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# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



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# Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER, this week, we have a picture which is not the usual run of cover pictures we have used. Our pictures have generally been candid shots of people or scenes in Sri Lanka, but this week's picture is an amateur effort with a comely model and an attractive vase. It was not made in a photo-lit studio, in which event, the dark shadow could have been avoided, but the photographer insists that the beauty of the photograph is enhanced by the rather alluring shadow. Readers will ask why we have chosen to display this picture this week. The reason is simple: Sri Lanka has been on show in the month of August during the Nonaligned Summit Conference, and this picture, we felt, symbolised the impact this country has made on those who attended the Conference. The beauty of the land, her people and her products (like ceramics) have become wellknown not only among the nonaligned but also in the rest of the world which had its eyes and ears focussed on Sri Lanka through TV, radio and the press. There is no doubt that, whatever the shortcomings, the Prime Minister and her team were able to make a grand job of organising the Conference in a way that has won universal admiration. The glory would have been all the greater if the bureaucrats, who were entrusted with the job of handling the foreign press, radio and TV media, had not fallen down on their job. Foreign media personnel left the country with a bitter taste in their mouths about the way they had been treated by the bureaucrats especially at the Press Centre. Even the staid and always mild *The Ceylon Catholic Messenger* of August 29, 1976, in an editorial discussing the Nonaligned Summit conference went on to say this about the Press Centre and the manner in which foreign pressmen were handled: ".....Perhaps it was this attitude of ghettoism and cliquism.....which led to the disgraceful way in which the foreign correspondents of the Mass Media were treated during the Fifth Nonaligned Summit Conference. Though there was much back-scratching going on over the National Radio and the Nationalised Press, tremendous damage had been done to the image of Sri Lanka, in the eyes of the world Mass Media. We admit that the Western press is slanted, defensive, pro-capitalistic and sometimes lacks objectivity. The flow of world news is mainly from the North to South and from West to East and not vice-versa. We who are in the Southern hemisphere and in the Eastern countries are flooded with facts and figures that the Western news agencies manipulate as news. This is precisely why India proposed setting up of a nonaligned Press Pool to disseminate more Third World News. In her opening address even our Prime Minister referred to Western Mass Media as a powerful weapon which tyrannises the Third World countries. In spite of all this the Western news media was interested in reporting the Nonaligned Conference. Perhaps they could not ignore the voice of two thirds of the world. Some journalists were not even allowed to watch the deliberations. They were stacked in an air-conditioned press room to watch the conference in closed circuit television. The Press Centre was full of relations of the people in charge..... Already many remarks have been published on the derogatory way the world journalists were treated in Sri Lanka. A BBC correspondent watching the proceedings over close circuit TV had remarked: 'As far as I am concerned there is no conference. The fact of its happening is one based on trust.' A French journalist, prevented from entering a committee meeting, had remarked that he might as well take the first flight from the BIA. The reply of the Sri Lankan official was pungent and caustic: 'Would you like me to fetch an international flight schedule, Sir?'. This is how we treated our guests from the World Mass Media who can mar our image with a stroke of the pen. Do we still boast about our traditional hospitality?....." *Tribune* endorses every word and every sentiment expressed in the *Messenger's* editorial. We have said it before, and we will continue saying it; the Press Centre and the way media personnel (local as well as foreign) were treated by our bureaucratic media dictators was a disgrace. If the journalists who were inconvenienced, humiliated and sometimes insulted, by these dictators indulge in snide, harsh and even unfair comments about the way things are done in Sri Lanka, this country has only to thank these dictators for it. This image the foreign media has carried away, and which they will share with their colleagues, will do untold harm to Sri Lanka over the years. Those in the seats of power who have been shouting themselves hoarse about the image projected abroad about Sri Lanka should have taken the necessary precautionary steps to prevent our mass media dictators from running amok in the way they did.

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Southeast Asia And  
The Summit

IT IS ONLY NOW, nearly three weeks after the Nonaligned Summit Conference concluded its deliberations, that it is possible to sit back and examine some of the highlights of the Conference.

Whilst the overwhelming majority of nonaligned countries have expressed total satisfaction with the progress recorded at Colombo, two countries — Singapore and Malaysia — have developed serious reservations about the Non-aligned Movement and the conclusions reached in Colombo. Their dissatisfaction has found expression in comments in newspapers in their respective countries. And these comments have been displayed with a great deal of fanfare in *The (UNP) Journal* of August 27 and August 31 (more will no doubt follow in subsequent issues). Brief reports about the reactions of Singaporean and Malaysian leaders have also appeared in some of our daily papers. These were based on despatches by international news agencies.

The *(UNP) Journal* of August 27, after stressing the need for the real "truth about the summit," went on in an introductory note in bold type, to proclaim with messianic fervour as follows:

The Press of Sri Lanka is free. Free to praise the Government. It should also be free to utter the TRUTH. The people of Sri Lanka should be also free to know the TRUTH. The Non-aligned Movement cannot thrive unless the World and Sri Lanka also know the TRUTH about it. Evidently the World outside Sri Lanka knows many things that happened at the Summit, which the people of Sri Lanka did not know.

Then, the Introductory Note went on to say:

We publish two of them. The publication of news must be truthful. Comment can be free.

Government-owned Mass Media suppressed view-points at the Summit critical of Communist insurgency.

The statements of the Prime Ministers of Singapore and Malaysia at the Summit which, are reproduced below are of special relevance to all Non-Communist countries of South and South East Asia, like Sri Lanka. They both ask in today's context the same question first raised by Sir John Kotelawela, UNP Prime Minister, at Bandung in 1955.

Why such fellow travelling on the part of the Government owned Mass Media? Are the controlling positions in the News Departments particularly of the SLBC and Lake House in the hands of the Janavagaya?

It will be seen that what the *(UNP) Journal* was worried about was that "viewpoints at the Summit critical of Communist insurgency" were suppressed by the Government media. To support this charge, the *Journal* published the "statements" of the Prime Ministers of Singapore and Malaysia at the Summit, and then declared with gusto that both these gentlemen "ask in today's context the same question first raised by Sir John Kotelawela, UNP Prime Minister, at Bandung, in 1955." The *(UNP) Journal* seems to have forgotten the fate that overtook Sir John, and one hopes that the two PMs do not share Sir John's fate.

The *(UNP) Journal* published a press report about the message Mr. Lee Kuan Yew had sent to the Summit Conference:

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew said in a message here that if the non-aligned movement was to stay united, its members must be prepared to live with the different economic and political systems of its many members. His message was circulated in the Fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference.

"We cannot tolerate interference in the internal affairs of any member, especially if help to 'revolutionary peoples' means active assistance to insurgent groups to overthrow established government in order to impose a Marxist system of government", the Prime Minister said.

Mr. Lee expressed disappointment over a Laotian draft amendment, which—among other things—referred to the Communist victories in Indochina, "as an example for the revolutionary movements and struggles against neo-colonialism in South-east Asia", that is, for these coun-

tries to achieve "genuine independence".

"It makes me wonder which countries in South-east Asia are not 'genuine' in their independence and should be helped to become 'genuine' he said. "Is this a precursor of the kind of double definition of independence which will classify a Marxist state as genuinely independent and the others as being not genuine, and so their peoples are to be supported to overthrow by violence established democratic government" he asked.

Mr. Lee said he had always believed Laos to be genuinely independent country, at least since 1962 when at Geneva its neutrality and sovereignty were guaranteed in an international agreement signed, among others by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the United States.

"But times have changed. Some countries, like Yugoslavia, have demonstrated that, sincere independence and non-alignment by living in Peace with the very different political and economic systems of its neighbours, Albania, Austria, Italy and Bulgaria. I hope Laos will get over their urge to proselytise and not help in the forced conversion of their neighbours" he said.

The *(UNP) Journal* then published a short press report of the Malaysian PM's statement: Malaysian Prime Minister Hussein Onn has warned the non-aligned movement against being trapped into supporting dissident insurgent groups posing as national liberation movements to fight against lawfully-established governments according to the "Straits Times". He also criticised those who opposed Malaysia's efforts to have Southeast Asia declared a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, reports SEAH CHIANG NEE.

Speaking on the third day of the Fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference, Datuk Hussein started off by congratulating the reunification of the two Vietnams, and said Malaysia hoped a reunified Vietnam would soon be admitted into the United Nations.

Malaysia, he said, supported national liberation movements, which were fighting for self-determination and independence from colonial rule, foreign domination and occupation. But, he added, "we should not, wittingly or unwittingly, be dragged or trapped into supporting dissident

or insurgent groups calling themselves or identifying themselves as national liberation movements which are fighting against lawfully established governments in countries which have already achieved national liberation and independence".

It is difficult to understand why *The (UNP) Journal* relies so heavily on short press reports when the full speech of the Malaysian PM and the Singapore PM's statement were available in Colombo. But the UNP Journal seems only interested in just one point made by these Prime Ministers which brings them into the fateful company of Sir John.

The *(UNP) Journal* also published another news item from some Malaysian paper (unnamed) under the heading MOST UNHEALTHY TREND—HUSSEIN.

Malaysian Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn, returned from the Colombo summit with the impression that some members of the non-aligned movement took advantage of the conference to propagate their ideologies.

These countries also used the conference to persuade members to to condemn at every opportunity a particular country for all the world's problems, he said.

Speaking to reporters, the Prime Minister said this was most unhealthy and it was at variance from the concept of non-alignment. "Unless this trend is checked, I fear the movement will fall into disrepute even in the eyes of the members themselves", he said.

But even greater prominence was given to an interview given by Singapore's Foreign Minister, Mr Rajaratnam, on his return. This was spread out on the whole of the top half of the *Journal*.

Foreign Minister S. Rajaratnam, of Singapore, who has returned home from the Fifth Non-Aligned Conference in Colombo, described the Summit as inconclusive, and lacking in direction and unity. So states Philip Lee in the *'Straits Times'*. Speaking to newsmen at the airport he said that although the conference provided a lot of debate and gave delegates a better insight into the various problems afflicting non-aligned countries, it did not seem to have a sense of direction. This situation was unlike the early days of the non-aligned movement when there existed a universal unifying

factor among members—that of freeing themselves from colonial control. Today, there is no longer a single over-riding problem to keep us united and to give us a common purpose." Mr. Rajaratnam said.

He added: "Well, one had hoped that economic problems to which we are all in one form or another subject, would have provided this unifying role and, therefore, kept our speeches and our decisions within bounds. But for some reason or another, although everybody referred to economics as one of the major problems, nobody came out with any concrete and satisfactory solution—a general approval applicable to all countries.

"When I last left the conference even the economic committee, as far as I understand, could not give firm conclusions apart from the statement of principle, if it can be called a statement of principle, that the rich countries should help the poor ones. But how do you get rich countries to help the poor ones, if they (the rich) don't want to help, and how can some countries get investments from the rich countries especially when they make a presence of confrontation against Western countries". Mr. Rajaratnam asked.

On the positive side, the conference enabled a growing number of countries to meet and exchange views or a great variety of problems. "But in terms of solutions, nothing has generally emerged. No major directive was in sight as to how non-aligned countries would cope with political and economic problems with the great powers," he said.

On the controversial Laotian proposal to amendment of the draft political of declaration the conference, Mr. Rajaratnam said Singapore took strong exception to it. He said that amendment propounded that since the historic victory of the Indo-chinese people, a new "balance of forces" had emerged, which suggested that there were now two contending forces in the region—an idea Singapore did not accept. The Laotian suggestion that their forces were now fighting for social justice, freedom and democracy in the region implied that there was none before. This is not a correct doctrine" Mr. Rajaratnam said. He said what followed from this was that somebody should therefore, liberate the countries and this was the thesis Singapore rejected.

The *(UNP) Journal* was at pains to show that the Singaporean and Malaysian MPs were one with UNP (and Sir John Kotelawela—the newly resurrected hero of the new "image" UNP). But, it did not give its readers any idea of what Singapore's and Malaysia's real grievance were with the Non-aligned Conference.

A report by Denzil Peiries in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of September 3 entitled BATTLE OVER ASEAN'S PEACE ZONE gives some of the background (from the viewpoint of the Hong Kong weekly) of the problem that disturbed Singapore and Malaysia.

