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Letter From The Editor

ONCE AGAIN we have wild life on our cover. This time it is a picture of a buffalo roaming wild in the game sanctuary at Yala. But even there, even this non-predatory herbivorous animal is not safe. Reports have now filtered outside this sanctuary that there was very recently a virtual slaughter of a large number of buffaloes—and, if it cannot be called a slaughter, as such, it can be described as wanton murder. The *Observer* of Sunday, July 13, 1975 carried an article entitled *Massacre at Pillinawa*. The author of the article had signed as P.D. and was easily identifiable as one of the best known and finest photographers of our wild life—a person who knows our jungles and loves the birds, the animals and reptiles which have made our jungles a paradise for the nature lover. What he wrote was a sad story reminiscent of the *Operation Elephant* which had led to the cruel death of a large number of the captured animals under circumstances which had aroused a public outcry. *Operation Elephant* which officials of the Wildlife Conservation Department had staged in order to capture a herd of elephants which were proving troublesome to new colonists (and young collective farmers) in the Angukelapellasa area of Uda Walawe so that they could be sold into captivity for domestication. But methods of capture were so inhumanly crude and the manner in which the captors sought to bring the animals under control were so stupidly sadistic that most of the captured animals had perished in great anguish. The papers of the *Lake House* and *Times* groups had taken up this matter of great public interest and whilst the *Times* had boldly persisted in carrying out a campaign against the errant officials, *Lake House* had been persuaded to play down the matter after a certain stage. But the public protest had grown until the echoes had reached the chamber of the National State Assembly and the Minister had soothed the critics by stating that chief bureaucrat, responsible for the insane policy that had placed even protected animals at the mercy of poachers and captors, was moving out of the *supremo's* position. It is true that the particular bureaucrat is no longer at the helm, but the policies and system which he had formulated and devised continue reign supreme to this day—and this has enabled leopard-killers to develop a large-scale non traditional trade in the export of skins, hoteliers to supply tourists with venison and officials to massacre the animals under the pretext of capturing them for domestication.

OPERATION BUFFALO seems to be a repetition of the *Operation Elephant* story. In this case, some bright sparks in the Administration had conceived the idea of capturing a number of buffaloes in the Pillinawa Wewa area in Block Two of the Yala sanctuary to be transported all the way to some youth and co-op farms in Kegalle (or was it for the new tourist miracle *Safari Park?*) for domestication. It was an ambitious scheme with all the romantic overtones of the slap-happy Wild West with cowboys and the rest of the paraphernalia. But the cowboys on this occasion rode jeeps and noosed the buffaloes with light 1" cords (instead of the traditional 2" heavy manila rope). These light ropes had torn through the sinews of the animals' necks during the struggle after noosing—which, in this case, led to death and not capture. This jeep-riding brigade of wildlife conservation departmental cowboys, led by brigadiers and their likes from the metropolis, did succeed in capturing a number of these buffaloes—some of them being among the finest specimens born of the Englebrecht herd, but it is a dark secret how many died on the spot, how many died on the long (long) trail to Kegalle and how many had died after they had reached their destination. In the past, when the sanctuary had become overstocked with buffaloes, they were caught by persons who knew how to capture them without killing them and were auctioned off at one of the outlet points of the sanctuary to people who were able to train them for domestication. But this was not done in this case. Buffaloes for the farms at Kegalle could have been more easily obtained from other sources, and, whoever conceived of the idea of transporting them from Pillinawa Wewa in Yala to Kegalle were probably in need of psychiatric treatment. But those entrusted with the job of capturing these animals and in actual fact responsible for the massacre have to be asked for explanations for their conduct—and if their replies and answers are not satisfactory they should be dealt with severely. As we have often stated, the Wildlife Conservation Department has to be compelled to go back to the old order of conservation where the entire country was covered with game wardens and rangers. In addition, officials must know that it is their primary duty to protect wild life and not indulge inexpertly in wild west cowboy adventures of lassoing (and noosing) elephants and buffaloes.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

- * **SLFP—LSSP**
- Confrontation?**
- * **DDC Socialism**
- * **Colombo South**

THE TEMPO OF EVENTS in the political arena have begun to hot up a little. Whether all this will amount to anything more a little storm in a tea cup or whether something bigger will blow up is problematic. In Sri Lanka, every political confrontation which threatens to assume major proportions has a way of fizzling out—with nothing resolved with every side beating strategic retreats to fight the major battle another day. But this process of crisis, confrontation and retreat so characteristic of the Sri Lanka politics of today has compelled a policy of drift which has resulted in a leftwards push here and a rightwards thrust there with nothing to show that any major advance in development amounting to a breakthrough has taken place.

At the moment, a new crisis and confrontation seems to be building up. The second part of last year saw a rising tussle over the question of nationalisation, especially the nationalisation of foreign-owned estates and banks. The confrontation on the question of foreign owned estates has been seemingly resolved in favour those who had wanted more nationalisation. Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has now obtained the tacit consent of the British Premier that Britain would not raise any objections if fair compensation was paid promptly. In Sri Lanka, the United Front, including the LSSP and CP, have also accepted the principle of compensation—though the question of finding the money for the compensation has yet to be solved. (There are of course extremists and armchair intellectuals who argue that either compensation should not be paid or that Britain should be persuaded to forgo the compensation because of the large profits drawn over the years, but this line of thinking is not likely to have any impact on the present Government).

While the nationalisation of estates matter has been resolved, a new crisis seemed to have developed over who should run the foreign-owned estates taken over. The SLFP does not seem anxious to place these estates in the control of an LSSP Minister. The SLFP Working Committee, according to reports, had decided that these estates should be handed over to an SLFP Minister. While it would appear that the LSSP had no objections to the SLFP Minister of Agriculture and Lands sponsoring the Bill to legislate on the takeover, they have taken objections to the running of the estates by any other Minister than the LSSP Minister of Plantations. (Political gossip has made it out that the LSSP Minister had even threatened to resign if the foreign-owned estates taken over were not placed under the charge of the Ministry of Plantation Industries). The *Janadina* of July 25 had editorially set out the LSSP position on this matter very clearly.

This insistence by the LSSP that it should be in charge of the estates taken over has evoked indirect support from the most unlikely places. The *Daily News* last week had pulled out an extract from an old report of a World Bank team which had commented that the State Plantations Corporation had displayed considerable management skill in running estates—no doubt when compared to the inefficiently amateurship efforts of the USAWASAMA and similar new institutional appendages of the Land Reform Commission. In its provincial edition, the *Daily News* (24/7/75), had made this story a seven page banner headline first page lead, but in the Colombo edition it had been cut down in size and importance.

A suggestion that these estates could be placed under the Ministry of Planning under the direct control of the Prime Minister—as a sort of compromise—does not seem to have found favour with the LSSP. This mini-confrontation was expected to come to a head last week, but nothing happened. There is general UF summit consensus that if the SLFP will sponsor the takeover Bill there will be a little breathing time before the crucial question of who is to run these estates (?) is taken up.

In the meantime, the SLFP party organ *Sinhale* on July 15, in a rare

mood of aggressive polemical bravado against the LSSP, editorially threw down the gauntlet challenging the LSSP-CP to an inner-UF fight. The ADA a little belatedly though, in its issue of July 27, reproduced the editorial of the *Sinhale* with a front page news comment of its own entitled SAMA-SAMAJA DEFLATED. (Up to the time of writing the LSSP's *Janadina* does not seem to have been drawn into this polemical confrontation but has only insisted that the JCTUO demand for nationalisation should be speedily implemented).

For the record, we are reproducing in rough translation the ADA comment and the *Sinhale* editorial. This is what the ADA wrote:

It is understood the SLFP has decided to handover the nationalisation of all foreign owned estates to Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands. The LSSP has been telling that nationalisation is the work of their party and not of the SLFP, and therefore the nationalisation of foreign owned estates must be handed over to the Ministry of Plantation Industries and not to the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. The SLFP says that nationalisation was not introduced by the LSSP but by the SLFP as the late Mr. Bandaranaike commenced nationalisation. Nationalisation of the harbour and oil are shown as examples. The SLFP intends handing over the nationalisation of all foreign-owned estates to Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, who took several bold steps in this decade for the welfare of ordinary masses. Though the LSSP had threatened to quit the Government if the Government failed to hand over the nationalisation of estates to them, yet the SLFP did not care "a tuppence" for this threat.

The official organ of the SLFP, Sinhale, has published an article about the two constituent parties of the United Front, other than the SLFP, which tell one thing at the summit conference and does another thing outside the conference. The gist of this article is that the SLFP welcomes friendship but is not prepared to stick the neck out when the "friends" get ready by sharpening the knives.

A translation of the Sinhale editorial of July 15, 1975, entitled

UNITY, KNIFE AND NECK, as reproduced in the ADA, reads as follows:—

We welcome unity and we are prepared to sacrifice for the sake of unity but when our friends sharpen the knife we are not prepared to stick our necks out. This is part of an article published in **Sinhale**, the official organ of the SLFP, about the throatcutting done by the LSSP and CP to the SLFP.

The SLFP, LSSP and CP joined together on a common program. The aim of this unity was to liberate the suffering masses of this country and fight against imperialism and capitalism. The LSSP and the CP have a longer history than the SLFP. The SLFP was accepted by the masses of this country at the very start. During a period when there were capitalists on one side and left extremists on the other side, late Mr. Bandaranaike along with left leaders like Philip Goonewardene and William Silva formed a Government in 1956 under the banner of the MEP. The victory of the masses in 1956 was according to the wish of the masses. At that time the main opponent of the MEP, the UNP, was reduced to eight seats in the Parliament. The LSSP failed to get what it expected. At a time when there were two main forces in the country yet another third force managed to get power because the third force was established on the wishes of the masses and the masses in turn liked this third force than the other two.

With the 1956 victory there were several changes in the economy, social and political patterns of the country. It was during this period the seeds were sowed for nationalisation and the Paddy Lands Act. At the time, who had opposed these moves during the whole 24 hours of the day? Was it not the LSSP? The Opposition in the Parliament led by Dr. N. M. Perera organised strikes and blocked the forward march of the country? If not for these sabotages won't our economy be more stable today? In 1960, the duty of the late leader was handed over to the present Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike. She paved the way for socialism and as a first step nationalised all American oil companies which were the main exploiters of the country's economy.

Then America stopped even the aid they were giving us. All these happened when the LSSP or CP was not in the Government. In 1964 the present UF was performed with the SLFP, LSSP and the CP. The aim of the UF was to unite the progressive forces and march towards socialism. In 1964 LSSP and the CP signed the condition governing the UF viz Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike is the leader of the UF and the policy of the UF is the Bandaranaike policy. But now they are shouting.. "PM did five.. give NM also two.. which was not one of the conditions to which the UF parties signed. At that time it was also not said that the other two constituent parties of the UF will resort to attacks in the dark nor will cut the necks with **diyaredda** (piece of cloth worn for bathing). Then why all these disturbances in these parties?

