

Vol. 20. No. 12 | August 9, 1975 | Cents 75

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TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

Founded In 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

Editor. S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

August 9, 1975

Vol. 20, No. 12

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

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Letter From The Editor

This week we have a picture of a scene near Sendankulam in Jaffna near the place where the murderers of Mayor Duraiyappah had abandoned the car they had used to get away from the scene of the assassination. This picture was taken many years ago when the dress of working women in the Tamil North was still the more natural and graceful clothing that had been traditionally worn by the people. One saree length of cloth was all they used for covering themselves in a way that was eminently suitable for the weather and climate in the area. When working in the paddy fields and other cultivated garden plots they tucked up the cloth to knee height—not to the mini-length which is now fashionable in urban areas. The blouse which is now universal with the saree was taken over from the ceremonial dress of the richer classes of the ancient pseudo-feudal (in the European sense) Tamil Society, but even among the women of these classes the "house dress" was not very different from the style and manner depicted in the picture—today, however, the horror known as the housecoat has taken over. All the other paraphernalia of women's clothing in Jaffna like petticoats, chemises, additional skirts and the like—many of them have disappeared in these days of inflation and textile shortages—were introduced into the peninsula by christian missionaries who insisted that the overabundance of clothing necessary for a colder climate was essential even in a tropical climate in order to sustain christian propriety so far as women's modesty was concerned. It must be remembered that the missionaries from American and England who came to Ceylon in the early part and the middle of the last century were from puritanic, quaker and methodist circles—the Catholics and the Anglicans were no less prudish—and the impact of their inhibited thinking was most reflected in the dress of women in Jaffna much more than even the men's (although men's sartorial habits had also been greatly influenced). There is a new revolution in clothing in Jaffna, and in all parts of the island, (as also in the world), but that is another matter. We are today concerned with Sendankulam on the coastal road which girdles a major part of the Jaffna peninsula. The palmyrah palms, unfortunately, are fewer than in the picture. But, the kind of boutique depicted in the picture is not different today from what it was 50 years ago. Many working women—in this case engaged in the fishing trade—still sport this style of dress, although the number is much fewer. Christian decorum and Hindu caste inhibitions have driven the majority of Jaffna women to abandon this graceful and healthy manner of covering their bodies, but what is unfortunate is that there has still been no attempt to evolve a costume which while being inexpensive was suitable for the climate—and, above all, maintain the cultural traditions of the people and the area.

This digression on clothes was prompted by the women in the picture, but Sendankulam is in the news today. The point that seems to have been missed by many is that Sendankulam was, in the not-so-ancient days when sailing boats and catamarans were the sole mode of navigation on our seas, was an important taking-off and landing point for the coastal traffic with South India. Sendankulam is less than a mile from the legendary Sambuthurai in Mathagal where Sanghamitta is said to have landed with saplings of the sacred Bo-Tree. Owing to the military TAFIL outpost now at Mathagal, the smugglers and the underworld do not use this stretch of coast for their nefarious activities as often as they had once done, but it is dotted with groups of fisher folk with catamarans (with sails) and even mechanised fishing boats. The coast from Mathagal to Sendankulam is one of the closest points to the Tanjore coast near Point Calimere or Thoputhurai. There is a great deal of speculation as to why the assassins of Duraiyappah had abandoned the stolen car in this area. Was it because they had been seen by a police patrol in a jeep (though the police had not reacted)? Or was there any other significance that the car had been abandoned here? There are press reports that a group of three had hijacked another car on this coastal stretch, but was this a blind to keep the police chasing various dead-end leads and clues? The Police have a tough job finding the assassins. But it is essential that they must be found and brought to trial—at least to unearth the underground network which made it possible for a crime of this nature to be committed. Life would become impossible if people went about murdering people they did not like and assassinating politicians they differed from. Duraiyappah's politics may have been controversial, but murder is not the answer to political differences; it is only a sign of weakness. Many responsible non-political persons in Jaffna feel that Duraiyappah has done more for Jaffna than all the politicians of the past who were willing to co-operate with Sinhala governments.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

• SLFP - LSSP

• Customs • Helsinki

THE CRISIS which had seemingly threatened the United Front last week now (apparently) stands defused. There was a major build-up of a mini-confrontation between the LSSP on the one hand and the SLFP on the other regarding the control and management of the company-owned estates that were likely to be taken over soon. It was whispered in political circles that the LSSP would quit the UF if the management was not given to the Minister of Plantation Industries whilst it was maintained that the SLFP was determined that these estates should be kept within the strict control of the SLFP. There had been even talks about a Cabinet reshuffle on the basis of such a confrontation which was expected to have resulted in a number of resignations.

But in Sri Lanka, the land of political drift, such confrontations get defused in the most unexpected manner. It is now known that the LSSP, very correctly, was in no mood to precipitate a crisis through resignations, whilst there is no doubt that the SLFP would never take the initiative to compel a crisis by breaking with its coalition partners. It would appear that the LSSP effected a strategic retreat by not insisting that the company estates be handed over to an LSSP Minister whilst the SLFP found a way of saving face for everybody by appointing a Ministerial Sub-committee to draft amendments to the Land Reform Law which, as it stood, exempted company owned estates from the provisions of the Law.

Three additional Ministries were brought in together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands to examine this matter, viz. the Ministry of Planning, the Ministry of Plantation Industries and the Ministry of Foreign and Internal Trade. The Ministry of Justice was assigned the duty of drafting the necessary amending legislation on the basis of the consensus agreed upon by the Committee. At least, until the Committee completes its deliberations, the matter has been shelved. But

even after that, the crisis will not owing to the diffusion which has now taken place. Of the five Ministries concerned, four are SLFP, two of which are reasonably close to the ideological logic of the LSSP in some matters. In the circumstances, it is expected that some kind of acceptable compromise will emerge that will help to sustain the unity within the United Front.

The Daily News of August 4 under the heading FOUR MINISTRIES PLAN LAND REFORM AMENDMENT FOR TAKE-OVER OF ALL COMPANY ESTATES reported as follows:

Legislation for the take-over of foreign and locally owned company estates will be incorporated in an amendment to the Land Reform Law which is now being prepared by the Ministry of Justice. The Daily News reliably understands that the Justice Ministry is drafting this amendment in consultation with three other Ministries—Planning and Economic Affairs, Plantation Industries and Foreign and Internal Trade. The Ministry of Foreign and Internal Trade is being consulted in regard to agency houses and tea auctions. When the first Land Reform Law was introduced in the National State Assembly in 1972, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, announced that in the second stage under the law, company owned lands would be taken over. In the first stage, private lands, which came under the ceiling, were nationalised. A series of conferences between the Ministries concerned has been held in the wake of emergency regulations imposed by the Government last week to ensure that there is no running down of the estates.

Whether this method of effecting the takeover of all company estates is the best way of doing it is problematic—in many cases the horses may have bolted before the stables are taken over (in spite of the Emergency Regulations to prevent such bolting)—but in the contemporary situation there does not seem to be any better way.

THE TOKEN STRIKE of all Customs officers on August 1 brings out into the open a confrontation with the Public Service which has been simmering for a long time under the surface. The Customs had been a closed service from its

very inception, but within it various sections had been specially privileged as inner preserves or smaller closed units within a closed service. In 1968, under various pressures and agitation for reforms, a unified Customs Service had emerged, but it was yet a closed service so far as the rest of the Public Service was concerned.

There are very good and excellent reasons why the Customs should be a closed and privileged service like the Inland Revenue, Police, Army, Excise and the like. But the Ministry of Finance, after the UF took power in 1970, does not seem to have agreed with the idea that the Customs should be preserved as a closed service. The Customs Officers' Union there were several for a start, had resisted this and had argued that it was essential that the Service should be maintained as a closed service and had cited the example of the Inland Revenue Department in support of their claim.

However, it must be noted that the controversy about the Customs Service went back a long time before 1970. For the last 14 years, or so, there has been no separate recruitment to the Customs, and the last recruit to the Customs has at least 14 years service to his credit. The Ministry of Finance, after 1970, had sought to integrate the Customs Service with the rest of the Public Service. Sometime ago, about a year ago, five or six officers of the Clerical Service had been posted to duties in the Customs offices. This had evoked a great many protests from the Customs officers unions.

One result of the determination of the Ministry of Finance to break the "closed service" in the Customs was that all ranks and groups in the Customs have been drawn together into one trade union unit. The Tide Waiters' Union, the Staff Officers' Union and other Customs Trade Unions have been drawn together and in recent times they learnt to co-operate with other public service trade unions which are affiliated to the SLFP. This was probably defensive action. Customs men deny very stoutly that this was an attempt to exploit SLFP-LSSP confrontations within the UF.

The Ministry of Finance transferred a few clerical hands to work in clerical jobs in the Customs

as from August 1, but this was regarded as Trojan Horse tactics by the Customs men before the major question about the Customs Service being regarded as a closed service was decided as a matter of principle. Customs men alleged that this transfer was done with a touch of surreptitious quiet that was uncalled for. In protest, there was a 24 hour token strike of the entire Customs service on August 1. It was very nearly a hundred percent strike. It was effective. It had no political overtones or even undertones, but it revolved entirely about the position of the Customs Service.

For one thing, those in the Service, (the juniormost has 14 years of service), feared that their seniority and prospects of promotions to the higher rungs would be jeopardised if there was a sudden intrusion of others from outside—usually political favourites. On the day of the strike there was virtual chaos because the Customs Service is a specialised one and it is not easy to break such a strike through untutored blacklegs.

Encouraged by the strike on August 1, there was a massive attempt to smuggle consumer goods on the next day, but on August 2, the Customs Officers were all again on duty and they had, according to Observer, caught a large number of smugglers and had recovered a large amount in fines and in confiscated goods. It will be interesting how this tussle develops in the context of current events. There is no doubt that there is everything to be said for the Customs Service to be a closed service like the Police, the Inland Revenue and other specialised branches of Government Service.

IN RECENT WEEKS, there have been a number of significant visitors to Sri Lanka who have come here in connection with the non-aligned summit due next year August and also in regard to the forthcoming UN Sessions. The Foreign Ministers' Conference of non-aligned nations, which will take place in Lima on August 25, will work out the agenda for the next non-aligned summit and also take important decisions which will have a bearing on the coming sessions of the UN General Assembly.

We had a topflight Minister from Romania on a visit to Sri

Lanka to discuss, among other matters, the possibility of Romania being granted the status of an observer at the non-aligned summit. We also had a senior Minister from the South Korean government sounding Sri Lanka's reaction to South Korea's desire for admission to the non-aligned summit and also in regard to its application for UN membership. Then, we had a short visit from the President of Mexico, who is said to be a candidate for the post Secretary General of the UN after Waldheim's tenure of office comes to an end. More recently, we had a Vice Premier from North Korea who had come here after a visit to New Delhi. He was also anxious to find out what Lima would decide about North Korea's application to attend the non-aligned summit. There was also the question of North Korea's application for UN membership.