"Like Chou En-lai at his Asian debut in Bandung in 1955, delegates of unified Vietnam, appearing for the first time at a non-aligned conference, told the political and economic committees that they had come to seek common ground, not to emphasise differences. But there the comparison ends. Chou En-lai charmed Bandung with such a superb public relations performance that anti-communist hardliners such as the Philippines and Turkey urged United States secretary of state John Foster Dulles to revise his obstinacy on Quemoy and Matsu and begin a dialogue with China. By contrast, Vietnam, trailing behind Laos, caused confusion and dismay by challenging the credentials of Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries. The group, they insinuated was an American operation. And they torpedoed the ASEAN declaration on making Southeast Asia a peace zone.

"As an example of political and public relations blundering, the Vietnamese and Laotian position was unmatched. The Malaysians were particularly alienated—it was their late Premier, Tun Abdul Razak, who steered the idea of a zone of peace and neutrality around the suspicion of Vietnamese ambitions expressed by Thailand and the Philippines, and past the caution of Singapore Premier Lee Kuan Yew. Laos demarcated the limits to the non-alignment professed by the communist states of Indochina. The Laotians insisted that no neutrality was possible between socialism and capitalism, although they did not emphasise unduly their ideological difference or the superiority of the Marxist way of life.

"Instead Vietnam's Premier Pham Van Dong planted a time-bomb: 'We, the non-aligned,' he said, 'are inheritors of the most brilliant civilisations, which have considerably contributed to the march forward of humanity: we are bearers of the most beautiful spiritual values which the modern world needs more than ever. It is in these conditions that we non-aligned countries are going together to the struggle for the materialisation of the noble objectives of our movements. In claiming the traditional spiritual values of the non-aligned as part of their heritage, the Vietnamese communists have deviated a long way from Karl Marx who rejected religion (the foundation of Asian and other Third World spiritual values) as the 'opium of the masses.' The Soviet Union turned churches into museums: the Chinese disowned the values of their ancient culture. The message Dong apparently intended to convey to the intelligentsia of the Third World, troubled until now by an 'either-or' choice between Marxism and traditional values, is that the Vietnamese synthesis is an acceptable ideology for revolutionaries. Hanoi may be signalling its role as the new papacy for Asian and other Third World radicals.

"Both Dong and the Laotian President Prince Souphanouvong warned of the futility of developing countries expecting generous concessions from the developed world: 'By nature, the neo-colonialist powers will never, of their own free will, yield to the non-aligned countries struggle for economic independence. But Dong conceded: 'Of course, in a world as it is, we should develop economic relations with developed capitalist countries provided that these relations conform to our independence, sovereignty and needs for development.' By contrast, Cambodia, the hermit of the Indochinese communist states, preferred total self-reliance. President Kheuv Samphan rejected any collaboration with the developed countries or aid from them. When Cuba called for reparations and an aid programme for the 'war-torn countries,' Cambodia dis-associated itself from the list of beneficiaries.

"Both Laos and Vietnam favoured expansion of relations with the socialist countries for the economic redemption of the Third

World. Dong argued that the growth of the socialist countries had weakened the "imperialist" monopoly of world markets. Vietnam was an active lobbyist for the Soviet Union against the non-aligned resolution blaming Moscow as well as Washington for tensions in the Indian Ocean. It wanted the phrase 'great power rivalry' excised and asked: 'In what way has Moscow harmed the non-aligned nations? It has on the contrary, helped anti-colonialist movements.' Laos was the hardliner. It moved an amendment to the draft resolution on establishing a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia with the intention of eliminating the terms 'ASEAN proposal' and 'the Kuala Lumpur declaration'. Although Vietnam has put aside its scepticism of ASEAN, Laos has not abandoned its suspicion that ASEAN is a covert American agency for anti-communist intervention.

"Malaysia protested that the ASEAN resolution had been accepted by the 1973 Algiers conference. The Vietnamese delegation in the 'political committee which examined the amendment retorted: 'Since then you allowed the Americans to bomb Indochina from bases in ASEAN countries.' However, Laos made it clear that it was set on improving relations with the countries in the region. Its amendment wanted the conference to express pleasure at 'the establishment of bonds of friendship and good neighbourliness between the states in that region..' Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn told the conference that Malaysia had formulated the proposal because it was sensitive to Southeast Asia's strategic and economic importance. The proposal was designed 'to avoid or eliminate rivalry, competition, domination and exploitation by the big powers. If any member state present should feel disinclined to support the well-meaning proposal of Malaysia, then that member state cannot be said to be sincere and true to its pledge.'

"Non-aligned conference decisions are by consensus not majority vote. If compromise is impossible the contentious issue is shelved, as happened with the ASEAN declaration. The Indochinese had enough support from their ideological fellow-travellers to indicate that the conference was irreparably

split on the issue. Hussein Onn was too cultivated a personality to throw a tantrum but Malaysian resentment was voiced by Foreign Minister Tunku Richaudeen. Speaking after the political committee had sat from 10 am to dawn for three consecutive days in an effort to resolve this and other disagreements, he commented: 'To say that ASEAN is a military bloc is to test the intelligence of the non-aligned countries here.'

"Laos and Vietnam made the running on this issue: Cambodia was silent. The question arose whether they were carrying a flag for the Kremlin—Cambodia detests Moscow for its betrayal of the anti-Lao Nol forces—for the Soviet Union suspects ASEAN countries of preferring Peking to Moscow. Whatever their motivations the hurt given to Malaysia—which more than any ASEAN country has been for conciliation with the new Indochina—will force a reappraisal in Kuala Lumpur of the country's long-term strategy towards its communist neighbours. The assessment may be weighted towards suspicion of Indochinese communist intentions by the equivocal language used by Laos on 'the struggle for freedom.'

"Singapore was irked by the ambiguous Laos phrase 'struggle for freedom of all peoples' and the insinuation in the Laotian amendment that some Southeast Asian countries lacked 'genuine independence.' In a statement read to the conference, Premier Lee asked: 'Is this a precursor of the kind of double definition of independence which will classify a Marxist state as genuinely independent and the others as being not genuine and so their peoples are to be supported to overthrow by violence established democratic government?' Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik, speaking outside the conference, refrained from the alarmist view that revolutionary turmoil was implicit in the Laos terminology. While wishing that the disputed phrases were precisely defined, Malik thought that they were rhetorical hangovers from the communist struggle in Laos. In the final analysis, Malik forecast, radicalism would have to face reality; Dong already needed US assistance for reconstruction.

"Malik's soft line with Vietnam in the early stages of the deadlock

was possibly based on the expectation that the Vietnamese and the Laotians would set aside their suspicions. But Malik told the Review that the ASEAN declaration was an issue of no compromise for Indonesia. Indeed, the declaration was the ASEAN group's single major contribution to the politics of the conference and its excision belittled the group's role in the non-aligned movement. However, Malaysia, at least for the moment, is determined to look on the positive side. Some Malaysians recall Vietnam's stress at the conference

on its determination to pursue a policy of normalisation. A peculiarity of non-aligned conferences is that the public speeches of the dignitaries are meant for their home constituencies. In the committees, apart from the ASEAN issue, Vietnam showed sweet reasonableness and a readiness to co-operate with all the non-aligned regardless of ideology. Its intractability on ASEAN suggests an unresolved debate within its Party on the tactics of the US in Southeast Asia."

Whilst the Denzil Peiris piece cannot be said to be an analysis-in-depth, it is a fairly objective reportage of the discussions of the South east Asian problem at the Non-aligned Summit Conference. The Malaysian and Singaporean leaders (and Sri Lanka's *UNP Journal*) have over-simplified the matter into a straight black and white tussle against "Communist Subversion" (a la John Foster Dulles), but the problem cannot be reduced to such simplistic terms.  
(More About the Summit next week).

**SRI LANKA CHRONICLE**

**Aug. 23 — Aug. 29**

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.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 23:** Mr. Shirley Amarasinge, Sri Lanka's Permanent Representative in the UN, told the *Daily News* before his departure to New York after attending the Non-aligned Summit that the massive financial reserves in the hands of the richer Non-aligned and developing nations should be channelled into a reserve fund for the Third World; he further said the establishment of such a reserve fund would give the Third World the much-needed economic strength it now lacks and the oil rich countries can certainly do it—CDN. The Colombo Summit adopted the Sri Lanka proposal to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace—CDN. Foreign pressmen who worked at the Press Centre during the Non-aligned Summit reported that they lost several things: among items they reported lost were fountain pens, ballpoint pens, cigarette lighters and other items which the visiting journalists used while they reported the Summit from the Press Centre: a senior Police officer told the *Daily Mirror* there were more outsiders than journalists making use of the press centre and several people who worked at the centre brought in their relations, wives and children—CDM. Following the shortage of senior academicians, the Board of Governors of the University of Sri Lanka decided to re-employ or offer employment on contract to ex-academic staff now serving in foreign lands—CDM. Several essential items including mineral waters, tinned food, bar soap and Ayurvedic drugs will be brought under price control from today—CD. Following the attack on the cars of Mr. Amirthalingam, Joint Secretary of the TULF and Mr. Dharmalingam M.P. for Uduvil, Jaffna Police held an identification parade and one Police constable was interdicted: earlier Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, MP for Kankesanural and leader of the TULF, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister to

hold an impartial inquiry into incidents in which two Tamil leaders were attacked by a party of policemen when they went to the Jaffna prisons to receive some Tamil youths who were released from the prison: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will address three meetings at the Mulkirigala electorate tomorrow in view of the forth-coming by-election on August 27-DM. The *Aththa* in an editorial requested the government to pay same attention and work with the same concentration that it worked to make the Summit a success in the future domestic affairs: the paper further said if this is done the government will receive the same fame from the people of the country that it received from the various corners of the globe.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 24:** According to diplomatic sources Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will concentrate on solving the differences of opinions and other minor problems among the Non-aligned nations: these sources also said that many Non-aligned nations are of view that instead of taking their problems to the United Nations they should solve them among themselves and Mrs. Bandaranaike will concentrate on this in the capacity as Chairman Non-aligned nations—VK. Mr. R. Premadasa, First MP (UNP) Colombo Central, yesterday told a party meeting that the government should make the public know the benefits the country would get by holding the Non-aligned conference—VK. MPs of the Tamil United Liberation Front requested the Prime Minister to hold a top level inquiry into the recent incidents in the Jaffna peninsula: meanwhile, Jaffna Police said the peninsula is now calm and quite after Police reinforcements were brought into guard the area—VK. Government instructed the CID and the Exchange Control to investigate a coffee deal which was cancelled recently: government cancelled an order for 75 metric tons of coffee when a private firm was about to ship the stock much below the current market prices—CDN. On the instructions of Mr. Hector Kobbe-kaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, the USAWASAMA will provide employment to nearly 60,000 unemployed youths in the villages in estates around Kandy and Matale districts—CDN. Education Ministry said all schools in the Colombo North and South regions will reopen on September 6, after vacations and not on August 26 as announced earlier—CDN. The government relaxed all restrictions on tourists arriving in the country from tomorrow: earlier tourists arrivals were suspended owing to the Non-aligned Summit—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* listeners

of Sinhala service have complained that the SLBC failed to cover the proceedings of the Non-aligned Summit in a fitting manner and did not give the translations of speeches of several heads of states including that of Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike: several listeners posed the question whether certain officials of the SLBC tried to belittle the Non-aligned Summit—CDM. The Mahaweli Development Board will give lands to over 5000 landless families next month under the Mahaweli scheme—LD. Spare parts of motor vehicles will be brought under price control from next week: yesterday several more consumer items including soap, aerated waters and imported ayurvedic drugs were brought under price control—DM.