In the country for the first time the left forces were united by the SLFP. The LSSP and the CP did not have unity before they joined the SLFP. If not for the unity of the left forces the fate of these two parties would have been more tragic. It was not a secret there were "knife silvas" and "hugh fernandos", the rightist puppets, in the SLFP. There were also cardboard heroes like Marikkar and Rajaratne. We also remember the Philip Goonewardenes who changed the camps and ruined themselves. The reason for the political ruination of all these persons were owing to narrow thinking and throatcutting attitude. The reason for setting up the UF was not to achieve ministerial and prime-ministerial powers. If the aim was to liberate the suffering masses then they should not cross swords and resort to throatcutting.

By remaining in the UF if the other parties try to dissolve the SLFP it is a dirty thing to do. If the books of philosophies and golden brains are in this scheme it is dangerous to keep them in the name of unity until gangerene sets in. It is being victoriously carried out not to employ people of the other party under their ministries and cutting the throat of those people who belong to other parties who are already employed under their ministries. When an SLFP Minister goes abroad he allocates all the power to the Parliamentary Secretary belonging to another party. But when a

Minister of the other party goes abroad he entrusts the Junior Minister of the SLFP only with Acting Ministership and ties down all other powers.

Here we have pinpointed only two or three examples and how will the unity be saved under these circumstances? The indirect hinting policy of **Janadina**, **Janasathiya** and **Aththa** is a bar to the unity. A newspaper has the right to reveal frauds and corruption in a Ministry. It is better to burn margosa oil in places where it has hurt than to butter the Government and squeeze garlic. Failing which tetanus will be formed before the general elections. This is one side of the story. If this throatcutting shown in the **Sinhale** is found within the United Front a decision must be taken. And that decision is whether to remain united or to go home. If the decision is to remain then they must remain faithfully, if the decision is to go then they must go without creating any trouble.

It is pointless for our leaders to say that there is a split in the UNP and also pointless for papers to write about the UNP split. It is madness to speak of a small ailment in another's eye when one has a serious trouble in his own eye (a Sinhala proverb is given). First thing to do is to cure our big trouble. Though it is called the United Front it has three parties. The three parties have different policies and ways of thinking. These policies and ways of thinking must be retained to safeguard their own parties and not to ruin the United Front.

The main aim of the United Front is to march towards socialism. The march towards socialism does not require heroes and saints. What is necessary is working for it. Heroism is obtained through working and not by throatcutting. And through this, leave alone socialism, one cannot go even to the co-operative boutique. The three parties must have this in mind and this is important and topical. An elephant will not feel the pain if one pinches him; even if it pains he won't feel it. But the day he feels the pain he will turn around and will give only one blow. And on that day they who pinched will have to run. It is important not to create a situation like this.

WHILE THIS TUSSLE has developed as a war of words, the PM held a press conference at the end of last week. The Sunday Observer, 27/7/75, had a banner headline spread about the conference on its front page with the heading **PRIME MINISTER ON THE NEXT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT REVOLUTION. DDCs FOR SOCIALIST PRODUCTION.** According to the Prime Minister, the District Development Councils were the Sri Lankan *modus operandi* to reach socialism. For the record, it is essential to set out that the Prime Minister's latest ideological statement:

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, expressed confidence that the District Development Councils program based on the ideals and objectives spelled out by the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, would result in a far reaching change in the development process of the country and said that the 1,700 projects under the DDC program were intended to "bring about a change in people's thinking and attitudes." Speaking to the Press on the progress of the DDCs, the Prime Minister said that various countries were highly interested in finding out the success of these projects which were unique both from the point of view of the impact they had made and the manner they were being implemented from the grass-root levels. The direct impact of the 1000 odd projects now in operation in various parts of the country had caused a sizeable dent on the rural scene paving the way for greater utilisation of local raw materials and participation by the people in planning and development work.

Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of SLFP youth, and Youth Adviser to the Ministries of Planning and Education, and Prof. H. A. de S. Gunasekera Secretary to the Planning Ministry were associated with Mrs. Bandaranaike at the news conference. "I must bring out a very clear definition of what is meant by nationalisation brought out through the DDC programme. Very often there is a cry that there should be nationalisation in various production sectors. This nationalisation unfortunately, has normally resulted only in satisfaction, where the control of the means of production is concentrated in the hands of bureaucrats.

Nationalisation should mean not such state ownership with bureaucratic control, but social ownership with participation of the worker members. The DDC program provides for such socialisation of the means of production....

The Prime Minister seems to be convinced by what she said in the rest of the conference that the DDCs could bring socialism to Sri Lanka without resort to the orthodox forms of nationalisation.

A READER has drawn our attention that Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali has analysed the results of the Colombo South elections in a way which differed from our own analysis (vide Tribune 26/7/75), Mr. Athulathmudali's article, which appeared in The Journal reads as follows:

The Colombo South by-election was an election full of the records. The occasion for the election arose consequent on the resignation of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene on the principle of the right to vote and the obligation of the rulers to keep their promises to the electors.

The by-election was a protest against the extension of the life of Parliament. The result of the by-election created a number of records: (1) Mr. Jayewardene now becomes the M.P. with the largest majority to sit in Parliament, even more than Mrs. Bandaranaike and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. (2) Mr. Jayewardene has obtained the highest majority in any election or by-election since the new demarcation of electorates in 1960. (3) Apart from the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Mr. Jayewardene has obtained the highest majority ever in the history of Sri Lanka politics. (4) Mr. Jayewardene has polled the highest number of votes cast for any U.N.P. candidate of any party since the demarcation of 1960. (5) Mr. Jayewardene defeated Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma by a larger majority than he was defeated by Mrs. Bandaranaike in 1970. Mr. Jayewardene in 1970, polled 58.8 per cent of the poll, but this time despite the lower poll (68 per cent as against 74 per cent), he increased his share of the poll to

ALFRED DURAIYAPPAH

The shooting of Alfred Duraiyappah by three masked gunmen in Jaffna last Sunday must be condemned by all sane and right thinking people. Duraiyappah was a controversial political figure generating intense opposition as well deeply ardent support. He was, for long, a lone ranger who had succeeded in breaking through the stranglehold established by the giants of Tamil political hierarchy entrenched in the FP and TC into a position of prominence and influence in the North. In recent years he has been closely associated with the SLFP. If his killing was politically-motivated, it is futile act which will make him an SLFP martyr in the North. History has shown that political assassination solved no problems, but on the other hand gave rise to a new chain of events which had the most fateful consequences, hardest on the innocents inhabiting or resident in a particular territory. If the killing was motivated by personal vendetta, the danger is that it will nevertheless have political consequences as the victim was a politician. Murder has solved no problems, moreover, even in resolving personal feuds. Gang warfare and murders are not unknown in Jaffna (where smugglers and a criminal underground flourish as much as anywhere else), but this is the first time that a Tamil politician who felt that he was on the threshold of big things has been eliminated in this way. In Sri Lanka, as a whole, assassination has been rare, and the only politician in recent history who was assassinated was S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. The kind of revulsion which had swept over the whole island when Bandaranaike was assassinated is bound to engulf Jaffna even among those who were and still are bitterly critical of Duraiyappah's politics. It is a far more civilised and humane way to eliminate a political rival (or even a political undesirable) through the ballot box in an election or in a public campaign of political exposure than to murder him. The killing of Duraiyappah is a further indication that the spirit of killing—leopards, deer, buffaloes, human beings—is abroad in Sri Lanka. It is time that something is done to purge this new canker from the soul of Sri Lanka—and everybody knows that sermons alone will not do.

73.8 per cent. By contrast, Mr. Suriyapperuma received only 22.2 per cent. Mr. Jayewardene even more astonishingly polled more than half the total registered vote, i.e. even if all the non-voters are turned up and voted against him and for one single opponent, he would still have won. But even more than statistically, this election was significant. It was won with the entire "national press" against the U.N.P.; without single public meeting; despite parts of the state and municipal authorities being used against the U.N.P. despite unprecedented character assassination of the U.N.P. candidate; despite the fact that big money bags, especially bookie capitalists were working against the U.N.P. candidate and spending a lot of money.

Among the lessons to be drawn from the Colombo South by-election was that despite the Government's 2/3 majority in Parliament, more than 2/3 of the people of Colombo South have indicated that they want an election in 1975. The 2/3 majority was now with Mr. Jayewardene.

The attempt "to divide and rule" the U.N.P. has failed. It is well-known that Mr. Suriyapperuma received the traditional anti-U.N.P. vote, especially from traditional anti-U.N.P. areas in parts of Kirillapone, Kirula and Pamankade. Whatever the U.N.P. vote that went to him was negligible. Instead, the U.N.P. candidate increased his vote and his share of the vote, the swing was 15 per cent. A very large part of the new vote went to the U.N.P. candidate.

The U.N.P. went to the people, it did not hold large meetings. The hallmark of the campaign by Mr. Jayewardene was his walking down Canal Bank (and other places) and speaking to the poor whilst being among them. He asked for a mandate and got it.

The UNP seems to find comfort in arithmetical data to boost its morale. But such data from a by-election can rarely provide a clue as to what will happen in a general election. There is no doubt widespread discontent and disillusionment in Sri Lanka, but the question as to who will inherit and emerge in to political leadership is still not clear.

CHANGING WORLD

- Britain
- West Asia
- Helsinki

SO MUCH IS HAPPENING in the world that it is difficult to refer in this note to even a few of the most significant. The Apollo-Soyuz joint space link-up did not attract the attention many people thought it would. But, with all the headlines about the space feat achieved by the USA and the USSR, many people had failed to note, for instance, that Britain had passed the one million mark in unemployed. This announcement was made on July 24 in the House of Commons by Mr. Michael Foot, Secretary for Employment, and the British people thereafter have been awakened to some of the new realities which they had ignored for a long time.

With unemployment mounting in this way, social, economic and psychological repercussions were varied and complex. Leading economists in Britain have predicted that 1.5 million Britons would be unemployed towards the end of the year as the country staggers along into the worst recession since the '30s. Such an unemployment rate is dangerous for any government, and Mr. Wilson has much to worry about. Many people have even thought of a National Coalition Government to cope with the crisis which is already upon the country—for a kind of self-imposed national emergency.

From all accounts, the situation in England is very bleak and grim.

"Hundreds of medium and small size companies are laying off workers. One of Britain's largest banks the other day announced a record loss of nearly Rs. 52 crores. The British Railways report a deficit of over £315 millions (Rs. 567 crores), and this year the situation is not likely to improve. The recession is hitting hard the engineering industry, which reports a substantial fall in orders from both home and export markets. Most observers in the industry agree that there is still some way to go before the bottom

of this recession is in sight. The Chairman of Government-owned and managed British Steel Corporation said that the British steel mills were operating at 50 to 55 per cent capacity. They have not been so idle since 1933. Motor car sales are likely to be 45 per cent below the 1972 peak of 1.7 million. Industrial production is now running eight per cent behind the level two years ago. Housewives are complaining that they do not have enough money for their shopping baskets. Thousands of youngsters leaving school this year find it impossible to get jobs and are wondering what to do with themselves.

"The growth of unemployment has been accelerating steadily for several months. The best hope of curtailing unemployment perhaps now lies in the Government's success in holding down costs and prices and above all in voluntary restraint of wage increases. Few people seriously believe that the Government's new anti-inflationary programme, freezing wage increases to about £6 a week, could really succeed in bringing down the 26 per cent inflation rate. Major British industries are financially stagnated and unless they receive massive doses of fresh capital investment, they cannot really be on their feet. From where will this new capital will come is anybody's guess. Most continental observers feel that Britain's and Italy's economic health is so bad that the conventional treatment of mild wage restraints coupled with not too severe fiscal and monetary policies would not work. They would work if the rate of inflation was in single digits.