The next sessions of the UN will be interesting and fascinating and Sri Lanka is likely to play an important role in view of the fact that it will be the host country for the next non-aligned summit. Many interesting and tricky problems are likely to come up at the Sessions. Forty Islamic countries want Israel expelled from the UN if she does not accept and implement the resolutions passed by the UN. The OAU has given conditional support to this resolution. The OAS, with US support has removed the embargo on Cuba. The last two remaining members of SEATO—Thailand and the Philippines—want this setup to be disbanded, and the US sees no reason why it should not be done. The GENTO has been revived and activated with Iran as the central factor. The Shah wants to make the Persian Gulf an Iranian lake and at the same time be responsible for maintaining peace in the Northern part of the Indian Ocean. (whilst South Africa and Australia are take over the responsibility for the southern ends of the Indian Ocean). The US Congress has now given the okay to the Ford Administration for installing additional facilities on Diego Garcia mainly on the footing that the Russians have been given rights by Somalia to build special military facilities (heavily disguised, it is alleged) at Berbera. There is continuing

talk about the Indian Ocean Peace Zone Plan as adumbrated by Sri Lanka. The ASEAN countries want a neutralised zone in Southeast Asia. The US, China, Japan and now Vietnam claim rights to safeguard peace in the Pacific Ocean just as Australia and New Zealand will do the same in regard to the southern parts of the Ocean. And Indonesia has claims on both the Indian and Pacific Oceans whilst India, the sixth nuclear power in the world, would like to have a major say in the affairs of the Indian Ocean region.

All these problems have begun to surface in a big way whilst detente, as developed primarily between the USA and the USSR, has begun to proliferate. One of the highwater marks of the policy of detente was the conference at Helsinki which was concluded a few days ago.

An AFP despatch from Helsinki on August 1 summed up the Conference thus:

The leaders of 35 European and North American nations to-day signed a historic document concretising "detente" with a pledge to promote better relations among them and making the post-World War II borders inviolable. Heralding a new era of efforts to preserve peace on a continent torn by a millenium of war and turmoil, the leaders at the European Security Conference agreed in the 30,000-word final act to "respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as its right to determine its laws and regulation."

Concluding the super summit—the biggest conference since the Congress of Vienna 160 years ago—the leaders signed the leather-bound document at the Finlandia Hall according to their alphabetic turn. The document has broadly two sets of tenets—one governing the conduct of the countries in their dealings with other nations and the other with their relations with their own citizens.

The signatories reaffirming their "objective of promoting better relations among themselves and ensuring conditions in which their people can live in true and lasting peace," guaranteed the inviolability of their frontiers and "right of peoples to equality and self-

determination." The agreement says that while expanding co-operation among themselves, the 35 nations will take into account "the interests of developing countries throughout the world."

The clauses referring to better human contacts between citizens provide for family reunification on a continent riven for decades by political barriers. They also deal with marriages between nationals of different States, the right to travel, the access to information, improved working conditions for journalists, and increased cultural and educational contacts. In an effort to relax military tension, the signatories agreed to notify all the other States of major military manoeuvres deploying more than 25,000 troops.

After the 35 heads of State and Government had signed the document, which is drawn up in six languages, the Finnish President, Mr. Urho Kekkonen said: "The conference is ended, but the multi-lateral co-operation among the States represented will continue."

Helsinki, with all the nagging doubts that have been expressed, ushers in a new era in Europe and the world. Many countries totally opposed to each other have sat round a table and agreed on certain fundamentals which will make peace possible.

One question which will arise in Sri Lanka, and all other Asian

countries, is whether or not such a scheme of collective security and agreement cannot be devised for this continent as it has been for Europe. At one time it was thought an impossibility that such a Conference or an Agreement, however slender, would be possible in Europe. It was an axiom that if the Soviet Union and Brezhnev put forward plan it was not likely to find acceptance with a large number of countries which had no use for communism. But Helsinki has shown that a beginning could successfully be made even on proposals which had emanated from a country which was one of the targets of the cold war and which had fought the cold with vigour and acrimony.

The Soviet Union has suggested a Collective Security Scheme for Asia not dissimilar from what has been achieved at Helsinki. This has so far not evoked a favourable response from any country although no country, except China, has denounced it as dangerous. There is no doubt that there is universal desire among all Asian states for peace and peaceful co-operation. The UN Charter accords full recognition and encouragement to regional or continental schemes of collective security. Asia contains one third of the world's population and unless there is peace and stability on the continent there will be little progress in the world as such.

Helsinki has shown that the principles on which a collective security scheme can be based will revolve around questions like equality, refusal to use military force to settle disputes, territorial integrity of all states within present boundaries, peaceful settlement of all conflicts, non-interference in the affairs of other countries, (and this means respect for the political and economic fundamentals of different countries with different social systems), respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including the freedom of religious belief, the right of peoples to choose their own way of social development, and the most suitable form of government, inter-state co-operation to promote peace and maintain economic, political and other ties without interference and on the basis of equality and the need to maintain international obligations.

It is felt that the creation of limited regional security zones in Asia, e.g. neutralisation plan for Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean Peace Plan, are not likely, by themselves, to resolve the tensions that exist on the continent as a whole. The question of an All-Asia security plan is likely to come into a sharp focus in the immediate future. It will not be easy to repeat in Asia what has been achieved in Helsinki, but there is doubt that the Soviet Union will make a major effort in this direction.

CHRONICLE

July 25 — July 31

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; ST—Sunday Times; TOC—Times of Ceylon; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasāthiya.

FRIDAY, JULY 25: The President of Mexico, Dr. Luis Echeverría Alvarez, along with his wife and state officials arrived yesterday at the Bandaranaike International airport on an eighteen-hours state visit to Sri Lanka: the President and the Prime Minister along with other political leaders and VIPs were at the airport to receive the Mexican President and his entourage: at a press conference held at the Ministry of Defence the visiting President said that it is important for Third World countries to unite and establish close ties of economic co-operation: in a joint communique issued

by Sri Lanka's Prime Minister and the Mexican President both leaders welcomed the opportunity to continue the dialogue initiated in Mexico during the visit of Sri Lanka's Prime Minister in June this year and expressed satisfaction at the increased ties between the two countries in the fields of trade, culture, science and technology—CDN & CDM. Two tile factories in the private sector were vested in the Ceylon Ceramics Corporation under the Business Acquisition Act—CDN. Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, speaking at a meeting at the Maradana Technical College said by next year Sri Lanka will be in a position to use her own oil produced at Peśalai—CDN. Nearly 70 British based tea companies are anxiously waiting for the next move of the Government on nationalisation of tea estates—CDM. The Canadian Government yesterday donated 100,000 dollars to the Prime Minister's special food production fund; the Canadian High Commissioner presented the cheque for the sum to the Deputy Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs—CDN. Nearly 9,000 teachers trainees will stage a one-day token strike today in protest against a pay cut to certain categories of trained teachers—VK. Prominent Tamils from all over the island have launched a strong protest to the Tamil Union Cricket Club, one of the leading and oldest

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sports clubs in the country, against a move by the club to change its name to Oval Cricket Club: a proposal to change the Club's name is expected to be moved at the Club's 76th annual general meeting on the 31st of this month—VK. The JCTUO had requested the Government to expedite the nationalisation of foreign owned estates in view of the sabotage at these estates to properties since the Government indicated its decision to take over these estates—JD. The B.B.C announced last night that it was ending its news operation in India and withdrawing the New Delhi correspondent because it found censorship by Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government was preventing correspondents from giving a fair and authentic picture of events in India. Israel Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, said yesterday that his country is ready for a further interim agreement with Egypt only if the Egyptians accept the accord as an advance towards a true peace in the Middle East: meanwhile, Egypt yesterday agreed to extend the mandate of the UN emergency force in Sinai for three months and Israel quickly greeted the decision.

SATURDAY, JULY 26: The JCTUO met yesterday and resolved to request the Minister of Plantation Industries to take over all company-owned estates by emergency regulations: the resolution was transmitted to the Minister immediately after the meeting—CDN. President Luis Echeverria of Mexico and his entourage left for Tanzania yesterday after an 18 hour stay in the country—CDN. The Government Clerical Service Union, the largest public sector union controlled by the LSSP, decided to effect a resolution at the 55th annual general meeting of the union to be held on August 8 for the control of mass-media of communication which is detrimental to the interests of the country and its march towards socialism—CDN. Educational and health authorities along with the Police will launch a joint island-wide anti-narcotic campaign next month to inform the people of the danger of ganja, opium and other addiction forming drugs—CDM. A spokesman for the Tamil Union Cricket Club told the *Virakesari* that the reason for the proposed change of name of the club was to induce non-Tamils to seek membership and thereby to increase the number of members: the present constitution of the club provides membership only for Tamils and this has caused financial loss to the club: the spokesman further said that if another 500 Tamils are prepared to seek membership in the club paying an annual fee of Rs. 60 per month the club will consider to function under the same name. The *London Times* in an editorial said that Sri Lanka has taken steps to become the first country to achieve socialism through parliamentary system—LD. The Ministry of Justice requested all magistrates, District Judges and Supreme Court Judges to send reports on the progress made in conducting court procedures in Sinhala and Tamil languages—DM. Sri Lanka has signed an agreement with the Soviet Union for deep sea exploration of oil in the Northern province and the work on this project is expected to commence in the mid part of next month—JD. The Indian Parliament approved a Government Bill taking away the right of people to challenge in courts of law the Presidential proclamation of the State of Emergency: the Government yesterday served a deportation order on the correspondent covering Asia for the *Christian Science Monitor*, ordering him to leave the country within 24 hours: the Australian Broadcasting Com-

mission has agreed to observe the tough censorship of rule in India and they did not want to pull out of India when they have so many important developments in India. The three Apollo astronauts who made history by linking up with two orbiting Russians yesterday came home with a pin-point splash down in the Pacific

SUNDAY, JULY 27: The Prime Minister speaking to the press on the progress of the District Development Councils said that the program based on the ideals and objectives of the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, would result in a far reaching change in the development process of the country: she also said the 1,700 projects under the DDC program were intended to bring about change in people's thinking and attitudes: speaking on nationalisation the Prime Minister said it has normally resulted only in satisfaction through state ownership and bureaucratic control where as it should bring social ownership with participation of worker members—CO. Mr. L. H. Sumanadasa, Vice Chancellor of the University, said that there had been considerable improvement in discipline on campuses after attention was focussed on university ragging and the recommendations of the ragging commission were implemented—CO. A Canadian aid worth over a million rupee for the setting up of a teaching hospital in the Peradeniya Campus of University is lying idle for the last 10 years—CO. The Chairman of the Ceylon Planters' Society in his address to the 39th annual general meeting of the society said that the implementation of the Land Reform Law has in instances brought in its wakes a lowering of standards and a deterioration of agricultural properties which constitute the country's national wealth: he further said the main reason for this was because people with agricultural experience had been replaced with raw hands—ST. The Government had raised the ceiling on gifts from abroad to Rs. 750 with immediate effect without the production of import control licence—ST. Several pro-Government trade union leaders urged the Government to expedite the nationalisation of estates in the wake of reactionary forces' attempts to stall the proposal—JS. The Compensation payable to estates nationalised will be in rupees—VK. The three Apollo astronauts who linked up with Soviet Cosmonauts in space were taken to hospital suffering from breathing problems after inhaling a brownish yellow gas during their re-entry into the atmosphere on Friday: official said they have not yet identified the gas.

