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Letter From The Editor

MULKIRIGALA can become a turning point in the domestic electioneering politics of Sri Lanka if the Government knows how to drive its punches home. In all the by-elections since 1972 there was a growing anti-Government, anti-UF, trend which had seemingly become stronger as the time for the General Election drew near: the Government had lost all but one of the by-elections (viz. Ratnapura). The majorities against the Government had also increased in the most significant manner. The SLFP had also lost ground in a number of electorates which had been considered strongholds. On the basis of this trend, many political observers had been tempted to think that Mulkirigala would also go the way of the other by-elections. SLFP spokesmen, who expressed confidence that the Government will hold this seat in the deep South, were not taken very seriously. Even those who wished the Government and the UF well were silent about the outcome of the by-election: they were troubled that the political record of the candidate—especially the reported commuting from party to party in the past—would go against him: they were unhappy that he was being contested by one of his own brothers as an Independent: and that there were divisions in the UF which might adversely affect the conduct of the campaign. The results of the by-election, though expected by a few (mainly ardent UF supporters), had come as a surprise and shock to many, especially the UNP. For some time now, the UNP had begun to display the same old cocksure arrogance of the days of Sir John Kotelawala by behaving as if all by-elections and the next General Elections were already in the UNP bag. ON THE COVER, this week, we have a picture of two iguanas, *talagoyas* in Sinhala and *udumpus* in Tamil, having it out in love or hatred—no different from humans. The picture symbolises the struggle between the SLFP and the UNP in the current period: will it be a battle unto death (meaning the total eclipse of one party for an unforeseeable future) or a synthesis in a new coalition (now receding with the upsurge of UNP's new arrogance and the re-appearance of old UNP war horses and political advisers who have lost every battle in the past)? There are, in our view, several factors which have contributed to the victory of the SLFP and the UF in the Mulkirigala by-election. We will list them in the order of emphasis we think they merit, but we will admit that there can be much overlapping and intermingling of the different factors. The first and most important is that the Government has, at last, begun to control the inflationary trend in prices in the last six to eight weeks: that governmental agencies, especially the *Markfed*, has been able to provide consumers with essentials at reasonable prices and has thus been able to push down the prices in the private sector also. Nearly everybody had expected prices to soar to dizzy heights during the Nonaligned Summit, but the fact that the prices of a large range of essential foodstuffs had been kept at the old price levels and in many instances had even been pushed down considerably is, undoubtedly, one of the primary causes of the Government's victory at Mulkirigala. If the Government is able to maintain this trend and is able to provide adequate essential consumer goods at reasonable prices through its networks of co-op stores, marketing department shops and *markfed* centres (thereby compelling the private trader to do the same), the Government will be able to win the next general elections most comfortably. Another reason is that the top leaders of the SLFP had co-operated in the conduct of the by-election: the Mulkirigala by-election was left in the hands of senior SLFPers like Maithripala Senanayake (they were not put into cold storage as at the Ja-ela): and there were no diversionary disruption, as at Kalawewa, by persons and groups dissatisfied with the candidate chosen. The third reason, and this is also a very important one, is that a new euphoria has gripped the country—in both urban and rural areas—that the Prime Minister had been able to organise successfully an international conference of great magnitude and even greater significance: the charisma of the Prime Minister has gained an added dimension. It will, no doubt, be difficult to maintain this euphoria until the General Elections, but with deft handling and subtle propaganda (not through the presently blundering SLBC) this Nonaligned Conference euphoria can be easily sustained until the General Elections. Fourthly, it is reasonably clear that the party system has come to stay and that even a candidate, whose personal political record can be challenged, is able to secure the party vote in the electorate: that the age of Independents is no more. Fifthly, the deep South has maintained its reputation for its traditional radical leftwing politics. And lastly, the majority of the voters still see the UNP in the same old way—the new image the leadership has boasted about has failed to carry conviction.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

LAKE HOUSE

ONE THE MAJOR REPERCUSSIONS of the Nonaligned Summit is the upheaval that has recently taken place in Lake House. This had been expected for sometime now, but nobody—not even the most knowledgeable in the journalistic world in Colombo—had expected it to erupt so soon and so suddenly. In the background was the basic fact that there was dissatisfaction among high and influential circles in the Government (and the SLFP) that certain journalists were not pulling their weight with the Establishment in the manner expected or in a way consistent with employment in a government-owned newspaper organisation. This dissatisfaction had surfaced a short time before the Conference in very influential quarters. It must be also mentioned that an attempt to bring about a change in the top management of Lake House at Ministerial level (which would have tilted the balance in favour of journalists whose conduct had not received approval) had failed. In this pre-Conference skirmishing, there is no doubt that certain loyalists had expressed the view that it was in the interests of the Government and Lake House if far-reaching changes in personnel were effected immediately. After this, matters were allowed to rest as they were, but the failure to effect changes—one way or the other—had laid the seeds for the current blowup in Lake House.

On Monday, August 23, the *Observer* carried a series of newspaper interviews from "people" in the ordinary walks of life—all of them praising the Prime Minister for the grand job she had made of the Conference. All these articles and reports were in high faultin' sentimentalised idiom, with far too much of complacent self-adulation, but it was a forgivable journalistic exercise to counter the kind of catty and unfair comments and stories that were being circulated among the political and diplomatic circles that the Summit had had a bad impact on the ordinary people. In the rush, it would appear that Gamini Windsor one of the senior and experienced reporters of Lake House, had a piece carrying interviews from

three women (ladies, if you please). On Tuesday morning, August 24, the *Aththa* (which seems to have an extremely good grapevine into Lake House) had a piece pointing out that the three names in Gamini Windsor's report had appeared in the obituary columns of the *Sunday Observer* 22/8, and the *Daily News*, 23/8—that in fact they were dead persons. This started the uproar in Lake House.

It is now understood that Gamini Windsor, after he was traced to particular room in the Lake House building confabulating with some other employees of Lake House, had stated that the three names had been given to him by his Editor, Mr. Lionel Fernando. It was true that Mr. Lionel Fernando, who had come a little late to office that morning, had passed the copy, but he had denied that he had given the names to his reporter for the fictitious interviews. It is inconceivable that Mr. Fernando would have given the names of dead persons, and as Mr. Gamini Windsor's story will not convince anyone. The Chairman had naturally, after further inquiries, terminated Mr. Gamini Windsor's services. Mr. Lionel Fernando, it is reported, had admitted that he had passed the copy, but those who know journalistic procedures are aware that an Editor does not check the authenticity of every single interview a reporter brings in, especially a senior and experienced reporter.

There is a belief in many responsible quarters that there was an attempt to "fix" Mr. Lionel Fernando in a bid to oust him from Lake House under a cloud. Many, now, do not know that Mr. Lionel Fernando was in the newspaper world as a reporter, ending up as Chief Reporter, for over 25 years before he joined the Government Information Department — he was later recruited into the CAS. If there is one thing Mr. Lionel Fernando knows, it is the newspaper reporter's business, and the attempt to say that he had given his senior reporter the names of dead persons to interview is one of those things which can only emanate from those out to implicate him falsely.

To come back to the pickle in Lake House, it is reported

that a major investigation was got under way into this and other matters and that as a result the Chairman had sent two senior editors of the Lake House group, Mr. Mervyn de Silva and Mr. Philip Cooray, on "compulsory leave". On what grounds the management of Lake House has taken this action it is not possible to say, and until the Chairman or the Board of Directors issue a statement setting out the facts on which they have acted it is not possible to make any comment.

But, in the meantime, the *Aththa* and the *Daily Mirror* have taken it upon themselves to champion the cause of Mr. Mervyn de Silva and Mr. Philip Cooray. The *Daily Mirror* of August 27 had a frontpage lead under the heading WITCH HUNT AT LAKE HOUSE FEARED: SEQUEL TO INTERVIEW WITH THE DEAD and stated: "An interview purported to have been given by three women who were dead and published in the evening *Observer* of August 23, has stirred a hornet's nest in government, political and newspaper circles. According to informed sources a major inquiry is on in Lake House to ascertain how the interview was published. But the fear among journalists in Lake House is that the management might convert the inquiry into a witch hunt to find scapegoats and not the culprits. It is reliably learnt that the journalist under whose name the interview was published has been removed from office. Besides, two senior editors—Mr. Mervyn de Silva, Editor *Sunday Observer*, and Mr. Philip Cooray, Editor, *Ceylon News*, have been sent on compulsory leave pending investigations. Mr. Cooray was for sometime Editor, *Ceylon Observer*, before he was succeeded by Mr. W. Lionel Fernando who was Commissioner of Janata Committees. Mr. Mervyn de Silva, who was the Editor, *Daily News*, was appointed Senior Editorial Adviser and subsequently appointed Editor, *Sunday Observer*, while the evening *Observer* continued to be in charge of Mr. W. Lionel Fernando. Lake House investigators were recording statements from those who are reported to have met Mr. Gamini Windsor, who had written the article, on August 24, the day after the offending article had appeared in the evening *Observer*. The article containing the interviews with the

dead appeared in the evening of the *Observer* of August 23 when the obituary notices of the three persons who are said to have given the interviews appeared in the *Daily News* of the same day."

The *Daily Mirror* of August 27 had also drawn attention to the fact that the matter had been raised in the National State Assembly by Mr. Prins Gunesekera. But, the *Daily Mirror* took its campaign a step further on Tuesday, August 31, and in a front page box under the heading FRAME-UP FEARED AT LAKE HOUSE: "ATHTHA" stated: "Aththa, the pro-Communist Party daily, fears whether there would be a frameup against the two senior journalists of Lake House—Mr. Mervyn de Silva, Editor, *Sunday Observer*, and Mr. Philip Cooray, Editor, *Ceylon News*, who have been sent on compulsory leave following an interview with the dead published in the evening *Observer* of August 25. This newspaper questions why Lake House management without taking action against the Editor of the paper concerned should have deemed it fit to send on compulsory leave these two senior journalists who had no connection whatsoever with the evening *Observer*. It cites this as a classic example of the type of cut throatism arising out of factionalism which now reigns supreme in Lake House. According to the news item journalists feel that if the present action was a plain act of lunacy on the part of Lake House management there should have been yet some method in its madness. Analysing certain facts pertaining to the facts of the publication of this interview with the dead, Aththa contends that whoever wrote the news items the responsibility for the publication should be borne by the Editor of that newspaper. It also states that a fundamental issue now confronting the Government is how it could face the next elections when such a conspiratorial situation prevails at Lake House. Therefore, the journalists in Lake House demand not a lopsided investigation but a full and impartial inquiry."

In recent times, the *Aththa* has had its knife into Mr. W. Lionel Fernando ever since he reverted to journalism after retiring from Government Service, his last post being that of Commissioner of Janata Committees. Many

responsible journalists had felt that the *Aththa* attacks on the *Observer*, under Mr. W. Lionel Fernando's editorship, was always unjustified and that it savoured of a cold war emanating from the underworld of Lake House politics. But, the *Aththa* is entitled to its views.

But in this case, the *Aththa* has taken upon itself to state that the Editor of the *Observer* should be held responsible for the interview with the dead when it was obvious that the person responsible was the reporter Mr. Gamini Windsor. From the tone of *Aththa's* comments, it would seem that it thinks that the reporter should be absolved from any responsibility and that it is the Editor who should be held responsible. Does it mean that that the *Aththa* believes that Mr. Lionel Fernando had induced Mr. Gamini Windsor to interview the dead and that in fact Mr. Fernando had picked out these three names to attribute the fictitious interviews? Is the *Aththa* not seeking to stretch a point so far as to suggest that Mr. Lionel Fernando should be "fixed" for the interview intended to denigrate the Prime Minister's charisma—when Mr. Lionel Fernando's loyalty to the SLFP and the Establishment is a by-word in political and journalistic circles?

The *Daily Mirror*, in its comments, seems to suggest that there was an attempt to frame up Mr. Mervyn de Silva and Mr. Philip Cooray, totally ignoring the attempt to "fix" Mr. W. Lionel Fernando. The "evidence" in regard to Mr. Fernando's matter and the interview with the dead are known, and on this evidence it is clear that it is the reporter Mr. Gamini Windsor who should be penalised. Mr. Fernando should be reprimanded for not having known his men, for not knowing that he was nursing snakes in the grass who "interview" the dead in a matter in which the prestige of the Prime Minister was involved and thereafter suggest that the "names" had been given to him by the Editor himself.

As regards the matter concerning Mr. Mervyn de Silva and Mr. Philip Cooray, there is as yet no evidence or information as to why action has been taken to send them on compulsory leave. It is not even known whether there is any connection between them and the interview-with-the-dead. There

have been innuendos and hints in the *Aththa* and the *Daily Mirror*—unwarranted by any available evidence or information—that these gentlemen have been sent on compulsory as "scapegoats" in the interview with the dead affair. But we cannot see how such inferences can be drawn. It is expected that "the management of Lake House will soon make a statement on the case of these two senior Editors. In the meantime, the *Aththa* has stated that "journalists" in Lake House had demanded a "fair and impartial" inquiry into the matter of the interview with the dead. There is a trade union (or there are two trade unions), in Lake House, and we await action by these unions to support the *Aththa* and the *Daily Mirror* stories.

Tribune has always pointed out that the affairs of Lake House had worked itself into a pickle—and the current upheaval was just one more example of the rotten state affairs in the premier newspaper organisation in the country now runs a government agency. It is time that the Government sat down to a serious examination of the manner in which the affairs of Lake House are conducted. There has been so much talk about the extravagant expenditure indulged in by the management in recent times that unless some action is taken immediately scandals of mini-Lockheed proportions are likely to burst under the feet of the Government. Among the tales going the rounds is that some of the humblest Lake House personnel sent to the Press Centre were allowed unlimited expense accounts at the bar and restaurant—and if this information is incorrect it will be interesting to find out how so much money on liquor was spent by certain individuals. At certain Summit Press Conferences and Briefings, Lake House men turned the spotlight on themselves by the amount of alcohol they had pumped into themselves. A special TV line (closed circuit) was run from the BMICH to the Board Room of Lake House. Was this expenditure justified and who really benefited by it? These are only a few of the questions that are likely to be flung at the management when the volcano that is simmering in Lake House blows up.