Italy has for a long time been regarded as the economically "sick" country of Europe. Britain is fast catching up with Italy in economic disequilibrium.

THE SITUATION IN WEST ASIA had seemed very serious when Israel would not agree to the kind of withdrawal in Sinai, Egypt had insisted upon. President Sadat had then refused to extend the term of the UN Emergency Force. But, at the last minute Sadat had agreed to extend the mandate of the UN Emergency Force in Sinai for another three months. This was certainly an act of statesmanship. His earlier threat not to extend the mandate was evidently prompted by the fact that Israel was slow in making a further

withdrawal—in the manner implicitly envisaged in the interim Israeli-Egyptian disengagement agreement signed last year. Israel had agreed in principle to withdraw beyond the Mitla and Giddi passes and restore the Abu Rudies oilfields to Egypt, but it had wanted Egypt to give a pledge in return not to recover the rest of the lost territory by force at least for three years. President Sadat naturally refused to make such a commitment because he feared, and not without reason, that Israel would use the three years to consolidate its position in the occupied regions.

It was at this stage that Dr. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy had come to an end on the last occasion. Israel must have hoped that with its powerful lobby in the US that it could influence Washington to support the stand it had taken, but Israel's calculations proved to be wrong. On the other hand, the Ford Administration had brought pressure on Israel to withdraw from the passes and also hand over the oilfields—without compelling Egypt to make the pledge Israel had wanted. Sadat too has brought pressure on Israel by threatening to go to war (implied in the threatened eviction of the UN Emergency Force) to push Israel to implement the earlier understanding. Now reports from Washington, Cairo and Jerusalem all indicate that, barring last minute upsets, a second Israeli-Egyptian agreement will be signed soon. If this becomes a concrete reality, the credit must go to Dr. Kissinger and the Ford Administration for working out a compromise formula acceptable to both countries. Under the new formula Israel is to pull back its troops to a new line beyond the two mountain passes and the Abu Rudies oilfields. The vacated area is to be demilitarised under Egyptian civilian administration and patrolled by the UN Emergency Force. Both Egypt and Israel will have their own electronic early warning stations, manned by the Americans, at the passes. Instead of a no-war-for-three-years pledge, Egypt is to let the UN Emergency Force to stay on for three years by periodically renewing its mandate. Such an agreement will give both Egypt and Israel a breathing time to stabilise their desperately sick economies—and with assured US assistance. But whether this seconds

interim disengagement agreement will bring peace to the Middle East is problematic. There are many hurdles to be cleared. The future status of the Golan Heights, the Jordan West Bank and the Gaza Strip is yet to be negotiated and there is the big issue of the displaced Palestinians whose demand for a home of their own has become irresistible. All these questions will come up at the Geneva Conference, but the climate for such a conference will be happily improved with further Israeli withdrawals from the Sinai, and also the Golan Heights. It is a happy augury that leading Arab countries like Egypt, Syria and Jordan and the moderate wing of the Palestinians now favour negotiations for a peace settlement with Israel—rather than go to war to compel Israel to restore the status quo ante 1967.

While events in the Middle East seems to be settling down to negotiations which are likely to bear fruit, there is a new storm arising inside Africa. Even the current OAU summit in Kampala took place in the most controversial atmosphere with Marshal Idi Amin playing a mock heroic Shakespearean role. Tanzania had refused to attend the summit because of the "repressive policies" and the dangerous and erratic antics of Amin, a second world war conscript in the British East African Rifles.

BUT EVEN MORE significant than the OAU is the 35-nation summit of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) scheduled to meet at Helsinki on July 30. The fact that the summit has met at all is a triumph for Russian diplomacy. In a sense it is a triumph for Brezhnev. The *Newsweek*, 21/7/75, while being cynical about the whole summit (declaring that only "an ersatz peace pact" would materialise), recognised the importance of the meeting. It said "couched in the slippery language of diplomats, the document written to the specifications of the Soviet Union, declares Europe's frontiers inviolable, but says they are amendable to peaceful change. It abjures the use of force, but does not rule out the threat of force. It pledges non-intervention in the internal affairs of its signatories, but not specifically forbid interference in

such affairs. Finally, it endorses 'respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms', subject, however, to respect for local laws and traditions which may limit such rights and freedoms...."

The *Newsweek* concludes that Europe now has moved into a period of cold peace from the cold war which had prevailed for long after the end of the second world war. The outcome of the Helsinki meeting will provide an interesting study about developments in Europe; and Europe is still the central factor in world affairs today.

Kautiliya



Ananda Coomaraswamy

The forty-minute documentary film entitled *Dance of Shiva* on Ananda K. Coomaraswamy was shown at the Majestic Theatre in Colombo last week. It was produced by an enterprising documentary film producing group in India and presented by the USIS as part of its bicentennial celebrations. The USA has much to be proud about the cultural home it had provided Coomaraswamy in the Fine Arts Museum in Boston which houses the savant's immense and wonderful collection of Eastern art. Coomaraswamy's genius had flowered into one of the most prolific harvests of writing ever done by a single man—from art to metaphysics—during the thirty years he had lived and worked in Boston. The film deserves the widest circulation in this country and even throughout the world. The script and research had been done by Jag Mohan, (presently in New Delhi), who had worked in Sri Lanka as a journalist in the mid fifties. The film has a story and a message; all art is one but varied; and art flows from metaphysics, though many today are not willing to recognise the metaphysical. *Tribune* will publish a more detailed review of the film shortly.

CHRONICLE

July 17 — July 24

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—Janasathiya.

THURSDAY, JULY 17: The JCTUO yesterday decided to hold a mammoth rally on August 28 in Colombo to demonstrate workers strength in support of its 28 demands submitted to the Government; the council decided that on this date it would announce its next step if the Government failed to meet the urgent demands on which there was firm commitment by the Government: the leaders pledged to continue their agitation for the nationalisation of all foreign owned banks and other industries—CDN. Mr. T. B. Ilanagaratne, Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, will leave for Brussels today to sign an economic co-operation agreement with the European Economic Community: Sri Lanka will be the third Asian country to sign such an agreement: Pakistan and India had already signed such an agreement with the EEC—CDN. Following the increase in world market prices the Food Department has stopped purchasing of sugar for the time being—CDM. The Petroleum Corporation has named Pexamin Pacific Inc., a group of companies operating in the US, Europe and the Pacific Region for the Corporation's off-shore drilling in search of petroleum products—CDM. The Aththa commenting on the Colombo South by elections said whether Mr. J. R. Jayewardene wins or lose he has invited trouble by resigning his seat which made Mr. Suriyapperuma to contest him and "wash dirty linen in the public." Failure by the Department of Immigration and Emigration to get details of illicit dwellers in the country has made the repatriation of these large number of people a difficult task: Government has received information that there are more than 150,000 than the estimated non citizens living in the country and this number could not be detected owing to the faulty procedures adopted by top officials of the Department in executing the Sirima-Shastri Pact—JD. Five people including a woman died and one is lying in a critical condition when a CTB bus ran into a group of people gathered round a fish monger in Thavadi, Jaffna—VK. All the preparatory operation for the link-up of Soyuz-Apollo spacecraft in the joint Soviet-American space venture has been carried out smoothly: the Apollo astronauts will pass through a tunnel and meet the Soviet astronauts in the Soyuz spacecraft today. South Vietnam had applied for United Nation membership and it is likely that North Vietnam too would seek separate membership.

FRIDAY, JULY 18: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Public Administration, Local Government, Home Affairs and Justice, making a statement in the National State Assembly over a recent incident in the Supreme Court during a ceremonial sitting of the court

in which the Chief Justice ordered the Secretary of the Justice Ministry to vacate the seat he was occupying in the front row by the side of the Minister, said, that he considered it most unfortunate that this incident had occurred; the Minister further said that it would have been far better had this matter been resolved without a public incident if there had been anything improper in his or his secretary's conduct: the Minister also informed the Assembly that the Chief Justice had now decided that in future, there will be no ceremonial sittings of the Supreme Court—CDM & CDN. Brisk polling is expected in the Colombo South electorate today and the results are expected in the early hours of tomorrow: nearly 850 Policemen are deployed in the electorate to enforce security measures—CDM. The CJC (Exchange Offences) yesterday ordered Mr. A. R. M. Mukthar, a suspect charged along with Sir Oliver Goonetilleke and who had already pleaded guilty to some of the charges to enter into a bond in Rs. 500,000 with two sureties in order to ensure his presence before the Commission: at yesterday's inquiry Mr. Peter Griggs, Detective Chief Inspector of Scotland Yard testified before the Commission regarding the statements made by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke in London—CDN. The Government Parliamentary Group yesterday decided to publish the Kularatne Commission report on ragging incidents at the Vidyalankara Campus of the University without appendices which deals with the evidence regarding obscene acts of ragging—CDN. An undergraduate described as the President of the Student's Union at the Vidyalankara Campus of the University was further remanded yesterday by the Additional Magistrate of Colombo till July 30th: he was alleged to have held an unauthorised meeting with a view to incite other undergraduates to rise against the University authorities and cause trouble and damage to property belonging to the University—CDN. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday in the NSA tabled replies to criticisms made by Mr. Prins Gunsekera, Independent MP for Habaraduwa, regarding expenditure for the Non-Aligned Summit to be held in Colombo next year: the Premier said the NSA will approve all expenditure for the Summit and state employees will disburse the funds: Mrs. Bandaranaike further said that the questions regarding the expenditure raised by the MP arose from certain news items that appeared in the *Tribune* and *Aththa* which papers, the MP had claimed to be pro-government: she further said that as far as she was concerned she did not consider the *Tribune* and *Aththa*—(a Communist Party (Moscow wing) Sinhala publication—as pro-government newspapers—CDN & CDM. American and Soviet astronauts yesterday docked in orbit above the earth, making a new chapter in space exploration: the docking took place 140 miles above earth. The American CIA reported that China had been steadily cutting down on its defence expenditure during the past three years.

SATURDAY, JULY 19: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, yesterday won the Colombo South by election by a majority of 25,801 votes: he polled 36,919 votes while his chief opponent and ex-member of the UNP, Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma, polled 11,119 votes: Seven other independent candidates who contested this seat polled less than 1000 votes each and lost their deposits: only 68 per cent of the voters cast their votes—CDN & CDM. According to the Ministry

of Plantation Industry though the Government has decided in principle to take over foreign and locally owned company estates yet the programme of take over has still not been worked out—CDN. Mr. B. Y. Tudawe, Deputy Minister of Education, told the NSA yesterday that the Minister of Education will decide on the form of the report of the Commission on ragging at the Vidyalkankara Campus of the University that would be presented to the public—CDN. An insurgent leader, Amaradasa Marasinghe, who was rescued by a gang of youths at gun point when he was being transported by train from Batticaloa to Jaffna on June 30th was arrested by Police at a house in Boralessgamuwa: at this house Police arrested another person said to be an insurgent leader and took into custody several documents—CDM. The Ministry of Education reserved Rs. 3 million per year for laboratory expenditure in rural schools: schools with large attendance will get these laboratory facilities—JD. The *Aththa* editorially requested the Government to expedite the nationalisation of company owned estates and foreign banks in keeping with the promise to the JCTUO in January as this has become a problem for the welfare of the country. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has summoned the leaders of the two rival trade union organisations in the SLFP namely Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation and the Sri Lanka Joint Trade Union Federation for a conference with a view to iron out the differences between the two: the Prime Minister has suggested the appointment of a committee of five to administer the activities of the federations—VK. An American astronaut and a Russian Cosmonaut shook hands in the space yesterday: American spacecraft Apollo and Soviet spacecraft Soyuz docked in the first international manned mission of the space age: soon after the docking Apollo Commander Thomas Stafford floated through the hatchway linking the two spacecraft and entered Soyuz where he listened to formal messages of greetings from the Soviet Union. Portugal's coalition Government collapsed yesterday and the military's Supreme Revolutionary Council appealed for calm as political parties prepared to hold rallies in various parts of the country.

