijan movement in India for the restoration of human rights and dignity to his down-trodden community. The visit of this leader to our Country in recent times has already had its repercussions. For the first time in the history of the Hindu Religion in this country, mass conversions with the blessings of this Harijan leader are reported to have taken place to the Buddhist faith.

"This is the inevitable result of the present tempo of the Orthodox Hindus and if that tempo does not change, such mass conversions will continue. One local correspondent from the depressed classes has appealed in utter desperation to his Community through the Press to become Sinhalese as there was no use of their being Tamils and being down-trodden by them." The special committee submitted its report on November 16, 1950 and it was published as sessional paper V-1951.

Another important feature of this period was that low-castes organised themselves to agitate for better social status. Besides the regional caste organisation in places like Chunnakam, Vahiri, they had organisations like the Minority Tamils Progressive Union and Ali Ceylon Minority Tamils Maha Sabha. In fact, the latter Organisations presented themselves before the Soulbury Commission and first Delimitation Commission and asked for special representation and Constituencies. The Soulbury Commission, in fact recommended the creation of a multi-member constituency in the peninsula of Jaffna for the purpose of giving the under privileged a strong voice. The first delimitation Commission of 1946 gave a careful consideration but came to the conclusion that as they were scattered all over the peninsula it was difficult to allocate any single multi-member constituency for them.

Thus in the mid twentieth century there had been a marked improvement in the attitude hitherto held. A close scrutiny, except for the Temple Managers and priests, the consensus of opinion of others had been in favour of Temple Entry.

This period, especially the fourth and fifth decades of the century also saw the gradual conversion of low caste to leftist-politics. While the educated opinion among the high castes were motivated by Gandhian

ideals, low-caste philosophy came to be increasingly influenced by leftist movement and it was no surprising matter. This is also one of the reasons for the unpopularity of the leftist parties in Jaffna at the early stages.

Among the low castes who received Education in the missionary schools a good number began to occupy Government posts like the high castes. Thereafter, dobbies and barbers, began to set up laundries and saloons respectively and began to conduct their guild jobs in a professional manner. Instead of the monthly or fortnightly visits of the dobbies and barbers to the houses of the high caste people, high castes, compelled by necessity, began to patronise laundries and saloons. In towns and semi-towns it almost became a practise to patronise saloons and laundries. But they too having, set up "Shops" served only their "former" masters. They stood fastly refused to perform for unknown persons. In Jaffna, especially low castes themselves avoided such embarrassments.

However, the idea of Kudimakan concept lingered on but that was more for formality sake. The development of public transport, and the necessity for travel completely put a stop to segregation in matters of travel. Thus by the end of the period one finds only the empty vestiges of customs being zealously guarded and high castes shorn of all power clinged on to the system more for prestige sake than for anything else. Wherever the low castes were economically weak they too meekly submitted to the assertions of the high castes.

IN SOUTH SRI LANKA among the Sinhalese, too, Caste System lingers on. Though the Delimitation Commission of 1946, could not recommend separate or multimember constituencies in the north, yet in South Sri Lanka, it just could not ignore the existence of Caste. The creation of two-member Constituencies of Ambalangoda-Balapitiya and Kadugannawa was done primarily to give an opportunity for certain castes to be assured of a member of their own caste. In carving out the constituencies of Gampaha, Kegalle, Gampola, Kurunegala and Bingiriya, the Commissioners as far as possible kept the castes undivided within the electoral district to give the caste groups a

greater voice in the election of representatives than they have hitherto possessed. Though Buddhism preached egalitarian way of life, still the Buddhist priest-hood could not overcome the sectarian differences among them—The Siam Nikaya continued to be monopolised by monks belonging to the Goigama Castes, while Amarapura Nikaya continued with monks belonging to the Karava, Salagama and Durava Castes.

During the course of this century. Jaffanese have had migrated to various parts of the Island, most of them choosing Colombo. But wherever they went they carried with them their caste prestige and when contracting marriages, they always traced their ancestry to Jaffna. However a certain amount of fusion has had taken place among the high Castes—Vellalas, Chetties and Madapallys. There had been inter-marriages among them while the position of the Koviya too improved and there had been instances conscious and unconscious marriage contracts between the Vellalas and Koviya.