Aug. 13 — Aug. 22

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.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13: At the Foreign Ministers conference of Non-aligned nations held yesterday for the second day at the BMICH, Switzerland was officially accepted as a guest by the conference: the Ministers also discussed the applications made by Romania, Portugal and the Philippines for membership: Libya and Saudi Arabia asked the Ministers as to how Maldives and Pakistan could be admitted to the community whilst Algeria took up the question of how Granada, which now enjoys observer status, could be elevated to full member status was also discussed at yesterday's meeting: in a ruling on the question of admitting new members Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Chairman of the Non-aligned Nations Foreign Ministers Conference, said that the formal application should be made to the Co-ordinating Bureau and this meant that Pakistan could not be admitted to the present Summit—CDN & CDM. Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Foreign Minister of India, yesterday called on the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and discussed certain "tricky problems" that would come up before the summit—CDM. Prime Minister of Cape Verde, Mr. Pedro Pires, yesterday arrived at the Bandaranaike International Airport (BIA) and was received by Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike: Mr. Pedro Pires was the first head of state to arrive in the country for the Summit—CDM. Six persons, including the MP for Kilinochchi were sentenced to two weeks jail, by a Magistrate in Kilinochchi for refusing to pay a fine of Rs. 50/- on charges of distributing notices inside the court requesting the release of Tamil youths in prisons or to bring them before a court of law: the six persons are said to have distributed these notices inside the court to the lawyers and the Magistrate: Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, leader of the TULF and MP for Kankasanturai, was also detained in the Jaffna court for two hours and later released: in Muttur Court, the Second MP for Muttur Mr. A. Thangathurai and several others were arrested on similar charges and later released on bail: they were asked to appear in Court on the 18th of this month—VK. Mr. Amir A. Sheriff, City Coroner of Colombo, was yesterday remanded by a Magistrate following a complaint by the Bribery Commissioner's Department that he solicited a bribe of Rs. 2500/- from a person to get a stall at the Kollupitiya market—LD. Mr. W. P. G. Ariyadasa, Minister of Local Government, told a public meeting in Negombo that the Government decided to bring into government service all employees of the local government service and for this purpose a committee has been appointed to study the question—CDN.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 14: Prime Minister, Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, is expected to place before the

United Nations general assembly next month a mandate from the Non-aligned Summit conference calling upon the UN to implement the Sri Lanka sponsored resolution that Indian Ocean should be declared a peace zone—CDN. Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia, arrived at the BIA yesterday to attend the Non-aligned Summit—CDN. At yesterday's Foreign Ministers' meeting of Non-aligned nations held at the BMICH it was decided to accord guest status to Rumania, Philippines and Portugal: according to diplomatic sources a move to elevate Granada as a full member from the present observer status was referred to the next co-ordinating bureau of the Non-aligned conference: the application of Maldives sponsored by Libya will be taken up either during the present sessions of the Foreign Ministers or at the summit meeting—CDN. Conference sources told the *Daily News* that Dr. Fidel Castro of Cuba, Kim Il Sung of North Korea and Yassar Arafat of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation will attend the Non-aligned Summit. It was announced in the UN that Secretary General Kurt Waldheim will leave for Colombo today and he will address the opening of the Summit on Monday—CDN. The African National Congress which is represented as an observer at the Non-aligned conference will seek a firm commitment by the Non-aligned countries to isolate the South African regime: the ANC will also call for a boycott of France which agreed to supply South Africa with a nuclear reactor and arms—CDN. A special team from India will cover the proceedings of the Summit for television viewers in India—CDM. A special plane with over 100 security men and press personnel arrived in the BIA yesterday from Libya to provide security to Col. Muammar Gaddafi who is expected here for the Non-aligned Summit—CDN. King of Bhutan, King Jigme Singye Wangchuk, arrived in New Delhi yesterday for a two-day visit on his way to Colombo to attend the Summit—CDM. At yesterday's Foreign Ministers' meeting the Chief delegate of Saudi Arabia, Ambassador Mamoor Kabbani, said that Pakistan wanted to attend the Non-aligned nations only if there is consensus in Pakistan's favour and that country has not made an application to be admitted to the movement: Mr. Kabbani said he was not proceeding further with the sponsorship of Pakistan—CDM. According to the *Virakesari*, India and Bangladesh have informed the government of Sri Lanka that they would not quarrel over their differences at the Non-aligned Summit: they would neither directly nor through other countries submit their bilateral problems to the Summit. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene Leader of the Opposition and President of UNP, complained to the Police yesterday that a certain gang has planned to do bodily harm to him and Mr. R. Sundaralingam, Superintendent of Police, informed Mr. Jayewardene, that he would appoint special team of policemen to investigate the complaint: the matter was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister and the Inspector General of Police—VK. Representatives of *Reuters*, *AFP* (French) and *Samachar* (India) who are in the island to cover the Non-aligned conference expressed satisfaction with some of the arrangements made for media personnel who have arrived in the island to cover the conference—DM.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 15: President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, President of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and Prime Minister of Vietnam, Mr.

Pham Van Dong, were among the heads of states who arrived at the BIA yesterday to attend the Non-aligned conference—CO. It was officially announced in Havana that Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, will not be in a position to attend the Conference starting in Colombo tomorrow—CO. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in an interview to *Tanjug*, Yugoslavian news agency, said that she did not hope that the Colombo conference would solve all international problems some of which have bedevilled the world for decades but cited a number of problems which would get special attention of the Summit: the Premier also spoke extensively about the attempts taken by the present government to solve a number of problems and said the term of the government will expire next year—CO. The Draft Declaration on economic and political subjects both of which have been prepared by Sri Lanka for adoption at the Fifth Non-aligned Summit is unlikely to have substantial changes before finally going before the heads of states: according to the *Times* the draft political declaration urges the rejection of the notion that there are only two ideologies and only two social, economic and political systems between which all countries must make a choice: the declaration says there are several ideologies and systems in the world today depending upon the social, political, economic and historic environment of the country. Several six Sri cars were requisitioned by the authorities without a warning to be used for visiting guests as they were in need of more vehicles —TOCSI. The motorcade carrying the heads of states will leave at half minute intervals from Hotel Intercontinental, Hotel Oberoi, Temple Trees, Auckland House, Hotel Ranmuthu and Duro tomorrow morning to arrive at the BMICH: nearly five hundred cars will be used in the motorcade and school children and service personnel who will present arms will be lined on either side of the route of the motorcade: each VIP will be accompanied by a service liaison officer who will present the VIP to the Prime Minister at the entrance to the BMICH: School bands and service bands will provide music—TOCSI. According to the *Times* Maldives is likely to be admitted to the Non-aligned Summit and a cable has gone out to Maldives requesting the country to send a delegation to attend the Summit: Iraq sponsored the application of Maldives with the support of Sri Lanka. The Foreign Ministers Conference yesterday decided to increase the member countries of the Non-aligned Co-ordinating Bureau to 25 from the present 17; Sri Lanka, India and Bangladesh received membership to the co-ordinating bureau on behalf of South Asia—ATH. Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will arrive in Colombo tomorrow to attend the Non-aligned Summit: Mr. Kim Il Sung, President of North Korea, will send his representative and will not attend the Summit—VK. The Tamil United Liberation Front will hold a meeting at the residence of Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam today to decide on future action of the TULF: according to a spokesman of the TULF, active action of the Front will be launched from tomorrow—VK.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will make the keynote address at the 5th Non-aligned heads of States Summit which starts at the BMICH today: the Premier in a message to the Summit said that the late Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike soon after he became Premier in 1956 closed the British bases in the country, esta-

blished DPL ties with communist countries and gave a radically new orientation making the country firmly Non-aligned: she further said Non-alignment has proved a tremendous force in the post war world, for the true independence of countries and for the evolution of an international order based on the Non-aligned principle of peaceful co-existence—CDN. The President, Mr. William Gopallawa, in a message on the opening of the Fifth Non-aligned conference in Colombo today said that it is a matter of pride to the country to host this most important Non-aligned Summit—CDN. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, in her traditional address to the nation on the occasion of the country's national day which fell yesterday, referred to the Colombo Summit and said the main question before the Non-aligned nations was how to safeguard their freedom of ideology and of moving in a chosen direction—CDN. Egyptian President Anwar El Sadat arrived in the BIA yesterday to attend the Summit—CDN. So far 42 heads of states have arrived in the country for the Summit and more are expected during the course of the day and tomorrow morning—CDN. Libya's Ambassador in Sri Lanka, Mr. Abdussalam El-Miladi, yesterday told the *Daily News* how the Western media had distorted the news about the arrival of his country's security personnel on the 13th: he said Sri Lanka allowed fifty of the 73 personnel arrived because they had passport and other necessary documents and assured to treat the balance 23 as guests until their documents arrived but on his instruction the 23 returned to the country to come back in the plane in which President Gaddafi would arrive: he referred to the Western media reports which distorted the facts and said that the Libyan personnel were asked to get back by Sri Lanka which was misleading—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Chairman of the Foreign Ministers Conference of Non-aligned Nations, and Minister of Finance and Justice, in a statement issued yesterday said that rumours spread by those who are against the holding of the conference in Sri Lanka were baseless: he referred to an incident at the BIA where Immigration authorities turned down permission for certain foreign nationals who arrived here for the conference without the necessary visas and other documents: he also said under normal circumstances Sri Lanka authorities would not have insisted on these documents from visitors from friendly countries but at a time when there is an international conference in the country it is necessary to comply with all formalities of documentation for the purpose of security: the Minister categorically denied rumours that certain foreign nationals were turned back as they were suspected of carrying dangerous weapons and other explosives—CDN. Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, who arrived yesterday told a press conference at the BIA that Sri Lanka has played a big role in the Non-aligned movement and had been a great supporter of the UN—CDN. Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, leader of the Tamil United Front produced a letter from the Prime Minister to the Superintendent of Prisons and asked him to request the Tamil youths in prison to give up the fasting they have started: the letter, according to *Virakesari*, stated that the Premier has assured the Tamil leader that she would take concrete steps to solve the problems of Tamil youths taken into custody and detained without producing them in courts: following this assurance the Tamil youths are

expected to give up the fast—VK. *Aththa* in an editorial criticised the arrangements made for press and other media personnel covering the Summit: the paper also attacked the Director General of Broadcasting for not providing broadcasts and commentaries of arrivals of heads of states.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday in her inaugural address to the Fifth Non-aligned nations Summit, proposed the establishment of a Bank for the Third World Countries—The Bank of Asia, Africa and Latin America: introducing the proposal she drew the attention of the heads of states to the serious problems of economic domination through the ever widening gap between prices of manufacturers and of raw materials: she further said that with the creation of such a bank, New York, Paris, London and Zurich will no longer be financial centres of the world and new centres of economic power would rise in the Non-aligned and the Third World: Mrs. Bandaranaike also said the developing world would be strong enough to think in terms of a merchant shipping fleet, to carry its import and export cargo: "we may even be able, in time, to regulate freight rates, insurance and banking and thereby redress the imbalances at least to some extent," she added: Mrs. Bandaranaike was yesterday unanimously elected Chairman of the Fifth Non-aligned Conference: her name was proposed by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and supported by Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus: Cyprus President, Archbishop Makarios, addressing the opening ceremony congratulated the Prime Minister for the excellent arrangements made for the holding of the conference: Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of United Nations, too, addressed the heads of states: Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, proposed the vote of thanks: Mrs. Bandaranaike in her inaugural address referred to criticism of the Non-aligned movement in the United Nations where it was said that the strength of the Non-aligned movement was "a tyranny of the majority": she said the movement has never been, was never intended to be, and shall never become a tyranny"—CDN & CDM. Radio Uganda yesterday read a message of President Idi Amin who said he could not be present for the Summit owing to reasons beyond his control and requested support from the movement to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace—CDM. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, arrived in the island at 8.15 a.m. yesterday and she was received at the airport by Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan and Indian High Commissioner Mr. Gurbachan Singh: Mr. Maitripala Senanayake, Leader of the House, represented the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, to receive the Indian head of state: Mrs. Gandhi was flown to Colombo in a special Indian airforce helicopter and was in time at the BMICH for the opening ceremony of the Fifth Non-aligned conference—VK. Libyan President, Col. Muammar Gaddafi, and sixty others arrived in a special plane at yesterday afternoon—VK.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18: President Tito of Yugoslavia, addressing the Fifth Non-aligned conference yesterday, said the constant widening of the gap in world economic development and the steady deterioration of the position of the developing countries constituted today one of the most dangerous sources

of tension and conflicts in the world: President Tito further said, "what is more dangerous is that the deepening economic crisis all over the world is being transferred to the developing countries thereby rendering their position even more difficult:" Mr. Tito called on the heads of states that bilateral issues should not be discussed at this Summit and instead problems common to the whole movement should be discussed: he further said "we must put aside all that can temporarily divide us and turn to what we have in common and what unites us:" Marshal Tito stressed the need of unity to solve major international problems that affects the Third World—CDN. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, addressing the Summit, said that criticisms have been levelled at the movement even in international forums like the United Nations and attempts at the destabilisation of established governments amounting even to subversion have been made: she deplored the intervention of foreign agents in the domestic affairs of independent states: she also said, in the process of gaining new adherents and sympathisers we should not deviate from the basic philosophy which has given the Non-aligned movement its vigour—CDM. President Hafez Al Assad of Syria in his keynote address to the Summit said that the Middle East situation has reached an explosive stage: the Syrian Arab Republic has attempted to find a way out and this can be done only if Israel and those who back it recognise that there can be no solution to the Middle East conflict without dealing with the Palestine question in a manner that safeguards the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people—CDM. Indonesia's representative, Foreign Minister, Adam Malik called for the immediate convening of a conference of littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean in order to accelerate the implementation of the proposal to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone—CDN. Vietnamese Prime Minister, Pham Van Dong, thanked the states of the Non-Aligned movement for helping in their struggle which ended in the creation of the present unified Vietnam: Mr. Pham Van Dong said by visiting all countries that helped Vietnam in the struggle and thanking them he was only implementing the last will of the late leader Ho Chi Minh—CDN. Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Prime Minister Ali Bhutto of Pakistan, and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany have sent messages congratulating the Prime Minister on her election as President of the Non-Aligned Summit and for hosting the Conference—CDN & CDM. Mr. V. Manickavasagar, former Judge of the Supreme Court and one of the prominent Tamil leaders who met the Prime Minister to find a solution regarding the problems of the Tamil speaking people, told *Virakesari* that the Premier has assured him that every effort will be taken to safeguard the lives of the Tamil youths who are detained and who now started a fast unto death: Tamil youths in prison have decided to continue their fast but agreed to take only liquid foods in spite of a request by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam to give up the fasting: the latter referred to a letter sent to him by the Premier who assured him that by about the end of this month she would take action to solve the problems of these youths—VK. A lawyer and an employee of the bank has been taken into custody on suspicion in connexion with a loss Rs. 400,000 from the Hultsdorp branch of the Bank of Ceylon—LD. The Chairman of the Fifth