SUNDAY, JULY 20: Addressing a SLFP committee meeting at the party headquarters the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, told that the take-over of foreign-owned estates would be a fulfilment of the policy of the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike: she said the take-over of foreign-owned estates was a pledge given to the voters in 1956 by the late Prime Minister—CO. Government will improve the facilities at the Negombo hospital in case any of the delegates who will arrive for the Non-Aligned Summit next year need urgent medical treatment: the Government Medical Officers' Association welcomed this decision of the Government—TOC. According to Government sources arrangements are being made to employ released insurgents in Government projects in the Kurunegala district—TOC. According to the *Sunday Times*, the Kularatne Commission Report on Ragging will go down in history as the first ever commission Report accepted by the Government, tabled in the House on the same day and implemented immediately. A high-powered committee of inquiry headed by the Secretary to the Ministry of Plan Implementation was ordered by the Prime Minister to probe the scandalous waste of school's science equipment worth mil-

ions of rupees: following reports of this wastage the Prime Minister ordered high-ranking military officers to verify the wastage and their report led to the appointment of this committee—CO. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, addressing the party's working committee meeting said that it was an accepted principle that a member of a party should support his own party candidate in an election but in the event of them supporting a non-party candidate such party members automatically lose their membership: Mr. Jayewardene further said that there need not be any disciplinary action nor an inquiry against such members to oust them from the party—VK. The annual Vel festival starts today in Colombo—VK. The Apollo and Soyuz spacecraft separated and redocked yesterday in a successful test of the Soviet mechanism to link the two ships: during their 30-minute linking the astronauts and cosmonauts performed an experiment in which the Apollo blocked out the Sun, creating an artificial eclipse. Egypt decided to withdraw port facilities on its Mediterranean coast from the Soviet fleet: according to the independent paper *Al-Hayat* the decision is effective from August 1 and was meant to pressurise Soviet leaders on the question of replacing arms lost during the October 1973 war with Israel.

MONDAY, JULY 21: Addressing a mass rally at Mahara yesterday the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said the Government's Food Production War launched in 1973 had produced good results and the Government will continue this war by assisting the farmers in every possible way—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, addressing a mass rally at the Kandy Bogambara Grounds said that disciplinary action would be taken against those members of the UNP who worked openly or secretly against him at the Colombo South by-election: he said all UNP MPs but one and all the electoral organisers but two or three worked for the victory of the UNP at the by-election—CDN. Mr. Jayewardene further said that those members who cannot toe the party line are at liberty to quit—CDM. Under a new regulation all monetary and foreign exchange offenders will be debarred from engaging in the travel agency business—CDM. The Government has decided to appoint Mrs. Theja Gunawardene as Sri Lanka's Ambassador to Pakistan—CDM. Dr. Alhaj Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, assured a deputation of teachers that met him yesterday that all specialised teachers now in training colleges and those who passed out in 1972 and 1973 will be put on the specialised teachers salary scale—Rs. 346 a month: the Minister further told that he has proposed to the Government to put general trained teachers too on this salary scale—CDM. Production of synthetic textiles will be doubled from next year: at present the production stands at 7 million yards—LD. The President and Mrs. Gopallawa performed poojas to the Vel Cart when it passed the President's Palace yesterday carrying the statue of Sri Kathirvelauda Swami: the well-known Nadhaswara artistes from South India, Sethuram brothers performed throughout the Vel procession—VK. Mr. A. Viswanathan, northern province General Secretary of the LSSP passed away and the cremation took place yesterday with full party honours attended by several leading LSSP politicians—VK. The *Aththa* editorially requested the authorities to publish all details of the PL 480 transaction the Government had with the American Embassy in Colombo: this follows

an article published in the *Aththa* recently written by Enest Kenriev of the American Aid Institution which explained to a limited extent the dealings regarding the PL 480 funds. Several head of schools have protested against a decision by the Department of Education to charge Rs. 3 from children in grades 6, 7 and 8 and to print the question papers for the respective grade exams from private printers; according to the Department the heads of schools are at liberty to print the question papers from any printer they like—JD. The American and Russian spacemen who joined together in space are making their separate ways home today: the Apollo and Soyuz undocked after a 44 hour joint flight around the earth. The Bhoodan leader of India Acharya Vinoba Bhave, commended the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi's action of introducing the emergency in view of the present crisis facing the country.

TUESDAY, JULY 22: The President of Mexico, Dr. Luis Echeverria, will arrive in the country on Thursday as a state guest: the visiting President his wife and party will be the first foreign state guests who will reside at the Guest House of the BMICH—CDN. A World Bank mission which reviewed agricultural policy in Sri Lanka has commended the State Plantations Corporation for its management capability in the way it had taken over estates and run same under the land reforms law: this mission was in the country in June-July last year—CDN. The Association of Medical Specialists had written to the Prime Minister to review the whole question of consultation practice: the President of the Association said that medical specialists who opted to stay on in Government service after the initiation of the abolition of Channeled Practice were embittered by the continuation of "dual terms of service"—CDN. Doctors who passed out from unrecognized medical institutions in Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan and other Middle East countries had to sit for an examination if they need temporary registration in Britain: this examination is aimed at preventing doctors with low professional standards obtaining health service posts—CDN. From this week the JCTUO leaders will address a series of lunch hour meetings in preparation of a massive public meeting scheduled to be held on August 28 at the Hyde Park—CDN. The Supreme Court yesterday refused a petition to issue notice on the Speaker and the Clerk of the NSA to direct them from performing any of the functions of the Parliament: the petitioner claimed in his application that the present Parliament has no right to function after the 27th of May 1975—the end of five years after the general elections in 1970—CDM. The former Police Commissioner of Colombo, Mr. H. G. Boudewyn, was yesterday appointed chief of security of the University—CDM. Several countries had informed the Prime Minister that instead of selling their produce for money they are willing to exchange their produce for Sri Lanka produce: a spokesman for the Prime Minister's Office said that this arrangement will enable the country to save in foreign exchange—LD. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama and a nephew of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, said yesterday that he would never quit the UNP and join any other political party: he said that if necessary he would quit politics but would not join any other party: he told this in view of the rumours that Mr. Senanayake intends joining the Government: he admitted that there are differences inside the UNP but said that such

differences must be ironed out by the party itself—LD. The Soviet Cosmanuts landed safely to earth yesterday after flying in orbit with three American Astronauts in the world's first international manned space venture: it touched down exactly on time: the whole operation was showed in Soviet Union for the first time in public television: the American astronauts, whose return to earth is routinely televised as it happens, splashed down at sea. The Indian Parliament met for the first time yesterday since the introduction of the emergency: the ruling Congress party won a vote in the parliament which limited the week's session in the house entirely to government business and suspended question time and private members' business: except for the arrested Opposition members all other Opposition members were present in both houses of Parliament: the Indian Government last night served deportation orders on two British and three American journalists in the country and they were asked to leave in 24 hours time: they are Peter Gill of the *Daily Telegraph* Peter Hazehurst of the *Times* and Loren Jenkins of the *Newsweek*.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23: For the maintenance and expansion of collective farms under the Land Reform Commission, the Ministry of Agriculture will set a Janawasa Commission: this commission will be set up as a separate entity and will engage in the development of Janawasa settlements and will handle all aspects of work connected with them—CDN. *Guardian* of England in its issue of July 16, said that most British tea companies would probably not be too upset at the decision of Sri Lanka government to nationalise sterling company estates provided they could get their money out: the paper further said that the measures of the Government are unlikely to affect the dominance of British companies in the marketing of tea from Sri Lanka—CDN. Mr. T. T. Ilangaratne, Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade on behalf of the Government yesterday signed an agreement of commercial co-operation with the European Common Market at Brussels and this agreement is expected to give Sri Lanka exports easier access to the community: Italian Foreign Minister who is also the current President of the community's Council of Ministers signed on behalf of the EEC—CDN (Reuter). A doctor and an official of the Building Materials Corporation were arrested by the CID yesterday: the two are suspected as having helped an insurgent leader who was forcibly released at Kalawewa while being transported from Batticaloa to Jaffna by train—CDM. The Executive Council of the UNP which meets today will decide what action should be taken on those party members who worked against Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP at the recent Colombo South by-election—DM. The Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways is making arrangement to control the issue of water from tanks in the dry zone: this is being done to ensure adequate water reserves in the tanks at all times—LD. The Ministry of Finance rejected an application by the representatives of foreign banks in Sri Lanka to exempt them from registration under the Registration of Companies (Special Provisions Act): the foreign banks in the country made desperate attempts to exempt themselves from registration since Government made regulation for the registration of all sterling institutions in the country—JD. *Aththa* editorially questioned the Government as to what has happened to the 'crash Programme' it promised to the country:

the paper further said that failure to implement this proposed crash programme for the next 2½ years which was promised at the end of last year will be detrimental to the UF Government in the next general election as well as for the development of the country. Opposition members of the Upper House of the Indian Parliament yesterday staged a walk out in protest against the way the sessions were conducted: the Government introduced a Bill in the Lower House making the Presidential proclamation of the emergency non-justiciable: despite the attempts by a group of 20 foreign journalists in India who held talks lasting five hours with the Information Minister in an effort to reach an agreement on new censorship rules the government continued the deportation of foreign journalists: both houses of Parliament gave the Government their sanction to rule the country under emergency laws for the next one year. According to the pro-Egyptian *Al Anwar* newspaper Egypt and Israel had told the United States they approved of a proposed new accord on Israel troop withdrawal in the Sinai Peninsula.