* * *

SENTIMENTAL REVERIE

Three Coins

by R. C. Thavarajah
Retd. Supdt. of Police

No, Ladies, and Gentlemen, they are not the ones thrown into the world famous fountain "somewhere in the heart of Rome" referred to in the popular song in the most brilliantly produced film. "Three Coins in the Fountain" in which the leading role was played by the superb actor Gregory Peck:—

*"Three coins in the Fountain
Each one seeking Happiness,
Thrown by three young lovers.
Which one will the Fountain Bless?
Make it Mine, Make it mine!"*

And, Sir, It would be pathetically bathetic if you presume that the caption is calculated to advertise a local brand of beer!

The THREE coins I allude to were just three five cent coins manufactured out of cupro-silver for our country by the Royal Mint, Bombay, making an aggregate—if my arithmetic is correct—of just fifteen cents. He had them gripped in his right hand. He was a small

boy about ten years of age. He was drenched to the bone—possibly even to the marrow as there was very little flesh covering his bones. It had rained rather heavily. He had no umbrella, black, white, multi-coloured or the fancy ladies flowered parasol. His shirt and a pair of shorts, probably the only ones he had, were in tatters. He was sobbing—silently in spasms of anguish which seemed to break his little heart. I found him at a bus halt at Kochchikade—pronounced by some in the Anglicised form as "Cock-Eye-Kade". Some people really have a cock-eyed sense of humour, apart from other things!

It was the night of the 20th of April and a Tuesday—the day of God Murugan and also of the patron Saint of Travellers—Saint Anthony. I am one of those who have to go to a place of worship to remind myself of the Supreme Power that creates and sustains. I have not attained the heights of great men of stature in Metaphysics. I am not even a kindergartener in the highly involved and esoteric study of comparative Religions. I am just a 'Philistine' who has often "slipped and fallen". I cannot meditate in my room. "Meditate"—some pontificate—"Not just for liberation, religious discipline, high yogic states or praise, but for the fulfilment of your tensions, desires as well". I almost said "Elementary—my Dear W."

Forced, under various circumstances, to cut my coat not the coat of "many colours" of Joseph according to the Bible—but my own one and not that which belonged to the State, according to the cloth and there is precious little, I have to watch my coins. I used to 'gad' about in the old Peugeot but, after a friend who owns a petrol service Station where I used to buy my fuel 'on the slate' told me that my bill was high, I had decided to 'Bus' it. Some business tycoon he is!—different kettle of fish, by Gad, Sir. I would have expected him to be happy at more green and blue notes of legal tender rolling into his drawer. This guy tells me that I am burning the candle at both ends. A very few friends really care even after you have been given the boot.

To come back to the story—after I had offered 'pooja' at the usual place of worship—I walked

back to the bus stand. I found him standing alone. There were others. They may have seen him. They could not care less. They may have their own problems. Who does not? I watched him for some time. I could not stand it any longer—not that I am a sentimental 'cuss' but it irritated me. I am easily irritated by injustices—social, bureaucratic, etc., etc. When I asked him why he was crying, he related his story. He made it short. He was one of the boys who spend their spare time after school hours selling gram. They get a commission of One cent on every packet marked —/25 cts—a colossal sum which the opulent Mudalali who buys the 'kadalay' in bulk, roasts them and packs them for sale! Not many had braved the inclement weather—not even for worship. Most of them preferred to be spiritual and later warm themselves with 'spirits' either local or foreign. Result—Only fifteen packets sold and a commission of only —/15 cts. With a plaintive voice, he had begged for an 'advance'. The irate Mudalali was one of the many of their ilk. He was a fat, arrogant one with 'good capon lined' who had—making an excuse for the weather—had consumed quite a lot of liquor. They humble themselves only to people who matter. He looked at the boy and spoke.