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25:** The *Daily News*, quoting informed sources, said that Sri Lanka is likely to be the venue of the conference of all Indian Ocean States next year: the date for the conference will be fixed at the Non-aligned Co-ordinating Bureau which will meet in New York next month: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will be in New York when the bureau meets: she will be in New York to address the UN general assembly: Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Prime Minister, addressing the by-election at MulKirigala yesterday said that even if Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, is elected Prime Minister in the 1977 general elections he will not be acceptable as President of the Non-aligned Movement because of the reactionary foreign policy of the UNP—CDM. Police reservists are said to have assaulted Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Joint Secretary of TULF, in a recent incident in Jaffna: the Jaffna Magistrate yesterday remanded two Police constables for allegedly shooting to death a clerk of the People's Bank, Chavakachcheri, when the latter was returning after worship from Nallur Kandaswamy temple—CDM. According to the *Virakesari* the Opposition Parliamentary Group will discuss the recent incidents in Jaffna: all night transport services in the Jaffna peninsula have been suspended and more Police reinforcements have been brought in: government cancelled all leave of service personnel in view of the situation in Jaffna: the Opposition will decide how to raise the matter in the NSA after consulting MPs of the TULF. The *Observer* of 23rd August carried a news item that three women in a statement to the paper praised the Prime Minister saying that since the Summit Conference the Premier has achieved international fame: the news story gave the names of the three women: but the *Daily News* of 23rd in its obituary column carried death notices of these three women inserted by their relations: the *Observer* news story did not mention anything about the social positions of these three women—ATH. The *Aththa* in an editorial referred to the *Observer* story and criticised the Editor for overlooking this news item and also criticised the working of the Lake House: the paper put the blame on the Editor for not inquiring as to who the three persons who had made statements to the *Observer* about the Prime Minister. Following rains the water levels at Kalatuwawa and Labugama reservoirs have risen—DM.

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 26:** Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Prime Minister, speaking at an election meeting in the MulKirigala electorate said that the people of Ruhunu always supported the progressive policies of this government and as such she never expected them to vote the UNP: she further said the benefits of the recently concluded Non-aligned Summit will be felt by

the people of Sri Lanka very soon: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP, said in another election meeting the UNP was not against the Non-aligned movement or its objectives but what it objected was that Sri Lanka could not have afforded to hold such a Summit in the country as it involved lot of expenditure on luxury items—CDN & CDM. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, LSSP MP for Agalwatte, told a meeting in Batticaloa that the LSSP was the only party that could solve the problems of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka—CDN. A report from a commentator of TASS regarding the Non-aligned Colombo Summit said that the Summit had dealt an irreparable blow to the plan of the Maoists to worm themselves into the ranks of the Non-aligned movement and then subordinate it to China's hegemonic interests—CDN. According to the *Virakesari* government banned all meetings, processions and other congregation of people in the northern province following recent incidents in the peninsula: government also decided to implement the emergency regulations actively in the Northern province: however for religious and funeral congregations, permission will be granted. The *Aththa* in an editorial praised the capabilities of the government party candidate and requested the voters of MulKirigala to vote for him: the paper further said a vote to the government party will ensure continuation of progressive policies in the hard times of the future. Police have been called into investigate a loss of cement worth seven lakhs of ruppees belonging to the State Building Material Corporation—DM. Mr. Amir Sheriff, City Coroner who was earlier arrested on suspicion by the Bribery Commissioner's Department, was yesterday released on a Rs. 2500/- bail by a Colombo Magistrate and asked to appear when noticed—LD.

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 27:** The by-election for the MulKirigala electorate will be held today and results are expected by 4 a.m. tomorrow: there are 57,330 voters in the electorate—11,460 more than the 1970 general elections: the contestants are Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse (SLFP), Mr. T. D. Francisu (UNP), Mr. Neil Rajapakse (Independent) and Mr. S. W. Rajapakse (Independent): in the general elections of 1970 Mr. George Rajapakse, (SLFP) won by a majority of 5,926 votes: it was a straight fight between him and Mr. Francisu of the UNP—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday introduced in the NSA a Maritime Zones Bill which when becomes law will empower the President to declare the limits of the territorial sea, the contiguous zone, the exclusive economic zone and the pollution prevention zone of Sri Lanka: Mrs. Bandaranaike requested the House to pass the Bill unanimously and said the proposed law was of permanent value to the people of Sri Lanka and was another milestone in the progressive legislation introduced by her Government: Mrs. Bandaranaike replying to a question by Mr. V. Dharmalingam, MP for Uduvil regarding the detention of 23 Tamilyouths said persons were detained in similar circumstances for security reasons in India as well: she said that after inquiries those youths who cannot be connected with any wrong doing will be released and others will be detained: she also said that the situation in the North was being watched by the government and action will be taken to safeguard the welfare of the people: she further said several buses were set on fire and the situation there was still not satisfactory but she could not say further for reasons of security: Mrs.



Bandaranaike said there was proof to believe that the Federal Party was behind some of the activities in the Northern province: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Justice, said the Tamil youths in prison were looked after well and those who are fasting were being fed: Mr. Stanley Senanayake, Inspector General of Police, went to Jaffna on Thursday and held a high level conference with security officers—CDM & VK. The MPs of the TULF were yesterday seen fasting in the premises of the NSA: earlier they sat on the steps of the NSA but later on the request of the Police they went into the House and started their fast: heavily armed Police was deployed in the premises of the House—VK. According to the *Daily Mirror* a major inquiry is on in the Lake House regarding the publication of interview by three dead persons regarding the Non-aligned Summit: journalists in the organisation fear that the management might convert the inquiry into a witch hunt to find scapegoats, and not the culprits: two senior editors have been already sent on compulsory leave and the journalist under whose name the interview was published has been removed from office. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Justice, was busy engaged in the preparation of the budget for the next financial year and several progressive measures were expected to be brought through the next budget—VK.

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 28:** Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party won the by-election held yesterday for the Mulikirigala seat in the NSA by a majority of 4001 votes over the UNP candidate Mr. Francis. Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse polled 27,110 votes and his closest rival Mr. T. D. Francis of the UNP polled 23,109 votes: Mr. Neale Rajapakse, brother of Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse who contested independently polled 750 votes and another independent candidate Mr. Senapala Rajapakse polled 297 votes: both independent candidates lost their deposits—CDN. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, appointed a special committee to probe the loss of a consignment of 43,000 bags of cement worth nearly Rs. 900,000 belonging to the State Building Materials Corporation: Police have already taken into custody three persons in this connection—CDN. A survey conducted by two economists of the Central Bank has revealed only a few CRA holders are able to maintain fairly large balances in their accounts and therefore the whole financial operation of the CRA scheme rests in the hands of a small group; there are only less than 2000 CRA holders which is a small percentage of the total number of exporters—CDN. Various tourists shops an duty free shops operated by the Ceylon Hotels Corporation netted in Rs. 264,000 in five days during the Non-aligned Summit conference—CDM. The *Aththa* in a news story referring to punishments meted out to three journalists of Lake House over the publication of an interview in the evening *Observer* about the Non-aligned Summit said journalists of the establishment are of the view a few high ups have schemed to oust these persons and involved them into this: the paper said the journalists of Lake House wanted an impartial inquiry held into this and the culprits found. Three High Court judges Messrs J. P. Morris Perera, Parinda Ranasinghe and C. L. T. Moonemalle have been appointed to the Trial-at-bar to hear the case against suspects arrested in connexion with the murder of Mr. Alfred Duraiappa, Mayor of Jaffna; seven suspects have already been arrested and two more

are said to be absconding: the trial is likely to come up within the next two or three weeks—VK. Mr. S. Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Workers Congress, and one of the leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front in a telegram to the Prime Minister requested her to release the Tamil youths taken into custody and who are being detained without trial for years: Mr. Thondaman said that youths who were found guilty in the insurgency trials are now being rehabilitated and it was unfair to detain the Tamil youths without bringing them before a court of law: Mr. Thondaman who quoted Prime Minister's speech at the Non-aligned Summit said it would be better to hold talks and solve problems than to accuse—VK. Mr. T. B. Llangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, will unveil a bronze statue of late Mr. Alfred Duraiappa, former Mayor of Jaffna, at the Jaffna Municipal Council premises: this will be followed by a public meeting—VK. Preliminary work in connexion with the Gin Ganga Development scheme has been started in the Baddegama electorate—DM. The Ceylon Trade Union Federation requested the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, to help solve the strike at M/s Lever Brothers Ltd which is now two months old—LD.

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 29:** Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in an interview to the *Sunday Observer* said that the victory of the SLFP candidate at the Mulikirigala by-election was an endorsement of the policies of the United Front Government: she further said that many people expected the government to lose this by-election because it had lost some other by-elections earlier but she was confident the Government would win this one: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP, when asked by the *Observer* about the results of the by-election said that he accepted the verdict of the people. According to the *Observer* following increase of water levels in the Kalatuwawa and Labugama reservoirs the supply of water to the city of Colombo will be made normal very soon. Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in a statement said that she thanked all Sri Lankans who worked hard to make the recently concluded Nonaligned Summit conference, a success—CO. Officials of Air Siam, the management partners of Air Ceylon who are currently in Sri Lanka said that after Air Ceylon operates a McDonnell Douglas DC-10 wide-bodied aircraft for its international services from November this year Air Siam hoped to introduce a Boeing 747 jumbo jet from March next year—TOCSI. University authorities told the *Times* there is no finality on the criteria for admission to the University of Sri Lanka for the next academic year: with the introduction of the admission quota principle the intake was 30 percent on merit and 70 percent on an area quota basis: but last year the Cabinet reversed this to be 70 percent on merit and 30 percent on an area quota basis. According to the *Aththa* it is understood a committee will be appointed to probe the activities of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation during the Non-aligned conference period especially the manner how it handled broadcasting and other connected matters at the height of the Summit. The Central Committee of the Communist Party (Peking wing) criticised the detention of Tamil youths in prison bringing them to court and the attack by Police on a Tamil leader in Jaffna—VK. A mass rally presided by the Prime Minister will be held at the Bogambara grounds, Kandy, on September 2, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Sri Lanka

Freedom Party: the rally will be preceded by four processions starting from all four entrances to the Kandy town—SM. Ministry of Local Government decided to hold elections to all local bodies in the island before the next general elections in 1977—SLD.

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## INTERNATIONAL DIARY

### Aug. 22 — Aug. 28

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 22:** In a press conference in Sri Lanka prior to her departure to India Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said that the Non-aligned Movement has successfully resisted efforts to weaken or disrupt the movement. During the last three days 33 people died in bloody riots in South Africa and on Friday churches were set on fire near Port Elizabeth by black rioters. President Ford agreed to debate on television with Jimmy Carter, the Democratic Presidential candidate: Mr. Carter happily accepted the offer made by Mr. Ford: observers said this move by Mr. Ford amounted to a gamble of his political life. South Korean President, Park Chung Hee, said his country would retaliate immediately if North Korean forces commit any illegal provocation once again. Reports from Paris said that French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac is likely to resign his post following differences with President Valery Giscard D'Estaing. An agreement was signed in Cairo to set up a 2,000 million dollar fund to help, bolster Egypt's economy: the fund is known as the Gulf Authority for Egypt and is financed by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar. A Dutch paper said a government inquiry to find out whether Prince Bernhard took bribes from the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation did not prove or disapprove the allegations against the Prince. President Mohamed Daud of Afghanistan who arrived in Islamabad from Colombo after attending the Non-aligned conference was given a rousing welcome by Pakistan: he will hold talks with Prime Minister Ali Bhutto to find a solution for the 30-year old strained relationship between the two countries.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 23:** President Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia on his return from Colombo after attending the Non-aligned Nations Conference told in his country the Summit was an event of exceptional historical importance: he said he was convinced that the Summit will have a permanent and direct impact on international relations. Mr. Adam Malik, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, on his arrival from the Colombo Summit told in Jakarta that he was surprised the conference had not accepted calls made by a number of non-communist nation in the region for a zone of peace in South East Asia: he also said that all parties were keen in winning only in the political fields and did not regard development. Bangladesh's Army Chief told that a new fighting force of 20,000 youths would be established to counter alleged Indian-aided guerrilla warfare and subversion. The American aircraft carrier Midway escorted by a guard missile cruiser and four frigates was sent from Japan to Korean waters following tension between North Korea and the US over an incident last week in which two US army officers were

killed by North Korean border guard. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda met Angolan President Agostino Neto in Lusaka and discussed with him his efforts to re-unite the former warring liberation parties in Angola: this is the second time in a week the two leaders met: earlier they met in Colombo during the Non-aligned Summit. Another earth quake hit the Central China region: and the magnitude and extend of damage is still not known. Leaders of South African black homelands denounced the white government's race policies and asked for an urgent meeting with Prime Minister John Vorster to discuss the widespread black unrest: meanwhile rioting in black township and shooting by Police continued.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 24:** An Egyptian airliner carrying 100 people, mostly non-Arabs was hijacked yesterday on a flight from Cairo to tourist centres in Upper Egypt: the hijackers included Libyans, Algerian Palestinians and the Middle East News Agency said the hijackers demanded the plane to be flown to Libya but as the pilot informed them about the shortage of fuel, the plane landed in Luxor: Libya denounced the hijacking as an irresponsible action endangering the lives of innocent people: Rumours in Cairo said that internal hostile to Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi were seeking to topple him: another report said Egyptian troops were massing on the border between the two countries: latest news reports from Cairo said Egyptian troops stormed the hijacked Egyptian boeing jet at Luxor airport, arrested the seven hijackers and set free all the passengers unharmed. A Foreign Ministry spokesman in Teheran said that Iran won't back the call by the Colombo Summit to enforce an oil embargo to France and Israeli: Israel buys most of its supply from Iran and the US. Former US treasury Secretary John Connally rejected a request by President Ford to become Chairman of the Republican Party National Committee: the reason for refusal, according to sources closer to Mr. Connally, is that it is too late to organise a winning campaign against Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter. Presidential candidate for the Democratic Party, Jimmy Carter, said that the killing by North Korean of two US officers at the border were "deliberate murder": he further said the US should show enough force that it will not happen again anywhere else in the world.