Non-aligned Conference, Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday informed the Conference that Angola, Seychelles, Comoros and Maldives were accepted as full members of the Non-aligned group: the Summit gave its formal approval to Rumania, Portugal and Philippines being admitted as guest states for the conference—CDM.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19: Col. Muammar Gaddafi, Leader of the Libyan Arab Republic, speaking off the cuff at the Non-aligned Summit yesterday said a balance sheet of the Non-aligned countries who do not live up to the aims of the Non-aligned Movement be presented at the next Summit: he said that if the proposal was not accepted Libya would present such an account on its own: setting out the reasons for such a balance sheet Gaddafi said "not every one who attends this conference is non-aligned: there are some who can be described as Trojan Horses: imperialist countries have mobilised agents to spoil and foil the aims of the movement": he was given a tremendous ovation when he took the floor and at the end of his speech—CDN. President of Kampuchea (Cambodia), Mr. Khieu Samphan, said his country was participating at the Non-aligned conference for the first time since their victory in 1975 and pledged whole-hearted support for the success of the conference: at the outset he extended greetings to the delegations from North Korea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Comores, Angola and Seychelles—CDN. Mr. Cecil Dennis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liberia, and leader of the Liberian delegation, commended the proposal by the Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, to establish a commercial bank for the Third World countries and said it would help their economic development—CDN. The President of Algeria, Mr. Houari Boumediene, in the course of his speech as outgoing Chairman of the Conference referred to the Western Sahara crisis: he said Algeria will continue to assert its solidarity with the people of Sahara until they are in a position to exercise freely their right to self determination—CDN. President Anwar El Sadat of Egypt left Sri Lanka yesterday after attending the Conference—CDN. According to the *Aththa* the press centre established for the convenience of journalists covering the Non-aligned conference was run in a very poor manner and journalists who went to the press centre to obtain information undergo immense hardships: the paper went on to say the administration of the press centre was a disgrace to the country. Prison authorities told the *Virakesari* yesterday that several Tamil youths in prison have started a fast and parents of these prisoners were allowed to visit them: Meanwhile, Mr. Prins Goonesekera, General Secretary of Sri Lanka Vimukthi Balavegaya and MP for Habaraduva, said that the fast by Tamil youths in prisons is a just one and his party would always extend its support for the just struggles of these youths—VK. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP youth leagues, is busy in Mulkirigala in connexion with the forthcoming by-election—LD. Air Ceylon will operate special flights to Paris and Bombay for the convenience of delegates and journalists attending the Non-aligned Conference—CDM.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20: According to the *Daily News* deliberations by heads of states attending the Fifth-Non-aligned conference indicated that the conference

would unanimously support Sri Lanka's move to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace: President Idi Amin of Uganda, in a message to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said that he would extend his support for the move to make the Indian Ocean free of big power rivalry: late last night the Summit unanimously adopted the political and economic declarations and the action program resolutions: earlier three of Sri Lanka's proposals, the Indian ocean peace zone, restoration of works of arts expropriated by the colonial powers and setting up of a bank for the Third World nations were adopted by the Foreign Minister's Conference: the next Non-aligned Summit would be held in Havana, Cuba, in 1979 and Baghdad, Iraq, in 1982—CDN. Col. Muammar Gaddafi, President of Libya, called on the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, just before he left for his country: later in the day in a press conference he invited questions and did not make any statements: referring to the Trojan Horses he mentioned in his speech at the Summit he said they are well-known and need not mention names: Col. Gaddafi invited Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, to Libya—CDN. Col. Gaddafi, arrived in Pakistan from Colombo to on an unannounced visit for talks with Prime Minister, Ali Bhutto—CDN. Several heads of states who arrived here to attend the Non-aligned Conference left Sri Lanka yesterday and they were seen off at the BIA by the President Mr. William Gopallawa and several members of the Cabinet—CDM. A passenger who threatened the pilot and other members of the crew of the Air Ceylon DC 8 which started from Paris to Colombo last night was handed over to the Police by the Customs when the plane landed at the BIA: airline sources said he was an American passport holder, and demanded money from the crew but said it was not an attempt at hijacking: when the passenger arrived at the BIA authorities found that he did not have a valid visa to disembark but had contraband gold—CDM. According to the *Lankadipa* several outsiders including wives, children and servants of several officials who were deployed to assist in the press centre occupied the seats reserved for journalists: there was chaos at the press centre as journalists could not even enter the premises: several foreign journalists bitterly complained about the situation and were thoroughly disappointed as they could not cover important speeches owing to the disturbance by these intruders—LD. Sri Lanka yesterday announced that it would soon establish diplomatic ties with Mauritius—LD. Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, in a letter to Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said that he could not attend the Summit as he was engaged in urgent work in his own country: Dr. Castro wished the Summit all success—ATH. The Fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference was successfully concluded in the early hours of today: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, made the speech at the closing ceremony and several heads of states praised the success of the Fifth Non-aligned Summit—DM.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21: Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, speaking at the closing sessions of the Non-aligned conference said "our goal is total freedom economic emancipation and the dignity of all peoples: it implies a world at peace with itself, in which a new civilization based on mutual respect and co-operation, trust and understanding can flower"; the closing

sessions which commenced at 10.30 p.m. on Thursday went on till the early hours of yesterday: In the action program for Economic Co-operation which was submitted by the economic committee of the Foreign Minister's Conference said that the Fifth Non-aligned Conference accepted the proposal of Sri Lanka's Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, to establish a bank of the developing countries to undertake the general activities of commercial and merchant banking: Mr. Vernon Mendis, Secretary General of the Fifth Non-aligned Conference, said that quick action will be taken to implement the decisions taken at the Summit: he also said the success of the Summit has enhanced the Prime Minister's stature as an outstanding international figure: Dr. C. R. Rodriguez, Deputy Prime Minister of Cuba, and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, and several other heads of states praised the manner how the country handled the conduct of the Summit and they also thanked the Prime Minister and the peoples of Sri Lanka for the hospitality extended to them: so far 34 heads of states and other representatives from various Third World nations that attended the Summit left the country and they were seen off at the BIA by the President Mr. William Gopallawa and Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Shipping and Tourism—CDN & CDM. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP and Opposition, inaugurated the by-election campaign in MulKirigala on Thursday: he warned the voters to be wary of candidates who change their political parties to suit their own conveniences—CDM. According to the *Virakesari* the Fifth Summit of the Non-aligned nations decided to request the United Nations to stop the export of oil to France and Israel which had negotiated arms deals with South Africa in spite of a decision by the UN: a report from Paris said France was of the view that the resolution at the Summit to impose an oil embargo on France was not justifiable—VK. The Inspector General of Police in a statement to the press referred to rumour that a man was shot dead at the Temple Trees: he said a guard on duty at the Temple Trees died when the gun he was handling accidentally went off—VK. The *Aththa* praised the resolutions of the Summit Conference and said that this was a real victory for the entire Third World. During the last 20 days the Ceramic Corporation shop in Bambalapitiya earned a profit of over half a million rupees by selling ceramic products to visitors from foreign countries and local purchasers—DM.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 22: The *Observer* quoted a top conference source as saying that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will address the United Nations next month as the spokesman of the 85 nations Non-aligned conference and the liberation movements associated with this group: Mrs. Bandaranaike will also present the three basic resolutions which were adopted by the heads of states and governments, namely, the Political Declaration, the Economic Declaration and the Action Programme: these three documents are now referred to as "the Colombo Declaration": meanwhile, UN sources have indicated that several foreign ministers who were scheduled to speak between the 26th and 30th of September have expressed their readiness to postpone their speeches to accommodate the Sri Lankan Prime Minister who will be bearing the message of the Non-aligned to the world assembly—CO. President Tito of Yugoslavia left the island yesterday: on Friday Mr. Tito had

talks with Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike on board his luxury yacht—CO. Dr. Gamini Corea, General Secretary of UNCTAD, told the *Sunday Times* on the eve of his departure to Geneva after attending the Non-aligned Summit that Sri Lanka had a vital role in the implementation of the integrated program for commodities as well as in the search for solutions in such fields as external debt and the transfer of technology: he also said that in the case of commodities, tea and rubber were included in the list and improvement and strengthening of the markets for these products were long overdue. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, addressing a election meeting in MulKirigala said that it was Mr. J. R. Jayewardene who recalled Mr. Dudley Senanayake to lead the UNP when the latter fled the country after the 1953 hartal and as such he was in no position to criticise the appointment of Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse to contest the MulKirigala by election: Mr. Bandaranaike further said that Mr. Rajapakse was appointed by his party as he had been in the Left movement right throughout and worked for the emancipation of the poor masses—TOCSI. The cars in which, Mr. Amirthalingam, Joint Secretary of the TULF, and Mr. V. Dharmalingam, MP for Uduvil, travelled were set upon by a gang in Jaffna and both vehicles were badly damaged: the matter has been brought to the notice of high authorities—VK.

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

Aug. 15 – Aug. 21

SUNDAY, AUGUST 15: A report in the Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma* warned the Non-aligned nations against imperialism's "divisionist and diversionist manoeuvres" and said the movement's genuine allies were the socialist countries: the paper quoted Premier Fidel Castro's speech at the last Non-aligned nations conference where he said "the success and the future of the Non-aligned movement depends on not letting itself be deceived by imperialist ideology". Dr Henry Kissinger, US State Secretary, told a delegation to the Fifth Sessions of the Law of the Sea Conference that the United States would reject any de facto extension of the country's coastal waters to 200 miles. Dr. Kissinger further said the US would reconcile the rights of coastal states with the right of all countries to conduct scientific research freely within planned economic zones of the sea. China charged the Soviet Union with trying to grossly distort the principles of the Non-aligned movement: the New China News Agency quoted a statement by the USSR on the eve of the Non-aligned Conference in Colombo which said the movement of non-alignment should "not oppose hegemonism": the Agency said these ravings by the Soviet revisionists fully reveal their criminal design to change the orientation of, meddle in and disrupt the Non-aligned movement: the agency further said this clearly showed the fear of Russia against the surging struggle of the Third World against hegemonism. Exporters from oil exporting countries will meet on August 23 in Vienna to prepare for the OPEC's price setting conference in December in Qatar: Saudi

Arabia has already expressed its desire to oppose a further price hike.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16: In the traditional independence day message Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India said that the country had never been as strong as it had become since last year's state of emergency clampdown: the country celebrated its 29th anniversary of independence on Sunday. Luanda Radio reported that saboteurs had stolen thousands of trucks, destroyed countless bridges and disrupted industrial production in a campaign designed to ruin the economy of Angola: the Radio further said sabotage by agents with ultra-left wing slogans have deceived the working class and the export of the country has dropped to a much lower level than 1973. Addressing a conference on black heritage at the 41st Catholic International Eucharist Congress in Philadelphia a Bishop from Ghana accused the Church of failing to speak against the inhumanity to blacks in South Africa, Rhodesia and in some American cities: most reverend Peter Sarpong, Bishop of Kumasi, also called on the Church to drop European customs taken to Africa by colonialism and become instead an authentically African church. Togolese President, Gnassingbe Eyadema, said a long march has begun in South Africa which at the end will liberate the black people of South Africa. A UN expert on environment program said more and more desert sands are invading in many African countries threatening a loss of land necessary for agriculture: after a two day visit to Ethiopia the expert Dr. M. K. Tolbert said nearly 30 African countries are now faced with the problem of desertification.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17: China lifted the earthquake alert and Chinese scientists said there will not be major earthquakes in the near future: nearly six million people in Peking were camping out on streets and open places during the last sixteen days following major earthquakes and warnings by Chinese experts that more would follow. Thousands of people were quickly taken to safe places following warnings by French Scientists that a major volcano will erupt in the French West Indian island of Gaudeloupe: 72,000 people who were living in the area of Soufriere Volcano were told that the eruption was imminent and would be with a force equal to several atomic bombs. The Central Intelligence Agency of America admitted that it had been spying on the General Secretary of Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Juan Maris Bras, since 1948. Addressing a meeting of his country's intellectuals Panamanian Vice President, Gonzalez, rejected US claims that the government of Panama would be incompetent and unable to operate the Panama Canal: the Vice President said that this was a pretext by the US to retain its colony in the heart of Panama. Brazil has concluded a deal with France to build a uranium plant to supply its prospective atomic power plants with fuel. President Ford and former California Governor Ronald Reagan arrived in Kansas City for the Republican Party Convention which would nominate the candidate to face Jimmy Carter in the November Presidential elections: each man predicted he would be elected Republican Party candidate and surveys indicated Ford had the nomination within his grasp.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18: According to a report by *Tass*, Israel will supply South Africa with missile ships in accordance with a bilateral agreement between

the countries concluded when the South African Prime Minister, John Vorster, visited Tel Aviv. Soviet Union told leftist Lebanese and Palestinian leaders in Beirut that it would exert pressure on Syria to withdraw the forces from Lebanon. Another major earthquake hit China's Northern industrial town of Mienyang: according to sources the damage could be much more than the official expectations. A massive tidal wave which followed an earthquake in Southern Philippines killed over 700 people and left thousands of people homeless: the President of the country, Ferdinand Marcos, declared a state of emergency and ordered quick relief measures. In South Africa, baton wielding riot police dispersed a procession by hundreds of black students: towns of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth were heavily guarded by armed Police and mass arrests of black leaders continued. Mr. Ronald Reagan who is running neck and neck with President Ford for Republican nomination for the November Presidential elections denied an allegation by Mr. Richard Ogilvie a former Illinois State Governor, who said that the Reagan camp offered a bribe to two delegates to cast their votes to Mr. Reagan. A Soviet foreign aid official said the USSR has planned to co-operate in about forty industrial projects in Vietnam over the next five years: the USSR is already helping Vietnam in a number of projects. A group of American missionaries in La Paz alleged that President Ford personally approved the infiltration of CIA in Latin America's Church: the missionaries accused certain other missionaries whom they said acted as agents for CIA.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19: At the Republican convention in Kansas City, President Ford rejected a request by the Reagan camp that he should name his Vice Presidential candidate before the election for the main nomination: when the issue was put for voting Reagan supporters lost by 1,069 votes to 1,180 with ten absentions: observers said this showed that President Ford was sure of getting his nomination for the Republican Presidential nomination. In a raid by Rhodesian troops into a refugee camp in Mozambique nearly 1000 people were killed: Rhodesia said its troops killed more than 300 black nationalist guerillas in the raid on a base it alleged was used by guerillas to launch attack on targets inside the White-ruled former British colony: but the Mozambican news agency put the death toll at 1000. South Africa continues to arrest a number of blacks whom it alleged are involved in the liberation of the black nationals. Washington Defence Department yesterday announced though US is not in a state of war with any country yet it has stationed 481,000 servicemen abroad: every fourth US serviceman is stationed outside his country by the Pentagon. Vietnam is considering a proposal from India to help Vietnam in its oil exploration works. Tanzanian Trade Union Organisation has called on the government to ban aircraft which land in South Africa. Kuwait asked the Arab League to convene an Arab Summit conference to discuss the situation in Lebanon: it also suggested that the heads of state meeting be preceded by a foreign minister's meeting.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20: Mr. Gustav Husak, President of Czechoslovak has sent a message to the Sri Lanka Prime Minister and the other heads of state convened in Colombo for the Non-aligned conference