THURSDAY, JULY 24: The Working Committee of the UNP which met yesterday presided by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President, decided to sack 23 members from the party including three ex-MPs for working against the party at the recent by elections to the Colombo South seat: the Committee also decided to ask for the explanation of Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, for his failure to participate in the by-election campaign—CDN. Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, speaking at a ceremony after signing the Commercial Co-operation Agreement between Sri Lanka and the European Economic Community said that Sri Lanka would expect assistance from the EEC for extending her trade in a way that will help the country to secure higher standards

of living for the people—CDN. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, who returned yesterday after a tour in Pakistan and the People's Republic of China said that the latter had assured support to the Government on the Gin Ganga Flood Protection Scheme: the Minister especially made this trip on the invitation of the two governments and discussions on the Gin Ganga Scheme—CDM. Under an agreement signed in March this year with the US, Sri Lanka will be supplied with 101,500 tons of flour under PL 480 and of this quantity the country had already received 57,800 tons of flour—CDM. The Working Committee of the SLFP decided to bring under the administration of Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture, all foreign owned estates the government intends taking over: it was earlier proposed that all such estates must come under the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs which comes under the Prime Minister: meanwhile a section in the Government is pressing hard to bring this under the Ministry of Plantation Industries—VK. The Government decided to allocate more powers to the state departments and less powers to the Agency Houses in the maintenance of estates after nationalisation—JD. A spokesman for the Employers' Federation expressed fears that Agency Houses will be faced with the problem of retrenchment if the nationalisation takes place: meanwhile the draft legislation for the nationalisation is now receiving attention—CDN. The Indian Parliament supported by the pro-Moscow Communist Party members gave the final approval for the proclamation of a renewed state of emergency which the Government did last month: yesterday too, Opposition members walked out of the sittings. According to US Senate 'Democratic leader, Mike Mansfield, the voting on the Ford administration's controversial proposal to expand US naval facilities in the Indian Ocean will take place on Monday.

I N T E R N A T I O N A L

AS WE GO TO PRESS, the situation in West Asia seems to have taken a turn for the worse. The Israelis—at least the diehards—do not seem anxious to stand by the compromise worked out between Kissinger, Sadat and Rabin (vide *Changing World* p. 5). Strong words and threats have begun to fill the air. Voices in Jerusalem have been heard to say that if Sadat did not renew the UN Emergency Force mandate automatically in October, it will mean war. Sadat, who is anxious to negotiate a settlement through peaceful discussions, has declared that it will be war if diplomacy failed. Will Israeli intransigence bring war to West Asia again? In Portugal, events are moving to an undefinable climax very fast. The Armed Forces Movement (AFM), strongly impregnated with Communist (Moscow) thinking, logic and strategy, has broken with all the other political parties (except the CP): and a major confrontation has developed in the country which was the first European country to become a colonial power and was the last to relinquish its colonies. Will the AFM be strong enough to carry its Revolution to a successful fruition in this very strong Catholic country? Or will Portugal be compelled to undergo a period of anarchic chaos, civil war and internal upheavals before it settles down to we do not know what. Of its colonies, Angola is already in the throes of a civil war, and a similar situation can arise in Mozambique—unless its new Government is able to cope with the problems with understanding tact, skill and finesse (qualities which young states in Africa and every else find difficult to acquire). The Portuguese are today still heir to the karma which had made them the most ruthless and barbaric of all the colonial conquerors in Asia and Africa. Will they be able to purge themselves of the rigid inflexibilities that had made them seek trade and riches with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other without going through the purgatorial fire of cleansing to purge the nation of the taint of colonialistic barbarity? Whither Portugal is on many people's lips! But today, this query is much more universal: whither India? whither Australia? whither Indochina? in fact, it is whither every country in the world.

—Kautiliya

Belgrade, Lusaka & Algiers

By Spartacus

FROM ITS VERY INCEPTION the movement for non-alignment proved that it could become a mighty force in the struggle to promote universal peace on solid foundations. Thus, the very first Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade (1961) took a clear stand, to mention just three important matters, against all forms of colonialism, on the need for general and complete disarmament, and on the need to reorganise the United Nations' Organisation.

Regarding the first matter, the Belgrade Conference called for the end of armed action and repression against dependent countries and for the end of colonial occupation of countries in Asia, Africa and South America. It called for the withdrawal of all foreign bases on the territory of other countries, asserted the right of all countries to choose their own social and economic system and for the right of all underdeveloped countries to decide for themselves how the financial and technical aid they received from other countries should be used.

Regarding disarmament, the Belgrade Conference called for general and complete disarmament, including the prohibition of all nuclear weapons and for a special discussion at the UNO or a special world conference. It also called for early agreement to ban nuclear tests and for a moratorium on them in the meantime.

Belgrade also recognised the necessity for the reorganisation of the UNO by enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and altering the composition of the Secretariat "recognising the need for equitable regional distribution."

It will be noticed that in these three key questions, as in other matters that came up before the Belgrade Conference, the approach of the non-aligned countries differed little from that of the socialist countries. On the other hand, Belgrade signified the growing isolation of the imperialist powers.

It was the imperialists who carried out the policies to which the non-aligned countries expressed their opposition—colonial occupation and repression, the prevention of all measures to end the arms race and the maintenance of the status quo in the United Nations.

Again, the third non-aligned 'summit' conference at Lusaka adopted a Declaration on Peace, Independence, Co-operation and the Democratisation of International Relations and in its resolutions called for a World Congress on Disarmament, condemned the aggressive actions of Israel, reaffirmed its support for the struggle of the peoples of Indochina for freedom and independence, and declared its solidarity with the peoples of Africa struggling for the elimination of colonial-racist regimes. The anti-imperialist orientation of the non-aligned movement was clearly being expressed in these declarations and resolutions pertaining to specific world problems.

IT WAS NOT SURPRISING, therefore, that those who did not like this anti-imperialist orientation should seek to divert the non-alignment movement from this path, drive a wedge between the participants of the movement and the socialist countries. This they sought to do by taking advantage of the extremely variegated composition that the non-aligned movement had come to assume and, banking on those countries still oriented towards the West, confuse issues regarding the real friends and foes of the movement. Redoubled efforts in this direction were made particularly on the eve of and at the conference proper during the last 'summit' meeting at Algiers.

As noted in the last article, the number of participant countries in the non-aligned movement had swelled to 76 by the time of the Algiers Conference. These composed an extremely diverse collection comprising two socialist countries (Cuba and Yugoslavia), countries which have chosen the non-capitalist path of development like Iraq, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria, Somalia, Guinea etc., countries which are not aligned with imperialist military blocs but maintain close ties with the capitalist world, such

as Senegal, Malawi, Tunisia and Gabon; monarchies and kingdoms like Ethiopia, Jordan, Bhutan, Nepal and Morocco, and even feudal regimes like Saudi Arabia, Oman, the Emirates of the Persian Gulf, and others.

It is not surprising that such a motley crowd of variegated regimes and political systems with diversely differing viewpoints on many crucial matters and following different paths in their development should differ also in their appraisal of the contemporary alignment of forces and the international situation. It is also not surprising that the work of those interested in divesting the non-aligned movement of its basic anti-imperialist content and driving a wedge between the socialist countries and the non-alignment movement should find fertile soil for their mischievous propaganda in the persons of the leaders of a few non-aligned states.

The eve of the Algiers conference witnessed growing propaganda against the "two superpowers," the division of the world into 'great' and 'small' powers, 'rich' and 'poor' countries etc. The telegram of greetings sent to the conference by the Chinese leaders referred to the 'superpowers' and the 'hegemony' which they allegedly were seeking to impose on the developing states.

At the conference itself, Libyan leader Gaddafi, giving vent to these ideas and echoing the views of Sir John Kotelawala at Bandung, tried to make out that the USSR too was an 'imperialist' power and that communism was the modern equivalent of colonialism. At a later press conference he even went to the extent of opining that those countries which had concluded agreements of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union should not be considered non-aligned.

Gaddafi's views were also supported by President Bourguiba of Tunisia, Prime Minister Ahmed Osman of Morocco and President Bongo of Gabon. As was to be expected, the Western press missed no chance to play up the statements of Gaddafi and others and to draw the consoling conclusion that the non-alignment was rent by 'insurmountable, contradictions.

The theory of the 'superpowers' was, in the main, countered by Fidel Castro who,

in a fiery speech, lashed out at those who sought "to deprive us of friendship with the socialist camp" and "to weaken us and to leave us at the mercy of the still powerful forces of imperialism." Said he: "At this conference various forms of dividing up the world have been discussed. For us the world is divided into capitalist and socialist countries, into imperialist and neocolonial countries, into colonialist and colonised countries, into reactionary and progressive countries, as well as into governments which support imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism and governments which struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism."

Speaking against the theory of 'two imperialisms', one headed by the USA and the other allegedly by the USSR, Castro said: "Any attempt to force a collision between the non-aligned countries and the socialist camp is profoundly counter-revolutionary and serves exclusively the interests of imperialism."

Castro's speech was a turning-point in the Algiers conference. Other delegates, representing the most progressive regimes of the non-aligned world, also mounted the rostrum to support the sentiments he expressed. These included Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the then Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, Salem Ali Rubayyi from Yemen and Mujibur Rahman from Bangladesh. The last-named said: "The term 'Third World' must not allow us to forget basic realities. The world is divided into the oppressors and the oppressed. We are on the side of the oppressed and of those who support their just struggle for liberation."

BRINGING TO AN END the discussion between the progressive forces and the limited number of representatives of Rightist points of view, President Boumediene was able to say, at the concluding session, that in the struggle for national liberation 'Third World' countries derived their strength from the very existence of the socialist camp and from the support of all progressive forces throughout the world. "The October Revolution and the changes

which it brought about in the balance of power in the world," he stressed, "made an historic contribution to the creation of favourable conditions and to ensuring the success of the struggle for national independence waged by the countries which had fallen under imperialist dominance."

Thus, it can be said that, though there were a few voices heard at Algiers against the cooperation of the non-aligned countries with the socialist camp, the progressive, realistic tendencies gained the upper hand. The principle of continuing co-operation with the socialist nations was expressed in the adopted resolutions which were worked out in commissions, parallel with the general discussion among the Heads of State and Government.

This was further underlined by the declarations and resolutions adopted by the Conference. Thus, the Political Declaration of the Conference demanded the summoning, with all possible speed, of a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all states.

Some participants in the Conference projected the idea of the creation of "zones of peace" which would encompass the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, Southeast Asia, the African continent and other areas. Such zones, free from foreign military bases, would no doubt constitute another step forward in their struggle against imperialism.

MANY DELEGATES at the Conference emphasized that the struggle for universal peace is inseparable from the struggle for the liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism and racism, especially in Africa. The Political Declaration also stressed in this connection "the necessity of cooperation between the non-aligned countries and all countries and forces acting against colonialism and neo-colonialism, towards the goal of offering active and essential support to the armed struggle being conducted by the liberation movement in Africa."

The Conference adopted a Special Declaration on the National Liberation Struggle as well as separate resolutions on the situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe, on the

territories then under Portuguese occupation etc.

The resolution on the Middle East and the Palestine problem adopted at Algiers was a most forceful document, condemning as it did "the powers, especially the USA, who are providing military economic, political and moral support to Israel" and demanding an "immediate end to such aid." The Conference also adopted resolutions in support of the people of Vietnam, on the situation in Cambodia, on the Korean problem as well as a series of other important political resolutions.

And so, even after Algiers where the zig-zags in the non-aligned movement found their noisiest expression, the movement has continued to grow as a part of the general front of world progressive forces fighting against imperialism, for world peace, the security of nations, democracy and social justice.

A proposal was brought up at Algiers to create some type of organisational form for the movement of non-alignment with cor-

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responding permanent bodies. This suggestion was made specifically by President Idi Amin of Uganda. He proposed the creation of a permanent secretariat. Algeria also supported the creation of a permanent body.