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25:** A joint communique issued by Tanzania and the Republic of Comores asked France to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Mayotte: the two countries also condemned big-power rivalries in the Indian Ocean. Officials in Britain said the country is faced with a worst drought since 1727 and they are studying the possibilities of importing water by ship from Scandinavia and distributing by tankers and lorries, if the need arise. North Korea yesterday charged that a second American naval task force including the aircraft carrier US Enterprise, was heading for Korean waters following last week's border clash. French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac had discussions with President Valery Giscard D'Estaing yesterday and observers believed that the Premier's future hung in balance: there is already speculation in the country that the President might appoint a new government and will sack the pro-Gaullist Premier. Economic specialists from OPEC countries met in Vienna on Monday and it is believed that on the conclusion of their meeting they are likely to recommend

a further price hike of oil. Egyptian Prime Minister, Mamdough Salem, supervised the rescue operation at Luxor airport where Egyptian troops stormed a hijacked Egyptian plane and captured all seven hijackers: officials said the entire operation took only ten minutes. Black workers in the Soweto township launched a general strike and the walk-out is likely to spread to other areas. Mr. Jimmy Carter, Democratic Party candidate for the November US Presidential election, said that if elected he would engage in more consultation with the allies of the United States than President Ford and Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger.

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 26:** French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's government handed in its resignation to President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. *Le Monde*, the French newspaper, said the accusations by Third World countries that the Western press have a hold on information are correct, the paper said this in one of its editorials. US Defence Department in Washington said that American B-52 bombers are having daily bombing practices over South Korea: a Pentagon spokesman said US B-52s had never had practices in Korea, earlier. US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger said that he is considering a second visit to South Africa to meet Prime Minister John Vorster: a spokesman for the State Department said US has announced that it does not consider the target date of 1978 for independence for Namibia (Southwest Africa) acceptable. UNICEF announced it would soon make an aid of US \$ 28,000 to Lebanon: the aid will be in medical and water purification supplies. According to *Tass* the decision of the United States to extend its control of the coastal waters to the 200 mile limit is likely to bring conflicts in US-Japan relations: this also has brought sharp disagreements at the current meetings of joint America-Japanese Fishery Commission. *Cosmos* of Salyut-5, the Soviet spacecraft, returned to earth after 48 days on board the orbiting station. *Tass* quoted reports reaching London as saying that Israeli Defence Minister, Peres, has said that Israeli settlements should be established in occupied Arab lands to prevent Arab guerilla attacks; according to Mr. Peres establishing of these settlements will prevent penetration difficult. Libya yesterday asked Egypt to close down its diplomatic bureau in Benghazi: according to reports this follows the closure of a Libyan bureau in Alexandria last week: Egypt closed the Libyan bureau following an explosion in a passenger train which killed eight people and left more than 50 injured: Egypt accused Libya for the explosion. A UN group of experts in a report said slavery and slave trade still exist in the world in all their forms in addition to practices that amount to slavery.

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 27:** Britain warned the people of the country to conserve water owing to the drought prevailing in the country and it also said that the water-cuts will be extended throughout winter. According to diplomatic sources ten Arab States have agreed in principle to old a conference to consider a decision at the Colombo Non-aligned Summit to enforce an oil embargo on France and Israel: many countries are waiting for the reaction of Saudi Arabia in this matter: Kuwait and Iran which is not a member of the Non-aligned movement reacted against the decision made in Colombo: France instructed its diplomatic missions in the Third World to explain to the leaders of the nations the circumstances under which France agreed to sell nuclear power to South Africa which is the cause

for the proposed oil embargo. US officials were busy studying a proposal by North Korea on changes in the demilitarized zone: but they said the are holding the North Koreans firmly responsible for the security of UN command personnel in the demilitarized zone. China referred to the friendly trends that were seen recently among South Asian countries and described this as a crushing blow to the super powers. United States attacked the recently concluded Non-aligned conference held in Colombo for its support to North Korea over the killing of two US officers in Panmunjon: a statement from the State Department said the resolutions and the Conference's closing declaration were tendentious and one-sided. President Ford named Texas lawyer James Baker as his campaign chief for the November election: he said Mr. Baker was responsible for his winning the Republican nomination. Mobs of Zulus in the black township of Soweto in Johannesburg attacked militant blacks and several incidents of killing, rape and looting were reported: several black families sought shelter in Police stations.

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 28:** Dutch government criticised Prince Bernhard over the Lockheed scandal: Prime Minister Joop Den Uyl told Parliament that the 65-year old Prince, husband of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, had harmed the interests of the State and shown himself open to dishonourable favours and offers: the special session of Parliament was broadcast live to the country. Following mass arrests by Police peace returned in the black township of Soweto in South Africa: so far 800 leaders of militant groups were arrested and Police are guarding the entire township. Fresh fights broke out in Lebanon yesterday casting doubts on the attempts by Arab League to bring another ceasefire in the troubled areas. US Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, said that the US would today give its answer on North Korea's proposed plan to avoid incidents in the demilitarized zones: he said US will insist on the security of personnel deployed in the areas. India's Foreign Minister, Y. B. Chavan, told Parliament that any conference of littoral states on the question of making the Indian Ocean a free zone will be of no practical use without the big powers participating in the conference. Sudan yesterday lifted its dusk to dawn curfew imposed since August 2, following a coup attempt in the country. Philippines announced the arrest of 19 suspected followers of the underground New People's Army (NPA) following the capture of their founder Bernabe Buscayno. *Tass* quoting *Reuter* said Zionist extremists encouraged by Tel Aviv authorities continued to colonise Arab lands: new establishments of Zionists were seen coming up in the Arab area under military supervision. Indian government had talks with representatives of US Exxon oil company on the purchase of latter's shares in the Hindustan Petroleum Company. Vietnam announced that Radio Hanoi and South Vietnam's Radio Giai Phong will merge into a single radio of reunified Vietnam beginning from September 1.

## MARGINALIA

## • Open Letter • Burn And Plant • Sovereignty

by Bryan de Kretser

**AN OPEN LETTER TO THE HON'BLE THE PRIME MINISTER AND TO THE HON'BLE THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION.** I have given some considerable thought to the emerging pattern of public life in Sri Lanka and have come to the conclusion that attention must be paid to the accepted tradition of the MP's letter as one of the most serious threats to human freedom and human dignity in this country.

The position stated briefly is that in regard to appointments in almost all sections of the economy, in the distribution of land, and in the approval of projects etc, the MP's recommendation has become absolutely necessary. I hold this to be a bad thing.

This country has only recently achieved freedom from foreign rule. There is ample evidence to suggest that in pre European periods a large number of our peoples were held in subjection to feudal sway, often exercised despotically and with little regard to human dignity. In any event, recent legislation, which has placed increasing areas of public life under the immediate control of the State means that we need to take special action to ensure the continuing development of every citizen to human integrity and freedom. Immediately, the establishing of District Councils and the decentralisation of finance make it especially necessary that we watch the provincial situations, because it is here that, through the MP and the Political Authority, the position could deteriorate.

Power corrupts, and the growing power of the Political Authority, and more especially the power of the person now characterised as the *punchi mantri* has to be watched, else we shall degenerate into feudal patterns of social relations again. In order to protect both the MP himself therefore and to give a real chance for true democracy to flourish, at the level of the village pump as it were, regional appointments and other necessities to development must

be removed from the direct control of the Members of Parliament.

The consequences of such a simple act will have great and important results for true development in Sri Lanka. First, it will encourage genuine initiative and healthy criticism at the regional level. Today, fear of earning the disfavour of the MP effectively prevents this from taking place. In the countryside therefore, on the one hand the "stooges" have a field day, and on the other, and equally disturbing, large numbers nurse grievances and plan revenge. A tremendous sense of freedom would flow if an open decision were taken to ban MP letters from this sense of freedom, ordinary folks would be liberated to participate in development projects and decision making.

From the point of view of the MP the release from having to give letters would relieve the man who wants to get a job done from the burden of having to hand out favours. More, instead of nursing his local position by the cheap way of handing out letters, he would be compelled to spend more time in his electorate, participating at an authentic human level with other folks in the renewal of the countryside. The existing practice in effect is a prostitution of the power which political office gives to a man who has been elected to hold office as MP.

**BURN THE LETTERS AND PLANT TREES.** There are two simple ways in which the people of this country can achieve real political and economic freedom. First, they must unitedly resolve to burn all the letters of MPs relating to jobs, lands, favours, etc. Indeed, we must demand of all Parties that the insidious threat to the freedom of every Sri Lankan be removed. Does this request seem disproportionate to the present tradition which requires that the MPs support and sponsor almost every appointment or favour? When we remember that through nationalization and the formation of numerous Corporations much of Sri Lanka has become State property, the serious threat to our freedom raised by the existing procedure becomes manifestly clear.

Instead, of the five hundred wealthy folks who dominated Sri

Lanka yesterday, ninety MPs of the ruling Party, now enjoy the power not merely to legislate and perhaps to inspire us, but via the MP's letter control every facet of the life of the average citizen, for most of us either are State employees or else desire to become so.

No, this is no unnecessary issue. It is vital to our freedom, to our much-vaunted sovereignty, that we the people of this land change the existing pattern.

MP's left to themselves, whatever Party they belong to, will not readily accede to this request, for it certainly reduces their power. But for their sakes too this measure must be enforced; for power corrupts, and near-absolute power which the MPs enjoy in their districts, could corrupt them near-absolutely. And we need to protect the MPs in order that true development might take place, and this can happen only where ordinary people are prepared to take their lives into their own hands and transform this land.

Which brings me to the second way we can adopt to achieve economic freedom, which is that having burnt the letters, we, the people, resolve that everyone of us will plant one tree each year and nurse it to maturity. If this is done over a five year period, we shall have solved the most pressing problems of Sri Lanka, relating to water, food, and good health. All sounds too simple perhaps, we prefer, impressive documents from the Central Bank relating to the GNP!

But to repeat my cure for our island's ills—burn the letters, which means forget about MP chaps, at least don't let them dominate our thinking as they presently do, let them get on with their allotted job, and let us get on with ours, which is the task of growing trees.

**THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.** I believe this idea is contained in the constitution of this country. Substantially what does it mean? Once every so many years, we cast a vote for one of the chaps who tells us at the time of voting that he intends to serve us during his term of office as member of the Assembly. For the next six years, the Elected MP

becomes Lord and Master of the district which chose him to be their representative. To get employment, to get land, to get a transfer, or to get a job for a relation, all though the seven years, one must repair to the MP's office, when he happens to be in town, which is usually once a week if he is a good M.P. One must then stand for hours awaiting the good will of His Highness, servilely approach when he ready to receive the suppliant, swear in his presence that one has abiding loyalty to him and his party. Then, unless the MP's own relations also want the job or favour, perchance, something might happen. Thus, are we the people sovereign in this fair land?