MONDAY, JULY 28: Mr. Alfred Duraiyappah, Mayor of Jaffna and President of the SLFP branch in Jaffna, was shot dead yesterday by three masked gun men at Punnalai, in the Vaddukottai electorate when he was about to enter a temple: an MMC of Jaffna who was with the Mayor was injured by the shooting and is ward in the hospital: after shooting the assailants forced the driver of the Mayor's car out and got away: later the car was found abandoned in a lonely spot at a place called Sēndankulam: the Police have cordoned off the peninsula after the incident and are checking all the vehicles coming out of the peninsula: on the orders of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, a special crack team of Police investigators headed by the DIG Northern Range flew to Jaffna yesterday to conduct on the spot investigations: Police believe the shooting was planned—CDN & CDM. The President of the Colombo Campus of the University speaking at a prize giving yesterday said that a majority of

university students are opposed to violence and thugery and it was only a small percentage that had given the University a bad name—CDN. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, in a statement to the *Daily News* denied that he worked for Mr. J. R. P. Suriyaperuma at the recent Colombo South by-election: he further said that his aim was to safeguard the principle of late Mr. Dudley Senanayake and if he fails to do this within the UNP he would rather end his political career than to join any other political party—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP and MP for Colombo South at a meeting in Wadduwa said that the UNP belongs to the poor masses and it was the poor masses who elected him to the Colombo South seat—CDM. The Socialist Workers' Congress in a press release issued yesterday said that estates run by the Land Reform Commission had become Employment Bureau rather than national projects: the Congress further said that in these estates staffs had been replaced and trade union rights provided by law and been denied to the workers—CDM. The *Aththa* editorially said that in the wake of cries for nationalisation of estates it was heartening to note that the State Plantations Corporation had done well in maintaining and had shown good progress on the estates which are already managed by the Corporation: the paper quoted the speech made by the Chairman of the Corporation, Mr. Clifford Ratwatte, at the Planter's Association meeting. Radio Peking voiced strong criticism of the Apollo-Soyuz space mission: the Radio said the mission designed for detente had produced nothing new to serve the purpose. US President Ford and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt met in Bonn for talks expected to concentrate on economic problems and East-West relations. The USSR warned the US that active involvement in the political affairs of Portugal would violate the spirit of east-west detente.

TUESDAY, JULY 29: The Special CID team flown from Colombo on the orders of the Prime Minister and the Jaffna Police, investigating the killing of Mr. Alfred Duraiappah, Mayor of Jaffna and the SLFP President of the Jaffna branch, are looking for four men, two of whom are identified by the Police: the body of the Mayor will lie-in-state at the SLFP branch office in Jaffna and later at the Jaffna Town Hall before being cremated on Thursday: All shops in Jaffna were closed yesterday and black flags were flown in many buildings—CDN. The *Aththa* commenting on the death of Mr. Duraiappah said that this was the first political assassination since the assassination of late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike: the paper further said that whoever the assassins were it was clear that they were moulded by the communal policy of the Federal Party's Tamil United Front. The Bribery Commissioner's Department had commenced investigations into allegations of large sums given as bribes to certain politicians to topple the Sirima Bandaranaike Government in December 1964—ATH. A National Development Bank, one of the proposals by the Finance Minister in his Budget, will be established soon—JD. The Minister of Education decided to stop training of teachers temporarily for the next two years: this decision has been taken in view of the shortage of teachers that will be experienced if teachers are sent to the Training College—VK. The World Bank convinced by the Prime Minister's Food Production Campaign had decided to double its grant next year on easy terms and without FEECs: the World Bank has given aid to the tune of Rs. 440 million

to the Sri Lanka Government since 1970—LD. Tenants in Government flats owe the Department of National Housing nearly Rs. 6 million by way of arrears of monthly rentals—CDN. Chances of an early interim Middle East peace agreement appeared more uncertain in Cairo following President Anwar Sadat's announcement that his armed forces were fully mobilised on a 24-hours alert. In an interview to the BBC Ugandan President Idi Amin said that he is fifty years ahead of his time.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30: Police investigating the killing of the Jaffna Mayor, Mr. Alfred Duraiappah, detained 25 Tamil youths recently released from Remand Prison for alleged anti-Government activities: three of them were arrested in Trincomalee and the rest in Jaffna: several Ministers, MPs and Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues are expected to go to Jaffna for the funeral of the Jaffna Mayor: the wife of the Mayor, Dr. Mrs. Parames Duraiappah is expected today from Brunei to participate in the funeral and the Air Force on the orders of the Prime Minister has provided a special plane at the Katunayake Airport to fly her to Jaffna—VK. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Plantation Industries, speaking at a meeting in Ruwanwella said that joining the Agency Houses to administer the estates to be nationalised is not socialism: he asked what purpose it would serve if one tries to join these organisations which they had been struggling for the last 40 years to destroy—VK. The Government approved the setting up of a State Audit Bureau and referred the draft bill to a Committee of secretaries headed by the Secretary to the Ministry of Finance: once the Bureau is set up its main work will be to attend to all audit works in state corporations major part of which is now done by private auditors owing to lack of staff in the Auditor General's Department—CDN. The Bribery Commissioner's Department had referred 138 cases of alleged bribery detected by its officers to the Attorney General for prosecutions: all these cases were detected during this year—CDM. The Opposition Parliamentary Group meets on August 5 to elect a leader—DM. The *Janadina* editorial referred to a speech made by the outgoing High Commissioner of India, Mr. Coelho, at a dinner and said that his speech was detrimental to the good relations of both countries and requested both the Indian and the Sri Lanka Governments to take notice of this speech. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, will soon present to the Parliament the bill for the nationalisation of all foreign and locally owned company estates—ATH. The Ministry of Health is investigating into matters where blood donated by people and reserved in the Blood Banks of the various hospitals in the island are smuggled out to India—LD. The summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) adjourned its session in Kampala after General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria received news that he had been ousted from power in Nigeria: soon after the news reached General Yakubu left the conference after briefly speaking to Ugandan President General Idi Amin who is also the new President of the O.A.U. Turkey brought its take of U.S. bases near to completion yesterday.

THURSDAY, JULY 31: The Prime Minister, six Ministers and 25 MPs from the Southern Province are due to attend the funeral today in Jaffna of late Mr. Alfred Duraiappah: meanwhile Police investigating the

killing is posed with the question whether this killing was done by the diseased rival political groups or by enemies in his own political camp: the Tamil United Front headquarters in Jaffna is now being guarded by armed Police and the house of the leader of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation, Mr. Pushparasa, was searched by the Police for any possible clues to the killing: Police arrested a youth of 21 years at Palai yesterday and at the time of the arrest youth is said to have had a fully loaded 6-chamber revolver, a bottle of poison, a bottle of acid, a poisoned needle and a sheet of gold—VK. A United Front summit will be held soon to decide which Ministry should handle the administration of estates after nationalisation—VK. On the recommendations of the Minister of Plantation Industries, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, the government will soon frame legislation for the proper maintenance of estates till the bill proposing nationalisation is submitted in the Parliament by the Minister of Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa—LD. Following a top level inquiry held by the Shipping Ministry, the skipper of the ship, Lanka Kalyani, was removed from his post and 18 cadets on the ship were interdicted with immediate effect: this follows an incident on board the ship at a far eastern port where during a get-together the cadets in the presence of the skipper and other foreign officials were alleged to have sung a scurrilous parody

of a popular Sinhala hit tune—CDN. The number of persons allowed to be served at a function has been increased to 250 from 150—CDN. Beginning tomorrow the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs will subject all registered industries in the island to a physical survey—CDN. Mr. Michael Siriwardene, Minister of Labour, has recommended to the Government to make permanent all regulations passed under emergency laws for the benefit of the working class: the Minister in his recommendation has stated that it has now come to a position that these regulations have become a necessity—DM. According to the Secretary of the UNP the MP for Dedigama, Mr. Rukman Senanayake, has been written to explain his failure to support Mr. J. R. Jayewardene at the recently concluded Colombo South by-elections—DM. At the sittings of the CJC (Exchange Frauds) yesterday State Council read out several letters written by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, a former Governor General of Ceylon, to his daughter: in this case six persons including Sir Oliver are charged for exchange control violations—CDM. Following the ousting of the Nigerian President General Yakubu the Nigerian seat at the O.A.U. Conference in Kampala was vacant. The Indian ruling Congress Party yesterday voted approval of a bill removing any right to personal liberty for Indians and foreigners under the maintenance of Internal Security Act.

AGRICULTURE

Drip Irrigation Catches Up

WHEN DRIP IRRIGATION was announced as a new technique to conserve water, adopted by Israeli scientists some years ago, there were hopes that this method would be followed by many a country where water is a scarce commodity, though the method was costly and perhaps beyond the reach of many farmers, particularly in the developing countries. The reports about the Second International Drip Irrigation Congress show that notwithstanding the cost factor 37 State and nine countries were utilising the DI technique. More interesting is the variety of crops grown by them with the trickle irrigation. These included field crops, flowers, grapes, sugarcane, vegetables, bananas, avacados, citrus, coffee, mangoes, melons, nut trees, olives, ornamental plants, papaya, sugarcane, deciduous fruits and highway cover crops.

According to a Hawaiian irrigation engineer participating in the congress, Mr. C. M. Vaziri, the savings in water and the increased productivity of these systems have promoted their adaptation to all

types of crops all over the world. A survey made by Don Gustafson, University of California farm advisor, San Diego County, showed that more than 28,000 hectares are irrigated by this new system in his area. The coverage is likely to be doubled in the next five years. It is also estimated by him that worldwide, more than 56,000 hectares are under DI. Apart from areas with scarce water supply, with poor quality of water, tracts with poor soil and steep terrain stand to benefit from DI.

A comparison was made of DI with other systems of irrigation by D. R. Rodney, a scientist from University of Arizona. Taking up a young citrus tree, as an instance he explained that the basin and trickle methods applied the same amount of water to meet its needs, but the limited coverage sprinkler used six times as much and the border method 20 times as much. It was however contended that the differences would tend to even out as the tree root systems expanded. In the course of a year, DI took only four cm per hectare as compared to 97 cm per hectare with border irrigation. But the tree growth was 39 per cent more in the case of DI.

An improvement in the technique, made by a U.S. Department of Agriculture soil scientist, Dr.

Stephen L. Rawlins, consisted in bypassing the problems of long tubes, large number of emitters required for row crops and plugging of the small orifices that control water flow. In his "traveling drip irrigation system" water few large orifices moved along the application is controlled with a row instead of the large number of fixed location orifices. He has also devised a method of back-flushing to dislodge particles clogging the orifices.

Israeli scientists reported excellent results with DI in orchards, truck crops and flowers. The need for developing studies on hydraulic conductivity and monitoring soil salinity was deemed imperative in further use of DI according to them. Disinfection of soils with methyl bromide was possible with DI and the treated areas yielded thrice as much as the untreated plots.

Another interesting aspect brought to light was the scope for using DI to reclaim saline soils. Leon Nijensohn, a professor of soil science from Argentina explained how by 'dripleaching' at the rate of 1.8 litres per hour, 12 hours a day for 14 days supplementing 12.2 cm rainfall, soil salinity was reduced to 2.5 times as much as by flood-leaching.

—Hindu

U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

The Antagonisms of The Cold War Are Outdated

By Henry A. Kissinger

SINCE THE DAWN of the nuclear age the world's fears of holocaust and its hopes for peace have turned on the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Throughout history men have sought peace but suffered war; all too often deliberate decisions or miscalculations have brought violence and destruction to a world yearning for tranquillity. Tragic as the consequences of violence may have been in the past, the issue of peace and war takes on unprecedented urgency when, for the first time in history, two nations have the capacity to destroy mankind. In the nuclear age, as President Dwight D. Eisenhower pointed out two decades ago, "there is no longer any alternative to peace."