However, this proposal was not accepted, for many countries preferred the retain the present character of the non-alignment movement with only their conferences as International forums to air their views and discuss their problems. They were averse to transforming the movement into one more 'bloc' or a parallel organisation to the United Nations Organisation.

Therefore it was decided only to set up a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of 16 countries headed by Algeria's President Boumediene. It will be this Committee that facilitates cooperation and contact among the non-aligned countries and makes arrangements for future conferences—including the Colombo Conference due to be held next year.

** ** *

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—43

Exactions of the Law

By Herbert Keuneman

"Malhonda was arrested!" giggled our attractive bevy of girl visitors from the *rodi* village of Lokurugama.

Malhonda is one of the elders of Lokurugama (not the official kind of 'elder' once called the *hulavaliya*, whose presence is dying out now) and, though without formal status, a sober, dignified old man; an exceptionally engaging, reliable and industrious individual whom I should be sorry to see in any trouble. All the same, he represented the Establishment to the girls, I suppose, so that there was the happy maliciousness of youth in being able to contemplate him discomfited!

'Malhonda was arrested!' they chortled again, as my wife joined us.

'But I'm sure I saw him in the *kadamandiya* a few minutes ago', I protested.

'He was arrested', they insisted 'Last night.'

We sent our boy Banda along to the *kadamandiya* to see whether I had been right and Malhonda was maybe still there. He was. So, I was. But the girls were, too.

Malhonda came at Banda's bidding. I said: 'Malhonda, what's this I hear? that you were arrested?'

'I was', he confirmed grimly.

'And what happened?'

'I paid the fine.'

'What fine?'

'Twenty rupees.' Indignantly: 'Twenty solid smackers!'

'But what for? What happened?'

Didn't these tell you?' He cast a disapproving glance around at the tee-heeing young ones (tee-heeing afresh now at the embarrassment of such a pillar of respectability).

But we had known better than derogate the *nambuva* of a man of consequence by discussing him with a parcel of plainly, if frivolously, contumelious young women! 'You didn't ask them', I replied. 'You tell us.'

'Get along, you foolish children', he said to the girls.

And when they had meekly gone away: 'I was arrested for gambling.'

'Well!'

'And I wasn't gambling!'

'Not this time!'

'Not this time', he agreed equably,

'Then how did you come to be arrested?'

'*Karmaya!*' he said, with disgust. 'Just bad *karmaya*. I was returning with some paddy I had collected on a round of the threshing-floors when I came across this group squatting behind a hayrick and playing Five Hundred & Four. I put my bag of paddy down and squatted, too. Just to watch. And then a serjeant and a constable and that ratsnake the Headman crept up and took the lot of us. They must have been right behind me, because they could have approached only under cover of the hayrick; and they must have seen me arrive, and they must have known I had just come; but they took me also, just the same.'

'And you hadn't actually gambled?'

'Not yet'—I loved the candid old man—'not one hand yet!'

'So, what followed?'

'The usual thing, of course, they offered to settle for Rs. 100 from the crowd of us. But the whole party hadn't that much on it. So they booked the bunch of us and we were told to appear at the Rural Court this morning and we did and we were fined Rs. 20 each. 'We have a week to pay.' He looked at us hopefully.

'But why didn't you plead Not Guilty?'

'Because', Malhonda sadly said, 'that would eventually have cost me much more than Rs. 20.' And I had to admit that he was right."

The above account was written fifteen years ago. For all I can see, it might have been written yesterday. The mechanics of the law may have since changed for the better—we are told it has—but not all its representatives have.

Moreover, some—at least—of today's reputedly civic-minded villagers seem nevertheless to be a good deal more naive concerning the working of the laws than old Malhonda the *rodiya*.

You may remember that a few weeks ago I reported that Sitale (who helps me out by fetching water) had got into some sort of more or less serious trouble had been 'fined Rs. 30 in open court.'

Well, so he told me. Judge my surprise, then when, a few days ago he announced he had to go to court again because the *tiranaya* (judgement; decision) had not been given! It may have been—maybe I am being naive myself and he has mis-spent the money given him to pay his fine (part of which I contributed) or he is using his *naduva* as a means to extract more small sums and an occasional leave of absence from the job he has undertaken with me or is being some other way clever—but it is his story that he handed the money to his lawyer *dadayak vasayen* (as in the manner of a fine) a phrase which he insists was his lawyer's; and it was his story—that day—and it certainly seemed to be his belief, that the case was for all practical purpose done with. Even though he must have been aware, and now admits he was aware, that the *tiranaya* was still to come The trouble seems to be that he thinks his lawyer the Big Noise in court business and the magistrate a nonentity to whom the lawyer gives orders: a misconception

so unlikely and grotesque that there must, I feel, be something to account for it! The only shadow of a clue that I have had is that—again according to Sitale himself—the magistrate 'is able to talk with' the lawyer 'only in English or Tamil!' and Sitale, a good nationalist, doubtless feels that anybody unable to communicate direct with him, in Sinhala, cannot be a personage of much importance! Whatever the explanation, here is obviously a case in which justice, be it in fact never so democratically presented, is not (by at least one accused) being seen in the doing. Or is that not the force of being 'seen to be done'?

Fortunately Sitale's lawyer is one of the most respected, and wealthiest, members of the Kurunegala bar. And my own interpretation of what has taken place as far as he is concerned is that, having been apparently promised Rs. 60 as his fee but paid only Rs. 15 in advance, he asked and received a further instalment, saying jokingly: 'Well, it's better than a fine!' an interpretation that the phrase *dadayak vasayen* could certainly bear.

An interesting phenomenon in the client/lawyer relationship is the deep loyalty, amounting sometimes almost to affection, that seems to spring between a village client and even a quite venal Solicitor. (Was the new name bestowed with somebody's tongue in his cheek? for some solicitors undoubtedly solicit, employing touts to help them do so). The villager may be grudging towards his medical consultant, even while he insists—and he is generally right—that a paid one gives better attention than a free one; obsequious and resigned to Government *niladari*; and cynical, though suppliant, towards his Member of Parliament. But towards his lawyer he is much more propensely orientated! Even when, as I say, he has caught a bad one.

And, as I also say, there are bad ones. Jayawardana, for instance, who was suddenly called upon to pay Rs. 60 for some licence there was no question but he should have taken out yet had not, was assured by his *perakadoru mahattaya* that he could contest the payment and win. In three years Jayawardana had paid this shyster a total of more than Rs. 200—a retainer, plus a refresher after each post-

ponement of the case—to save a payment of Rs. 60! and yet had not lost faith in his lawyer's goodness until I showed him how to save his money. Is it hypnotism?

It is so, is it not? that amongst the benefits of the new Code are intended to be a swifter disposal of justice and Court proceedings less arcane than in the days of law's 'majesty'? Yet even Sitale—and in a case where the original complainants have signified *quittance*—has already appeared in court three times, and on July 10 he must appear again; nor is he, to this moment, at all sure what's what or who's who. He still believes, for example, that he has been acquitted. The deity to be propitiated is still (he believes) the lawyer; there is another portentous figure called *toloku mudiyanse*; but the *nadu-kara mahattaya* seems to have constituted too Olympian a presence to have made much impression. There undoubtedly persists a justicial *mystique*; and among the brotherhood it is probably deliberately created. Why would it not be? like the medical one.

If it is too much to hope that lawyers, unpressurized, would go out of their way to impart to clients the ideals, methods and mechanics of their monopoly, any more than doctors to patients, is it too much to suggest that Civics lessons in school pay more attention to such practical matters (What to Do when An Accused; Procedure & Payments Required in Free Government Hospitals; How to Ensure that a Petition is Not 'Spiked' at Subject-Clerk Level; How to Secure a Sleeping-Berth on the Up-country Night Mails) than, as they do almost exclusively, to institutional forms and theory of Government? After all, the villager—certainly the villager if not the middle-class bourgeois in a town—is more likely to find himself sitting in a Police Station than standing for Parliament!

To end with: an incidental matter. Is the legal sodality actually entirely preoccupied with such idealistic notions as public mystification? As with all of us, mundane opportunities must some times tempt the integrity of the guild. And perhaps, sometimes, it fails?

Not long ago (I am told) in one of the smaller Courts 9 intact rolls of barbed wire which for some offence the Police had confiscated

were put up to auction. I will not say *public* auction; because apparently it was hardly that: the sale was announced—in court only—one morning, and took place at noon. A sale of barbed wire was not specified although, or perhaps because? everybody wants barbed wire. The price of 1 cwt. on the open market is currently Rs. 350-400.

Now, there are 1 cwt. rolls of the wire and 1/2 cwt. ones. A lawyer denizen of the court concerned took the first four rolls for (I am told) Rs. 460; that is, Rs. 460 for either Rs. 750-worth, or Rs. 1,500-worth of wire, depending on the weight of the rolls. The remainder—naturally at an even smaller price—fell to two *influentia mudalalis* of the town.

Gossip is not sure of the weight of the rolls, but at either weight they were a goodish bargain. What I am not sure of is whether such sales are the best bargain for the Country?

K A Z I — 16

In Colombo

By ANATORY BUKOBA

A large drain, not a sewage pipe, sewage in the sense of sanitary, forms the spinal cord of the little village that I visit. I think it must draw off all the rain water, that would flood the land if it was left. Within the memory of the oldest residents of this part of Colombo, there used to be a lake or large pond in the direction from which this drain comes. That area is now covered with houses, gardens and roads. The large, round, concrete top of the drain form the main throughfare in the village, and it runs down the centre and empties itself into a large lake. This main street looking more like an alley-way, but a drain, as I said, runs straight into the lake.

The house that I visit has a front room that is half-open to the sky. The roof just crumbled away. A part of this room is dry, as it still has a roof. The furniture is arranged so that it will not get wet and there are some good pieces of furniture. Two rooms open

out of the main room, and these are dry. In these two rooms the family sleeps. The eldest son is an artist, and one of the best that I have seen. As art is a difficult profession to live by, the chief support of the family, I gather, is the second son, who cannot be out of his teens.

My friend was out when I called, and after leaving him some foreign prints, awful ones, which I was unable to hang in my room, I left. This house stands back from the drain. The next house is right cheek by jowl with it, or rather, the front is. You step right down from the drain into the house.

By English usage, a drain is strictly a covered-in affair. It is in this sense that I use it here, what we, in Ceylon, commonly call drains are really gutters, or, to be long-winded, they are open drains, which is what a gutter is. It is not in this sense that I use the word here.

Some more about that front room and the roof that is not there. Some time back, each heavy shower of rain meant a flood, whose waters had to be baled out of the room. This is no longer so. A gutter or drain has now been made to carry this rain water straight out under the floor of the room at the side. Repairing any roof, in Colombo, at least, would cost money nowadays, when there is so little imported stuff around. The original roof, of this house may not have cost a cent, for the house is a shanty, and shanties used to be made of scrap whatever had been thrown out by other people. The people in this little village were served notice to go as part of the tourist drive. Although they have not had to move yet, and as the problem of floods in the house has been solved, the occupier naturally hesitates about replacing the roof.

On my way out past the second house, on my returns, that is, I saw another friend through the doorway, and I was invited in. This is a shanty village. There did not seem to be anything wrong with this house. The front room was nicely furnished but in many respects, this and the first house were complementary; one had what the other had not. What I mean is that in adequate beds in one house were made up for by more elegant beds in the other, and about a chairs, vice versa, and so on.