"Get away you rogue—How can I trust you for half a rupee, what is the guarantee that you will come tomorrow? — was the terse, pungent reply. The little boy had no option. He wended his dreary way to the nearest bus halt. He did not go on his knees to the others for help. He had his own sense of pride. What pained his tiny, adolescent mind was how he was going to explain all this first to the bus conductor who would have insisted on his 'pound of flesh'—because he gets his commission on the total number of passengers who pay their fares—and then to his parents who were waiting to buy something to eat for the night. The little boy—God bless his soul—was the great bread winner of the family.

After a rather unfortunate experience of having been 'relieved' of my purse containing a fairly substantial portion of my pension one day while travelling by bus, I try to abide by the thread-bare

aphorism "Once bitten, twice shy". I now carry only sufficient money for the journey. I can tell you that our local pick-pockets can teach Faggins, the tutor of pick-pockets in Charles Dickens' selectable novel "Oliver Twist" a thing or two. Since I have no intention of augmenting the 'earned' income of the light-fingered fraternity, I had only fifty cents to spare which I readily gave him. He did not make a speech. His unspoken look as his face brightened up said a million thanks in the most eloquent manner. Could others also offer some help? Surely, there must have been some who had either attended a Church or a Temple and learnt something of charity. Does not the Holy Koran say "Prayer carries us half way to God, Fasting brings us to the door of His Palace and alms-giving procures us admission?"

A prestigious International Organisation has pontificated:— "The function of the Legislature in a Free Society under the Rule of Law is to create and maintain the conditions which will uphold the dignity of man as an individual. This dignity requires not only the recognition of civil and political rights but also the establishment of the Social, Economic, Educational, and Cultural conditions which are essential to the full development of his personality".—Very impressive and ornate language indeed!—but of what relevance is all this to the case in point? At best—only an exercise in juristic logic solely of academic value.

Elegant limousines purchased on CRA flashed passed splashing rain water and mud on the less fortunate pedestrians who cannot afford taxi fare and have to 'foot' it even in the rain. If blood is thicker than water, brother, there is something thicker than both—mud. So, when mud is splashed on you, you have to take it with the philosophic acceptance that it was mud and nothing else.

When the bus finally arrived there was a mad stampede. The law of the jungle—the survival of the fittest—could not have found expression in a more convincing manner than that occasion. I managed to squeeze myself inside, when I heard the command *Yanta Issarata* — 'Go forward!—very inspiring exhortation! — something reminiscent of the Charge of the

Light Brigade—"Forward—the Light Brigade" etc., etc. How exactly the Conductor expected me to move forward when my nose was pressed against the posterior aspect of another man's chest was something I could not figure out, and I am certainly not the Great Houdini who could 'go through' objects! I managed to inhale and exhale and thereby prevent the fatality of cardiac inaction. I was clinging tenaciously on to the "silvery beam" of the bus below the hood with the solemn determination to avoid one of the under-mentioned calamities:—

(a) Losing my perpendicularity and, consequently, damaging an integral part of my vertebral column as a result of being dislodged from the Tata Mercedes Benz every time it took a sharp turn at high speed.

(b) Temporarily being deprived of my 'physical' balance—I am supposed to have lost my 'mental' balance according to some 'Police' experts—pundits who have not mastered Police work but who have "rushed in" trespassing into the field of maestros in Clinical Psychiatry. My resolute 'stand'—literally and metaphorically—was conditioned by the knowledge that there had been no radical changes in Sir Isaac Newton's Law of Gravity. Besides, I was perturbed by the thought that I may deposit myself—involuntarily, of course due to the movements of the Bus—on to the expansive lap of a very prim and proper lady seated in the seat marked "Ladies Only". I was reminded of the witty remark of the physically obtuse but mentally acute Dr. Johnson when he told the younger members of his Club "I do not think any of you young men would have been as chivalrous as I. In the bus, I got up and gave my seat to three ladies." This lady with ample bosom and equally ample posterior could have got up and given her seat to three men and chalked it as a major triumph for the "Womens Lib"!