The destructiveness of modern weapons defines the necessity of the task: deep differences in philosophy and interests between the United States and the Soviet Union point up its difficulty. These differences do not spring from misunderstanding or personalities or transitory factors: (1) They are rooted in history and in the way the two countries have developed; (2) They are nourished by conflicting values and opposing ideologies; (3) They are expressed in diverging national interests that produce political and military competition; (4) They are influenced by allies and friends whose association we value and whose interests we will not sacrifice.

Paradox confuses our perception of the problem of peaceful coexistence: if peace is pursued to the exclusion of any other goal, other values will be compromised and perhaps lost; but if unconstrained rivalry leads to nuclear conflict, these values, along with everything else, will be destroyed in the resulting holocaust.

However competitive they may be at some levels of their relationship, both major nuclear powers must base their

policies on the premises that neither can expect to impose its will on the other without running an intolerable risk. The challenge of our time is to reconcile the reality of competition with the imperative of coexistence.

There can be no peaceful international order without a constructive relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. There will be no international stability unless both the Soviet Union and the United States conduct themselves with restraint and unless they use their enormous power for the benefit of mankind.

Thus we must be clear at the outset on what the term "detente" entails. It is the search for a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union reflecting the realities I have outlined. It is a continuing process, not a final condition, that has been or can be realized at any one specific point in time. And it has been pursued by successive American leaders, though the means have varied, as have world conditions.

Some fundamental principles guide this policy:

The United States does not base its policy solely on Moscow's good intentions. We seek, regardless of Soviet intentions, to serve peace through a systematic resistance to pressure and conciliatory responses to moderate behavior.

We must oppose aggressive actions, but we must not seek confrontations lightly.

We must maintain a strong national defense while recognizing that in the nuclear age the relationship between military strength and politically usable power is the most complex in all history.

Where the age-old antagonism between freedom and tyranny is concerned, we are not neutral. But other imperatives impose limits on our ability to produce internal changes in foreign countries. Consciousness of our limits is a recognition of the necessity of peace—not moral callousness. The preservation of human life and human society is a moral value, too.

We must be mature enough to recognize that to be stable a relationship must provide advantages to both sides and that the

most constructive international relationships are those in which both parties perceive an element of gain.

Americans' aspiration for the kind of political environment we now call detente is not new.

The effort to achieve a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union is not made in the name of any administration or one party or any one period of time. It expresses the continuing desire of the vast majority of the American people for an easing of international tension and their expectation that any responsible government will strive for peace. No aspect of our policies, domestic or foreign, enjoys more consistent bipartisan support. No aspect is more in the interest of mankind.

IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD, repeated efforts were made to improve our relationship with Moscow. The spirits of Geneva, Camp David and Glassboro were evanescent moments in a quarter century otherwise marked by tensions and by sporadic confrontation. What is new in the current period of relaxation of tensions is its duration, the scope of the relationship which has evolved and the continuity and intensity of consultation which it has produced.

Our approach proceeds from the conviction that in moving forward across a wide spectrum of negotiations, progress in one area adds momentum to progress in other areas. If we succeed, then no agreement stands alone as an isolated accomplishment vulnerable to the next crisis. We have looked for progress in a series of agreements settling specific political issues and we have sought to relate these to a new standard of international conduct appropriate to the dangers of the nuclear age. By acquiring a stake in this network of relationships with the West, the Soviet Union may become more conscious of what it would lose by a return to confrontation. Indeed, it is our hope that it will develop a self-interest in fostering the entire process of relaxation of tensions.

In the late 1940s, the United States engaged in a great debate about the role it would play in the postwar

Mutual Understanding

world. We forged a bipartisan consensus on which our policies were built for more than two decades. By the end of the 1960s, the international environment which molded that consensus had been transformed. What in the '50s had seemed a solid bloc of adversaries had fragmented into competing centers of power and doctrine; old allies had gained new strength and self-assurance; scores of new nations had emerged and formed blocs of their own; and all nations were being swept up in a technology that was compressing the planet and deepening our mutual dependence.

Then, as now, it was clear that the international structure formed in the immediate postwar period was in fundamental flux and that a new international system was emerging. America's historic opportunity was to help shape a new set of international relationships—more pluralistic, less dominated by military power, less susceptible to confrontation, more open to genuine co-operation among the free and diverse elements of the globe. This new, more positive international environment is possible only if all the major powers—and especially the world's strongest nuclear powers—anchor their policies in the principles of moderation and restraint. They no longer have the power to dominate; they do have the capacity to thwart. They cannot build the new international structure alone; they can make its realization impossible by their rivalry.

DETENTE is all the more important because of what the creation of a new set of international relations demands of us with respect to other countries and areas. President Gerald Ford has assigned the highest priority to maintaining the vitality of our partnerships in Europe, Asia and Latin America. Our security ties with our allies are essential but we also believe that recognition of the interdependence of the contemporary world requires co-operation in many other fields.

ONE IMPORTANT AREA for invigorated co-operative action is economic policy. The international economic system has been severely tested. The Middle East war demonstrated dramatically the integral relationship between economics and politics. Clearly, whatever the state of our relations with the U.S.S.R., the international econo-

mic agenda must be addressed. But the task would be infinitely more complex if we proceeded in a cold war environment.

International economic problems cut across political dividing lines. All nations, regardless of ideology, face the problems of energy and economic growth, feeding burgeoning populations, regulating the use of the oceans and preserving the environment.

At a minimum, easing international tensions allows the West to devote more intellectual and material resources to these problems. As security concerns recede, humane concerns come again to the fore. International organizations take on greater significance and responsibility, less obstructed by cold war antagonisms. The climate of lessened tensions even opens prospects for broader collaboration between East and West. It is significant that some of these global issues—such as energy, co-operation in science and health, and the protection of the environment—have already reached the U.S.-Soviet agenda.

In the present period, mankind may be menaced as much by international economic and political chaos as by the danger of war. Avoiding either hazard demands a co-operative world structure for which improved East-West relations are essential.

Co-operative relations, in our view, must be more than a series of isolated agreements. They must reflect an acceptance of mutual obligations and of the need for accommodation and restraint.

To set forth principles of behaviour in formal documents is hardly to guarantee their observance. But they are reference points against which to judge actions and set goals.

THE FIRST OF THE SERIES OF DOCUMENTS is the Statement of Principles signed in Moscow in 1972. It affirms: (1) the necessity of avoiding confrontation; (2) the imperative of mutual restraint; (3) the rejection of attempts to exploit tensions to gain unilateral advantages; (4) the renunciation of claim of special influence in the world; and (5) the willingness, on this new basis, to coexist peacefully and build a firm long-term relationship.

An Agreement for the Prevention of Nuclear War based on

these principles was signed in 1973. It affirms that the objective of the policies of the United States and the U.S.S.R. is to remove the danger of nuclear conflict and the use of nuclear weapons. But it emphasizes that this objective presupposes the renunciation of any war or threat of war not only by the two nuclear super-powers against each other, but also against allies or third countries. In other words, the principle of restraint is not confined to relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R., it is explicitly extended to include all countries.

These statements of principles are not an American concession; indeed we have been affirming them unilaterally for two decades. Nor are they a legal contract; rather they are an aspiration and a yardstick by which we assess Soviet behaviour. We have never intended to "rely" on Soviet compliance with every principle; we do seek to elaborate standards of conduct which the Soviet Union would violate only to its cost. And if over the long term, the more durable relationship takes hold, the basic principles will give it definition, structure and hope.

One of the features of the current phase of U.S.-Soviet relations is the unprecedented consultation between leaders, either face-to-face or through diplomatic channels.

The channel between the leaders of the two nations has proved its worth in many crises. But crisis management is not an end in itself. The more fundamental goal is the elaboration of a political relationship which in time will make crises less likely to arise.

It was difficult in the past to speak of a U.S.-Soviet bilateral relationship in any normal sense of the phrase. Trade was negligible. Contacts between various institutions and between the peoples of the two countries were at best sporadic. There were no co-operative efforts in science and technology. Cultural exchange was modest. As a result there was no tangible inducement toward co-operation and no penalty for aggressive behavior. Today, by joining our efforts even in such seemingly apolitical fields as medical research or environmental protection, we and the Soviets can benefit not only our two peoples but all man-

kind; in addition, we generate incentives for restraint.

SINCE 1972, we have concluded agreements on a common effort against cancer, on research to protect the environment, on studying the use of the ocean's resources, on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, on studying methods for conserving energy, on examining construction techniques for regions subject to earthquakes, and on devising new transportation methods.

Each project must be judged by the concrete benefits it brings. But in their sum—in their exchange of information and people as well as in their establishment of joint mechanisms—they also constitute a commitment in both countries to work together across a broad spectrum.

During the period of the cold war, economic contact between ourselves and the U.S.S.R. was virtually nonexistent. The period of confrontation should have left little doubt, however, that economic boycott would not transform the Soviet system or impose upon it a conciliatory foreign policy. The U.S.S.R. was quite prepared to maintain heavy military outlays and to concentrate on capital growth by using the resources of the communist world alone. Moreover, it proved impossible to mount an airtight boycott in practice, since over time, most if not all the other major industrial countries became involved in trade with the East.

The question then became how trade and economic contact—in which the Soviet Union is obviously interested—could serve the purposes of peace. On the one hand, economic relations cannot be separated from the political context. Clearly, we cannot be asked to reward hostile conduct with economic benefits even if in the process we deny ourselves some commercially profitable opportunities. On the other hand, when political relations begin to normalize it is difficult to explain why economic relations should not be normalized as well.

We cannot expect to relax international tensions or achieve a more stable international system should the two strongest nuclear powers conduct an unrestrained strategic arms race. Thus perhaps the single most important com-

ponents of our policy toward the Soviet Union is the effort to limit strategic weapons competition. If we are driven to it, the United States will sustain an arms race. Indeed, it is likely that the United States would emerge from such a competition with an edge over the Soviet Union in most significant categories of strategic arms. But the political or military benefit which would flow from such a situation would remain elusive. Indeed, after such an evolution it might well be that both sides would be worse off than before the race began.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE can be asked to bear the cost and political instability of a race which is doomed to stalemate only if it is clear that every effort has been made to prevent it. That is why every President since Eisenhower has pursued negotiations for the limitation of strategic arms while maintaining the military programs essential to strategic balance.

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) became the one means by which we and the Soviet Union could enhance stability by setting mutual constraints on our respective forces and by gradually reaching an understanding of the doctrinal considerations that underlie the deployment of nuclear weapons. Through SALT, the two sides can reduce the suspicions and fears which fuel strategic competition. SALT, in the American conception, is a means to achieve strategic stability by methods other than the arms race.

Our specific objectives have been:

- (1) to break the momentum of ever-increasing levels of armaments;
- (2) to control certain qualitative aspects—particularly multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs);
- (3) to moderate the pace of new deployments; and
- (4) ultimately, to achieve reduction in force levels.

* * *

The SALT agreements already signed represent a major contribution to strategic stability and a significant first step toward a longer term and possibly broader agreement.

The five-year Interim Agreement which limited antiballistic missile (ABM) defenses and froze the level of ballistic missile forces on both sides represented the essential first step toward a less volatile strategic environment.

The SALT I agreements were the first deliberate attempt by the nuclear superpowers to bring about strategic stability through negotiation. This very process is conducive to further restraint. For example, in the first round of SALT negotiations in 1970-72, both sides bitterly contested the number of ABM sites permitted by the agreement; two years later both sides gave up the right to build more than one site. In sum, we believed when we signed these agreements—and we believe now that they had reduced the danger of nuclear war, that both sides had acquired some greater interest in restraint and that the basis had been created for the present effort to reach a broader agreement.