wishing the conference success. President Ford was elected the Republican candidate to oppose Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter in the Presidential election in November: soon after his victory President Ford drove to the hotel where Mr. Reagan was staying and congratulated him for the good campaign: Mr. Ford discussed issues regarding party unity and the nomination of Vice-Presidential candidate: later Mr. Reagan told reporters that he did not intend to seek the post of Vice President. The Soviet Union yesterday landed an unmanned "Lunar-24" on the surface of the moon: the craft was launched on August 9 but the Soviet officials did not tell about the task assigned to the craft. More than 4000 people died in the worst earthquake which hit the Philippines: officials said at least 90,000 people were rendered homeless. Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia said that he was not prepared to allow the United States to impose a political solution on his country. Eight blacks were shot dead by Police in South African black townships near Port Elizabeth: Police said mobs were rioting and they opened fire. Libyan leader Col Muammar Gaddafi arrived in Peshawar, Pakistan, from Colombo and he is expected to have talks with Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto before returning to his country. Commenting on Yugoslav leader Marshal Tito's speech in the Colombo Summit calling for a special session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament a British foreign spokesman said it will be very useful if it is properly prepared and if all major military states attended it.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21: Following the murder of two US officers along the border of North Korea troops of both countries were put on alert in the North Korean-Seoul border: the North Korean Central Agency reported the army and militia had been ordered into full combat-readiness and accused the US of a vicious provocative act against North Korean border guards on Wednesday: in Washington Pentagon said that they have taken the precaution of increasing the readiness status of the forces in the area. Riots in South Africa continued and Police shot dead fourteen blacks in the townships adjoining Port Elizabeth: several blacks were also arrested. President Ford, Republican candidate for the November Presidential election, told jubilant supporters that he would go all-out to defeat Jimmy Carter, the Democratic candidate: Mr Ford acknowledged that he has failed to impress the Americans about his part in the country's economic recovery. Afghanistan President Mohamed Daoud was scheduled to arrive in Islamabad yesterday to have talks with Pakistan Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, to normalise relations between the two neighbouring Muslim nations. Libyan leader Col. Muammar Gaddafi and Pakistani Premier Bhutto had talks for two and a half hours on the Non-aligned Summit and the Middle East situation: officials described this as a surprise visit and Gaddafi gave only a few hours notice to officials to see Bhutto. In connexion with the 31st anniversary celebrations Indonesia released 1000 political prisoners.

LETTER

* Tamils And Pacts

Sir,

The very fact that Prime Minister consented to discuss the Tamil problem with some "prominent Tamils" of the Tamil speaking People's Rights movement at a time when a historical event of world magnitude—the summit Conference of the non-aligned world—was taking place in our midst poses several important and pertinent questions. Was it a tacit confession of the fact that the problem has assumed very serious proportions? Or was it a brilliant piece of showmanship staged by the Government with the help of its own henchmen—because most of the signatories to the twenty points and those participated in the discussions held on last Tuesday are well known for their pro-government stand—to appease and woo the Tamils lest anything untoward might take place to distract and disturb the conference or mar the good name of the country in the eyes of the foreign heads and delegates who are already here for the Conference. We are sure Cynics will support the latter proposition.

It also equally baffles one as to why the government should still persist in having a dialogue with a "motley group" which has no credentials, instead of the constitutionally elected leaders and people representatives of the national State Assembly. Certainly the government will not lose face by inviting the leaders of the T.U.F. for any meaningful discussion. It will only add to its prestige, if it genuinely feel so. It will be a sad reading of contemporary history if the government close to ignore the real identity of the Tamil leadership. One need not necessarily be a supporter of the stand taken by the T.U.F. for saying this.

One plausible explanation as to why the government is trying to approach the Tamil Speaking Community through those "prominent Tamils" may be that T.U.F. leaders would have become wiser after their humiliating experience of the "Open" and "Secret" Pacts made in the past.

It was a tragedy that Tamil Community tried to seek solution through the above means. It started with the letter dated 7/12/1918 written by two of the most prominent leaders of the Ceylon National Congress to Sir P. Aruna-

chalam. It was a thorough disappointment. Much later in 1957 came the Banda-Chelva open pact and still late in 1965 the Dudley-Chelva secret pact. These pacts never meant to seek any permanent solution to the problems but still the leaders who promised to do something to alleviate the grievances of the Tamils were compelled to withdraw the promises by their rank and file. Legislation passed in Parliaments too were not given practical shape due to various kinds of pressures.

Such is our past experience of pacts and discussions of leaders. The problem has reached such a stage—climax—that no sensible government can now chose to ignore it anymore. Problem is not one that, concerns the government and Tamil Speaking Community. It embraces the entire country and efforts should be made to enlist the co-operation of all those who matter so that it may not be made an election issue.

It is our earnest hope that Prime Minister and her advisers will make every attempt to "strike a balance" immediately after the non-aligned Conference.

Colombo.
13.8.76

K.A.N.

MARGINALIA

On Politics, Food And Life

by Bryan de Kretser

MP'S, POLITICAL POWER AND THE VILLAGE. The January 1976 Number of the *Economic Review* has an article 'Emergent Leadership at the village level' by Mr. Bradman Weerakoon which makes interesting reading, if one is able to read between the lines. All through the article the author admits that in the appointment of the officers in every category of village administration, the backing of the local M.P. or Political Authority is of decisive importance. Indeed leadership accrues to those who can be counted on to carry out the Government policy as this resides in the local M.P.

But it is here that the fundamental weakness of the present village policy inheres. First, it is naive to assume that all M.P.s are genuinely concerned to push ahead with State policy. This policy is often enlightened and seeks to develop village people and village socio-economics. The M.P. however is often tempted to put personal advantage ahead of village development even as former land-owners elected to prefer personal gain to village well-being. The only way to check such an abuse of power is by ensuring there are other village power groups, independent of M.P. patronage, which have significant parts to play in village development.

Sometime back, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike suggested that there should be a National Youth Assembly to reflect young people's ideas and desires and criticisms. It is far more important that these assemblies should be set up at village and regional levels for it is at the village level that the legislation gets its legs. But even before this succeeds one tremendous obstacle to free and independent action must be removed. This obstacle is the power the MP now enjoys to give peoples jobs both in the region and in the village and in the Government service. Until this is done there will be no free and open discussion concerning village development if only because all young people will speak only to earn the MP's favour to get employ-

ment or privilege. And let it be stated clearly, democracy is just a cheap joke when in any area one single person enjoys the enormous power which the present practice bestows on the MP.

Mr. Weerakoon at the end of his article does suggest the dangers when he mentions that "the attitudes and values of the officials coincide with that of the politician. The problem here is of course whether the villager himself will have any reservations about the power position held by an official if that power derives from a political source which in his mind may be temporary."

Perfectly right. Indeed, the politicization of the official to which the author draws attention is even more disastrous because it ensures that village divisions which emerge at General Elections time become permanent. Instead of helping to bring the village community together again, once election fever is past, the present policy of the Government continues and develops two rigid political groups in every village. On public platforms our leaders ask that all work for the nation; in their actual policy they themselves work only for the welfare of their supporters. The consequence is that at village level, one group does all it can to stay in power, and the other works night and day to ensure that some day soon their own turn will come. In between these unending conflicts, village development goes overboard.

I CAN'T HELP THINKING that something's quite wrong about a number of assumptions Third World countries are making. Take the Law of the Sea business. Sounds all right to ask that this be made the property of all peoples. But who are folks right now who are investigating, experimenting, putting capital, and human resources into its development and exploitation? Chiefly First World folks. Now why I ask you will these folks want to share the results of their labours with other folks? It goes clean against all we know of human nature to expect that they will.

Or much is being said about the exploitative nature of White folks acts against natives. Well, before the discovery of Australia by White folks, the aborigines of Australia had it all their own way. Nobody was exploiting them or pinching their resources for

the matter of that but look at the conditions under which they lived. It was primitive, it was bare survival economics.

The point I am trying to make is that not enough attention is being devoted to the fact that most Third World countries have a broken or confused manhood and not enough is being done to redress this. Fact is that most of the elite leadership are in fact First World folks, parading around as native leaders. They have little or no rapport with the true natives of their lands. They put the blame on trade, exploitation, etc for the misery of their lands, which is in a way an escape from the real task, the renewal of local manhood. This our elite group is ill-equipped to undertake. Yet this is the most important single task—Schumacher says in 'Small is beautiful'—where discipline, education and management were present in a war-devastated land, economic miracles took place.

The leaders of Vietnam were right when they emphasised these points. We must learn to live within our means. We must depend on ourselves. Unfortunately the main thrust in Sri Lanka has been towards tourism, which depends for its vitality on the patronage of the First World, and, incidentally, its economic strength. Its side effects can be seen around every Tourist Hotel, where the natives gather to gaze in wonder and adoration at the white sahibs—this way we ensure the continuance of neo-colonialism.

THE ILLUSION THAT WEALTH BRINGS PEACE. This is another assumption we are making. Given enough food, we shall have peace in the world. Folks who believe this forget that man's tanha has almost an infinite dimension. He never knows when enough is enough—put simply the woman with ten sarees craves for twenty and will not allow her man to rest until he gets them for her. All the evidence of history suggests that the strong and powerful, politically and economically, have gone to war to get more. What grounds have we for believing man's nature has changed?

THE WORLD IS ONE VILLAGE. Maybe, but does anyone know how much bitterness, meanness, and straight fights take place in any village community? Go to the nearest Police station—they have

the evidence. Lots of village folks starve daily and plenty of neighbouring village folks live very well indeed. Lots of Third World countries have folks whose way of life in no way differs from the way of life in Washington. These local folks have made no serious attempt to go without to help their native brothers develop: yet, these are the folks who are asking their brothers in First World lands to go without?

THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF BACK-SLAPPING at the non-aligned conference. No harm in that. But do let us see that this in itself does not achieve what one Sri Lanka newspaper exultantly termed "towards a New Civilization". Just this week *Time* magazine has an article on Torture. The article points out that no less than 60 nations, and the list includes Iran, Chile and Great Britain, are guilty of this crime against large numbers of their own citizens. Indeed torture methods have been developed into monstrous proportions and diabolical sophistications in the 20th century.

We've had a nice Party, excellent as parties go, but do let us keep our feet firmly on the ground now the party's over. Some years back I happened to attend some oecumenical gathering where a similar enthusiasm prevailed among the delegates from many lands and many sects. Some of the delegates came from Greece. Immediately after the conference, when they got back home, one group of Greeks put a chap from another group into prison. When protests were made reminding them of their oecumenical principles, they replied "Those principles are all right at Amsterdam (where we met) but we can't apply them in Greece."

That alas is the real state of the world, non-aligned or otherwise aligned. It is the real state of affairs, alas, also in this fair isle, where only the chaps who belong to the right political party get the plums, and the crumbs, of office. I refer of course to the MP's letter, a hideous perversion of the democratic process.

FROM WHERE DOES THE FOOD COME? We've talked a lot against Imperialism, racism and the like. All very well. But it's the imperialist chaps, especially

the USA, who feed us, the Russians included. Now we can do without cars, without clothes especially in the tropics, without radio sets—but man does not live on words alone—however brave and however splendid—he must get food. This is only his basic need. I have an uneasy feeling that all too soon we'll also be in the queue asking for PL 480 Bread from the American peoples.

Now I know that some of our problems have arisen because of drought, price of fertilisers, and the like. But I hold that these are but excuses to conceal the real reason for our continuing dependence on other lands for food. Sometime back we were

called to engage in war on the food front. Any country which fights a war on any front the way we are fighting in Sri Lanka to get self-sufficiency in food is sure to lose.

Indeed, to describe our effort as war would seem to most observers a strange and wrong use of a word charged with the overtones of commitment, dedication, total mobilisation etc. A large numbers of us folks are still sitting by the road side, in the manner of frogs, as one visitor commented long ago, watching, brooding, meditating perhaps, but certainly not engaged in a war to grow more food. And if or when PL 480 dries up what then? We shall perhaps drink Arabian oil.

THE UNITED STATES

HOW A PRESIDENT IS CHOSEN

— A Special Report —

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From the first political rally to Inauguration Day, the choosing of a President is a complicated and often bewildering business in which the ordinary voter has little voice until Election Day. And it is doubtful if he can find a textbook anywhere that will tell him all about it.

Four years ago, *U.S. News & World Report* presented, in question-and-answer form, an exhaustive study of the intricate machinery that reaches from grass-roots precinct to White House. Though the basic process remains the same, many details—on finances, primaries, conventions, for example—have changed since then.

On these pages is an up-to-date guide that can be saved to provide a ready reference at every step of the way—a log of the what, when, where, how and why in this election year of 1976.

In simplest outline, how is a President chosen? First, a candidate campaigns within his own party for its nomination. He must win his party's nomination at a National Convention. After the Convention comes a period of competition with the nominee of the other major party and perhaps the nominees of third or fourth parties. The showdown arrives on Election Day. He must win more votes than any other nominee in enough States and the District of Columbia to give him a majority of the electoral votes. If he does all these things, then he won the right to the office of President of the United States.