I had lost sight of the boy. When I reached home, I related the incident to my wife who mentioned in Tamil about 'NADAMAADUM DHEIVAM'—not the ritual emphasising idol worship but the Hindu concept of the vica-

rious manifestations of the Omnipresent, omniscient and Omnipotent Supreme Reality. I could gather that it was consonant with the Message in the Gospel according to St. Mathew, Chapter 25 verse No: 35:—

"For I was an hungered and ye gave me meat. I was thirsty and ye gave me drink. I was a stranger and ye took me in. Verily, I say unto you, In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto ME."

So dynamically syncretistic and in such perfect harmony in thought are these with the words from the *Bhagavad Gita*, translated from the original Sanskrit by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood into such mellifluous poetic excellence:—

"Whatever your Action,
Food or Worship;
Whatever the gift
That you give to another;
Whatever you vow
To the work of the spirit:
O son of Kunti,
Lay these also
As offerings before ME"

TREES

Dear Sir,

You have made many gallant efforts to put some sense into our people as regards saving our eco-systems. I noticed with sadness that someone had adopted a scorched-earth policy with regard to huge conifers from the 144th-145th (rail-track) mileposts on the 10th of this month. Who is the culprit? I counted over 127 trees felled, freshly downed. Can anyone explain this vandalism and that, despite the many warnings regarding the delay in usual weather patterns. Couldn't the Forest Department issue free handbills and drop them from a spare helicopter in the offending areas?

Thank you

Fr. Michael Rodrigo, O.M.I.
Sevaka Sevana,
Bandarawela.
15.8.76

My thoughts went back to the little boy. As if in a moment of mystic reverie, I seemed to hear the resounding words 'I cried because I had no shoes until I met a man who had no feet.' A strange feeling of peace—something more than what I had experienced after offering pooja at the Temple—lulled me to a state where I succeeded in snuffing out some burning candles of my own thoughts. Somehow, I remembered the words of Rabindranath Tagore, Poet Laureate of India, who made his plaintive appeal in his 'Prayer':—"Strike, strike at the penury in my heart."

As the soothing breeze of slumber wafted me to rest, the only offending thought that kept flapping like an irritating window curtain was that I did not have more than fifty cents that night.

Your verdict—a highly dramatised version of a trivial incident to justify the caption 'Drama in real life'?—No, my friends, this was one of the many simple facts of life!

Inania of this, that and the other

Conscientious

By INNA

Now and again, a news-note would say: Podisingho and his family died by taking poison, or Sirisena, through anger destroyed his wife's mother. The 'now and again' is not so frequent in the villages. In general, village life in Sri Lanka is calm, *paisible* as our French friends would say. It bespeaks of peace, the shanti that comes from reflexion on Nibbana and what leads thereunto or again it may come from the *samadhi*, common to both Hindu and Buddhist traditions.

Living as I do, in a place that makes us spot out the down-to-earth goodness and kindness of the common people, whether in estate areas or in the village areas, I enjoy anyone's company, especially if he has a hawk's eye to discover the native goodness of our peasants and our estate workers.

One day, the 2.15 p.m. bus from Moneragala was speeding its way to Keppetipola and I was one of the passengers: about seventy in all, including the 40-50 seated passengers. 23 Sri 2411 took the stretch in stride on this 26th day of April '76. Among the standing passengers were small farmers, woodcutters and others of that ilk, the backbone of the Lower Uva areas. Suddenly two "cathys" (small axes) fell from a bundle on the bus-roof. The bus sped away for a good two-hundred yards while the shouts were on: "A cathy fell, two cathys fell." The driver stopped, backed. They were happy and almost cheering in their modest rural way. Only a man who had sympathy with the up-and-coming region of Uva's Moneragala would understand, stop and reverse until the "cathys" were taken. In the meantime, a work-hungry youth ran out of a thicket and took away one of the two axes that fell and ran back into the jungle which easily swallowed him up. For about a full fifteen minutes the passengers chatted aloud only about this incident "It is good that the driver mahatmaya stopped and turned back" said one. The owner said: "Ane mama kohe yannada dekama nathi vunama? (Where could I go if both were lost?) "Anduwata thamai aithi, e vunath api vaga kiyanna ona neva?" (It sure belongs to the government but we have to be responsible for the goods given to us, haven't we). It was only a ten-minute delay but no one on the bus grumbled. I think the driver and conductor of the bus deserved commendation, for, the latter, organised the entire move and backed the driver to the hilt.