The goal of the current negotiations is an agreement for a 10

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year period. We had aimed at extending the Interim Agreement with adjustments in the numbers and new provisions aimed at dealing with the problem of MIRVs. We found, however, that our negotiation for a two-or three-year extension was constantly threatened with irrelevance by the on-going programs of both sides that were due to be deployed at the end of or just after the period. This distorted the negotiations and indeed devalued its significance. We shifted to the 10-year approach, because the period is long enough to cover all current and planned forces but not so long as to invite hedges that would defeat the purpose of an arms control agreement. In fact, it invites a slowing down of planned deployments; further a period of this length will allow us to set realistic ceilings that represent more than a temporary plateau from which to launch a new cycle in the arms race. Further reductions thus become a realistic objective.

WITH RESPECT TO CEILINGS on strategic forces, we have defined our goal as essential equivalence in strategic capabilities. What constitutes equivalence involves subjective judgment. Because U.S. and Soviet forces are different from each other—in number and size of weapons, in technological refinement, in performance characteristics—they are difficult to compare.

Detente is admittedly far from a modern equivalent to the kind of stable peace that characterized most of the 19th century. But it is a long step away from the bitter and aggressive spirit that has characterized so much of the postwar period. When linked to such broad and unprecedented projects as SALT, detente takes on added meaning and opens prospects of a more stable peace. SALT agreements should be seen as steps in a process leading to progressively greater stability. It is in that light that SALT and related projects will be judged by history.

Detente is a process, not a permanent achievement. The agenda is full and continuing.

* Restraint in crises must be augmented by co-operation in removing the causes of crises. There have been too many instances, notably in the Middle East, which

demonstrate that policies of unilateral advantage sooner or later run out of control and lead to the brink of war, if not beyond.

* The process of negotiations and consultation must be continuous and intense. But no agreement between the nuclear superpowers can be durable if made over the heads of other nations which have a stake in the outcome. We should not seek to impose peace; we can, however, see that our own actions and conduct are conducive to peace.

We must never forget that the process of detente depends ultimately on habits and modes of conduct that extend beyond the letters of agreements to the spirit of relations as a whole. This is why the whole process must be carefully nurtured.

In cataloguing the desirable, we must take care not to jeopardize what is attainable. We must consider what alternative policies are available and what their consequences would be. And the implications of alternatives must be examined, not just in

terms of a single issue, but for how they might affect the entire range of Soviet-American relations and the prospects for world peace. We have insisted toward the Soviet Union that we cannot have the atmosphere of detente without the substance. It is equally clear that the substance of detente will disappear in an atmosphere of hostility.

We have profound differences with the Soviet Union—in our values, our methods, our vision of the future. But it is these very differences which compel any responsible administration to make a major effort to create a more constructive relationship.

We face an opportunity that was not possible 25 years or even a decade ago. If that opportunity is lost, its moment will not quickly come again. Indeed, it may not come at all.

As President John F. Kennedy pointed out: "In the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future and we are all mortal."

BANDUNG TO COLOMBO—3

Neutrality and Non-Alignment

BY SPARTACUS

The policy of non-participation in military blocs, in other words the policy of non-alignment, is an important feature of international affairs today. An ever-increasing number of countries in Asia, Africa and Europe are, to some extent or other, committed to follow this policy in their foreign affairs. "Non-alignment" has come to stay in the contemporary political scene.

What are the concrete manifestations of this policy in the Life of different countries and peoples, in the mechanism of international affairs?

What does the policy of non-alignment imply in the light of historical processes taking place in the world today?

What is the practical importance of this policy of non-alignment for the struggles of the people for peace?

Who is interested in the adoption of this policy by other countries, and who stands to lose by it?

TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS, to fully grasp the significance, content and essence of the non-alignment policy, it is necessary to survey and analyse in brief the historical conditions which gave rise to this phenomenon and nurture it today. It is only on the basis of such a survey and analysis that it is possible to make political generalisations and theoretical conclusions which will help give an insight into the future development of this historical phe-

nomenon and grasp its practical implications.

"Neutrality" is a historical phenomenon. In one or another form it has been known for a long time. But its content changed in different historical epochs. The essence of the non-alignment policy pursued by states which gained their independence after the Second World War is best revealed through such a historical analysis, through comparing this policy which is pursued today with the

traditional neutrality of the preceding period.

The status of 'permanent neutrality' came into being in the period of capitalism. It was first declared in 1815 by an act of the Congress of Vienna which recognised and guaranteed the permanent neutrality of Switzerland and the inviolability of her frontiers. In the ensuing 160 years Switzerland has pursued a policy of permanent neutrality.

In 1831 the permanent neutrality of Belgium was proclaimed. But Kaiser Germany thought nothing of violating it in 1914. After World War I Belgium completely relinquished permanent neutrality. In 1949 the country joined the NATO bloc.

Luxemburg adhered to permanent neutrality from 1867 to 1944. In 1944, however, it gave up this policy and in 1949, Luxemburg too joined NATO. Sweden has been following the traditional neutrality policy for the past 160 years. Steering clear of military alliances both in peacetime and during war, Sweden has enjoyed all the benefits accruing from this foreign policy line. Norway and Denmark too adhered to traditional neutrality for a long time. After World War II, however, they renounced it and in 1949 became members of NATO. Similarly, other countries like Iceland declared permanent neutrality and adhered to it for several years before eventually renouncing it.

A state declaring permanent neutrality pledges to take no part in any kind of war save in defence of its own territory in case of external attack or to ward off the attempts of belligerents to draw the country into war on their side. In more modern times, Austria declared permanent neutrality in 1955. It is stated in the Federal Constitution Act of the Austrian Republic (October 26, 1955) that to ensure permanent neutrality lasting external independence and inviolability of her territory, Austria, of her own volition, pledged permanent neutrality. The Act said further that Austria would maintain and safeguard permanent neutrality by all available means. Austria declared that to secure these goals she would not join any military alliances, and would not allow any foreign military bases on her soil. After the last war Finland adopted neutra-

lity, stressing its desire to stand aloof from the clash of interests between the Great Powers. At the same time Finland voiced its desire to cooperate with all countries in the interests of world peace and security in keeping with the principles of the United Nations.

AS WITNESSED by the many years' record of Switzerland, Sweden, Finland Austria and other European countries, adhering in one form or another to a policy of neutrality (promulgated in legislative acts, guaranteed by other powers, or vested and implemented in some other form), this policy has been of great advantage to the state or group of states concerned. It has also been an important factor in favour of peace on the international scene.

The neutrality of the European countries—Sweden, Switzerland, Finland and Austria has been of some positive significance for the cause of peace inasmuch as it implies their non-participation in military blocs, refusal to permit bases and foreign troops on their soil etc. The tendency to em-

brace neutrality which is now apparent in several other capitalist countries is evidence of the viability of this policy.

But this should not blind us to the fact that "neutrality" in this sense has also been used to further the self-seeking aims of various countries. Thus it is generally known that the so-called neutrality of the USA at the outset of World War I was dictated by the desire of US monopolists to take advantage of the existing situation to amass greater wealth. What they did under the guise of neutrality then was to wait for the opportune moment to enter the war.

Equally well known is the 'neutrality' or 'non-intervention', that was used to throttle the Spanish Republic in 1936. Under the same cover, France, Spain and some other countries rendered considerable support to the Axis powers in World War II. Other cases of the abuse of 'neutrality' could be cited. All this goes to prove that the so-called policy of neutrality as declared by a

ONGOING SALT TALKS

On November 23-24, 1974, in the Soviet Union's Pacific port of Vladivostok, U.S. President Gerald R. Ford and Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev met to discuss a future agreement in the ongoing U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). They agreed that further negotiations will be based on the following provisions:

(1) The new agreement will incorporate the relevant provisions of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. interim arms limitation agreement of May 23, 1972, which will remain in force until October 1977; (2) The new agreement will cover the period from October 1977 through December 31, 1985; (3) Based on the principle of equality and equal security, the new agreement will include the following limitations; (A) A ceiling of 2,400 on each nation's total number of intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched missiles and heavy bombers, and (B) a limit for each nation of 1,320 missiles that can be armed with multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs).

(4) The new agreement will include a provision for future negotiations beginning no later than 1980-1981 on the question of further limitations and possible reductions of strategic arms in the period after 1985. In accordance with the understanding reached at Vladivostok, the American and Soviet delegations to SALT resumed discussions in Geneva on January 31, 1975.

The two sides—headed by U.S. Ambassador-at-Large Alexis Johnson and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Semyonov—are working out technical details of the Vladivostok accords, such as what types of missiles are covered by the agreement, what restraints will be necessary, how to identify missiles with multiple warheads, how to make sure that each nation is honoring the accord. The talks, still in progress, will result in a new agreement this year on limiting strategic offensive arms through December 31, 1985.

capitalist state was never tantamount to neutrality on the socio-political level. It was always a manifestation of the policy of the ruling class and served their interests.

THE PRESENT POLICY of non-alignment followed by the countries of resurgent Asia and Africa, though sometimes also described as a policy of neutralism or neutrality, differs in many essential features from the classical neutralism of the Swiss or Swedish pattern. This may be illustrated by taking the cases, for instance, of Afghanistan, India and our own country.

In Afghanistan, the neutrality policy was promulgated and legally formulated as far back as 1926 in the Soviet-Afghan neutrality pact. Afghan statesmen then stated and have thereafter reiterated that they would not join any military alliance. This, they have said, is the best means to secure peace, tranquility and prosperity for their country.

At the same time they have stressed that Afghanistan's neutrality should not be identified with mere non-interference. Keeping out of the disputes of the great powers—disputes which at times would endanger peace—Afghanistan was by no means indifferent to other cardinal problems bearing on mankind's destinies. Afghanistan supported measures which helped consolidate peace and opposed those that did not.

Since its inception in 1950, the Republic of India too has successfully defied attempts to inveigle it into military blocs. Coming out against war pacts, she has energetically worked to strengthen peace and international understanding based on the famous *Pancha Sila* principles she formulated together with China in 1954: non-aggression, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence. Under her first Prime Minister, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, and now under the Premiership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, India has come to occupy a special position in international affairs because of the foreign policy of non-alignment (sometimes qualified by the adjectives 'active' or 'dynamic') she has followed all these years. In the case of both

Afghanistan and India as well as other countries which embraced a policy of non-alignment as basic for their foreign policies, a passive contemplation of international events gave place to active interference in order to promote world peace, liberate the peoples still languishing under colonial rule and advance the cause of those countries that had won political freedom from foreign rule.

This amounted to a recognition of the close connection between the issues of world peace, the peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social and political systems, and the development of the national liberation movements. It was to lead to the close co-operation and mutual assistance between the three streams of the anti-imperialist movement. As one country after another in Asia and Africa broke away from colonial dependence to take their place in the world community of free nations, many countries which were formerly reserves of imperialism became active forces helping to transform the world.

THE POSITION IN SRI LANKA was complicated by the fact that though she attained political independence soon after the end of World War II, we continued to remain tied to the apron strings of British imperialism through the agreements on defence arrangements and external affairs which our leaders signed as a *quid pro quo* for our new status.

And so at international conferences like the San Francisco conference on the Japanese peace treaty in 1951 and the famous Bandung conference in 1955, our spokesmen remained the odd men out, out of step with the emerging world of Afro-Asian solidarity and non-alignment.