What qualifications does the Constitution lay down for those who would become President? A President must be at least 35 years old, must have lived within the U.S. for 14 years, and must be a "natural-born citizen." What a natural-born citizen is, as a presidential qualification, has never been legally defined. No person can be elected President more than twice. Nor can a President be elected more than once if he has served more than half the term to which another President was elected. For instance, since Mr. Ford assumed office in the second year of Richard Nixon's four-year term, he could serve as President only one more term.

Election Of A U.S. President

When will the nominees of the two major parties be known? Since only Ronald Reagan so far has challenged President Ford for the Republican nomination, the winner may well emerge before the party's nominating Convention that begins in Kansas City, Mo., on August 16. The Democratic field is so crowded that it is unlikely the nominee will be known before the party's Convention that begins in New York City on July 12.

When does a candidate begin to campaign? A candidate will begin, anywhere from one to two years before Election Day, to travel extensively around the country to discuss national and international issues. He keeps in touch with State leaders of his party and gradually builds an organization in many of the States. He tends to visit the politically important States more and more frequently. His supporters raise money for campaign expenses. Gradually he builds a staff that writes his speeches, works on research, contacts Governors, State chairmen and prospective contributors. Usually he will make a formal declaration of his candidacy. Because of complicated new campaign laws, this declaration now tends to come earlier than before.

What is meant by the term "dark horse" candidate? A dark horse is a potential candidate who is relatively unknown and given almost no chance for the nomination. James A. Garfield in 1880 and Warren G. Harding in 1920 were Republican dark horses who reached the White House. Wendell Willkie in 1940 was one who did not. This year, one man who might be called a dark-horse candidate is Governor Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania.

What is a "favorite son" candidate? He is party leader, usually a Governor or Senator, who seeks to control his State's delegation to the National Convention. He is seldom considered a serious contender. His motives may vary. He may wish to avert a party split in his State as presidential candidates fight over Convention delegates. Sometimes a favorite son is advanced by party leaders as a way of keeping their State's delegation independent until signs point clearly toward a winner. Or a favorite son may use his delegation for bargaining purposes,

hoping to swing it to the winner at a crucial moment during the Convention.

What is a "bandwagon" movement? In a successful bandwagon movement, a candidate creates the impression that he is the inevitable winner. He pressures important party leaders to "hop aboard the bandwagon" by declaring their support of his candidacy, implying that otherwise they risk his disfavor. His supporters point to primary victories as sure signs of his nomination. Similar tactics may be used at the National Convention.

A recent bandwagon movement came in Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign when his chief early competitor, former Michigan Governor George Romney, pulled out of the race even before the first primary. By the time former Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York decided to get into the contest, Mr. Nixon had sewn up most of the delegates.

How are delegates to a National Convention chosen? In several ways. Some are elected by the voters in State primary contests. Some are elected by party conventions in the States. In most States, there are at-large delegates who tend to be selected because of the office they hold, such as membership on a National Committee or because they are members of Congress.

How many primaries are there this year? There are 30 in which both parties will vote, plus a number of others in which only one party will participate. Roughly three fourths of all the delegates to the two Conventions will be chosen in primaries. The 30:

New Hampshire is first, on February 24; Massachusetts and Vermont, March 2; Florida, March 9; Illinois, March 16; North Carolina, March 23; New York and Wisconsin, April 6; Pennsylvania, April 27; Texas, May 1; Alabama, District of Columbia, Georgia and Indiana, May 4; Tennessee, May 6; Nebraska and West Virginia, May 11; Maryland and Michigan, May 18; Arkansas, Idaho, Kentucky, Nevada and Oregon, May 25; Rhode Island, Montana and South Dakota, June 1; and California, Ohio and New Jersey, June 8.

How does a State primary work? The rules for primaries vary from

State to State and party to party. In general, voters may elect delegates either directly or by showing a preference for a presidential candidate. There are four broad variations.

In some States, voters simply select delegates to the National Conventions—with the presidential preferences of the delegate-candidates usually listed on the ballot.

Voters in a second group of States cast ballots both for presidential candidates and for Convention delegates who are identified on the ballot as preferring a certain presidential candidate or as uncommitted. These are called advisory presidential-preference primaries.

A third category is the binding, winner-take-all preference primary in which State laws require Convention delegates to vote for the presidential candidate who gets the most votes either in each congressional district or Statewide. The delegates themselves are elected either in the primary or in later State conventions.

A fourth group holds proportional representation primaries. In these States, the voters cast ballots for presidential candidates, and the results are used to allocate Convention delegates to the candidates in proportion to the size of their vote—either by congressional districts, or, in some cases, on a Statewide basis.

Are voters of one party allowed to vote in the primary of another party? This is not permitted in most State primaries, but there are exceptions. In Wisconsin, Michigan and Vermont, voters are given both Democratic and Republican ballots at the polls and can use either.

In a number of other States such as Georgia and Indiana, there is no party registration. Voters ask for a party ballot and, if challenged, must swear they voted for a majority of the party's candidates in the last election and intend to do the same this year.

How does a presidential candidate's name get on a primary ballot? In one of three ways. One is by petition, which the candidate or his supporters file with the signatures of a specified number of persons from the State. Eleven

States and the District of Columbia use this method: Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont and West Virginia.

In nine States, the secretary of state places the names of nationally recognized presidential candidates on the ballot. These are California, Idaho, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon and Tennessee. Finally, in five States, a special nominating committee determines which presidential candidates will be listed in Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina and Wisconsin. In the latter two categories, a candidate not listed may petition to have his name on the ballot.

In the other five primary States—Alabama, New York, Ohio, South Dakota and Texas—the candidate's name does not appear on the ballot.

What if a person is named by the secretary of state or a nominating committee even though he insists he is not a candidate—can he get off the ballot? In nine States, all he would need to do is ask that his name be removed. In eight others he must file an affidavit, stating, without qualification, that he is not now and does not intend to become a candidate. In two petition States, Illinois and Arkansas, a person cannot withdraw if the petition was filed with his consent in the first place.

In three States—Oregon, Idaho and Nevada—there is no way a name placed on the ballot by the secretary of state can be withdrawn. Thus, the name of Senator Hubert Humphrey will be on the ballot in Oregon, Nevada and Idaho, even though he is not an avowed candidate, unless removed in any of the three by the appropriate secretary of state by March 16. In 1972, Senator Edward Kennedy's name was on the Oregon ballot and he received 12,673 votes, about 3 per cent of the total.

What is meant by a "binding" primary? It is a term that has lost much of its meaning. Some State laws require delegates selected in primaries to vote for the candidate they are pledged to for one, two or three ballots at the National Convention, until the candidate's percentage of the total Convention vote drops below a certain level, or until released by the candidate. However, neither of the

national parties now enforces these State laws.

What is an "uncommitted delegation"? This is a delegation that goes to the Convention not pledged to any of the active candidates. The idea usually is to give the head of the delegation some bargaining power in Convention dealing.

In New York, for instance, both Democratic Governor Hugh Carey and Republican State Chairman Richard Rosenbaum are attempting to put together uncommitted states for their respective Conventions.

There is often talk of a write-in campaign for a candidate in some State primaries. What does this involve? Some States allow a voter to cast a ballot for a person whose name has not been entered in the primary. The voter simply writes in the person's name on the ballot. In a few cases, write-in votes have been important. In the 1968 primary in New Hampshire, 27,520 wrote in President Lyndon Johnson's name on their Democratic ballots—4,257 more than the regular votes received by then-Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota. However, the relatively strong showing by Mr. McCarthy, who had bigorously attacked the President's Vietnam policies, was considered a damaging blow to any re-election plans of the President. He announced shortly afterward that he would not run again.

Are all of the Democratic candidates going to run in all of the primaries? No. Limits of time energy and money will prevent this. The one exception to this may be Jimmy Carter, who has announced his intention of running in every State. Still, there is pressure to enter as many as a candidate feels are needed to show he has support in all regions, to build momentum or to become better known. Generally, candidates choose the primaries where they think they can do best.

Are some primaries more important than others? Yes. The victors in the early primaries obviously get a psychological lift. They may be able to attract fence-sitting politicians to their side and find it easier to raise money. Later primaries in big States—New Jersey, Ohio, Texas or California, to name a few—are often important. If there are three or four candidates

in a close race, victory in key primaries can send one to the Convention with a distinct advantage.

Are there any limits on how much can be spent in primaries? The 1974 law set a ceiling of 10 million dollars for each candidate for pre-Convention campaigning, including primaries, plus an allowance for inflation which by now makes the limit just under 11 million. The ceiling, under a recent Supreme Court ruling, applies only if a candidate accepts federal financial help to finance his pre-Convention campaign. As a practical matter, all the current candidates are accepting Government subsidies. There are also limits on how much can be spent in given States, based primarily on voting-age population.

How much federal financial help is available? If a candidate can raise at least \$ 5,000 in each of 20 States in contributions of no more than \$ 250, he can qualify for federal funds to pay for up to half his pre-Convention expenses—nearly 5.5 million dollars at present. Contributions of up to \$ 250 will be matched dollar for dollar by the US Treasury; no more than \$ 250 will be matched for larger contributions.

Does the availability of matching funds encourage more candidates to run in primaries? Judging from the number of Democratic candidates, yes. It is also encouraging some candidates who are not the front runners to stay in the campaigning longer in hopes of gaining on the early favorites. Heretofore, those far behind usually had to drop out of the race because they could not raise money.

Are there limits on how much can be contributed by private citizens to a candidate during his primary campaign? Yes. The campaign-spending law, as modified by the Supreme Court ruling, sets limits on contributions at all stages of the selection process. These will be discussed later in this article.

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(To be Continued)

* * *

SINGAPORE

Private Investment's Success

by John J. Harter

Singapore, Aug. 13,

The modern city-state of Singapore has almost no natural resources, a very small population (2.2 million), and hardly any agricultural base to speak of. And yet it has a surging economy, with a rapidly growing industrial capacity. In eleven years of independence, its gross national product has trebled, and the average standard of living has risen dramatically.

How has it done it? Most American businessmen in Singapore believe the economic miracle around them attests the power of private foreign investment. This, they say, is what Secretary of State Kissinger was talking about at the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly last September, and at the Fourth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD-IV) this May, when he emphasised what infusions of capital, technology, and management can do to spur economic activity in the developing countries.

The American Ambassador to Singapore, John H. Holdrige, put it this way: "This is a splendid example of the beneficial impact corporate investment can have on the over-all economic development of a country. It has created and upgraded thousands of jobs—and accounts for a substantial portion of the Singapore labor force. It has enriched the skills of the people at all levels, and it has greatly strengthened the role of this remarkable country in world trade."

Although precise data are hard to come by ("all the numbers keep going up so fast you can't catch them," one government official said), the American Embassy is confident that the total investment by some five hundred American companies in Singapore is close to 1000 million American dollars. This makes the United States the largest source of foreign investment in the country—and the source of perhaps one-third of all its foreign investment.

INVESTMENTS exceeding 300 million dollars by MOBIL, EXXON, AMOCO, OCEANIC PETROLEUM and CALTEX have made Singapore one of the world's largest petroleum refining and storage centres. Their location at the juncture of tanker traffic between Japan and the Middle East lends them a considerable significance, especially in the event the present search for new oil in the areas surrounding Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, or Viet-nam should prove fruitful. The products of these refineries supply several countries in Southeast Asia.

Electronics firms account for the second largest category of U.S. investment, the largest investors being Texas Instruments, Hewlett Packard, General Electric, Fairchild, and National Semiconductor. Altogether, these organizations have put something like 200 million dollars into their Singapore operations. This industry is highly export-oriented, with more than 90 percent of its output going into world markets, and it contributes about one-fourth of the country's total employment in the manufacturing sector. Singapore, in fact, is increasingly known as a principal source of a wide range of consumer electronic and electrical products, ranging from small transistor radios and portable television sets to refrigerators and air conditioners. In the last two years, color television sets, programmable electronic calculators, and electronic test instruments have been added to the rapidly growing list of Singapore's export products.

Other manufacturing and assembly firms have brought an additional 125 million dollars or more to develop Singapore's capacity to produce metal products, transport equipment, textiles, wood-based items, and many other goods. Among the more conspicuous firms here are Union Carbide, General Electric, Smith-Corona, Rheem, and Rockwell.

The Singapore manager of the Leblond Company, Timothy, A. Wakefield, insists that the high quality and competitive prices of his plant's output of lathes and other modern machine tools demonstrates that Singapore today has a major industrial capacity.

"This country has evolved way beyond its entrepot origins that derived from its superb harbor,"

Mr. Wakefield said. "In the last ten years, it has developed a skilled labor force, a governmental capacity to deal effectively and objectively with the complex problems that large scale manufacturing inevitably brings to an economy—and it has won the confidence of Singaporean and foreign businessmen that it will not treat the private sector unfairly."

IN A NUTSHELL, he believes, the key to Singapore's "economic miracle" is a government policy that has a realistic grasp of what private enterprise can and cannot do.

J. Roger O'Neil, President of the American Business Council of Singapore, agrees. The council is a non-profit association, incorporated under the laws of Singapore, that seeks to provide a channel through which the American businessmen that comprise it can identify and act upon their common interests.

"The central object of this (Singapore) government is to stimulate economic development—and all the social benefits that go with it. Singapore provides good medical care, fine schools, relatively modern and fairly ample housing for its people—and it's a clean and well ordered place. The Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, knows that his country simply could not have all these things without large and sustained investment. He is determined to build economic strength into the fibre of his island—and he knows this works."

Singapore's key instrument of industrialization is its Economic Development Board (EDB) which functions as a sort of Ministry of Industry. It has been in charge of the country's industrialization policy for some 13 years.

Since its establishment in 1961, EDB's primary objective has been to encourage the establishment of new industries in Singapore and accelerate the growth of existing ones. To fulfill this objective, it was empowered to underwrite the stocks and bonds by industrial enterprises and guarantee industrial loans, invest in and give loans to industrial enterprises, develop industrial estates, and give technical advice to industrial enterprises. One of EDB's most striking achievements has been luring town, an industrial estate carved

out of barren and swampy lands that is today expanding in all directions, including up.

EDB has projected in some detail just what kinds of plants it wants to import. These include metal engineering (turbines and construction machinery, for example), aerospace engineering aircraft, shipbuilding and transport equipment, optical instrument and lenses, and basic chemicals, petrochemicals, and fine chemicals. EDB professes to be certain that foreign investment in these industries, under its benign aegis, will be extremely profitable to the investors—and to Singapore.