Unruffled, the busmen and the passengers drove off, happy to have helped. Then came the bend of the road at Kumbukkana bridge and low and behold what do we find sticking out of the water next to a broken rail of the bridge—a CTB breakdown van that had broken down and fallen into the river. When watchmen sleep what do we do? When the fence starts eating the corn, where do we go? When break-down vans break down, I mean b-r-e-a-k down, to whom shall we go for help.

Or that other driver, who on the 21st June this year, with a busload of 123 passengers (I coun-

ted them) on a bus marked piously "50PGS."—came to grief a mile from Ella on the B'wela-Ella road: he suddenly announced: "My brakes are gone" (and no wonder, I thought); edged the bus a little and knocked off the engine, and turned back brakelessly and came to Bandara-wela to put the grumpy 123 into the 9.10 bus from Keppetipola to Wellawaya. Until spare parts come, bus no. 23 SRI 4046 won't get up for a long time. When it does, its journeys will be knocked down to very few when 123 passengers get in—merry go round, what!

LETTERS

* Reply

Sir,

I write this in reference to the letter dated 13th July 1976 addressed to you by 'Chandra' of Colombo and which appeared in your issue, Volume 21 No: 8, of July 31st 1976 regarding the two articles written by me appearing in your issues of 26th June and 03rd July 1976.

I would have expected 'Chandra' to criticise the points made in my article rather than make a vicious personal attack against me. I do not wish to remain silent as the readers of your esteemed journal may believe the allegations made against me by 'Chandra', who obviously does not have the courage to sign the letter under his own name but, like a true coward, hides behind a pseudonym.

I was appointed Competent Authority by the Acting Minister of Education in February 1971 and I sent in my resignation to be effective from 23rd June 1971. As Competent Authority, the powers of the Board of Regents were vested in me. Thus, I had to make decision on my own, regarding all matters concerning the University of Ceylon. During my stewardship as Competent Authority I did not tolerate fraud dishonesty, unpunctuality, harassment of minor staff, disloyalty to the University and indiscipline committed by members of the University staff whether they were academic or otherwise.

Since 'Chandra' seems to be so familiar with my "brow beating bullying dictator" measures I am sure he has been the victim of my "bullying" and is guilty with regard to the offences mentioned by me. If 'Chandra' would only reveal himself I shall only be too glad to answer his allegations in greater detail. I also wish to assure the readers of this journal that I have not changed my attitude towards people who are guilty of the offences mentioned in this letter. 'Chandra' should also know that during my stewardship as Competent Authority, the greatest amount of discipline came from a few senior members of the academic staff who felt that they were above the common law that applied to the University as well as the country at large.

A. D. P. Jayatilake

47/17, Louis Peiris Mawata,
Kandy.
2.8.76

*

* Socialism

Sir,

Three items of news taken together say much about the quality of our Socialism.

First, last year we imported more petrol than in the previous year. Most other countries took in less. With each price hike, apparently we intend to import more oil.

Second, it is announced with glee and immense satisfaction that we are racing fast to reach the 7 Sri series in cars.

Third, as an economy measure, we plan to put fewer buses on the road soon.

At every street corner, young bloods of the Elite group can be heard discussing their plans to bring in new cars. The much talked of export drive is essentially a racket to get the ordinary chaps to work hard and produce for the export market to enable the top chaps, to drive around in Mercedes.

Good Luck Socialism.

Bryan de Kretser

Prithipura,
Hendala.

* Press

Sir,

The very fact that I can only address this letter to you as the Editor of the only independent journal in this country is an impressive illustration of my contention. The newspapers and S.L.B.C. have ceased to serve the more discerning segment of the public and have become mere organs of propaganda. News is slanted, half-truths and untruths are liberally sprinkled and headlines (or are they headlines?) are presented without quotations so that opinion is taken for fact.