The *Daily Mirror* editorial of a few days back argued that it was wrong for those who failed to back the right horse at election time to refuse to participate in nation building. I would like to inform the Editor that he has got things somewhat mixed up. It is not those who backed the losers who refuse to co-operate. The Party in power conducts open investigations to find out how we cast our vote and firmly rejects the requests of those who were in the opposition at Election time. To twist the situation the other way round is to be guilty of sheer ignorance or straight humbug.

Indeed, it could be argued that we pay a high price for the privilege of casting one vote in seven years. Having cast it, we lose our freedom and an indelible stamp is imprinted on our foreheads SLFP, perhaps or UNP, and thus branded we are cast into outer darkness or unholy bliss, depending on which Party triumphs. *And the one single fact which contributes to our degradation either as victors or losers is due to the present insistence that for every need we have an MP's letter.* It ought perhaps to be written in the Constitution that all such letters *ipso facto* debar the applicant from employment and equally debar the offending MP from the National Assembly for a period of seven years.



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—90

Village Scrapbook (VII)

By Herbert Keuneman

AS THE FLINT BEARS FIRE.

'P', it would appear, 'is angry' with me. And, truth to tell, in my present mood of sulky and slightly self-righteous dudgeon (which, however, has nothing to do with P's attitude but is caused by sheer inanition of several sorts) nothing could suit me better.

This is not going to prevent me, nevertheless, from musing, and inevitably with some indignation, on 'anger' in the village and on this particular anger.

The fact of the matter is: P just doesn't like me. (And I don't like him). Our mutual antipathy may seem enough to settle the matter: why don't we just go our own ways? But the thing isn't so simple. P and I are in a kind of relationship where a certain amount of Confrontation or Dialogue or what-have-you is unavoidable. As a result, I sometimes do things for him, and he (much more seldom!) does things for me; but we do them with a bad grace, I self-consciously and maybe patronizingly and he with a grudging acknowledgment to the circumstance that have placed us in each other's debt.

It strikes me that with all this detail a regular reader of these articles is likely to have little trouble identifying who P is. But, actually, I am not all that concerned to hide the identity. I should prefer, if possible, to hide the identities of certain other characters concerned in this account: but there again, I shall not go to any great pains to do so and should be willing if called upon, to bring the whole business out into the open. But it is all a lot of probable nuisance which in my present nugatory state of mind I cannot persuade myself is worth suffering either on principle or for any likely practical result, and so the half-hearted cryptography.

In the village, to 'be angry' can describe a range of emotion all the way from a simple fit of pique to a murderous hatred. (It is the former, I believe, that P presently entertains toward me.) In the latter case, to *declare* that you are angry is an act of, as it were, sportsmanship; like a declaration

of war; if you were really single-minded about doing your opponent in, you would make no such declaration, but get on with the job. It is sometimes an effective ploy to send a message that you are angry. To do so almost explicitly promises that you will descend to no active mayhem, but it accomplishes the useful purpose of being a reminder of your personality and presence and that both are to some degree hostile, or at least disapproving; which it is your opponent's conscience must reveal to him. The only difficulty about this gambit is that the recipient cannot be sure that a given message is genuinely conveyed (in behalf of the party of the first part) or whether it is an invention of the messenger either as a well-intentioned warning or from a malicious desire to make mischief.

But why do I speak of such habits as necessarily of 'the village'? The town is not always above them. Only, perhaps in the village in public significance of individual relationships looms larger. In the town, for instance, P's current difference with me might pass almost unnoticed: here, in our smaller, closer-knit community, although in no way so serious a difference as to have been published, it has nevertheless been already commented on. 'P doesn't come to see you at all now', remarked Dinga. (P used to be—had to be—a not infrequent visitor.)

No, that's true, he hasn't: do you happen to know why?"

'It must be about that letter' Dinga hazarded. Or did she hazard it? Was this, perhaps, publication, instigated by P? In that case, the 'anger' involved is a more serious thing than I had regarded it, and could have far-reaching sequelae. And what provocation?

Some months ago, intending to do P a gratuitous good turn—and serve, I confess! my officious dogooding right—I recommended P to be given a jungle-clearing contract in a large undertaking involving such things. It was a friend of mine procured it for him. It was a good contract—Rs. 350 for clearing an acre of scrub and Rs. 500 for one of forest—and P seemed eager enough to accept it, which he did, to the tune of 25 acres: a Rs. 12,000 job near enough. Say, a couple of thousand

rupees profit. By my calculation he made it, too! What I hadn't realized was that P apparently felt my responsibility had not ceased with getting him the contract: I must nurse him through to the getting of the emolument, in full, as well!

Now, it is undoubtedly the custom—I do not support it, but I do not deny it—that whoever passes the finished work takes a *pour boire* in, so to speak, passing. I see no way to prevent the practice. I could probably help raise a fuss about the particular case and maybe have it honestly concluded; but, as I said to P when he came to me with a bitter complaint that he was being mulcted, I felt he would be wiser to lower his sights a little and recoup himself by taking another contract then to fight for the last cent legally owed him and close that avenue of income against himself for good and all; moreover, I said to him, had he himself been in a position to collect a *komis*, he would undoubtedly have collected it, would he not? For both he and I knew, from experience of each other, that some persons and jobs were *komis*-ible (!) though some might not be. So, how could and why should, he complain?

Whether he resented the insult to his capacity for hard dealing; or whether, believing he had in me what he considered an influential ally, and was therefore greedily determined to reap every last rupee of benefit from his (as he thought, privileged) position, and I failed him, and of this he was exceptious, I do not know. Probably both. The letter Dinga referred to was a petition he had addressed concerning the cheat over his contract earnings, which he had forced upon me by sending it to me in Colombo by registered post, to be forwarded with my endorsement to 'de big-big man' under whose the clearing was going ahead. I did not endorse nor forward it.

And I think I will not do any such supererogatory thing in future. Nor will I seek unasked to try to benefit P and his ilk—but especially P! Not, at any rate, until I recover my once fond vision of a perfectible Sri Lanka. At the moment (as I remarked at the beginning) I just feel too debile. This is the 'accidie' (Grek, *akedia*: not-caring of the ecclesiastics; caused the old ascetics used to claim, by low diet and lack of practical occupation.

**SEND MY ROOTS RAIN.** I have been wondering about this feeling, this *diminution* of feeling: this feeling that nothing is worth effort; this disinclination to begin a day, indifference to the course of it, as though the will had gone into aestivation operculated against adventure or even circumstance. It is not, I think, imagination that the whole village seems to share it; P's 'anger' is typical of it, it is so clearly a mere hebetude, which he has neither the interest to foment nor the energy to express. I think it is a consequence of the drought.

I suggest this quite deliberately and seriously. After all, it is well known that after a flood or earthquake or other natural catastrophe panic is succeeded by not calm but lassitude. And anyone that believes drought such as we in this region are experiencing is no comparable disaster, though of course less catastrophic (as less sudden) simply does not know drought. Besides, if the less violently drought is on the other hand by far the more protractedly suffered calamity.

For my part, I realize now that what I had previously thought of and described in these articles as drought was, simply, dryness; *nikiniya*, as opposed to *idoraya*. Now, is the real thing. Or—which is even more terrifying—the *beginning* of the real thing. Its cumulative effect, moreover, lies in the future. Naturally, in a small and close-knit country such as ours, we are unlikely to have to starve; but we do go hungry. Already there is not a house in the village that eats three meals a day, and seldom more than one of rice if that.

It is the landscape, more than the human beings (who still cling to shreds of pride) that most haggardly betrays its pain. Nearby, every tank but one—that village did not squander its water on the forlorn hope of a *yala* harvest that was never reaped—is so hard dry you could drive a limousine across it. The landscape is brown, the greensward is dead leaves. Not a water-bird even flies over, not so much as a lapwing shrieks at night. We dug an eight foot well in the bed of our tank at the beginning of this privation: there is now but two feet of sludge at its bottom inhabited by huge green frogs with golden lips.

My papaw trees—my pride and joy, for they are the only green things I have ever raised from seed—commemorate the early days of drought by a sudden constriction of girth: from stouter than a plantain trunk they have narrowed to the size of a stout *manyokka* stem. My grafted guavas—Israeli Blues—which had put forth a hundred tiny fruit now shed them withered like prunes. Pomme-granates redden like apples; but, still apple-sized, split in a horrible grin like a corpse's rictus and rot on the tree. Pinhamy's prized specimen of *kundira pol* suddenly bowed its head and will not be comforted. Plantains—flowering and fruiting up to a month ago—just double up, flowers, fruit an all, and die. The bamboo bush is dead; the live hedges are dying. Only my *karuta kolomban* mango-graft (a gift from Tribune's Editor) *mirabile dictu* has put forth flowers! and the *ruk-attana* tree remains stalwartly green.

As I say, the drought has not yet left its noticable mark on human bodies; it has not become, and probably will never become, famine. But if prices continue to rise as they have been doing—and *radio announcements will not stop them*—then considerable suffering, at best, lies darkly ahead.

On Ehetuwewa there seems to lie an especial curse. We are out of reach of any relief from the Mahaveli re-direction (we lie just that trifle too high) and we seem to fall, even more than the region immediately around us, within some sort of peculiarly spiteful rain shadow. And yet, we are continually tantalized by fat black clouds. Particularly during the last two cruel weeks, when we have even had a five-minute shower a day but too brief to penetrate the crust of our concreted earth. I know not what to make of this weather. We have these morning clouds. Then, at 10.00 a.m., the wind begins and pours in a continuous thundering stream such as I have not known any year before, until half past 3.0., when black-bellied clouds again threaten. We would regard their fiercest threat as a welcome promise even if they presaged a deluge. But they spit a derisive drizzle at us and depart.

**KANTALAI.** Not everyone do the Fates continue to ill-treat so. My precious *duvas* at Kantalai.

whom in one of these articles only recently published some of their friends' foresaw as likely to be driven from their hopeful enterprise by being robbed of the river that was their right have been saved by local rain. Here is a letter, composite of recent ones from them. (Judge our frustration by their obvious delight.)

KANTALAI 18-25 August. 'We have had heavy rain of late, though everyone says Whoever heard of rain in Kantalai in August? Below the new bund you saw is a sheet of water now and Suriya Wewa is filled. You wouldn't get any of the Vanni girls to leave our Scheme now for any inducement. Elephants now come down in herds to quite near our quarters; they were longing for our water, too! Last evening we were all allowed to the ela to bathe. We could actually swim, we had a gorgeous time; but there isn't the room there is amongst the lotus in our village tank. Never mind: we love this tank of ours almost as well!'



## HINDUISM IN JAFFNA 1847-1880—2

### Arumuka Navalar

#### —Against Christian

#### Missionaries—

by K. Arumainayagam

THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT of this period had two ends in view. In the first place it was an outright protest against the growth of Christian influence. Secondly, it aimed at restoring Saiva Agamic principles. The first ever serious opposition to Christian missionary activity and other religions abuses may be said to have commenced with the religious activities of Arumuka Navalar of Nallur.

Before Navalar, except for the isolated dialogues and debates between the Christian missionaries and Brahmins there was no definite plan of action to contain the Christian missionary activity. No attempt was made to purify the religion and present it to the people in its true form. There were plenty of abuses, unambiguous rituals which neither the missionary nor an illiterate Saivite could understand. The Christian missionaries thrived on those while the reli-

gious life degenerated into ritualism devoid of any philosophical backing.

Navalar, through his association with Rev. P. Percival, the Wesleyan missionary, was able to study the Bible and the Commentaries written on the Bible. This he did for the purpose of assisting Rev. Percival in translating the Bible into Tamil. His experience as a student and teacher at the Wesleyan mission school gave an insight into the working of the Christian churches and the methods employed to propagate Christianity and convert other religionists.