The family in this second house were of a minority group that has neither Sinhalese, nor Tamil nor English as its language, nor Portuguese, for that matter. They have no written script, but their language is adequate for them to say all they want to say. All the members of this family could speak four languages, and the mother five, she knew a little Hindi. The family is not from India, and their ethnic group is Ceylonese to the core, in the same way that all burghers are;

The mother is expecting to go abroad as a part of her job. As she said, her children are old enough for her to do so how. One son is all fixed up to sail the oceans as a seaman; all he needs is a ship. After starting our conversation in Sinhalese, I was asked to switch over to English, which was not difficult for me as each member of the family, the mother, the daughter and the son, could speak it as well as I could do so myself. While we spoke, one of the daughter carried on a tuition class in both Sinhalese and English, and conversing with me seemed no obstacles to her doing this little bit of coaching right at the same time. I wondered that her pupil, and she could see by the light at the oil lamp and its dim glow. She used to have two more pupils but they had moved on, changed their residence. She sat opposite her pupil, a little boy, and she seemed well able to read the Sinhalese and the English characters upside down. She rattled them away like a machine-gun, and her pupil kept up with her as he wrote them down.

Let them show it by their deeds, going *incognito* to places, to any place from any place in rural areas, as some kings of old did, in order to find out the departure-defeatism, the arrival-anguish, the travel travail that reigns in areas of Sri Lanka.

The CTB alone couldn't do it unless the high man descends a little from the road-touching limousine and climbs up to the dizzy depths of some CTB buses. Take 23 Sri 2366, a bus that has turned into a sieve (penera) and listen to this story.

A fellow passenger said: "I don't know if they turned this sieve into a bus or bus into a sieve". It was the afternoon journey from Kataragama to Tissa... mark my words, from the most famous Hindu shrine in Sri Lanka to an illustrious, one of the most famous Buddhist shrines in Ruhuna and one of the most priceless for combining Temple, Tank and Village. It was just ordinary rain. Helplessness writ all over their faces; the promises of development threatening to make them better; the remoteness of Colombo and "where the laws are made"; rain, rain, rain, both inside and outside the bus.

Small children to and from Debarawewa-type schools, simple ordinary folk who had worked hard and hoped harder in a harvest, filling the larders of the top ten Hotels of Colombo, now unable to move about because of southern rain inside the bus. An old Noah of a man kept on saying: "*Bala parapura thamai themanna honda naththe. Api nam poranuwata*", meaning "We must not let these young children get wet. We old fellows are for the furnace (meaning cremation)", but there sounded a nostalgia for some warmth of a fire, a real fire from dried, crackling twigs of Ruhuna jungles or of the glowing fire of the human heart which he expects CTB travel leaders and Transport ministers (I thought minister meant server or servant. But of course 'obedient servant' is gone now) to have.

Then a pregnant woman for whom there is not much hope of entering a Colombo 7 maternity home. Down south they need it and don't have it. Up north or centre, they have many and do not need that much. A quaint old lady grumbled ineffectively at the persistent rain and the bus

Inania of this, that and the other

Buses? Not Again!

By INNA

The mahajanaya?

Who cares? And yet, if not for them, the powers that be would soon be, or have been, powers that were. How dense could leaders be? Why on earth don't they get down from their cars and take the buses now and again? It will do them good, they who parade that they are for the common man.

kept moving, moving very fast, and then it broke jerkily and torrents of gutter-water fell on to a baby's head and the mother (any mother would understand that anguish) wiped that baby's head and took herself and the baby to a wet seat. Pre-occupied, she had not realized that a wet seat, generally meant that a broken shutter or a leaking bus-roof, but she graciously conceded that 'since the government was for the common Man, she had not realised that there could be a counter-purpose bus and that she had learnt the hard way.'

Then, what of the huddled youngsters braving the rain near the shutterless windows (perhaps long since removed by poorer lads to find something to eat for a day, one never knows). While old Noah in true deluge-style was still hoping that the deluge inside (quite un-bible like) would cease, I kept on thinking of that old saw about Waterloo being won on the playing fields of Eton.

Proud, relentless Nemesis will stalk on: the next Elections will be won in the rural CTB buses. Make no mistake. I've listened to a nation in travel-travail in Sri Lanka.

BEFORE PERAHERA — I

Background Note On Kandy

By Ina Trimmer

KANDY—a name to conjure with, where dreams are crystallised for pilgrim and devotee, visitor and tourist; to the Sinhalese the Great City—Maha Nuwara—the last stronghold of their kings and the last of their ancient capitals, where buildings still remain untouched by the vandal hand of Time; to the Buddhists all over the world the focal point of their religious fervour, where lies their most precious possession, the Tooth Relic.

The founding of this city has been the subject of many legends. On a lonely jungle height, runs one of them, a priest sat in meditation when suddenly a strange sight flashed across his vision, a hare that chased a jackal while

the jackal fled before the hare. It was a portent that could not be disregarded, so he reported what he saw to the king, who heard it with gladness. "It is indeed an auspicious omen and I will build there a great city. Mine enemies shall flee before me as the fox before the hare." The stone (Senkadagalla) on which the priest sat in meditation can still be seen in Lady Horton's Walk. From it there is a beautiful view of the Lake and the town that was built by the king.

Yet another legend gives other reasons for this special place being chosen as the capital of the Sinhalese kings. About 1360 A.D. Vickrama Bahu III whose capital was Gampola wished to build a new and greater city and consulted his astrologers for an auspicious site. The heavens showed by many portents that the very spot for this purpose was where the Temple of the Tooth now stands. "White clay would first be found" said the astrologer, and so it was. "Then sand", and further digging proved his words. "Now water", and water there was. "Give me a white cloth," he said. The king asked him if he expected to find precious stones. "No" answered the wise man, "Not gems but a greater rarity, a white tortoise". And behold a milk-white tortoise was revealed. The king was delighted. This was a lucky site indeed, but the astrologer insisted that here was a site too auspicious even for a palace; it should be holy ground. The king then decided that he would build a temple there for Buddhist worship and thus was the Dalada Maligawa erected which later became the shrine of the Tooth Relic. The milk-white tortoise was given a home in a little pool in a corner of what is now the Lake but was then a Deniya or piece of low-lying land. The pool was called the "Kiri Muda" (Milk-white Sea) which name was later given to the Lake.

ROYAL PADDY FIELDS first took the place of the marshy land lying in the hollow of the hills that encircled the city; then a later king with the soul of an artist turned the fields into a lake and spared no embellishment to make his ornament a thing of beauty. To enhance it a little islet was left in the centre on which stood the Jalatilaka Mandapaya or Gem of the Water Pavilion. A suspen-

sion bridge of rope led to the islet of which D'Oyly says in his diary of June 28th, 1812, "The bridge built for going to the Kundasalawa in the middle of the Weywa (Lake) is made to fold up and open." Forced labour in those days was accounted no crime and hundreds of farmers had to abandon their ploughs for mamoties and picks for several years before the lake was completed in 1807, during the reign of Sri Wickrema Rajasinha the last king of Kandy.

Many of the buildings of those ancient days remain in perfect condition, the most conspicuous being the Octagon or the Pathirippuwa attached to the Temple of the Tooth, facing the esplanade, where the people used to assemble for the exposition of the Tooth Relic, and on other special occasions. There is a little house in Kings Street which is said to have been occupied by a high official of the king's Court, an insignificant, unpretentious building hardly noticeable amongst the others of more recent date. It is not surprising that so many of these connections with the past are in existence for it was only in 1815 that the last of the Sinhalese who in their hill fastnesses defied the British then in occupation of the Sea Coast and plains, surrendered.

Kandy though not the most ancient of the capitals of Ceylon has been its capital in some of the most significant periods of its history. It was the stronghold of a national Sovereignty. Kandy is first mentioned as a city in the early 14th Century; but became a capital 300 years later. This took place in the reign of Vickrama Bahu III who wished to replace his hitherto capital of Gangasiripura (the modern Gampola). THE FIRST CONTACT of the Kandyan kingdom with a European power occurred when Kandyan troops began to offer the first organised resistance to the foreign nation which had secured some years previously a footing in the maritime provinces. The resistance was never relaxed until the Portuguese finally left these shores one hundred and fifty years later. The Portuguese in their turn made repeated attacks on the hill capital. One of the earliest and most ambitious of these affords a signal example of the intrigue and bloody warfare that characterise the history of this period.

King Rajasinha of Cotta an old enemy of the Portuguese, believing that the only way to oust them from the Island was to unite the whole Island under one rule, attacked Jayawira Bandara the then king of Kandy and assumed the Kandyan throne in addition to his own at Cotta. Jayawira Bandara fled with his family to his own erstwhile enemies, the Portuguese, at Mannar, where he and his daughter became Christians and were baptized, she as Donna Catherina.

Years later when the girl had grown to marriageable age the Portuguese made a new expedition against the Kandyan kingdom. Meanwhile they had succeeded in stirring the Kandyans to a victorious revolt against Rajasinha, under a Kandyan prince of royal blood, Konappu Bandara, who had become a Christian taking the baptismal name of Don Juan. Intoxicated by his successes Don Juan set himself up as King of Kandy taking the name of Wimala Dharma Suriya. The idea of the Portuguese expedition was now to oust Wimala Dharma Suriya and set Donna Catherina with a Portuguese husband upon the throne.

The expedition set out in 1594 under the leadership of Pedro Lopez de Souza. There were few Portuguese soldiers, and the expedition depended chiefly of Lascarins (native soldiers) under the command of a native leader named Manamperi. This army was allowed to reach Kandy to find the city almost deserted, and Donna Catherina was forthwith set on the throne. Wimala Dharma Suriya now began a guerilla warfare. De Souza suspecting Manamperi of treachery slew him with his own hands. All Manamperi's Lascarins immediately deserted, and 600 Portuguese were left to make the best of their way back to the Coast. On the way, at Gannoruwa, they were overtaken by the combined armies of Wimala Dharma Suriya and Manamperi and utterly defeated. The survivors were allowed to return to Portuguese territory with a single eye to every ten men. But Donna Catherina had been captured, Wimala Dharma Suriya had publicly wedded her, and thus consolidated his position on the Kandyan throne by his marriage to its rightful heir.

Many Portuguese expeditions followed this one, but few were

any less disastrous and Gannoruwa on the outskirts of Kandy, and the heights of Balana overlooking it, often ran with Portuguese blood. On one occasion 22,000 Portuguese perished there, and their heads, piled in a pyramid, proclaimed the firm welcome Kandy held out to her invaders.

WHILE THE PORTUGUESE were waging this relentless and unprofitable warfare, Joris Van Spilbergen of Holland landed in Batticaloa in the year 1602, was welcomed by Wimala Dharma Suriya, and granted an audience in the Palace at Kandy. He was followed the same year by the Dutch Admiral Sebald de Weert, who undertook for a consideration to assist the king in an expedition on Colombo by attacking it from the sea while the Kandyan troops attacked it by land. De Weert however of his own pride fell foul of Wimala Dharma Suriya and he and fifty of his followers were massacred.