It was only in 1956 after the election to power of the Government led by the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike that we took our place alongside the majority of those in Asia and Africa which had already adopted non-alignment as the foreign policy line best serving the needs of newly-independent countries.

In his address to the UN General Assembly that same year, Mr. Bandaranaike made clear the distinction between the new foreign policy of non-alignment of these

newly-independent states and the classical neutrality of the old capitalist states of Europe.

He said: "We have to build up a new society for ourselves, as I have said which best suits the genius of our country. We should like to get some ideas and some principles from this side, and some from the other, until a coherent form of society is made up that suits our own people in the context of the changing world of today. That is why we do not range ourselves on the side of this power-bloc or that power-bloc. That is the philosophy of neutralism. It is not something dishonest; it is not a matter of sitting on the fence to see whether we can get the best of both worlds. It is a position that is inexorably thrust on us by the circumstances of the case. It is a position that will be of great help in the world situation today, for we do provide a bridge over the gulf between the two opposing factions.

"We are supposed to be the 'uncommitted' nations. I strongly objected to that word. We are committed up to the hilt. We are committed to preserve decency in dealings between nations, we are committed to the cause of justice and freedom as much as anyone is. That, briefly, is our position in Asia. I trust it will not be misunderstood."

On a later occasion he even took objection to the word 'neutralist' saying: "We are not neutralist. We do not adopt a negative attitude. Our attitude is a very positive one in following our different ways of life non-alignment with power-blocs, and, therefore, as we think, helping the general cause of world peace and friendship, not in a 'negative' or 'neutral' sense, but in a positive way."

FOR NEWS
BEHIND THE NEWS

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BEFORE THE PERAHERA

KANDY—2

—Pilimitalawa, Ehelapola, Dunuvile—

By Ina Trimmer

EARLY BRITISH RULE was no less blemished by double dealing and intrigue than the Portuguese and Dutch had been. The first of these discreditable moves occurred when Ceylon's first Governor, North, later Earl of Guildford, intrigued with Pilimi Talawa, the Kandyan Adigar to depose his nephew Sri Wickreme Raja Sinha, the King, and set himself up as Regent. A British Ambassador was to go to Kandy, and with him a large armed force ostensibly as escort but intended as a permanent garrison. The King refused to agree to so large an escort and the scheme fell through.

Pilimi Talawa then, after much scheming, brought about an incident in which some British subjects suffered insult at the hands of the Kandyan King. This was considered sufficient provocation for a declaration of war by the British, and Kandy was invaded by General Macdowall in 1803. The King fled, the town was occupied, and a puppet named Muthusamy was placed on the throne. A Major Davie remained in charge of a permanent British garrison at Kandy to whose presence Muthusamy was persuaded to agree.

Pilimi Talawa now decided on a very bold stroke indeed—no less than the capture of the British Governor, the destruction of both the lawful King and the Pretender, and the extermination of the British garrison. He failed in the first two purposes, but succeeded only too completely in the third. The garrison already decimated by disease was assailed on all sides by thousands of Kandyan soldiers and were forced to capitulate. Pilimi Talawa guaranteed their safety and that of their proteges, Muthusamy; but these promises meant nothing. The remnant of the garrison, detained at Watapoluwa, three miles out of Kandy, by the Mahaveliganga swollen with rain, were surrounded and massacred. Muthusamy was slain,

Davie was led back to Kandy a prisoner, and one single soldier escaped to tell the tale.

It was several years before the British were in a position to revenge themselves but a situation finally arose which resulted in the final annexation of the Kandyan Kingdom by the British.

Pilimi Talawa had at last been found out in an attempt to assassinate the King, and he had been beheaded. His successor Ehelapola, however, was no wit behind him in ambition and duplicity. The King's despotic excesses had shaken the loyalty even of his own people, and Ehelapola, the Prime Minister influenced no doubt by hopes of the Kandyan throne as suzerain under the British, intrigued with Governor Brownrigg to organise a general revolt. But knowledge of it came to the King and Ehelapola in fear fled for protection to the British in Colombo leaving his wife and children behind.

INFURIATED beyond all reason the Sinhalese King wreaked his vengeance on the innocent family. The story of this terrible tragedy is graphically described by Davy brother of the celebrated Sir Humphrey Davy in his book *Interior of Ceylon*.

"Hurried along by the flood of his revenge, the tyrant lost to every tender feeling, resolved to punish Ehelapola who had escaped, through his family who still remained in his power; he sentenced his wife and children, and his brother and wife to death—the brother and children to be beheaded, and the females to be drowned. In front of the Queen's palace, and between the Nata and Maha Vishnu Dewate, the wife of Ehelapola and his children were brought from prison and delivered over to their executioners. The lady with great resolution maintained her own and her children's innocence, and her lord's, and then desired her eldest child to submit to his fate; the poor boy who was eleven year old, clung to his mother terrified and crying; her second son nine years old, heroically stepped forward; he bid his brother not to be afraid—he would show him the way to die. By one blow of a sword the head of this noble child was severed

from his body and thrown into a rice mortar; the pestle was put into the mother's hands and she was ordered to pound it or be disgracefully tortured. To avoid the disgrace the wretched woman did lift up the pestle and let it fall. One by one the heads of all her children were cut off; and one by one the poor mother... but the circumstance is too dreadful to be dwelt on. One of the little children was an infant and it was plucked from its mother's breast to be beheaded." After the execution of her children the sufferings of the mother were speedily relieved. She and her sister-in-law were led to the little tank in the immediate neighbourhood of Kandy, called Bogambara Weva and drowned."

In later years this Weva or tank was filled in and turned into playing fields. Up to a short time ago a stone marked the place where the poor tortured woman met her death, a humble memorial to one of the bravest women of all time.

Retribution was not slow in coming. The British who had let pass this inhuman vengeance on their ally were finally stirred to action when a party of British subjects, merchants who had gone up to Kandy for purposes of trade, were seized and mutilated. At last, (in 1815) a British expedition set out for Kandy which was soon stormed and taken. The King fled for safety to Hanguranketa but was overtaken and seized at Medamahenuwara, led captive to Colombo, and finally banished to Vellore in South India. Ehelapola, the British ally and adviser was ignored, and finally—accused of fomenting rebellion—was himself banished to Mauritius.

Thus ended the Kandyan kingdom.

KANDY WAS A PRIZE worth the winning. Apart from its political and strategic importance it is one of the Island's most beautiful cities and a favourite health resort. Its situation on the hills (Kandy is a corruption of "Kande Uda Nuwara"—the City set-on-a-hill—) gives it many advantages of position and climate. The town stands at an elevation of 1674 feet. The climate is mild for the tropics and even the heat of the day is seldom oppressive, the mean annual temperature being in the neigh-

Bahirawa Kanda

bourhood of 76° although much lower temperature are reached in the "Cold Season" of December to February. The hottest months are April and May. The rainfall is heavy, reaching an annual total of little less than 100 inches, which is comparatively evenly distributed throughout the year. November and December are, however, the wettest months, and February and March usually the driest.

The district round about has been thoroughly opened up and abouhds in flourishing estates of tea and rubber, of cocoa, of coconut; and rice fields are there in plenty. The towns owes much to Governor Ward who first projected the railway to the city, and to Governor Barnes who opened the district up with roads.

There are many places around Kandy of historic and aesthetic interest for Kandy has that unusual combination of age and beauty. Many of the associations are sinister for they belong to the other days when ethics were different to ours.

The hill above the Roman Catholic Convent in Katukelle is a case in point. Called *Bahirawa Kanda*, it was dedicated to the demon god Bahirawa. Every year his clemency was craved by the King and his Court with the sacrifice of the most beautiful girl in Lanka. To choose her was no easy task for none but the best would satisfy the dreaded demon. A commission of the King's servants toured the Island in search of the purest and loveliest girl. In Galagedara not 12 miles from Kandy dwelt Welika Menika, daughter of peasant parents and the apple of their eye. But alas! She answered too completely all the requirements of the yearly sacrifice.

Bidding her parents not to grieve for she would return soon she entered the waiting palanquin bravely, and escorted by the King's officials was carried to the palace, there with other candidates for the terrible honour to await the final choice of the King. At last on an auspicious day, dressed in white she was conducted before the King who sat in state in the Audience Hall. Terrified, each girl knelt before his throne, while their weeping relatives outside waited for the dreaded verdict. With appraising eyes the King viewed each girl, but his look

rested longest on Welika Menika who unconscious of his interest and the admiring glances of a young court official, was lost in admiration of her lovely companions. With a peremptory finger pointed at her the King commanded Welika Menika to come forward. Horror struck she stood unable to move. Then on her knees she crept to the throne.

"Prepare her for the sacrifice. She is chosen of the gods!"

A PERFUMED BATH was ready and the rites for a bride were accorded her, for was she not to be the bride of a demon? Clothed in wedding garments, flowers in her hair and garlands round her throat, she was prepared for the sacrifice. A great company had assembled outside eagerly awaiting the procession to the place of offering. The ceremony was graced by the King's own presence, and accompanied by a concourse of devil dancers, musicians, tom-tom beaters, elephants, and the excited crowd, the procession set out and slowly wound its way past the lake, to the hill looming ahead.

In a palanquin covered with flowers and gorgeously decorated sat Welika Menika, the icy hand of death close on her. Up the steep path the procession slowly moved till they reached the summit where on the levelled ground a stake and four altars had been prepared. Offerings of many kinds were placed on the altars, rice and betel leaves, opium, lizard's eggs, a cock, and ashes of burnt hair. But the best was yet to come. With shouts of praise from the people the maiden's palanquin was lowered, while the air was rent with the beat of tom-tom and the blast of conch shells. Limp with fear the girl was carried and tied to the stake with forest creepers.

Then noise ceased. An awful silence gripped the crowd of yelling fanatics as the chief master-of-ceremonies wound seven strands of yellow thread about the altars muttering incantations to the god. Suddenly he stopped and with a voice of thunder called on the god to accept his bride. Like one demented he shrieked his incantations imploring the Yakka to eat of the sacrifice laid before him. "*Drink her blood thou god who wast born from blood. Rend her to pieces, she is thine to do as thou desirest. Turn thy wrath from me*

for I adore thee Bahirawa but avenge thyself on this maiden."

But the god was silent and answered not. In a frenzy of appeal the *Kapurala* leapt in the air, and drawing his knife slashed his own body; then fell senseless. A peal of thunder answered him. To the terrified people it was the voice of the god. Lightning rent the heavens. They dispersed hurriedly, frightened, silent. The hill was soon deserted.

But one remained, the young councillor who in the Audience Hall had looked at Welika Menika with admiration and pity. Quickly he approached her, cut the thongs that bound her, and carried her to a shelter under a rock. Softly he called her name assuring her she was safe. At last she opened her eyes and in amazement asked who he was. "*I am Dunuwila Nilame, Councillor of the King. I love you*" he said, "*and I have rescued you to be my bride.*"

He hid her with friends and married her after the British captured the city a few years later. To this day can be seen the place of sacrifice on Bahirawa's hill, a levelled spot where so many of Ceylon's maidens died to placate a demon's wrath.

There are many such places of interest around Kandy.

COMMUNICATIONS within and round the town are easy. Motor buses, motor cars, rickshaws and push bicycles are easily hired and walking—especially in the cool of the morning or late afternoon—is here a pleasant and profitable pastime.