Navalar set before himself the task of redeeming the Saivites who had already been converted to Christianity. He wanted to expose the fallacies and the true nature of Christianity, purify his own religion and give it a sort of organisation on the Methodist model. His name is associated with every movement of this period. He alone among the Saivites had a comprehensive programme of action.

Navalar expounded no new methods. He applied the Christian method of propaganda. He and his associates, Karthigesu Iyer, Sankara Pandithar at the early part, Ponnampalappillai, Sathasivapillai, Senthynatha Iyer, Nadarasa ayyer who joined him in the latter part addressed adult populations through religious discourses, the children through the Vernacular schools and Infant Readers and Catechisms; and educated men and Christians through their polemical writings.

Navalar found the Christian missionaries method of explaining their religion in simple language in the churches, in open places and wherever people gathered was much more appealing to the people than the Hindu form of dreary expositions. Navalar developed his own style on this line and his *Prasangams* became very popular. It was delivered in simple and lucid style bearing in mind the subjects taken up for discussions. As observed earlier Saivites had got into the habit of observing certain rituals merely as a matter of routine and priests too performed them as a matter of routine. The real significance of the rituals were not understood by the performer and the followers. Puranas were read in temples. But the real religious significance of the underly-

ing principles were not explained to the audience. Such defects Navalar set about to remedy.

THE MAIN CENTRE of this activity was the Sivan Temple at Vannarponnai. A feeling of uneasiness about the way in which Christianity was progressing was there even as early as 1842. But nobody was prepared to give serious vent to this feeling till Navalar with his trusted friend, Karthigesu Iyer, took up the challenge. Saivites of the period must have felt that such an opposition to the Christian missionary activity might hurt the feelings to the Government which sympathised with the cause of Christianity. And this feeling and fear were natural and justified in the light of the experience they had during the two previous regimes of the Portuguese and the Dutch.

But Navalar knew that such a situation had changed under the new rulers and that there was scope of re-vitalizing the Saivite religion.

Arumuka Navalar was anti-Christian, an orthodox saint but not anti-government. He faithfully trusted the British Government to show impartiality in religious matters. The outcome of this feeling were the Saivite discourses conducted at the above mentioned temple. The first discourses was held on the 31st December 1847. This type of discourses were later extended to other places like Manipay and Chunnakam. The subjects chosen for the discourses were meant to explain the various aspects of Saivism and some moral and cultural principles.

It is said between Feb. 14th 1848 to Nov. 17th 1848 twenty nine discourses were delivered at the Sivan Kovil Vannarponnai alone. Subjects of the discussions were Initiatory prayer, the Holy Necklace, the Lover of Siva, the Sacred Writings, Taking the life of the Animals, (2 lectures), the Public Worship of Siva, the Mortality of the Body, the Leading Doctrines of Saivism, the Duties of women, Impartial Judgement, Earthy and Heavenly Treasure, Adultery, Charity, sacrilege (2 lectures), Drunkenness (3 lectures), Gratitude, Almsgiving,

Education, Unity and God, Veneration due to cows (2 lectures,) Imitating the Wise and Good, Vanity, of Earthly Pleasures an Credulity. These subjects were

later incorporated in his *Bala Paadams* and formed a daily code for the clergy as well as the laity.

Uniformed people and the Christians often gave superficial interpretation to the Puranas and held them to be subject of ridicule and contempt. Pamphlets issued by them were meant to expose these. But Navalar and his contemporaries attempted to place the Puranas on the correct perspective thereby they instilled in the minds of the audience the true religious significance underlying them.

Contemporary accounts bear testimony to this. This relates to a discourse on a position of *Thiruvilayadal Puranam* held at Kayalaya Pillayar Kovil. "The portion the other day contained an account of God's Siva's marriage with Thadadaky, an idea ridiculous in the sight of a Christian but Navalar presented the subject in such a clear manner as to bring about the real significance of the episode). He inculcated in the minds of the hearers taking care to show who God is represented to have subjected himself to the passions of carnal propensities and chosen to assume the form of a husband and wife". "He always endeavours to place before the public a correct view of the Puranic accounts which are often made the subject of christian censure as incompatible with perfection of the Supreme being" (written by a Hindu in the *Jaffna Freeman*, 10/02/1863).

Such attempts appears to have had their desired effects. And many had begin to follow and act in accordance with what was told in those discourse.

CRITICISM was levelled against the worship of the various deities as part of the Saivite pantheon. Refuting the idea that these deities are "Various Gods", it was maintained that Saivism was religion those people who worship Siva Deities such as *Vinayagar*, *Subramanyar*, *Vairava*, *Virabhadra* are really various manifestations of Siva. But the worship of deities like *Kadan Madan*, *Sudalai Madan*, *Katteri*, *Mathurai Veeran*, *Karuppan*, *Pattincheddampaddi Karuppan*, *Sankili Karuppan*, *Periya Tambiran*, *Muni*, *Kannaki*, *Peyychi*, were chosen deities.

There is no place for such worship in the Saiva Agamas. The worshippers of those deities were branded as "heathens". Animal

sacrifice offered to their deities and in other places before the ear festival was also condemned. In this sphere, Navalar seems to have made little headway. Because the figures taken as late as 1950's show that the peninsula had a very large number of temples where animal sacrifice was offered. "Lesser folks" firmly believed in the efficacy of offering sacrifice to Gods, especially to their "Ishta Devatas" (chosen deities). Attacks and agitations against the worship of the above deities were revolutionary. For majority of the people, rural folks especially, believed and worshipped such chosen deities. The main idea behind the reformers was to rationalize and modernize the religion and to that extent it was reformative in character. This feature was common among all the revival movements of the 19th century. The Buddhist revival also involved a demythologising of peasants beliefs and a rationalization of peasant cults. These attempts were meant to remove the vulgar qualities and make them much more respectable in the eyes of the people. Thus the Saivite "reformers" of this period preferred the Saiva Agamic way of worship to the rural way of worship.

NAVALAR and others were not satisfied with expounding the true virtues of Saivism. The Christian pamphlets like *Mummoorthy*, *Ladshanam*, *Kuruudu*, *Vali*, *Thurasaravirunthantham* condemned the Saivite religion in the most "obscene" language. In order to counteract this movement Navalar and the gentry at Vannarpannai founded a society known as Saivaprakasa Samajam in 1853. The sole purpose was to reject Christianity and establish Saivism. Pamphlets like *Subrabodham* and *Saivadhushana Pariharam* (Rejoinder to the calumniators of the Saiva Religion) were issued. Of these two the latter which was issued in 1854 caused a stir among the missionaries. The American missionaries got Carol Visuvanathapillai to write *Supirathipam*.

In the *Saivadhushana Pariharam* Navalar adopted a new technique and strategy to meet the arguments advanced against the saivites. Saivism was ably defended by Navalar in this pamphlet. The Methodist missionary commentary on this book shows the uneasiness created by this book. "He under-

takes to prove that every one of the distinctive activities of Saivite belief and observance has its parallel and warrant in the credenda and ceremonies of Jehovahs ancient people closely resembled those of Saivism, and were neither more or less divine in their original and propitable in their entertainment and pursuit. The notion of merit held by the Hindus, their practices of penance, pilgrimage and lingam worship, their ablutions invocations and other observance and rites, are cunningly defended on the authority of the 'Sacred writings of the Christians.' This book did much damage to Christianity and turned the tide in favour of Saivism. Methodists themselves admitted the effect it had on the Christians.

Navalar carried on a ceaseless campaign against nautch dancing, attendant evils, fireworks and other practices that were performed in the name of religion during festivals. His two pamphlets on Nallur Kandasamy Kovil "*Yalpana Samaya Nilai*" (State of Religion in Jaffna) contain a mine of information about his zeal for reforming some of the age-old practices. He introduced "Othuvars" instead of the dancing girls to follow the *Ter* (chariot car) and sing *Devarams* in keeping with the spirit of the occasions. But this did not last long. He also attacked the practice of offering animal sacrifice before the *Ter* was taken round. He pointed out that cars of massive size safely go round the temple of *Tiruvavur* and *Tiruvaidamarutoor* in South India without any animal sacrifice. And even huge ships sail and return unscathed without any such sacrifice.

THE NEGLECTED STATE of many of the ancient temples might be considered to be an index to the lack of piety and decay of the Saivite religion. Of course, the loss of royal patronage was one of the main reasons for this. Temples such as *Keerimalai Sivan Kovil* and *Thiruketeswaram* lay abandoned and were in ruins. Navalar kindled the idea of renovating these temples and the idea was given shape after the demise of Navalar.

The interest created by these new band of Hindu teachers might also have arrested conversions. In fact there is evidence to show that Navalar prevented certain



## Choosing A President

persons from receiving baptism and was responsible for re-converting a few. Prominent among them were Carol Visuvanathapillai and C. W. Thamotharampillai. Of these two, the former was a great defender of Christianity and was used by American missionaries to help them with pamphlets against the Saivites. He also wrote "Supra Thipam" to counter the arguments advanced in Navalar's *Saiva Dhusana Paniharam*". But later became convinced of the Saiva faith and repented for what he did. As a penance it is said he

went to Chidamparam, cauterized his tongue with a heated goldpin and became a faithful follower of Navalar.

"It is impossible that re-thinking movements can develop without Charismatic leaders to unite collective unrest with faith in the achievement of better future." Such a leadership was provided by Arumake Navalar and he was supported by leading orthodox elite of this period.

(Concluded)

zona, Colorado, Delaware, Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana (Republicans only), Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, Washington and Wyoming.

**IN WHAT PERIOD ARE THESE CAUCUSES AND CONVENTIONS HELD?** Iowa held local caucuses on January 19. Although some dates are still not final, it appears that the last delegates to the Democratic National Convention will be chosen in California, Colorado, Montana and Oregon on June 26. The final delegates to the Republican Convention will be chosen in State conventions in Utah and Connecticut, July 16-17.

### THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

**JUST WHAT IS A PRESIDENTIAL-NOMINATING CONVENTION?** It is a large meeting within a political party made up of delegates chosen from the States, District of Columbia and the territories.

The Convention meets every presidential-election year and picks the party's presidential and vice-presidential nominees. In both major parties, a simple majority of the delegate votes is enough to win the nomination. At the Democratic Convention, this is 1,505 vote out of the total of 3,0008, at the Republican, 1,130 out of 2,259.

**AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, HOW ARE THE VOTES ALLOCATED?** As follows:

Alabama 35; Alaska 10; Arizona 25; Arkansas 26; California 280; Colorado 35; Connecticut 51; Delaware 12; D.C. 17; Florida 81; Georgia 50; Hawaii 17; Idaho 16; Illinois 169; Indiana 75; Iowa 47; Kansas 34; Kentucky 46; Louisiana 41; Maine 20; Maryland 53; Massachusetts 104; Michigan 133; Minnesota 65; Mississippi 24; Missouri 71; Montana 17; Nebraska 23; Nevada 11; New Hampshire 17; New Jersey 108; New Mexico 18; New York 274; North Carolina 61; North Dakota 14; Ohio 152; Oklahoma 37; Oregon 34; Pennsylvania 178; Rhode Island 22; South Carolina 31; South Dakota 17; Tennessee 46; Texas 130; Utah 18; Vermont 12; Virginia 54; Washington 53; West Virginia 33; Wisconsin 68; Wyoming 10; Canal Zone 3; Guam 3; Puerto Rico 22; Virgin Islands 3; Democrats Abroad 3.

### THE UNITED STATES—2

## 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, convention, 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.

### THE STATE CONVENTIONS HOW DO PARTY CONVENTIONS WITHIN THE STATES SELECT NATIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES?

Most often, the process starts in local precincts where party members meet in caucuses or mass meetings. The candidates' organizations try to get as many supporters at these meetings as possible. Delegates are elected to county conventions, which in turn elect delegates to a Statewide convention. Democratic Party rules say that State-convention delegates must also meet in congressional-district conventions to elect at least 75 per cent of the National Convention delegates. In the Republican Party, delegates also meet in congressional-district conventions to elect delegates to the National Convention. In a few States, delegates to congressional or State conventions are elected in party primaries.