The Editorial content would be hilarious if not for the serious fact that thousands in this country and abroad are being dangerously misled.

Last week we had the spectacle of one of our leading paediatricians—and one who I know to be well-qualified to speak on the subject—being gratuitously taught the elements of infant nutrition by the Editor of one of our "leading" dailies.

In nearly every civilized country the Sunday newspaper is a respected institution which provides entertainment catering to every taste and with enough reading matter for the Sunday and for part of the following week. Our two Sunday papers, with some luck, are able to hold our attention for about 30 minutes together.

Rent-payers have their associations, so have the tax-payers and doubtless bus travellers are well-served by their organizations. I believe the time has come for the thinking public of this country to form a "media-users' association" and attempt to counter this spreading canker of false propaganda.

Dr. B. Mahendra

Dept. of Psychiatry,
Faculty of Medicine,
Peradeniya,
25.07.76.

* Summit

Sir,

With a bustle of activity now going on around the proposed conference which our country is

preparing to host, it is important that all patriotic citizens of this land should really be proud of the privilege given to a small country like ours to host such an important conference to be held in the Asian Region.

Today in the eyes of the international world our gracious First Lady of this land Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike shines as a colourful and remarkable figure. She happens to be one of the few world leaders who had attended all conferences of this nature without any interruption to date. That counts to be one of the main reasons for deciding to hold this summit in our country. As an ardent supporter of peaceful co-existence and original proposer for making the Indian Ocean a peace zone, her determination to make this conference an unqualified success is immense. To this effect all trade unions in this country have pledged their support.

Now it is time all the different political parties in this country gave up their petty jealousies and conceits and worked untealy to make this conference a supreme success. As a matter of national-mindedness, let them give out of their bounty in not caring for what colour their party stands. Let it be green, blues or red, but mix all the colours up and produce that intense glow of spotlessly white, the colour of Peaceful National Unity. In that spirit let them co-operate with the present regime, when the results will take care of themselves. That will surely pave the way for us to present this emerald-isle in the most eye-tempting manner to the innumerable Heads of State who will gather here for the proposed conference.

N. Srikantha

Alwis Town,
Hendala.
1.8.76.

* * *

FOR NEWS
BEHIND THE NEWS
read
TRIBUNE
regularly

TRIBUNE, August 21, 1976

Confidentially

Ridgeway Tillekeratne

IT IS NOT TRUE that the matter spotlighted in the Letter From the Editor in this issue of Tribune regarding the Press Centre and the manner in which the foreign press (leave alone some sections of the local press) have been handled is a disgrace to Sri Lanka? That one of the very few papers outside the orbit of the managed and official press in Sri Lanka today is the communist daily Aththa? That though this column disagrees (very often) with what the Aththa says and the way it says matters of significance and consequence, it cannot but cite with approval an editorial piece in the paper on Monday August 16, 1976, about the arrangements for the Press for the nonaligned conference? That it is difficult to translate Sinhalese idiom into appropriate English translation, but this has been attempted in this column in order to show what the official journal of a partner of the Government had to say right in the midst of the Conference? That though this column had been tempted to expose some of the stupid misdeeds of those responsible for Press and Media arrangements during the last month, we had been persuaded to hold our pen on the argument advanced by some friends that it was not good to wash "dirty" linen before the Conference took place? That we now very much regret this decision because, if some publicity had been given to some of their goings-on, someone in higher authority may have stepped in and prevented the tremendous damage now done to the image of Sri Lanka in the world media? That we will be reverting to this often in the coming weeks—when everything is over and it would be possible to wash dirty linen more freely? That for the present—the Conference is over and though most of our visitors have departed, a few stragglers are left behind—it would be appropriate to refer to the Aththa piece for a start? That it is just the opening bars about the unfortunate cacophony that had

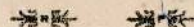
enveloped the press and media coverage for the Nonaligned Conference? That a rough and ready translation of the heading of the Aththa article read RIDGEWAYS BROADCASTING HUMOUR? (That though Tribune does not usually indulge in personalities, it cannot blackout the Aththa article just because names are mentioned?) That the translation goes something like this?