To the Archivist, Archaeologist Artist and Tourist, Kandy has more than a share of appeal. But it is not in the city or even in the Lake that her allure lies. The city is congested, the bazaar a huddle of shops, the main streets are marred by a jumble of slums and dwelling houses. The beauty of Kandy is not here. It is in the whole district and Kandy commands every view. From each hilltop, through every beautiful drive, fresh liveliness is disclosed; there is no repetition but a varied succession of scenes almost one may say of incomparable beauty. For pure attraction to the tourist and visitor as such, Kandy and the Kandyan country are rivalled by few areas throughout the globe.

Here are scenic beauties and human history, the cradle of an unfamiliar civilization, and warm welcome and friendship, a tropical atmosphere, and every amenity, abundant living, and much from which to select for memories and souvenirs.

You will remember Kandy.

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—44

The Pleasure of Ruins (i)

By Herbert Keuneman

'But what is there to do in Ehetuwewa?' is a question I am often asked, both by sympathizers who seem to feel I have condemned myself to a living death (at least on the plane of everybody amusements) by coming to live 'in a village!' and by prospective guests who fear they may be condemning themselves to nothing but watching birdlife or observing village comings and goings and rural customs or something vegetative of the sort if they accept my invitation. Actually, it would do most people—not to say the country at large—considerable good to be for a while quiet. More things are mis-wrought by activism than their world dreams of!

Anyway, there is one thing I can offer the more asthenic and scholarly or merely romanticist, for which Ehetuwewa is one of the best centres I know: The Pleasure of Ruins. In a rectangular area about twenty-five miles long and fifteen wide, of which the geographical centre would be about the village called Dematewa (halfway, 4 mls. from Ehetuwewa on the Galgamuwa road) within which lie not less than twenty-two ruins and ancient sites, some of them quite famous though little visited and some of them quite major though almost unknown and all of them in one way or another fascinating.

I am, myself, alas an antiquarian rather than a historian or archaeologist—how I wish I were, by training, either—and can offer nothing new to those who may know these sites already. But I am going, nevertheless, to devote the next few articles in this polypetalous series of mine to giving some

account of them, if only what I have chiefly gleaned from others' researches and reports. Often, too, I shall be writing from memory; since old age progressively immobilizes me at precisely the time when the sites have become progressively more accessible even to a non-motorist (thanks to the remarkable network of bus routes serving the 'colonies') than they were when my wife and I knew them 15—and sometime nearer 50—years ago. And I shall generally write in inverse proportion to the extent to which the place I write about is known.

KADIGALA. The northernmost of these sites I shall mention stands at one of the bund-roots of the great new—wholly new; for it is not a restoration—Rajangane Reservoir. Its first position is fortunate, in a sense, for although there is actually very little to see (and less now than there used to be before the area was 'developed'; save an outstanding view of the nature and extent of that very development which is impressive despite oneself) it is one of my favourite ancient sites because it commemorates how the Whirligig of Time brought not one of its tiresome revenges but, much rarer, a particularly happy *rapprochement*.

Every Ceylon schoolchild knows the story of the frivolous 1st Century king, Yasalalaka Tissa, who used to change habit with his dead-spit 'pofter' make fun of his own pompous Ministers as they entered the throne-room, until the porter realizing his opportunity ordered the real king slain for daring to jest in his presence and reigned in his stead. Although the *Mahāvamsa* dutifully lists the deeds of virtue by which he followed up his scarcely virtuous accession, Subha the porter-king seems to have remained hag-ridden; and when he heard a prophecy that a new king, Vasabha, was soon to appear he out-Heroded Herod and ordered that all the Vasabhas in the country (regardless of age) should be put to death and so they were. All but one. When the uncle who was guardian to this propitiously starred Vasabha, displaying more political nous than family feeling, took him along to the palace (intending, no doubt—how little have Ceylon politics changed—that the King observer his loyalty) the youth's aunt gave

him charge of her husband's betel-bag but left out the lime that should also go in it; and at the palace gate the uncle (desiring, no doubt—how little have Ceylon habits changed—a comforting chew to take his mind off his own treachery) sent him back to fetch this. Vasabha's aunt now apprised him of what was afoot, gave him money, and helped his eventual escape to Ruhuna, that land of Keunemans and rebellious causes whence he returned at the head of an army and Subha—and, one is gratified to report, the wicked uncle as well—was slain.

Now Subha while the bruit of Vasabha's uprising was in the air committed to the charge of a brick-maker friend of his—extraordinary what company those old Kings kept—his insignia, his robes of state, and his daughter Mahamatta, for safe keeping. And on Subha's death the brick-maker adopted as his own the daughter (but only the daughter) who needless to relate grew up as good as she was—as she simply must have been—beautiful.

It chanced, one day that as the now well-grown girl was taking his midday meal to her foster-father she came as she passed through a grove of flowering kadamba trees upon an *araha* nearing the end of a *nirodha sampattiya*: a meditation so deep and concentrated that if persisted in for more than seven days it will cause trance and death. To him she first offered the food she carried then prepared some for her foster father afresh; and he, when he learned the reason for his delayed meal, far from upbraiding commended the child and bade her feed the ascetic daily. This she continued to do to the day of his ineluctable fate. But emerging from his trance to make one brief prophecy, he blessed Mahamatta before he died: 'When royal rank hath fallen to thy lot bethink thee, O maiden, of this place.'

Not long after, King Vasabha sought a fit bride for his son Vankanāsika Tissa (Tissa of the Hook-nose, or Crooknose) who had come of age, and Mahamatta's beauty and piety were reported to him. The matter was clinched when the good brick-maker—who, at least, had kept faith—was able to prove by producing the robes and regalia of his friend King Subha

that the girl was of palace blood. The marriage took place, and surely the Great Marriage Vihara, the Mahamangala Vihara, which the *Mahavamsa* ascribes to Vanka-nasika Tissa celebrates this union that brought together two royal houses between which slaughter had lain.

Nicholas in his *Historical Topography* inclines convincingly towards identifying the Vihara site with the site I have mentioned: the rocky hill that at the southern end of the huge bund towers, now, over the Rajangana waters. 400 (+) rock-cut steps used to scale it—now only the upper flights remain—and at its foot (now water-covered save when Rajangana is very low) and at its summit and at levels in between are the traces of stupas. A fine drip-ledged cave, with two figures of a male and a female personage, which used to lie to the right halfway up the steps, has been blasted out of existence to make today's roadway.

But the only inscription hitherto found at the site is one by Vanka-nasika Tissa's mother. The *vihara*'s name is not given. This ruin—this site, I suppose, one should rather call it; for the ruins, as I have said, are but few—certainly answers to one detail the *Mahavamsa* specifies of the Mahamangala Vihara: that it stood 'on the bank of the Gona River,' the Kala Oya today. But there is, of course, another *vihara* in this story, whose site has also not been identified beyond question. Mahamatta did, as she had been bidden, 'bethink her of that place' where she had met the *arahat*, and after Vanka-nasika Tissa's death she founded with her son the new King the Matu Vihara of the *Mahavamsa* where the *kadamba* grove once flowered. It may just be that Kadigala marks this spot instead. Yet what had her grandmother-in-law to do with that either?

RAJANGANE. Little though this very fascinating site is popularly spoken of—much less visited—it is by any reckoning a considerably major one, as well as a place of beauty and of all the more interest since excavation and conservation here are still being carried on. One single 'tour operator' has (I am happy to say) placed it on his regular schedule for tourists who pass that way; but far more people—and residents rather than tourists—should get to see it. It

lies only about three miles west of the Kurunegala/Anuradhapura Main Road and is easy to find since an Archaeological Department board marks the turn-off at the village of Maha Galkadawala near MP 45. (Remember to bear left, onto the minor road, where two miles on a Y junction seems to beckon left.)

This was the place known as Rajangane before ever the modern Irrigation Scheme came along and usurped the name; but its real name, as one of the several inscriptions to be found *in situ* testifies, was Hatthikucchi, where a monastery famous in Anuradhapura times had been established. The monastery is thrice mentioned in the *Mahavamsa* (in connexion with kings of the 6th, 8th and 9th Centuries) but the place was already known to the 5th Century writer Buddhaghosa—who specially commends as conducive to meditation a cave at the site: it must have been the lovely cave at the summit of the highest (the southern) hill, with its perpetual pool of constantly trembling water—and the inscription itself is as early as the 2nd Century.

Most of the *vihara* ruins lie in a small esplanade surrounded by an amphitheatre of low hills. Work on them is by no means complete—it has only been going on, and that sporadically, since the late 1950s—and amongst the most recent to be conserved is one that could possibly be a *bodhighara* (see Nillakgama, in a later article). At all events it displays a central pile, which may have constituted the 'planter' for the *bo(dhi)* tree, surrounded by a square stone-paved platform from which columns rise in such a pattern as to suggest they bore an annular roof—like the platform square, of course, in plan—open at the peak, to let the tree soar through.

It is suggestive that the date of the Nillakgama *bodhighara* close by (as of the spread of the *vata-da-ge*'s popularity) and of the greatest recorded period of building at the Hatthikucchi site, the 8th/9th Centuries, so nearly coincide. No expert has yet published an opinion on this, but if the building is indeed a *bodhighara* not only is that in itself sufficient to make Rajangane famous (for the Island's only *bodhighara* known hitherto has been the one at Nillakgama) but the Rajangane site is unique in

that a few feet to the west stands a *vata-da-ge*, a type of building better known, though itself rare enough, in which a stupa instead of a *bo* tree is the central object of a greatly similar kind of shrine!

Another point of interest I seem to remember about Rajangane is that amongst the ruins of one of the *pasadas* (buildings of more than one storey) which are mentioned by the *Mahavamsa* as having been contributed to the monastery by various kings—I believe, the first you come upon as you approach by the route I have described: the ruin to your right—was discovered a great steel nail which must have been used as the final fastening at the peak of the roof beams. I think I was told this was the first metal device of such a sort to have been discovered in the course of Ceylon archaeology. (But I may be wrong: I may in my enthusiasm have mixed this detail into the account of Rajangane, from some other ruins!)

But go and see Rajangane for yourself. You will agree that my enthusiasm, at least, is not misplaced!

To Be Continued

Inania of this, that and the other

All Men Are Equal But...

By INNA

"Lord over all the races, help us not be racist"—

Could well be the prayer of any ardent equalizer of all men 'born equal and equal once again only in death'. What a lot of heat, sound and darkness we generate in pretending we are one and fighting tooth and nail with each other; in suggesting to ourselves that we are born to eradicate every form of injustice and then indulge in any form of injustice ourselves with a splinter in our eye; in asserting wildly that we are not drunk while we are rolling drunk, as any drunkard would greet you.

There was a heap of prayer and song in congregational and non-congregational hymnals of old and it happened a few years ago, for all the fanfare and promise of equality, justice, "we are all equal under the sun of the Lord."

There was a chapel-sized church in a hill-country station of N... in Sri Lanka, then known as Ceylon. A simple, ordinary-looking young man used to go to the Church to pray of an evening. The worthy minister came up to him and told him with all the fervour he could muster: "I don't think you need to come here to pray. Why don't you pray at home?" "The Lord likes you."

He ignored the remark for a moment, then looked up again and said Yes and went off. The minister was European. The church was exclusively for Europeans. But our man liked the church and its prayerful atmosphere. He came again, unfailingly as an arrow from the bow, the following week and there he was wrapt in prayer.