During the late 1960's and early 1970's Singapore maintained a real economic growth rate of 16 to 18 percent—after adjusting the figures for changes in price levels. During the recent recession Singapore's growth rate has been better than most (about eight percent in 1974 and four percent in 1975) despite its unusually heavy dependence on world demand for its exports.

"Nature gave Singapore fewer natural advantages than it bestowed on many developing countries," one American businessman said. "But the Government and the people of Singapore know their future must depend on a healthy economy. They have assessed their own problems with clarity and vision. I think they will be able to stay on the ambitious course they have set for themselves."

—IPS

IN SRI LANKA TODAY

Then And Now

— At The Yarn Stores —

by Parami

What's going on at the sales department of the Weaving Supplies Corporation these days. It has to be experienced to be believed. These are the experiences of the average customer who comes from all parts of the island for his or her supplies to the selling point in Colombo.

We usually get to the sales Department around 9 or 9.30 a.m. but there are others who have already arrived at 5 or 6 a.m.

I was told that the watcher is given a few application forms to issue to these early birds, some of them from distant outstations hoping thereby to get home before dark. These forms one fills up giving the monthly requirements of yarn, dyes and other necessities one would be purchasing on the monthly quota. Each weaving establishment is given a monthly allocation, so the Dept. knows well in advance what the monthly requirements are and items in short supply are rationed. The application forms are filled and returned to the clerks where a peon finds your personal file and adds it to the pile waiting for attention. When the staff worked in less luxurious premises ones file was dealt with, much more expeditiously said one. In those days a number was issued to each customer and when your file was reached in strict rotation, one's number was called by a peon who called the numbers in a loud and clear voice heard by all. No such procedure is adopted now and names are called by the clerk who handles the files whose voice is hardly heard in the general din and confusion. This was the experience of one elderly lady from an outstation who noticed people, who came long after her, being attended to. The officer in charge when questioned, virtuously declared that her name had already been called, but no one ever heard it. A voice was heard to say "You have to be a favoured one to get your file attended to early". He did not elaborate on how one achieved that position. At about 11.30 a.m. one of the clerks attending to the files went off and no one took his place. There were 50 or more customers to be attended to by this time. At 12.30 the second clerk went off for his lunch and the first one came back and we were still waiting. We customers by now were faint with hunger and thirst.

The most amazing part of the whole procedure was the fact that the actual point of issue of the purchases numbered 3, 4 or even more points for some customers from stores as far apart as the Asian Cotton Mills in Mount Lavinia and the Yarn Stores in Prince Of Wales Avenue with three or more stores scattered in between. So each customer was issued with as many invoices as collecting points and each one typed in quadrup-

licate with a stamp affixed to each set of papers. What a waste of precious paper said someone. In the good old days we had one set of invoices and drew all our requirements from one point. Just imagine the plight of a poor weaver who has to collect his quota by bus from Mount Lavinia and travel by bus lugging his bales of yarn to Prince of Wales Avenue to collect the next lot, and this after waiting hours on end at the sales department of the Weaving Supplies Corporation. It was 3 p.m. when we finally received our invoices and joined the queue at the cashier's desk. There were at least 10 people in the queue when sharp at 3.30 p.m. the good man strictly according to regulations, refused to do any more business for the day. The sales manager too refused to do anything about it, not even telephone the Chief Accountant and ask his permission to relax the rule until the long suffering customers had been served. "Please see the accountant yourself" said he. So in justifiable wrath we poor victims marched off to the Chief Accountant who was more humane and allowed our payments. But now, how to collect our goods. The date on the invoice was the same day and now the time being 4 p.m. all stores would be closed. So dates were altered for the next day but says the clerk "there is no guarantee that there will be that count of yarn left for issue now". What manner of business management is this we thought. I should also mention the mild diversion caused during our wait when two employees accused each other in strong language of misappropriating state property. And these were the comments overheard among the angry customers and certainly most revealing. There is no smoke without fire and as everyone knows, the bigger and messier the mess the greater the room for corruption. Here are some of the customer's comments—"Why are some issued in excess of their quota whilst other's quotas are cut?" "How is it that some are attended to before others?" "Why can't the system of distribution be decentralised?" Replied one official to this query "Out station customers get a better deal in Colombo and are never refused their full quota so they prefer to draw their quotas here." But whispered

one customer "How much of that yarn reaches the outstations? What about the black marketeers who purchase these quotas for illegal trafficking"? It was said that the weavers owning a loom or two had neither the time or money to waste to come to Colombo so they bought their requirements from the local black marketeer.

And everyone wanted to know why the old system was done away with, when one was dealt with within the hour and drew one's purchases from one point. Now it was the poor man who suffered, the man who had no cars or vans or representatives to stand in for him in queues like the big manufacturers.

"It would do the sales managers of certain Government institutions good to take a few tips in business management from the Nadar businessmen of the Pettah: all they would need was a desk and a telephone for efficient service" said my neighbour. I quite agreed.



SINHALA — TAMIL

A De Facto Division?

by Dr. B. Mahadeva
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While the extremists in the Tamil United Front demand a division of Sri Lanka on a linguistic basis, and right-thinking people of all communities attempt to counter this move with more than token opposition there has stolen upon us like a thief in the night a fact that is not yet obvious but lies precariously close to the surface—the *de facto* division of this land of ours into Sinhalese and Tamil portions. One does not have to dig very deep before one strikes this hard inescapable fact i.e. the united Sri Lanka, as we have known it, exists only as a concept to the older generation and an unrepresentative few of the young.

What strikes even the least discerning observer is the lack of communication between the Sinhalese and Tamil Youth. It is not hostility, prejudice or suspicion, that keeps them apart but lack of a medium. With the overthrow

of English, in turns, as the official language, the medium of instruction in Education and, finally, as a link between the major communities of this country what has emerged are exclusively Sinhala-speaking and Tamil-speaking groups and these are UNABLE TO COMMUNICATE.

I have observed this phenomenon, in as dispassionate a manner as possible, in every kind of setting open to me—in homes, at social gatherings, schools, university campuses and in medical practices. These observations have not, admittedly, been made in a systematic or scientific manner—I have not, for instance, carried out a well-planned survey to assess this communication gap. By personal experience in Colombo and Kandy and discussion with numerous people from nearly every district and province in this country I have gathered information, in a casual yet in a manner that is not without validity, to support my argument and lend a basis for my fears. I am open to correction based on factual data that I lack, but it is a strong impression that the proportion of Sinhalese and Tamils having even a superficial acquaintance with each other's language is progressively dwindling. There is a growing disinclination to study Tamil among the Sinhalese—in the sphere in which I am most familiar the discrepancy in the familiarity with the Tamil language between the older generations of Sinhalese doctors and the present one is striking—and there is a gradual trend among the Tamils, from the information I have from the processes going on in the North, especially, and the East to refuse to learn the Sinhalese language. This is believed to be in response to exhortations of the more extreme elements in the T.U.F. which, however distasteful it may seem to all of us who are liberal in outlook, has begun to wield enormous influence in these areas.

It is a futile exercise, as we well know, to divorce language from politics. Very few countries in the world have attempted it. Singapore and Switzerland are two of these. The former has a very high proportion of Chinese—figures are not at hand but is comparable, I believe, to the Sinhalese component of Sri Lanka—but a wise, if at times, politically repressive, leadership has given that tiny state

Chinese, English, Malay and Tamil as the four official languages. The pragmatic Chinese did not wish to add language problems to others in their small, densely populated country. And from what I have heard Singapore is busying itself with industrial progress without trying to cope with man-made difficulties. The exact opposite obtains in neighbouring Malaysia where flagrant linguistic discrimination is legally sanctioned in favour of the Malays. Recently I received an aerogramme from Malaysia and all instructions—folding, slitting open, sender's name, address etc—were in transliterated Malay. Well, this attitude asks for trouble and it is small wonder that the security situation in that country is far from satisfactory. Officially the very convenient communist guerilla bogey has been invoked, and there has been trouble on the borders with Thailand but to observers on the scene a repeat of the communal conflagration is simmering. Briefly, Switzerland and Belgium have taken 'similarly different' approaches to their language problems and the stability of the former is a matter of common knowledge.

So, our problems are not unique. They came into existence because we let emotion rather than reason dictate our approach to the language issue. A nominally developing country, we are in danger of remaining undeveloped because to our real problems we have added another emotionally-charged one that a wise, benign and liberal leadership would never have let arise in the first place. We threw English out of the front door but find it creeping through the back as the realities of the practical, modern world have to be faced. As thousands of English-less students are left in the lurch the only ones who seem to benefit are the new English-tutory mudalalis, comparable to the C.R.A., tourist and Gem mudalalis the so-called "revolution of the common man" has spawned. But serious as the problems of the individuals are, they pale into insignificance as our once-united land which in the opinion of many should have been the model post-colonial state, goes on inexorably sowing the seeds of disharmony. All I can do is to ask *a la* Bertie Wooster, "Jeeves, what will the harvest be?"

HISTORICAL

Hindu Religious Life

1847 - 1880

by K. Arumainayagam

Saivism suffered from many drawbacks. In the wake of renewed religious enthusiasm certain abuses crept into the body politic of Saivism which filled the atmosphere with so much of stench some Saivites themselves began to despise their own religion, particularly practices like nautch-dancing, fireworks, music, provocative nude pictures hung during the temple festivals polluted the sanctity of the temple festivals and the atmosphere.

Some of these practices like nautch dancing were meant to draw people. It was undertaken due to a mistaken belief that they could be substituted for the traditional Devadasis who served in the temples of glory in the past. But these Devadasis or Rudrakaniyaiyar of this period did not resemble their namesakes of the past. According to "the Saiva Agamas" the woman devotees known as "Rudra Kanigaiyar" are only those who abstain from flesh eating, put on ascetic garb and are noted for Siva Bakthi."

Contrary to this, a Devadasi of the 19th century presented herself before the people in dress consisting of a robe of spangled muslin which partially covered the left breast but exposed the right; this was confined round the waist by a massive zone of pure gold of three inches in width, and resplendent with pearls and precious stones, chiefly diamonds, emeralds, rubies and sapphires. Splendid jewels of similar materials ornamented their ears, nostrils (descending over the mouth and chin) fingers, arms, angles and toes". There was not any piety among them and they ate flesh. Few were used and kept for immoral purposes.

Such decorations of their persons and acts undoubtedly drew crowd but not for religious purposes. The festivals presented a social problem as they continued late in to the night. Festivals and these type of dancers spoil the youngsters; they neglected their studies. The fireworks and accidents that followed caused danger

to person and property. As a result the entire festival atmosphere appeared to be very offensive in the eyes of the foreigners and orthodox Saivites.

A fair share of blame could be also placed on the Saivite priesthood for such ignorance among the Saivites. While admitting that they "kept up" the religion through "thick and thin" during the Portuguese and Dutch period by ministering the rituals secretly.

They assumed the role of priesthood by virtue of having born into a Brahmin caste or other priesthood. As it is well known they need not have any educational or religious qualification to be priests. Some of them have not even taken Siva Theeksha. They ignored the study of Sanskrit and Agamas. The study of English had given place to Sanskrit and the little Sanskrit that the Brahmin knew was used only for ritualistic purposes.

Some saivites were converted easily by other religionists due to the ignorance of their own religion. With few exception, the Saivite clergy which should have taken upon itself the task of explaining the religious tenets had not made any attempt. Priesthood was an occupation and not a vocation for many of them. The Christian missionaries too observed this weakness that prevailed among the Saivite Priesthood. It should be said to the credit of the Christian priesthood that they were sent out on their missions only after gaining sufficient standard to preach their religion and to meet other religionists in religious debates. They studied the local language, literature and were also well versed in maths, logic, grammar, geography etc.

Arumuka Navalar went to the extent of criticising some of these Brahmins for not being in a position to differentiate between Thevaram and Thiruvacakam. This is to be expected. Because in the absence of any educational organisation to prepare teachers like the Christian and Buddhist clergy it was bound to face such difficulties.

The priests who officiated in Saiva Temples were compelled to depend only on the contributions made in temple Poojas, Poorva and Aparā Kiriya performed outside the temples. There was no organisation to free them from

pecuniary embarrassments. As such they were at times, forced by necessity to perform poojas and minister even to nominal Christians. And also undertook to serve in temples where Agamic principles have not been followed.

Except for few individuals priests, as a whole they did not organise themselves to arrest the tendency of the Saivites to become Christians. Following the Christian missionaries who insisted that Saivites should shed all religious marks when they entered christian schools, Saivites priests could have refused to perform poojas and other rituals for nominal Hindus and thus enforcing strict religions code for nominal Christians. But no such attempt was made by the Hindu Clergy and they became a target of attack and ridicule.

However the priests connected with the Maviddapuram Temple appear to have been sticklers to Agamic principles. They conducted religious classes in the temple and re-converted some Christians by ministering "Siva Deeksha." Orthodox saivites condemned the priests for performing funeral obseques and wedding ceremonies for Vellalas who did not conform to pure religions principles. Navalar queried in one of his pamphlets "Some men of the climber class have given up toddy drinking and pulayas have given up beef eating and have mended themselves. On the other hand some bate-for-headed Vellalas eat beef and drink arrack in the company of Christians and there are Saiva priests and Brahmin priests who perform funeral obseques and wedding ceremonies for them. Who are more respectable the former or the latter?"

There appears to have been more religious rigidity among the Hindus of India than in Jaffna. In India, Hindus do not intermingle with Christians. When a person becomes a convert to Christianity all family connections are served and he is virtually expelled from the family. Even among the low castes of India once one of their kith and kin becomes a Christian parents and brothers do not inter-dine with such person nor would they accommodate him in their houses. Even a "Kaddai Kanny" (traditional domestic servant like the "kudimahan" of Jaffna) will not serve at the house of a christian.

Jaffna tolerated such converts, had marriage relations and allowed them to enter Saivite temples and perform poojas. Family ties have not been broken on account of such conversions. Besides in religious matters there was so much of hypocrisy in Jaffna; it almost became a habit in Jaffna to change religion to suit the time and rulers. Such frequent changes brought them economic benefits in the form of government jobs and other favours. A certificate from a Christian missionary was a sure passport to Government job. As such they changed their religions as frequently as they changed their habiliments. Such acts encouraged a sort of opportunism and hypocrisy which was really a bane on the social moral and religious progress of any society.