"Ridgeway Tillekeratne's Radio has failed to give even the place of a school boys cricket match to the Non-aligned conference. Even in a school boy's cricket match, a ball by ball commentary is given, but for the Non-aligned conference no such prominence has been given in the broadcasting. Several leaders arrived in the country within the last two days and some of them came to the island for the first time. People of the country would have liked to know such arrivals and particulars about the reception given to them etc. This public would have liked more than the few who who listen to cricket commentaries. But for Ridgeway Tillekeratne's radio this was not of much importance. It is with good reason this has been named Ridgeway Tillekeratne's radio. When one views the working of the radio it is apparent that the radio is not only a Ridgeway institution but a personal institution of Ridgeway Tillekeratne who is the Director General of Broadcasting and the only member of the Board of Directors. The manner Broadcasting is treating the Non-aligned conference makes one to feel that either the boss of the institution does not realise the importance of the conference or that he is purposely seeking to denigrate the good name of the Government and the Prime Minister would receive by this conference. Judging by the functioning of the Press Centre and the treatment meted out to press personalities at the BIA one is bound to suspect whether international publicity to this importance conference is being blacked out. The same boss is in charge of the broadcasting and the press. In a different page in this paper we have published a picture of news reporters and photographers seated on the floor at the BIA as no seating accommodations were provided for them. This photograph is only

another example of the arrangements provided for faith mass media personnel. Meanwhile, Ridgeway Tillekeratne's radio said that foreign correspondents praised the arrangements for media personnel but did not mention which media personnel praised these arrangements. This is not a private problem but political problem concerning the government. If the government seeks to keep quiet about this matter we are unable to do anything but it will be the funeral of the government."

That what the Aththa has said is only a mild protest by a party journal of one of the two members of the government coalition? That Aththa very correctly points out that if the Government (the SLFP) does not correct the harm and damage already done. It will be asking for trouble—that it will be the funeral of the Government? That it will be difficult to disagree with this thought? That though the magnitude of the forward thrust of the decisions would tend to overshadow these shortcomings about Sri Lanka's arrangements for the international press, the world press—capitalist, socialist, non-aligned and third world—has a long stretch which is important for the future of Sri Lanka?

That apart from this the live-broadcast by the SLBC of the proceedings of the opening of the Summit was a disgrace whatever angle one looked at it? That those who made the commentaries in English, especially the one who spoke from inside the Conference Hall, did not seem to have any "words" to describe what he witnessed? That the whole time he was gushing with repetitions of words like "colourful, I have no words to describe what I see...gorgeous..." That he capped everything by saying that Archbishop Makarios was an unforgettable sight in his "national costume"? (That in his view everyone in Cyprus must be an Archbishop in purple?) That it was obvious that the commentator was totally unable to cope with the task entrusted to him? That people who report and comment on cricket matches or carnival tamasas cannot be expected to provide a commentary on a summit meeting of the nonaligned? That the Sinhala commentary was even worse?



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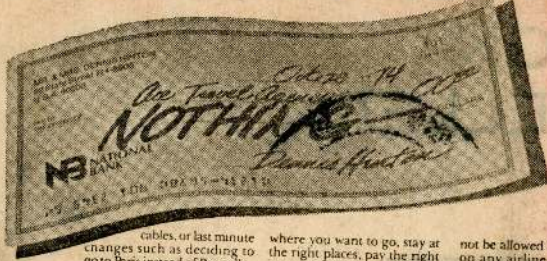
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He can also tell you what to wear, what to see, what and what not to eat—and whether you should drink the water.

Say you're flying to New York. You could get a 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.

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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 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. So he's 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 nice 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, chefs, 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 in the Yellow Pages. Look for agents who specialize in the destinations you choose. There are many and many agents. Giant corporation agents. Specialists in business and particular courts, too. 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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