**IF 75 PER CENT, OR MORE, OF THE DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES ARE ELECTED BY THIS STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS, HOW ARE THE REST CHOSEN?** The State conventions or State central committees elect at-large delegates, often public officials or members of minority groups if they are underrepresented on the delegations elected at lower levels.

**ARE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN RULES ON STATE CONVENTIONS SIMILAR?** Broad outlines of the over-all process are pretty much the same. One important difference is that Republicans permit winner-take-all voting at each stage, from precinct level up, while Democrats generally require proportional representation and delegates to declare their presidential preference.

**WHAT STATES HOLD CONVENTIONS TO PICK DELEGATES?** Alaska, Ari-

AND AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION? As follows:

Alabama 37; Alaska 19; Arizona 29; Arkansas 27; California 167; Colorado 31; Connecticut 35; Delaware 17; D.C. 14; Florida 66; Georgia 48; Hawaii 19; Idaho 21; Illinois 101; Indiana 54; Iowa 36; Kansas 34; Kentucky 37; Louisiana 41; Maine 20; Maryland 43; Massachusetts 43; Michigan 84; Minnesota 42; Mississippi 30; Missouri 49; Montana 20; Nebraska 25; Nevada 18; New Hampshire 21; New Jersey 67; New Mexico 21; New York 154; North Carolina 54; North Dakota 18; Ohio 97; Oklahoma 36; Oregon 30; Pennsylvania 103; Rhode Island 19; South Carolina 36; South Dakota 20; Tennessee 43; Texas 100; Utah 20; Vermont 18; Virginia 51; Washington 38; West Virginia 67; Wisconsin 45; Wyoming 17; Guam 4; Puerto Rico 8; Virgin Islands 4.

WHAT IF A DELEGATE BECOMES ILL, OR CANNOT VOTE AT THE CONVENTION FOR SOME OTHER REASON? If a Convention delegate is unable to vote, his place is taken by an alternate delegate.

The Democrats will have 1,896 alternates and the Republicans 2,259. Alternate delegates are chosen in the same way and at the same time as the regular delegates. WHO DECIDES HOW MANY DELEGATES EACH STATE SHOULD HAVE? The apportionment rules for the Democratic Convention were drawn up by the Democratic National Committee and are based half on population and half on the State's Democratic voting strength in their last three presidential elections.

The Republican formula was adopted by the 1972 Convention. Each State gets six delegates at-large and three delegates for each congressional district in the State. Then it gets "bonus" at-large delegates if it elected a Republican Governor, Senator or at least half of its House delegation in 1972 or 1974. Still more bonus delegates available if the Republican presidential candidate, Richard M. Nixon, carried the State in 1972. ARE THERE LAWS LAID DOWN FOR CONDUCT OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION? No, presidential-nominating Convention operates outside State or federal law. It organizes itself and sets its own rules. It oversees the seating of delegates. It draws up a platform of positions the party supports.

It hears a key note speech and installs a permanent chairman. Most important, it selects the presidential and vice-presidential nominees of the party. Through its National Committee, the Convention also organizes the party for the campaign and for the prod extending to the next National Convention four years later. WILL THE 1976 CONVENTIONS DIFFER FROM THOSE OF PREVIOUS YEARS? Yes, in a number of ways. Chances are the Democratic Convention will be more orderly than it was four years ago when some sessions lasted into the early hours of the morning. New rules are designed to keep as much controversy as possible off the Convention floor. Nominating and seconding speeches will be limited as they were in 1972 to a total of 15 minutes, for each candidate.

As for the Republicans, unless one man has a "lock" on the nomination beforehand, the party's Convention may be somewhat more lively than the last two, when the nomination of Mr. Nixon was almost a foregone conclusion.

IS THERE A POSSIBILITY THAT A DEADLOCK—IN WHICH NO CANDIDATE CAN GET A MAJORITY—WILL DEVELOP AT THIS YEAR'S DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION? There hasn't been a real deadlock at a Convention since 1924 when the Democrats finally nominated John W. Davis on the 103rd ballot. But because of the crowded field in the Democratic race and the lack of a standout candidate so far, the chances of a multiballot Convention this year are considered high. Many analysts feel that no one will come out of the primaries and State conventions with such a pronounced lead that he is likely to win on the first ballot. However, history suggests the balloting is unlikely to go more than three or four rounds before there is a winner. If there is still no one close to victory at that point, the party's "power brokers" are likely to turn to someone other than the leading candidates.

Only nine times has the voting gone beyond the fourth ballot. One of those times was in 1860 at Charleston, S.C., when 57 ballots failed to produce a nominee. A second Convention in Baltimore nominated Stephen A. Douglas on the second ballot.

Before 1936, Democratic Conventions nominated by a two-thirds majority. That year the Conventions changed to requiring only a simple majority. In the nine most recent Conventions, all nominees have won the first ballot except in 1952, when Adlai Stevenson won the third ballot.

HOW IS A VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE CHOSEN? With few exceptions, he is chosen by the presidential nominee. Usually a presidential candidate keeps his own counsel on his choice for a running mate until after his own nomination. The reason: Should premature word leak out, rejected vice-presidential aspirants might swing votes to other candidates.

After a candidate wins the presidential nomination, he huddles with party leaders. They weigh several factors. Sometimes geographical balance for the ticket is sought by picking a man from another section of the country. Religious balance sometimes comes into play. Often ideological balance is sought—a moderate or conservative to go with a liberal. At other times, a presidential nominee may seek to promote party unity by giving the nod to a running mate who is not well known and thus noncontroversial.

After the decision is made, the Convention goes through the routine of balloting for a vice-presidential nominee. But the presidential nominee is virtually certain to get the man he wants.

DOES A VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE REALLY SWING VOTES TO THE TICKET? No, at least not in great numbers, say the experts. Many practical politicians feel that about the best that can be expected of the No. 2 man is for him to swing his own State, and perhaps help win votes in nearby States.

HOW AND WHEN ARE THE PARTY PLATFORM DRAWN UP? The Republican Resolution (platform) Committee will begin hearings a week before the National Convention opens in Kansas City. The Democratic Platform Committee is holding regional hearings over several weeks before the Convention opens in New York.

Each State picks a man and a woman Convention delegate for the Republican Committee, making a panel of about 100 members.

The Democratic Committee consists of 153 members apportioned according to the population and party voting strength of the States. Both committees submit to their Conventions a set of principles and policies on issues—the platform. Minority reports may be filed. Then the Conventions vote on the committee recommendations and amendments.

When a President is running for re-election, he has the dominant voice in shaping his party's platform. Platforms are usually far less meaningful than the campaign statements of the contending nominees themselves.

**WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE OF A CONVENTION?** A credentials committee rules disputes over seating of delegates. For instance, in 1912, the Republican Convention's Credentials Committee rejected supporters of former President Theodore Roosevelt in favor of delegates pledged to President William Howard Taft. The Roosevelt men bolted the party, formed the Progressive (Bull Moose) Party, causing a split in Republican tanks that led to the election of the Democratic nominee, Woodrow Wilson.

At the 1972 Democratic Convention, fights flared over seating delegates from a number of States. One Credentials Committee ruling that was disputed involved Mayor Richard Daley, who, together with 58 other delegates from Chicago, had been denied accreditation by the committee in favor of a group of delegates of largely supporting Senator George McGovern's candidacy. The Convention controlled, by pro-McGovern forces, rejected the Daley delegates.

#### WHEN CAMPAIGN GETS UNDER WAY

**ONCE THE CONVENTIONS ARE OVER, WHAT ARE THE NEXT STEPS?** First the Republican and Democratic nominees huddle with their top advisers to map out strategy. They decide which States will be pivotal and plot a campaign that concentrates on those States. Staffs are enlarged and speaking schedules roughed out. Voting-registration drives are planned. Polls are taken to find strengths and weaknesses. Budgets are fixed. Special appeals are made to various segments of the electorate—ethnic, professional, sometimes religious.

"Citizens" groups are formed to attract dissident members of the opposite party and independents.

Vast armies of party workers are sent to distribute campaign literature, ring doorbells, make phone calls, drum up rallies. At the same time, the presidential and vice-presidential nominees are crisscrossing the country by air-plane. The early trips are designed to stir up party regulars and get them into the campaign. The candidates address carefully staged meetings, hold press conferences, confer with local politicians and shake hands with thousands of people.

The major labor unions and the big-city political organizations generally fall into line behind the Democratic ticket. The Republican can count on the backing of much of business and industry. The Democratic ticket will stress party loyalty and registration since there are many more registered Democrats than registered Republicans. The Republican campaign will try to identify issues that appeal to the large and growing number of voters who call themselves independents.

**WHEN DOES THE CAMPAIGN REALLY HIT FULL STRIDE?** After Labor Day, the campaign is well under way. (Many political observers say the mass of voters does not start to think seriously about politics until the baseball World Series ends in early October. Others say most voters have made up their minds by early September and that the candidates' job is to identify them and motivated them sufficiently to go to the polls. In any event, by October, the campaign issues are pretty well drawn.

The nominees are hammering on the main themes over and over again, with local variations. They try to take advantage of news developments, sometimes trip themselves up with ill-considered, off-the-cuff remarks, and often spring surprises to win headlines.

An incumbent President running for election maintains much maneuverability. He is in a position to take actions that get headlines.

**DO PUBLIC-OPINION POLLS INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS?** The voters, the party professional and the nominees themselves, follow the leading polls carefully. It is deba-

table whether voters are actually swayed by the results of public-opinion polls.

Most experts say they are not. But, though not infallible, the polls do give a fairly good idea of how the campaign is going, whether one nominee is far ahead or whether it will be a race down to the wire. In addition to the opinion surveys that appear in the papers, many private polls are taken for the nominees, to determine what issues are most important to the voters.

(To Be Concluded)

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#### FOR THE RECORD

### American Comments On The Nonaligned Summit

Washington, August 25,

Following is the text of a US statement issued at Wednesday's State Department briefing by spokesman Robert Funseth. The prepared statement was critical of positions taken on Korea and Puerto Rico at the Non-Aligned Conference in Colombo.

The Colombo Non-Aligned Summit Meeting addressed a number of current international issues to which we will be giving careful attention in the months ahead. I would like, however, to restrict my comments now only to two issues in which the United States is directly involved and which are before the United Nations.

The Conference addressed the issue of Korea, which for reasons of both historical involvement and recent events is of deep concern to the United States, in words which were so tendentious and one-sided as to be unacceptable to a substantial number of participants at Colombo who entered written or oral reservations. We find the endorsement of North Korea's completely unfounded charges against the United States particularly unseemly, coming as it did immediately following the brutal murder of two US officers

of the UN Command in the Jo Security Area of the Demilitarized Zone in Korea by North Korean army personnel. We do not believe that any country which supports the highly partisan language on Korea contained in the Declaration and even more so in the separate Resolution on Korea can be considered non-aligned on this issue.

With regard to Puerto Rico, the Conference called for discussion of this matter by the United Nations as if it were a colonial issue, we consider any such declaration as interference in US domestic affairs.

Since the recognition in 1953 by the UN of Puerto Rico's Act of Self-Determination, there are no legal grounds for discussion or action with respect to this issue by any international body. And we will ignore any action taken by an international body on this issue.

#### CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

EDITORIAL AUGUST 25, 1976, entitled "The Aligned Non-Aligned"

As expected, there was a heavy dose of political rhetoric at the recent conference of non-aligned nations in Colombo, Sri Lanka. As the non-aligned club has grown in membership (now some 85 nations representing two-thirds of the world's population) so has the array of pet political causes. This year these ranged from support for the independence of Puerto Rico and black rule in Rhodesia and South Africa to condemnation of Indonesia for its occupation of East Timor and of Israel as an aggressor in the Middle East. However, some aspects of the Colombo meeting seemed to be less partisan than at the gathering in Algiers in 1973.

For instance, the Conference adopted a strident resolution deploring what it termed "imperialist (i.e. American) aggression" in Korea, yet a dozen or so states for the first time stood up and registered their objections. In a departure from the usual practice such moderates as Zaire, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore had more chance to voice their feelings than was the case at Algiers three years ago. Credit for this no doubt goes to Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. The host Prime Minister,

who sought to encourage the trend of recent years toward a primary focus on economics rather than politics. She rightly perceives that political discussions tend to be divisive and confrontational and that if the non-aligned nations want to get anywhere with the industrial powers they must bear in on the economic issues.