Temples in Jaffna were mostly built and endowed by wealthy individuals and Brahmins. Since they were opened to public worship people from all walks of life contributed to the improvement of the Temples in cash and kind. Also they contributed to the performance of various rituals and poojas conducted in temples. These contributions were made at the managers house or to the officiating priests.

But no proper account of such contributions were maintained by the temple authorities. Most of them were squandered away by the managers. Temples remained without any improvements. Since the temples were considered as private properties of the temple managers the public as such could not have any control over the accounts. Then there is the firm belief almost religious that such contributions and offering should not be subject of discussion because the real purposes of such benefactions will be lost in obtaining merits from God to donors. Government did not show any interest in such matters.

Temple management had been a frequent source of friction between lay managers and temple priests and often they resorted to courts. Temple was a source of revenue to lay managers and priests and their survival depended on the share of temple profits.

Much smaller temples were "kept up" solely for periodical festivals like animal slaughtering

which in turn brought good income for the managers of the temples.

(To be Concluded)



FORTY YEARS AGO - 7

A Tiger Comes To Stay

By Ina Trimmer

To write on estate life and exclude the V.A., would certainly not be a venial lapse. He is the king pin on which the whole structure depends. If my husband as superintendent controlled the daily operations in factory, field and office, the V.A. held pride of place as the chief factor in all estate concerns. His was the last word in everything. His reports either damned a man or made him.

We were sitting with the tea tray as usual. Every night before retiring to bed, Palanimuttu, the dressing boy, brought in the tea to the bedroom and my husband presided pouring endless cups of tea even deep into the night. These were the subjects we discussed, cabbages and kings, politics and things and "Sunny's Perennial" as my husband called it—Reincarnation.

"Teddie, d'you know. I don't think I like the idea of reincarnation."

But my husband's thoughts were were not in the dim future but the immediate present.

"By the way", he broke in, "I expect the V.A. next week." "Who?"

"The V.A. Visiting Agent, T. H. Williams."

"What's he like? I have never met a V.A. before."

"Tom Williams. I like him. Man after my own heart. I have heard him called a tiger. He has been cursed uphill and downhill. I have heard groans at his very name."

"But why? Why should they dislike him so?"

"It all depends on if you are a worker or a shirker. If you are an indifferent superintendent who leaves everything to his staff, then heaven help you! Williams will

be after your blood. If it weren't for him I could never have saved Brae. Many's the time we have argued into the wee small hours and if he is wrong he is man enough to say so. Praise from Williams is praise indeed. But mind you, when all's said and done the fact remains he is a tiger."

"What exactly do you mean by that? Is he fierce?"

"He doesn't bite, you know." "Go on Teddie, I didn't mean he is a man-eater".

"Well, he's hard to please. Nothing but the best for him."

"He must be rather nice," I said reflectively.

"Don't forget about the larder. Send your order in early to Elephant House."

"Feed the brute—I mean the tiger", I said as I sought my bed.

Next morning I made up my list and showed it to my husband to be vetted.

"Not half enough" he said, "Williams will be here three days. I see you have ordered a leg of lamb and chops but that won't do. It will be lunch and dinner the first day, the same the next day, and he leaves after breakfast the third day."

But we have any amount of fowls. We could have roast fowl or chicken pie or....."

"No, no! Order a good hunk of pork for roasting."

I found out later that my husband's way of doing anyone proud was a large joint of roast pork.

But the food question did not worry me at all. It was the house, a house bare of all but necessities, bare of curtains expect in our bedroom. My husband thought this was nothing to be troubled over.

"What more d'you want? He'll have a bed to sleep on, chairs to sit in a table to eat at. Isn't that enough?"

But I had different ideas, so I opened a great black box that stood in the back verandah and rummaged within.

A veritable Pandora's box! What didn't it contain! Yards and yards of curtains, unnumberable lengths of short white "blinds," as we used to call them for windows; doyleys, hundred of doynels, but

no two alike; chair backs with elephants embroidered on them, and flowers and Happy Home with horse shoes on top; and amongst this heterogeneous collection three or four beautiful white double damask table cloths and several dozen napkins to match. I pounced on the tablecloths but they were far too large for our round dining table.

"Wherever did you get all this stuff?", I asked my husband.

"My mother sent them."

"What! Those elephant chair-backs and heaven knows what else!"

"You see, as a missionary's wife she is eternally involved in fancy bazaars and all the left overs are sent to me. She says: If my own sons cannot help, how can I ask other women's sons." Hence the result. There's another box load at the Big Bungalow."

I awaited the V.A.'s visit with mingled feelings; apprehension as to how everything would pass off, not for my husband because he welcomed it wholeheartedly; but for my part, I had qualms. The thought that there would be someone from the outside world, some new person to meet was stimulating. Then I would be afraid—afraid of the supposed tiger. But even a tiger would be better than our only other visitors, the moths, who covered the verandah walls every night attracted by the brightness of the Aladdin lamp.

There was no doubt that estate life was lonely. My husband had warned me before we married but I had visions of trips outside its environs. So far we had never left the confines of these lower divisions of Brae. Brae is a particularly isolated estate due to the lack of a car road. The almost insurmountable mountains at one end, the far flung exit miles away at the other with the interminable length of difficult terrain that lay between, killed all hopes of the necessary life line even before they were born.

True half-hearted discussions had taken place, and a road traced, even cars set up at various points to mark the way. But that's as far as it went. The one and a half hours of steady climbing from the factory to the Big Bungalow and two and a half arduous hours from there to the car stop over water-

falls and torrents strangled the expectation of even the most sanguine.

Of all our visitors, pride of place must be given to the Visiting Agent or the V.A. as he is commonly known. He is the chief cog in the great native wheel on which the perfect running of an estate depends. His word is usually law and the superintendent has often to abide by his decisions though he may hold divergent views on matters that concern the estate.

Before I went to live on Brae, if someone had spoken of V.A. it would have left me cold. I would not have known what those two letters stood for. But even as I began estate life I was initiated. Conductors, kanganyies, our servants all spoke of the V.A. He was the Agentu Dorai, someone greatly respected and feared. Even my husband had a wholesome respect for him. Whether he had the same respect for all V.As. I am not prepared to divulge, but this particular V. A. was certainly someone to be reckoned with.

T. H. Williams was indeed a great man, one of the finest Visiting Agents that Ceylon ever had, though some may think that, I, a mere ignoramus on such matters, am no judge. His knowledge of tea was unsurpassed. I would make bold to say, by many before his day, or after, I awaited his visit with trepidation. I had heard him called a tiger, and someone who had fallen foul of him had spoken for publication. I asked my husband why he was so unpopular. "Is he a terror? You remember Bob Grant said 'Oh Lord, I am due for a visit from Williams. I shall sing hosannas the day he leaves.....'"

"Williams is all right if you work, but woe be unto the man who tries to put it across him. There are no flies on Williams. He has the knack of putting his finger on the very thing you would hide. I am glad he consented to V. A. Brae. There is no better man to pull it out of the fire than Williams. What he doesn't know about tea is not worth knowing."

When I heard he was coming, I was all a-dither. We were yet in the Small Bungalow, no place to entertain a privileged visitor. I was afraid of what we had to offer him—a small bedroom with barest necessities. True it had a

bathroom attached; but we had no water service, and only a zinc bath and old-fashioned washstand with basin and jug.

Our V.A. usually stayed nearly three days. Brae was not an estate where anyone could pay a flying visit. The journey was too arduous and the estate too scattered for a hurried inspection. So preparations were made for the many meals that were necessary. My husband often quoted a lesson his mother had taught him "never retrench on your dining table." He gave me this dictum soon after we were married and I never attempted to ignore it. Accordingly an order was sent off to Elephant House for various kinds of meats besides other foodstuffs while chickens, eggs and other food were collected for the great man's coming. I could not quite understand it all but the servants said it was the "vallama" (custom) and must be followed. We would easily have thrown a banquet for the district.

I can remember as though it happened yesterday, the morning Mr. Williams arrived. His horse had been sent on ahead with the keeper and bags of food. Mr. Williams would never accept hospitality for his horse. Each time he came his horse came too, bringing gram, oats and other horse food.

My husband had gone up to the Gap to meet the V.A. and they would inspect the Top Division on their way down. I waited at home with my heart a flutter. I had dug out from an old chest some curtains which my husband had bought in his bachelor days. They were not at all bad: brown casement with multi-coloured border of orange, yellow, green and black. The window curtains I hung up in Mr. Williams's room to make it look more cosy, with make-shift holders, trusting to luck they would stay put. A vase of yellow and pink roses from our garden adorned the dressing table. I was ready for the V.A.

All but. In and out of the kitchen I wandered till at last the cook protested.

"Lady, go sit down and wait then I can cook."

"What are you making for lunch?"

"I making Fish molee; that nice fish lady getting yesterday from Lake House."

"Lake House! Are you mad?"

"Why Lady said yesterday"

"Elephant House cook! Elephant House."

"Aiyo I don't know, Lady said a lake somewhere."

It was useless arguing this point.

"But cook, can't you make something better than Fish Molee? I taught you to make grilled fish and Sauce Creole."

Cook's patience was running short and his irritation was ill-concealed. "Lady-deee, English Masters not liking new kind of food. Always the same thing wanting. Bacon and eggs morning; cold meat lunch time, and hot roast dinner."

"After fish?" I asked.

"Cold lamb. Our master liking cold lunch so I giving lamb".

"And after that?"

"Curd, lady. That Agentu Dorai liking curd and honey. Banda Kanganai brought nice buffalo curd from Kalupahana side—now lady, go—I must work."

So off I went to possess my soul of impatience.

The weather that had begun dull and cloudy the day before had turned wet. It just poured, in sheets, in bucket loads, it rained as it could rain in Brae alone. They turned up, Mr. Williams and my husband close on mid-day, rivers pouring off their hats, raincoats soaked, shoes squelching mud and water.

"How-do-you-do?" said a firm authoritative voice.

I nearly dropped a courtesy and said "Very nicely kindly, sir," but refrained. He really looked as if he deserved a courtesy, with his regal bearing, a fine figure of a man, tall and well-built, with a square jawed powerful face and a mouth that closed like vice.

There are certain people who could easily belong to any race. It doesn't lie in colour, or speech or mannerisms, but in some inherent quality that is indescribable. Perhaps it is an auro of kindness, or unlimited sympathetic understanding of human nature. My husband was one of these. But Mr. Williams was terribly, essentially British.

"What's your definition of an optimist?" he asked in a deliberate, slow decision voice as he threw of his raincoat.

Before I could reply he said "Anyone who comes to Brae with one pair of shoes!"

He went into to change his wet clothes and so did my husband, but I fluttered round the dining table.

Clatter, Bang! Swish: Whatever could be happening in the V.A.'s room. I held my breath and wondered. Then he came out. Was there a suspicion of a smile on the "Agentu" face? Could I detect a twinkle in those fierce blue eyes?

"Mrs. Trimmer", he said, as if he weighed each word before uttering it. "Mrs. Trimmer, I am afraid your curtain is no longer where you put it. It came down on me and your vase of flowers. We were all inextricably mixed together."

Dear! On Dear! Whatever had I done? Why did I imagine those two nails would hold that pole!

He saw my confusion. "It's quite all right. But I am sorry about your vase. I tried to save it."

I could relate many a tale of the first V.A. I ever met but I shall be accused of writing a panegyric of a man, still thank God, alive. I would speak of his justice, his kindness and sympathy. These come uppermost in my memory. His British justice which always gave the devil his due, gracefully, unstintingly. How often he hotly disagreed with my husband's view but gave in when he was convinced and let my husband have a free hand in running the estate. As for me, I was always sure of his backing. I am afraid my husband felt that I had an unfair advantage over him with the V.A. to help me. To him and his wife, whom I came to know later, I drink a toast though we are many thousand miles apart. "May their shadows never grow less. God bless them."

(To be Continued)



REVIEW

New Idealism For Old

by Jayantha Somasundaram

Exactly five years ago George Harrison of the Beatles staged the Concert For Bangla Desh—a festival that highlighted the new mood of American youth. In this, America's Bicentennial year, we review the events that led up to it.

THE ATYPICAL AMERICAN had been built in a mould that was distinctive in as much as it was stable. It was based on not only the security of the most powerful economic and military power the world has ever seen, but also on a profound belief in a way of life. The stability of America gave her youth confidence not only in the permanence of their society, but also in the basic morality of it.

In the Reader's Digest of December 1965, Kenneth O. Gilmore recounts the story of an offspring of this generation: "Chris went to Xavier High, a military school run by the Jesuits. There between athletics and lifting barbells at night, he grew into lean muscular manhood. At graduation in 1954 he earned not only a silver medal for class excellence but also the American Legion award for the best essay on Americanism.

"Why is it," he wrote, "that some citizens do not seem to realize that one of the greatest goals in life is the fight for the safety of our democracy and free way of life?"

He believed it so deeply that he passed up a four year scholarship elsewhere to enroll at Fordham University; its ROTC program offered him an opportunity to become a U.S. Army Officer. After graduation he went through a gruelling special-service course to become an airborne—ranger. Then it was off to Hawaii for Chris, where he was commissioned a second lieutenant. There too he was joined by a bride, petite blue eyed Eleanor Scott.

'Chris in 1962 took a 30-day observation tour in Vietnam. He

was staggered by the communist terrorism he saw and kept insisting that he be allowed to go back. Finally he got his way. Now the father of two boys—Michael, three, and Stevie, two—he left for Vietnam in September 1964.

The post war generation of American youth were not insensitive to the link between America's economic affluence and her decisive role in the international arena. Idealism that was based on socio-economic and political stability saw the need to express itself in international terms. Confidence in America's role in a super-power led to the concomitant, America's need to assert herself outside her borders, to determine the future of world events and actively shape them.

"I firmly believe in the fight. No solution is so damning as to allow the communists to seize more men, women and children here. Those Vietnamese who care don't want a neutral slavery. They want the free choice of their future. And this can occur only if you and I see a purpose for the fighting—to help these people live and grow free. This country, like our own in 1776, must receive help."

This commitment to a way of life brought with it a tremendous degree of discipline, dedication and self sacrifice. American youth were conscious of the price that they would have to pay to safeguard their ideals—in Vietnam at that time there was a spontaneous willingness to pay that price.

"Captain O' Sullivan with an armed escort drove 20 miles from Duc Pho to attend Mass and to post a letter. My dear sons, Tonight is Christmas Eve, and the lonesomeness may be eased if I talk to you. I cannot protect you from all the hurts of the world, but I can try to protect you from one of the major dangers. And that is why tonight we are thousands of miles apart."