Nosy parker comes again and with good grace in his throat say: "Young man, I told you there is no need to come here. The Lord is pleased with you and so you need not come here. Stay home and

pray. I allow you." Our friend popped up and slowly walked away sad, for he had great ideas. Once again, in the turn-up of time, he walked again into that church and prayed, dark though he was, his pure spirit expressed itself in his body bow, but then came ruthless Richard (may be it was not his name), and said: "I told you in plain English not to come here. Do not enter this place, ever." To which the young man kneeling, replied. "Yes, I have been here three times and now you tell me not to enter here. I'm not surprised, because even the Lord finds entry here difficult." He spat it out because he had had enough of diehard division in the name of unifying religion, dastardly acts of hymnal comradeship and foul lying in deed. Their brand has gone away leaving a stench that is slowly dying down in the world.

Physician heal thyself! could well be the challenge thrust out at

those who talk justice and live injustice; who ridicule racism and peddle all forms of inequality. What then of those in high places who cannot see that it is good to "humble oneself" and receive a churchminister from Batticaloa-christianity rather than pride oneself and always be in Batticaloa receiving from Jaffna christianity?

Caste is only a word perpetuated in the dictionary. It really should have no place in the lives of right-thinking people. The churchminister (chief one) from a christian group in Jaffna recently decried the caste system there, but what of internal, ecclesiastical racism or caste-ism or whatever it is called?

The gospel mote-beam story is always true. I see the racism in another but allow the Fraser memorial casteism or racism or social difference to pass through. How sad.

REVIEW

PLEAD MERCY
Anne Ranasinghe's Poems

By Ashley Halpe

Anne Ranasinghe's most resonant, most attractive tone is governed by a humility before the facts of tragic experience. This was the tone that came through in the best of her earlier work in poem: such as *Well, I'm Sorry*, (*With Words We Write*, 1972) *Judgement* and *At What Dark Point* (*Poems*, 1971) and it comes through triumphantly in poem after poem of the present collection. One hears it in such a deceptively simple piece as *Death in the Rain* or *Snapshot*:

While

Labouring breath puffed its furry chest
At longer and longer intervals
The bat watched me calmly. It had great dignity
Lying, wing-shruded, in the hostile daylight.
Then the not-at-all ugly head
Dropped.

The vocabulary is unspectacular, but by no means bare: one notices the precision that directs the emotion in

"It had great dignity
Lying, wing-shruded, in the hostile daylight.
Then the not-at-all ugly head
Dropped....."

Certain poems in the collection are distinguished mainly by a quiet competence. I am thinking of piece like *Rambutangs* or *Colombo—Hot Season*:

Across the still garden
Fall blue shadows—darkness
Slips down tree-trunks, and
Day's heat dissolves
In mist, curling
Round palm tree and mango.
The mango tree is

Both fragrant with blossoms
And clustered.
With small hard fruit....."

One has to be grateful for such competence when one thinks of the uncertainty of the position of those who write in English in Sri Lanka today. There is the instability and indefiniteness of the reading public for such writing, there are the socio-cultural factors that make for a sense of alienation, and which could so easily tempt the writer into a vocabulary insistent on its own distinctiveness or heavy with a freight of unassimilated Ceylonese-ness. Poems of the kind I have mentioned got their impact from the fidelity of small observations building up a clear image of a sharply-felt experience though, perhaps, of a minor order. Where there is such competence one can accept experiences which got scarcely further than whimsical tender reminiscence—as in *Non-Event*—or neat social comment. *By No Means New* is perhaps a fair example of the latter:

...In Venice letters were secret
And anonymous. Here
They are neither,
And we have cash incentives.

But it is in the deeply-serious, deeply tragic expression of waste and human inadequacy that Anne Ranasinghe makes her most powerful communications. *Sinhala New Year 1975* is particularly deft in its shifts of mood, the show preparation of a poignant climax and the stoic humanism that underlies its deliberate anti-climax. The poem begins with matter-of-fact:

"The morning of Sinhalese New Year I went to the market
To buy mangoes, a pinedapple and 'kolikuttu
Plantains."

It then moves within the range of the common place into a gradual focussing of horror:

"A lorry drove up
Four men jumped down from the lorry, loosened the chains,

Distinct Poetic Voice

The ta-li-gate fell, and inside the lorry
Lay the little pink bodies
Of skinned goats and their babies, also skinned and
shiny pink, so many of them, naked, hairless and
without heads,
The stumps of their delicate necks
Still oozing blood."

And then there comes the sharp shift to a brief
but intense recollection of the torture-chambers of
Nazi Germany:

"The men worked fast and
Very precisely, and though I averted my eyes
From the fixed stare of those skinless bodies
Their voiceless bleating
Pierced the mind, which remembered
Other lorries and other bodies on meathooks—
Not under a tropical sun, but
In the knife-sharp cold of a cemented cellar."

It ends:

A Silly comparison, I told myself, pull yourself together
And wish the butcher a Happy New Year."

The climax of *Sinhala New Year 1975* makes it clear
that Anne Ranasinghe has not relinquished one atom
of the Jewishness that is an essential element of her
poetic character. There are many other poems in this
collection which would substantiate this point; one
thinks not only of *Who Remembers Treblinka* or *An
Exhibition of Graphics* which deal directly with the atrocities
perpetuated against the Jews in Hitler's Germany,
but also of the many points at which images of that past
provide the telling clarifications of some quite different
scene.

It would, however, be a failure of nerve on our
part to see in these poems nothing more than the
records and echoes of a distant tragedy. Their point
for us surely involves our here and now. Mrs. Rana-

singhe can afford to deal allusively with the Insurgency
of 1971 in the poem by that name precisely because
the moral of that part of our history is so clearly before
us in her representations of or reflections on the Nazi
atrocities. As we read to the end of *Who Remembers
Treblinka* we should surely experience the shocking
analogy with our own easy consciences and pliant
memories. We have had our own ditches and pyres,
our own boys with frightened eyes and girls with virgin
loins who have disappeared without a trace:

"Who remembers

The emptying of the ditches
The emptying of the ditches by propped steel arms
That plunged to the bottom, forking carrion corpses
Feeding dismembered corpses into monstrous steel jaws
That rise to the heavens, pause, screech and shudder.
Then hurl their damned cargo to the blazing pyre below,
Boy with frightened eyes
Mother rocking baby

Old man searching with fluttering hands
The comforting shawl of ritual. In vain—
He is naked.

The beautiful girl with virgin loins
And dark pointed nipples
Is ready for love.....

Fill the ditches

With ashes.

Level

The furrows,

Plant grass, trees, flowers. Lay

White gravel paths.

Some rustic benches—a public park."

Plead Mercy marks the arrival of Anne Ranasinghe
as a distinct poetic voice and is a notable part of the
current efflorescence of writing in English in this
country.

TRIBUNE

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Confidentially

- Reshuffle Canard
- Duraiyappah's Funeral

IS IT NOT A FACT that on the afternoon of Wednesday July 30 there was a news panic in Colombo which had stampeded even the most hardened newsmen into a frenzy of telephoning to get confirmation? That a little after three all were alerted that a major Cabinet reshuffle was imminent? That these changes would be notified in a Gazette late that night? That the SLBC had been asked to stand by for the sensational news? That nobody seems to know how this story originated and whence it had originated? That the surprising thing was that it was believed as true by a large number of knowledgeable persons who do not usually fall for gossip or street corner blabbering? That this was not first mooted about in the bars or pubs (however distinguished) or in the drawing rooms of the old rich and the new rich who have vested interests in any possible Cabinet reshuffle one way or the other? That, incidentally, some of the rich do not want a reshuffle (especially the gem and CRA capitalists) whilst some of the other rich are desperately hoping for a Cabinet reshuffle? That all efforts to find out the source of Wednesday's panic point to certain bureaucratic and political circles which have a fair knowledge of what happens in the higher echelons of our establishment and power hierarchy? That the whole story of the reshuffle was built on the current confrontation between the SLFP and the LSSP as to who should control the British owned estates that would be taken over? That the reshuffle story was garnished in such a way that it seemed eminently believable? That it was pegged on to the earlier story that there was a threat of resignation on the part of one or more members of the United Front if certain decisions were taken? That there was an expectation that this decision would have been made on Wednesday? That on the strength of a belief that this decision had already been taken in a particular way, the whole story about

the reshuffle had been worked out? That in actual fact, the confrontation and crisis which many expected to take place on Wednesday, had, in fact, not taken place at all? That those who had threatened to resign had not taken the initiative in seeking a confrontation? That the whole thing had been defused with a decision to have a subcommittee to look into the matter? That the whole story of the reshuffle had finally turned out to be a canard? That it was likely that the matter about the control of the sterling companies taken over would be decided upon this week and the decision made known before this issue of *Tribune* is on the newstands at the end of the week? That a great deal seems to turn on the question as to who should run and manage the sterling company estates which will be taken over soon? That it now seems likely that whatever the decision there will be no crisis? That Regulations have been approved and gazetted to prevent Agency Houses and Estates Managements from running down the assets of these estates? That it is yet to be seen whether such Regulations can do anything (very much) to prevent deterioration? That these Regulations are no more than declarations of pious intentions coupled with negative prohibitory injunctions which can minimise the possible dangers? That in the meantime it is whispered in tea circles that production has begun to drop disastrously because fertiliser and other inputs had not been applied in view of the shadow of nationalisation that has been hanging over them, these estates and Agency Houses for sometime? That informed opinion seems to be agreed that a Cabinet reshuffle will not arise at this stage?

IS IT NOT TRUE that there has been a great deal of comment that no top level LSSP or CP leader attended the funeral of Mayor Duraiyappah in Jaffna last week? That if messages and statements had been made officially by these parties or the party leaders they have not been given the prominence they deserved either in our newspapers or over the SLBC? That there were no reports that leaders of these UF partners had attended the various ceremonial functions in connections with the funeral? That many observers have begun to wonder why the LSSP-CP lea-

ders did not play a prominent part in the funeral arrangements of the late Mayor? That Duraiyappah was undoubtedly one of the top-most leaders of the UF in Jaffna? That as the chief SLFP organiser for the prestigious town electorate he held an important position in the UF set-up in the North? That as a politician Duraiyappah was a remarkable figure? That he broke into politics on his own as an Independent? That he first came into the limelight when he won the Jaffna seat beating the redoubtable G. G. Ponnambalam and an equally redoubtable FP nominee? That though he had squeezed through on a very narrow majority he had thereafter developed a power base in the Jaffna town electorate? That though he had not been successful in subsequent parliamentary elections (even when the elections were three-cornered), he had a major foothold in the Municipal Council where he has recently been a force to contend with? That as an Independent (he had not been enamoured with the communal Rightist policies of the FP or the TC; on the one hand, or the Leftist policies of the LSSP or CP, on the other), he had gravitated towards the centrist SLFP? That there is no doubt that he has done much to put the SLFP in the map in Jaffna? That the fact is that part of the influence and prestige he had enjoyed was because of the patronage he had been able to distribute after the SLFP and the UF had come to power? That there is also no doubt that he has got for Jaffna a great deal of patronage from the Government which no other Tamil politician has been able to get from Colombo in the past? That UNP organisers in Jaffna from 1947 to 1956 and from 1965 to 1970 were not able to get benefits from the government in Colombo (cynics will say crumbs from the high table) in the measure that Duraiyappah has got from 1970 to 1975? That this was the real basis of his politics and as such it was very precariously perched? That whatever be the motive for the assassination (there are several possible non-political motives for it) the elimination of Duraiyappah is a big setback for UF politics in the North? That it is not merely a blow for the SLFP although the SLFP is the major loser? That the UF cannot easily find a replacement?

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