This, of course, is where the Conference did focus and align itself. Despite the inevitable growth of political conflicts in their ranks, the non-aligned are united, to at least uniting in their determination to work out a "New Economic Order" with the rich nations of the world. As they wound up their gathering they recorded their grievances and burdens and called for such programs as the establishment of a commercial bank for the "Third World", a new reserved currency and producers' associations to obtain better prices for their raw materials.

What will flow from this in practical terms is not clear for the Conference has no direct links with the international forums in which North-South talks take place. But, emphasizing to greater extent than ever before their concern with acute economic problems, the non-aligned show that they are aligned-against the world's wide disparities.

#### ON NONALIGNMENT

## There Is No Neutrality

by Jayantha Somasundaram

The Fifth Non-Aligned Summit Conference was a success. But the people of Sri Lanka were unable to appreciate its significance due to the bureaucratic approach adopted. This resulted in the political opposition and the people at large being left outside in the cold. The bureaucratic handling of the media which has already been dealt with by *The Tribune* only led to further confusion.

The celebrated American evangelist Billy Graham has stated that, "the most prominent place in hell is reserved for those who

are neutral on the great issues of life."

There is a misconception that non-alignment is in some way a respectable term for neutrality. Nothing could be further from the truth. If we take the trouble to examine both the origins of non-alignment and the development of the movement in recent years, we will see that far from enunciating a passive policy, it is a movement with a commitment to something positive.

It is not a coincidence that the majority of the countries in the non-aligned movement were former colonies. In the case of each and everyone on these colonies, there arose an anti-colonial movement which came to power upon independence and continued to pursue an anti-imperialist policy. In the case of pioneers of the movement like India and Indonesia there was a formidable resistance movement which took on, fought, and overcame the metropolitan power, the British and Dutch respectively.

The leadership in these countries, men like Pandit Nehru and Dr. Sukarno, had by the time of independence, already registered an awareness of imperialism, and had committed themselves and their countries to the struggle against it.

The communication explosion which gave people in the Third World an indication of life-styles and conditions in the developed countries, created high expectations which could only be realised through the social ownership of the economy. This resulted in every Third World country, including our own, pledging itself to some kind of embryonic socialist programme. Thus we see the emergence almost without exception, in the non-aligned group, of commitments both to anti-imperialism and to socialism.

Both these ideals correspond with those enunciated by the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. However, the non-aligned group have realised that the experiences of the East European countries are not necessarily valid for our countries. For example, the popular front which worked successfully in Eastern Europe in the presence of the Red Army, has been a failure in countries like Chile. But more impor-

## On Economic Development

tant is the fact, that the Soviet Union still has national interests which from time to time can conflict with those of others. And it is therefore not possible to accept unreservedly a Soviet alliance. It must be pointed out however, that there are indications that the Soviet Union feels secure enough to tolerate increasing degrees of freedom in Eastern Europe and among the Communist Parties of Western Europe, as was indicated in Berlin recently.

However, this does not disqualify countries that have made their own revolutions in a manner alien to us, and have done so with substantial support from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Cuba and Angola far from losing their right to speak for the Third World, are in fact admirably qualified to do so, because their open combat with imperialism and the experiences that they have gained are valuable for all of us.

Just as much as certain countries like Cuba and Angola had peculiar circumstances surrounding their development in the non-aligned group, there is a not insignificant bloc of Arab countries and the other oil exporting countries of North Africa who have common experiences which once again differ from ours. Their ability to unite under the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries and wage economic and price war with the west marks a historic step in our common struggle to reverse the trend of international economic relations and obtain favourable terms of trade.

We thus see that the non-aligned group, while being apparently heterogeneous in terms of the cultures and historical development of their countries, nevertheless, is propelled by higher motives to which there is universal commitment within the group...

Bilateral differences should be prevented from distracting the movement from pursuing its common goals and ideals. These ideals are the forging of unity to enable us to act consistently in order to challenge the economic dominance of the West, and thereby obtain a more just international economic order. While at the same time striving within our own countries to parallel international justice with internal justice, by providing for the social ownership

of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

As Leila Khalid explained during her multiple sky-jack in September 1970. "One is on the side of either the oppressor or the oppressed. There are no innocent people, there is no neutrality."

### LETTER

#### \* Small Is Beautiful

Sir,

I refer to Mr. Kahawita's comments in the *Tribune* of June 10th 1976, on my article, 'Small is Beautiful'.

The philosophy behind 'Small is Beautiful' is that poor countries can develop more easily and faster if, instead of depending on foreign 'aid', they use the resources and manpower already available to them, utilising technology they can grasp. It cannot be lightly dismissed as 'current fads of neo-evangelists preaching economic panaceas'. It has been practised for almost a generation in China and has produced results. Whatever we may think of China, and her foreign policy today is baffling, nobody, can deny that within the space of about 25 years she has developed from one of the poorest and most despised countries of the world to a country which is able to feed, clothe and house its 700 million people much more adequately than before. After the Nixon thaw, when responsible correspondents from the capitalist world were able to see the New China, they were so impressed that they wrote that they were seeing a new world. In an interview Sorbone Professor, Tiber Mende, one of the world's foremost authorities on developing countries, said, 'Whatever one may think of communism, and I'm certainly not a communist, China has emerged from the tunnel without foreign debts, its food problem almost solved and capable of paying cash on the barrel-head without credit.'

This concept of developing small industries in the countryside is now catching on and countries in Africa and Asia, including India and even Sri Lanka, are moving in that directions.

The study of the Centre for Radical Studies envisaged conditions after a Peasants' and Workers' Government was formed, which would harness all the manpower and resources already available and find its own working capital.

With regard to D. S. Senanayake, the Father of the UNP and even proclaimed to be the 'Father of the Nation', Mr. K. claims that if DS's agricultural policies had been implemented, it would have solved our food problems. How many years does a Minister of Agriculture need to implement his policies—2, 4, 6, 8, 10 years? D. S. Senanayake and his chosen son, Dudley, who faithfully followed his father's policies, were in charge of the agricultural policies of this country from 1931 to 1956, a continuous period of 25 years—surely long enough to lay the basis for producing food for about 10 million people, living in a small, fertile island, blessed with adequate rainfall and perennial rivers. Mao Tse-tung in less time has laid the foundation, using middle technology for producing adequate food for 700 million people.

Regarding Tourism, I go along with all that Mr. K. says. I demurred only when he said it was being done in the name of socialism. I did not see any connexion between socialism and spending excessive sums of money, especially foreign exchange the hunger for which has made this government to decapitate our rupee to 1/3 its value, thus making those who ran away to foreign lands feel like kings while those of us who chose to live and work here feel like beggars.

I see he now refers to 'socialism' (within inverted commas) and socialism-a-la Sri Lanka.

I have no quarrel with that.

Kumar

### NEXT WEEK

- WILL THERE BE ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR?
- MORE ABOUT THE SUMMIT
- THE AIRPORT ROAD
- MUSLIM SHRINES

# Confidentially

## The Press In Sri Lanka

IS IT NOT A FACT that important changes have recently taken place in the newspaper world of Sri Lanka? That in the camp of the LSSP, the English language weekly *The Nation*, which the LSSP had run as a United Front paper from 1966 (or 1965), has passed into the hands of the SLFP? That the registered proprietor of the paper, Mr. Sasili Amarasinghe had defected from the LSSP, and had ceremonially, with a great deal of publicity, handed over *The Nation* to the SLFP? That SLFP publicists had thereupon claimed that *The Nation* was really a Bandaranaike legacy? That whilst it is true that Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike had published a paper called *The Nation* in the early forties, it had not lasted for a long time? That it needed a long stretch of fanciful imagination to say that *The Nation* had returned to the Bandaranaike fold? That it must be remembered that a paper called *The Nation* had also been published in Ceylon for a short time after the First World War? That research was needed to trace the proprietor, publisher and editor of the first registered *The Nation* in this island? That there was no need for the SLFP to indulge in an apologia for this mini-political coup which had deprived the LSSP of *The Nation* (which did yeoman service for the United Front for many years)? That though the LSSP-run *The Nation* had for a period attempted to masquerade as an ultra pro-SLFP and pro-UF paper, it was apparent to all that it was the LSSP-punch within the UF? That after the LSSP quit the UF in 1975, *The Nation* had come out strongly as a LSSP paper and had propagandised a new unity line—of all progressives under LSSP leadership in a front to be called United Socialist Front? That in the Ja-ela by-election, the LSSP had sought to persuade voters to discard the SLFP and the two-party UF and seek salvation through the LSSP and a United Socialist Front? That this plea for a new socialist front had failed to make any

headway at Ja-ela or anywhere else in the entire spectrum of Sri Lanka politics? That in the meantime, the confrontation between the SLFP and the LSSP had begun to sharpen in a most significant manner? That the LSSP's "soft" line towards the CP to persuade the CP to quit the UF and join the projected United Socialist Front also failed to evoke any response from the CP? That the LSSP predictions that doom would overtake the SLFP and the UF no sooner the LSSP quit the Government have also failed to materialise? That in the meantime, the LSSP seems to have run into difficult weather? That its daily paper *Janadina* had ceased publication in June this year? That for a time readers and subscribers were told that there had been a "machine breakdown"? That the *Daily Mirror* of September 3 had a frontpage story that the LSSP was "broke" and that it did not have the finances to run the *Janadina*? That it is difficult to know whether this is a tendentious story or whether there is an element of truth in it? That it is impossible to believe that a party so well organised as the LSSP and with such a long history with so many dedicated and self-sacrificing members could be without funds to run the *Janadina*? That many are inclined to think that this was another cold war blast from the *Daily Mirror* against the LSSP? That it is true that the *Janadina* has not yet resumed publication? That the *Janadina* was one of the few daily papers which was written with punch and had made exposure stories? That even if a percentage of the *Janadina* stories were exaggerated or slanted for party advantage, the LSSP paper added spice and life to the newspaper world of Sri Lanka? That many believe that more newspapers a country—especially a country with such a high degree of literacy as Sri Lanka—had, the better for the body politic of the country? That many regret the non-publication of the *Janadina*? That the LSSP did not take the mini-coup which took *The Nation* away from the Party lying down? That even before Mr. Dasili Amarasinghe had completed the transfer, the LSSP in the issue of *The Nation* of August 6, 1976, announced that the LSSP's *The Nation* would appear henceforth as SOCIALIST NATION? That the *Socialist Nation* now appears

regularly every week and puts forward the LSSP view with vigour? (That one issue of the SLFP *The Nation* made its appearance during the Nonaligned Summit and thereafter no copy has come our way)? That whilst these changes have taken place on the LSSP front, there is a continuing upheaval in *Lake House*? That is known that the services of two senior editors, Messrs Mervyn de Silva and Philip Cooray, have been terminated summarily? That is reported that the reason given for the termination is that the management had reasonable ground to believe that these two editors had a hand in the attempted frame-up of Mr. Lionel Fernando, editor of the evening *Observer*, by inducing Mr. Gamini Windsor to interview three dead persons? That it is not known, at the time of writing, the evidence in the possession of the management on which this decision to terminate was based? That it would appear that no domestic inquiry of the conventional type had taken place before the letters of termination were served? That whilst it is true that in industrial law a domestic inquiry was not a necessary precondition before a management took disciplinary action, especially in matters where it is alleged that there has been a loss of "confidence," fundamental justice demands that every person should have an opportunity, before an impartial tribunal, to clear himself of charges that may be preferred by the Management? That the law in Sri Lanka provides ample opportunities even for those whose services have been terminated without a domestic inquiry to go before a legally constituted Tribunal for redress? That whilst re-instatement is discretionary where the relationship involves "confidence", the Tribunal is entitled to award proper compensation in lieu of reinstatement? That in the meantime, within a few days of letter of termination, Mr. Mervyn de Silva had joined the *Times* group as the Editor-in-Chief of the English language papers? That in his case he will have little or no claim for reinstatement or compensation in lieu? That in the *Times* itself many changes are in the offing?





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