Faith in a material society, ultra confidence in the assurance of one's own morality and the justification of military force in a distant land were all overwhelmed by this sense of mission.

In March Chris wrote to Eleanor: "Here away from the phony atmosphere of the hotel heroes there is little sham. I've been afraid many times, but I can think, advise

and command in spite of it. But I now have fear as a constant companion."

Martyrdom was the only even if senseless conclusion to this American idealism. "As May 1965 drew to a close, Captain O' Sullivan was ordered to Saigon and rest. On Saturday the 29th, a hundred Vietnamese and three Americans were trapped by the Vietcong in a nearby hamlet. One was Lt. Donald Robinson, who had served with Chris virtually the entire time he had been in Vietnam. Late that night he wrote a letter to Eleanor, and next morning he led a Ranger counterattack. Suddenly his 300-man force was in grave trouble. More than 800 Vietcong sprang from hidden jungle tunnels. In a field of death, Chris helped carry off the wounded and, by radio, directed air strikes. He warned that ammunition was running dangerously low. Then it happened. Charging up a hill with Sgt. Willie D. Tyrone, he was hit by shrapnel. The sergeant carried him to the hill-top and radioed back news of his death."

"The final letter arrived: "Dearest Eleanor, Tonight my heart is Sadder than it has ever been. Tomorrow we are going to look for Don and his two sergeants. I promised you I would be overly cautious now that I am 'rotating' so soon. I cannot keep that promise. Don has a young wife and a three-year-old daughter. If he was looking for me, you would want him to do the best job he could. By the time you receive this letter, it will be all over one way or another."

Heroism of this sort could only be based on unflinching confidence in a stable society—it is only such a society that breeds gallantry. Moreover it is only in such a society that one can selfconsciously perceive the needs of others.

"At sunset August 11 on a parade ground at Governor's Island, Eleanor O' Sullivan, her children by her side, stepped forward. On behalf of her husband she accepted six medals, including the Distinguished Service Cross for 'extraordinary heroism' last April 19, the Silver Star for 'gallantry in action' on May 30, the Purple Heart for his mortal wounds.

"A cannon boomed. The clear notes of taps echoed across the field. As the First Army Band played 'the Star-Spangled Banner', Stevie and Michael saluted with the soldiers."

But what of Stevie and Michael's generation, or for that matter a more relevant generation sandwiched between them and their heroic fathers who never returned from Vietnam. Is their idealism the same?

No. More than anything else in the Western Hemisphere, the Vietnam war altered the idealistic outlook of American youth. Chris O'Sullivan did not die alone in Vietnam, he died along with a generation and its sacred ideals.

The realisation dawned gradually that increasingly applied military force could nor easily bring about the defeat of the liberation forces in Vietnam—this set a poser for American youth. This brought on a double shock for American idealism. First it questioned the effectiveness of military power which was merely an ancillary of economic prosperity. And second it questioned the morality of involvement in a war halfway across the world.

The new generation which began to ask these questions could not get tangible answers to them. Idealism thus gave way to fatalism. Stripped off their confidence in the affluent American society, they broke out and rebelled against it in an anarchic attitude. The rise of the counter-culture of the permissive society was the result.

American youth could no longer relate not merely to their parents; the generation gap was replaced by a cultural gap. The recourse to drugs, particularly the psych chemicals was symptomatic not of rebellion alone, but of fatalism. The degeneration of large sections of American youth in this period of cultural disintegration was the immediate outcome.

The Tet offensive in Vietnam in 1968, the bombing of the North and the halting of this bombing, crystallised for this generation the absurdity, hopelessness and immorality of the war. Open defiance of a theatrical nature: the burning of draft cards, desertion and student riots followed this period of chaos.

The rock festival at Woodstock is the mirror of this period. It brought American youth together under one banner: Peace. But as yet this peace could not be conceived of in concrete political term or as an outcome of a real political ideology.

The campaign that built around George McGovern during the presidential elections in 1968, personalised to some extent coherent political approaches. But a generation still reeling under the shock of the war could not figure out for itself a new idealism that could stand the test of reality.

Heroism was neither absent nor lacking in his intervening period. The militancy of the anti-war movement, the international solidarity that it evoked and the courage of the deserters and dissentors are all well substantiated. The incident in 1970 when National Guardsmen opened fire on students at Kent State University epitomises this period.

It was finally with the dawn of the seventies that one could see that American youth had moved out of a period of fatalism and begun to conceive a meaningful political role for themselves. Of times during the last few years there has been a nostalgic harking back to the 1950s. This was a period

when there were plenty of problems in the world—Korea, Suez, Hungry, an economic recession—but the youth were largely indifferent. "All we worried about were cars, records and who broke up with whom."

This anti-climax has noticeably manifested itself in lifestyles—clothes and music. Elvis Presley was back with 'Burning love', Ricky Nelson with 'My Ding-a-Ling' and 'Garden Party'. Other mementos of the fifties including Fats Domino, Bill Haley and Chuck Berry.

Nevertheless it was apparent that American youth had once again begun to regain confidence in themselves, they were once again aware of and relating to the world around them, they were once again seeing a sense of mission in their activity—they had attained political consciousness. New idealism had replaced the old.

At Madison Square Gardens in August 1971 George Harrison of the Beatles staged *The Concert for Bangla Desh*. The proceeds of the concert, the three volume record, the two cassette tape and Saul Swimmer's film version were donated to UNICEF for the children of Bangla Desh. But its significance went far beyond the charity aspect. This performance sent shock waves not only throughout America but into the world outside as well. *American youth were able to grasp in clear terms the issues involved in Bangla Desh—then East Pakistan—and react in a constructive and positive manner to the situation.* This political awareness, dramatized by the concert was a historic landmark.

George Harrison introduced not only western celebrities like Leon Russel, Eric Clapton, Ringo Starr and Bob Dylan; but also the oriental musician Ravi Shankar.

There was incredible rapport established between audience and artiste, on a scale not witnessed since Woodstock. The difference was this; idealism had reemerged at Madison Square Gardens. Performers like Billy Preston underwent emotional hysteria on stage as he intoned that "we should love one another because that's the way God planned it."

In the end George Harrison himself sang the epic ballad 'Bangla Desh'. This song which pleaded 'for the people of Bangla Desh'

and the other songs as well, were more than popular compositions; they were elements of a Mass in which the people of Bengal—and in a larger sense the people of the Third World—are the Eucharist. And one could almost sense that a bewildered American generation, despairing after Vietnam, was reaching out to clasp the Chalice.

LETTER

* Racism

Sir,

The Non Aligned family are unanimous in condemning racism to the hilt in whatever form in any corner of the world. In this context, I would like to recall a rather unpleasant incident I experienced recently when on a holiday at Polonnaruwa. I visited the hamlet of Dimbulagala with the family members of my Sinhalese friends who were my hosts. This village inhabited by a Veddah community is also referred to as the Ancient City. There is also a Rock Temple which is visited by many pilgrims. The Reverend Incumbent of this temple received us warmly, introduced us to the leader of the Veddah community whose language was translated to us in Sinhala. Then he very faithfully recalled the history of the Temple in question, and gave us a discourse on the life of the Veddahs in the village and their origins.

Quite suddenly and unexpectedly thereafter the Thero descended from the sublime to racist politics. He invoked those present to beware of the Tamils who he said were a danger to the existence of the Sinhala race. He went further and mentioned that this country should be freed from this minority if it were to prosper. I left this village with a heavy heart and with dismal thoughts of the havoc that this kind of talk could be causing among the innocent and religious pilgrims who go there to worship. The call for communal amity by our Prime Minister will come to naught if such pockets of racism are not requested firmly to do some honest rethinking for the greater good of this country.

James N. Benedict.
108, Manning Place,
Colombo 6.
19.8.76

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UNP, Mulkirigala And Nonalignment

IS IT NOT A FACT that a large number of even government supporters in Colombo and elsewhere had expected the UNP candidate to romp home victory in the Mulkirigala by-election? That the question that was hotly discussed was about the majority the UNP would score? That the minimum majority the UNP was expected to score was in the region of 5,000? That there were UNP hotheads who believed that the majority might even be as much as 10,000? That UNP stalwarts also believed that the "two other Rajapakses"—one a brother of the SLFP candidate—would successfully undermine the chances of the SLFP candidate? That the UNP had begun to display the same old cocksure arrogance reminiscent of the days of Sir John Kotelawela? That this cocksureness had even made the UNP recklessly throw off the mask it had assumed to give itself a new image? That the UNP had for sometime endeavoured to show that it was a new party, with a new programme, and a new soul? That the acts of commission and omission of the Government had made it possible for the UNP to make many think that the party of the old diehards had turned over a new leaf? That the total weakness and ineffectiveness of governmental propaganda had also enabled the UNP to make some headway in this matter? That with soaring prices and increasing shortages of essentials, the UNP had also been able to mount an effective propaganda campaign that it was the true successor to the radical politics of Bandaranaike? That in more recent weeks, however the UNP has shown its cloven foot, in a way that has completely unnerved many who had begun to sing paeans of praise about the new UNP? That the UNP first began to show its old colours in its comments and reportage of the the Nonaligned Summit and the Nonaligned Movement? That up to the time of the Conference, the UNP had taken the highly patronising attitude that it "was all for nonalignment and the nonaligned movement", but

with the reservation that "too much money" was being unnecessarily spent on the logistics and arrangements for the conference? That with the Conference drawing nearer, the true face of the UNP became clear? That the UNP propaganda was clearly intended to de-stabilise the Conference? That it was intended to give a new direction to the Nonaligned Movement to please the West which still wanted to save the vestiges of colonialism and imperialism as well as racism in Africa and elsewhere? That UNP propaganda echoed the outpourings of certain countries which, according to traditional nonaligned thinking and logic, were directed towards veering the nonaligned movement in a new direction seeking accommodation with the West to combat and defeat the growing radicalism in Asian, African and Latin American countries? That one had only to meet delegates, observers and pressmen from the overwhelming majority of these countries, during the Conference, to realise that the prevailing sentiment ran completely counter to the propaganda line of the pro-west countries especially Singapore and Malaysia? (That Indonesia had played a different role from that of Malaysia and Singapore because it was more aware of sentiment in the Third World?) That the developments and happenings in Africa and Latin America—even as reported by Reuters and other Western media—also made it amply clear that the representatives one met in Colombo truly reflected sentiments in their countries? That Singaporean and Malaysian delegations had placed much hope in "moderate" African leaders like Kaunda to come to their rescue in seeking to dilute the nonaligned movement and to de-stabilise it? That with developments in Africa, the temper of African logic was something some ASEAN countries failed to understand? That even countries like Liberia and Zaire, which in earlier Conferences had sought to dilute the movement and to give it, if possible, an anti-radical and anti-communist twist, played a low key role this time? That this was because, as one African delegate had explained, of the momentum generated by the OAU? That the UNP papers had relied on the anti-Soviet propaganda barrages in the Chinese *Hsinhua* news bulletins to support its argu-

ments? That in the first phase of UNP propaganda it had sought to rely completely on Peking's Maoist logic? That whilst it quoted Peking it failed to point out that many of these articles only echoed what the local Maoist paper *Janawegaya* had been propagandising for weeks in Colombo? That the UNP viciously attacks the *Janawegaya* and its associates on a local basis, but it was willing to cite its echo (or source) from Peking in order to de-stabilise the Nonaligned Conference? That this dual policy of hypocrisy made it clear as to what the UNP was after? That all patriotic-minded Sri Lankans, even those who had no use for the SLFP and the UF, did not want the country to be made to look foolish in the eyes of the Third and the Non-aligned World and the UNP propaganda a la *Hsinhua* upset them a great deal? That after the Conference got under way, the UNP switched its propaganda to the utterances of Singaporean and Malaysian leaders? That these leaders echoed in sophisticated "new" language, (idiom and terminology), the old cold war anti-red calls made by men like Sir John Kotelawela in Bandung and elsewhere? That students of history will know that just as Sir John has been put into the cold storage of history these leaders of Malaysia and Singapore represent only a transient and transitional phase of politics in Southeast Asia? That the UNP reliance on these warriors of the contemporary vagaries of the cold war has revealed the UNP in its true colours? That UNP has also resurrected Dullesian phrasology about "fellow travelling" and the like in order to persuade the readers of its papers to think that the non-alignment of Mrs. Bandaranaike was "anti-national"? That if the UNP lost Mulkirigala it has only itself to blame? That unless it's turning over a new leaf is genuine and truly representative of Sri Lankan sentiment—consistent with the logic of the Third World—the UNP will make no progress towards making people think that it has developed a new image? That the latest reactions of the UNP to Non-alignment (pretending it was "neutrality" to enable western domination to continue) has ended myth that the new UNP was for "nonalignment" (which is based on unrelenting anti-imperialism)?



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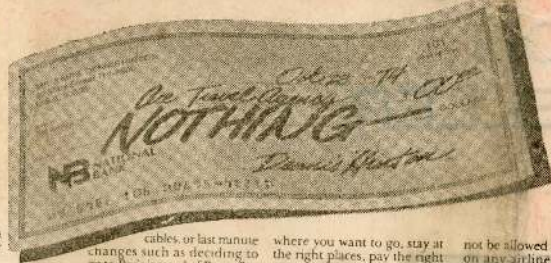
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Who pays?

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

Why? Economics. Convenience. There are more than 3,000 travel agencies in the U.S. Most airlines, for example, couldn't afford to have 3,000 convenient sales offices around the country. This way, the airlines pay the travel agent when he delivers passengers, and don't pay him when he doesn't. Fair enough.

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

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

Because he wants you back. So he'll try to sell you the most expensive travel package he can, right? But he can get you a lot more for your buck than you yourself can arrange. Because that's his business.

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

Who should use a travel agent?

Business travelers. Vacation travelers. Kids being sent to Grandmothers. Grandmothers. Anyone who travels.

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

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

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

Unless your Uncle Harold is a travel agent.

Chances are, your travel agent has been where you want to go. Maybe your uncle has too.

But the travel agent has the latest facts. He can tell you that the new Paris Plaza is now under new management and is nothing like the Paris Plaza Uncle Harold stayed in a month ago. Because it's his business to know.

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

And how do Uncle Harold's qualifications stack up?

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

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

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

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

Or 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, 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 more and more agents. Giant corporation agents. Specialists in business and particular countries. Package tour specialists.

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

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