It was not until 1612 that the Dutch again entered into negotiations with the Kandyan throne. This time it was Marcellus de Boschouwer who was received at Court by King Senarat, Wimala Dharma Suriya's successor. A real friendship sprang up between the two men and De Boschouwer remained three years at the Kandyan Court with the rank and title of a Sinhalese nobleman. The friendship culminated in a treaty which acknowledged the Portuguese as the common enemy of both Kandy and Holland, and granted the Dutch the fullest rights of trade and the right to erect a Fort at Kottiyar near Trincomalee.

Holland however had little sympathy at the time for De Boschouwer's schemes; so that the next European visitors to the Kandyan Court were the Danes who gave De Boschouwer five ships. But he died on the voyage though the Danes held on, and were rewarded by Senarat with permission to build a fort at Trincomalee. The work had hardly started, however, when the Portuguese arrived under Constantine de Sa the then Portuguese Governor—and the greatest of them all—and forced them to sail away.

In 1635 Senarat died leaving the Kandyan kingdom to his son Maha Asthana later known as Raja Sinha II. The new monarch had but one object—to expel the Por-

tuguese finally from the Island. To this end he once more opened negotiations with the Dutch through an Embassy to the Dutch Government which had already been some time established in the East Indies, agreeing in return for the help of their ships to give them payment in money and the rights of trade. Further, all Portuguese forts captured by the Dutch were to remain Dutch property unless Raja Sinha wished to have them destroyed. The first fort thus to fall to the Dutch was that at Batticaloa in 1637.

QUARRELS soon arose between Raja Sinha and his allies on the strength of the last clause of their treaty and these quarrels developed into bitter hostility when the Dutch finally expelled the Portuguese in 1656 and established themselves in the erstwhile Portuguese territory.

The Dutch were wiser than to engage in open war and their dealings with the Kandyan kingdom were confined to a series of treaties and Embassies characterised on the Dutch side by a desire to conciliate the King, on the Kandyan side by a desire to be rid of the foreigner, and on both sides by a desire to reap the greatest possible advantage at the least possible cost.

Towards the end of the reign of Raja Sinha II the Kandyan kingdom began to woo the help of the French as a means of turning the Dutch out of the Island. These negotiations progressed so far as to result in the arrival of a French fleet at Trincomalee in 1672 under the command of Admiral De La Haye. De La Haye began under treaty to build forts at Kottiyar and Trincomalee and two Ambassadors, first Des Fontaines, and on his return De Lanerolle, were despatched to the Kandyan Court. Terrible outbreaks of sickness broke out among the French. De Lanerolle exasperated with the King's formalities, quarrelled with him and was imprisoned; and finally a Dutch fleet arrived and captured two of the French ships. The French fled, leaving De Lanerolle behind. The latter was soon pardoned, was made a nobleman of the Kandyan Court, and lived to become one of the King's most trusted advisers. He is still commemorated in the suburb of Hudu-

humpola or Suduhumpola—the place where the White Man lived—.

Shortly after came the first Englishman to reach the Kandyan Court—Robert Knox, a sailor on a British ship, The Ann, who with several companions had been captured at Kottiyar while attempting to cut down in the jungles a mast for his ship which had suffered damage in a storm. He underwent twenty years of detention before he finally succeeded in escaping to the Dutch and thence returning to England. The book he subsequently wrote on his adventures gives a vivid picture of the Kandyan Court—. “The Government is tyrannical and arbitrary in the highest degree. For He rules the Absolute (Supreme) and after his own will and pleasure; his own Head being his only Counsellor. The land is all at his disposal and all the people from the highest to the lowest are slaves, or very like slaves: both in body and goods wholly at his Command—”

The English do not appear again in Kandyan history until the year 1762 when the Governor of Madras sent to Kandy an envoy named Pybus to arrange a trade treaty with Kirti Sri the then King of Kandy. He bravely suffered much discomfort and many an indignity in the sacred cause of trade, but with no result.

In 1782 when Great Britain and Holland went to war, Boyd another British envoy was sent to Kandy to beg for the help of Rajadhi Raja Sinha against the Dutch in Ceylon. He too was unsuccessful and the first British alliance with the Kandyan King was made only in 1796 after the Dutch had already ceded their possessions to the British.

(To be Continued)

LETTER

Of Roman Proportions

Sir,

Measures pertaining to the relief of indebtedness and purification of public life now being contemplated are of interest. Such measures do not appear to be new. They would appear to have received attention of administration and statesman from very ancient times.

These measures now contemplated brings to mind steps taken by Kings and Roman legislators centuries ago.

The step taken to alleviate the indebtedness of public servants is no doubt worthy of commendation but unless steps are also taken at the same time to inhibit borrowing again, the last stage will be worse than the first. This salutary precaution appears to have received the attention of the famous statesmen and legislator Solon who while cancelling debts made it difficult for parties so benefited from borrowing. He “cancelled all existing debts and mortgages, thereby freeing the peasants and their lands at a blow and for the future forbade all borrowing on the security of the person. This reform was lasting and made an end of serfdom in Attica.”

An regarding the purification of public life Amasis (C 600 BC), an Egyptian king, made it obligatory for every citizen to disclose his means of living. He established “the law that every Egyptian should appear once a year before the Governor of his canton, and show his means of living.. Solon the Athenian borrowed this law from the Egyptians and imposed it on his countrymen.....”

It is also of topical interest to refer to the decree of a Roman emperor which vested all space above and below a land in the person owning the land and that it would appear to have been reversed for the first time when availability of land and housing became an acute problem in Bombay.

In this context an extract of a suggestion made by me to the Ministry of Housing and which would appear to have been adopted by the Alif Committee, by enacting legislation to divide ownership of flats at different levels, is I think of interest “solution to the question of non availability of land in main cities suggests itself to me after reading a news article, the source of which I cannot remember at the moment.

It has been pointed out that a Roman emperor had decreed that all space vertically above and below a land belongs to the owner of the land. Since then no other person can build on top of another building even if he could afford to do so and the owner

unable to do so. This article referred to the City of Bombay where a law has been enacted to change the law.” It is also of interest to note that a law, also, of classical dimensions was passed when the Land Development Ordinance was enacted about the year 1935 which prohibited the lessee of the land from selling or mortgaging the land leased to him. He could bequeath the land only to a member of his family. This had a two fold effect, it ensured that the land remained in the family, and also eliminated another formidable evil which has plagued the peasantry for centuries namely fragmentation. This was done on the suggestion of C. Suntheralingam who in his brief skirmish with the civil service had noted that lands alienated to the peasantry passed in a few years into the possession of petty mudalalis. The magnitude of the boon conferred on tens of thousands of peasants by this measure can be gauged from the fact that every acre of the hundred of thousands of acres alienated to peasants during the last few decades still remains in the same family.

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July 9, 1975

JAFFNA

Up to the time of writing, it is only the *Aththa* (on 29/7/75) which has editorially attributed the murder of Duraiyappah, the Mayor of Jaffna, to the militant backwash of the FP and TUF movement. But the FP-TUF leader Dharmalingam has condemned the killing and the assassins. Those who know Jaffna say that Duraiyappah had many personal enemies who will not stop at murder and especially because they know that every investigator would be tempted to look for the assassins in the political and not criminal underworld. And political assassins can always hope to put the blame on personal enemies. Whoever did it, it is bad. It shows that sinister dark forces are on the move in Sri Lanka.

IN INDIA

Generic Names For Drugs

Sri Lanka adopted the system of generic names for drugs over two years ago. The report we publish below indicates that India too is likely to follow suit.

THE HATHI COMMITTEE on Drug Industry, in its second report presented to Government a week ago, has turned down the arguments advanced against switch-over to generic names and urged that Government should go ahead with the abolition of brand names in a phased manner. The report was tabled in both Houses of Parliament on March 4.

The Committee has listed 13 drugs which should be taken up initially for implementing this policy. These are: chloramphenicol and its esters such as palmitate, monostearoyl glycollate, succinate and stearate: tetracycline, oxytetracycline, chlortetracycline, demethylchlor-tetracyclines. 5 deoxy-tetracycline: ferrous sulphate: aspirin (acetyl salicylic acid): chlorpromazine: reserpine: tolbutamide: analgin: piperazine and all its salts such as adipate, citrate and phosphate: crystalline penicillin G. such as procaine, long-acting benzathine penicillin, including semi-synthetic penicillins streptomycin INH and combination of INH-thiacetazone.

The Committee has, however, felt that drugs which are exported may be allowed to bear brand names.

In the opinion of the Committee, there should be no difficulty from the legal point of view in abolishing brand names. It will, however, entail an amendment of the Trade and Merchandise Marks Act and the Drugs and Cosmetics Rules.

The Committee has recommended that all supplies of single ingredient drugs and drugs included in the Indian pharmacopoeia for Central and State Government institutions and local bodies should be tendered, and supplies made, under generic names. The Drug Controller should be requested not to give recognition to brand names of new drugs.

For multiple-ingredient preparations the Pharmacopoeial Committee should be requested to give generic names. New types of multi-ingredient preparations should not be allowed to be marketed unless they are mentioned in the national formulary or pharmacopoeia and approved by the Drug Controller. If any amendment of the Drugs and Cosmetics Act and Rules is considered necessary for this purpose it should be undertaken.

IN ORDER TO KEEP the medical profession, particularly the general practitioners, well informed about the new drugs and to popularise generic names, it is suggested that the Indian national formulary should be revised and updated and journals on the lines of the "Prescribers Journal" of U.K. "Medical Letter" of the U.S. and "Formulary Notes" of Sri Lanka should be published.

The Committee has argued that a medical student receives his training on drug under generic names and it is therefore, in the fitness of things that as medical practitioner he continues to use and prescribe drugs under generic names. "More often the practising physician is likely to be unaware of the active ingredients of a drug prescribed under brand name. Two branded products containing the same or similar active ingredients may be prescribed to a patient resulting in overdose and consequent toxicity and damage to patient's 'health', the Committee says.

Another point made in favour of abolition of brand names is that branded products containing the same ingredients differ to a great extent in prices and products bearing generic names are decidedly cheaper.

Since there is no control over the number of brand names that can be given to a single drug formulation, the Committee feels, there is a state of confusion. "It is not in the best interest of either the medical profession or the patient to have a single drug being marketed under several brand names. The patient is often led to believe that one branded drug is different from other and possesses superior values. In effect this is not the case and the patient

is unwittingly made to pay higher prices for his treatment." the Committee says.

IN THE CASE OF multi-ingredient preparations, the Committee feels, the situation is still worse. In its view, brand names have been responsible for putting up a large number of unnecessary and often irrational formulations in the market. "In fact, the organic sector has maintained dominance over the drug market principally through their branded products containing multiple ingredients. This has resulted in excessive use of drugs. This could be substantially reduced if the brand names are eliminated", the Committee has said.

The Committee has dismissed the contention that the quality of a product is assured because of its brand name and switch-over to generic names will result in lowering of standards. "Maintenance of equality does not go with brand name. Scrutiny of a number of substandard, misbranded and spurious products will reveal that there are more instances of branded products being misbranded and therefore spurious. There have been no instances where a product marketed under a generic name has ever been reported to the spurious", the Committee has observed.

The report of the Committee deals with measures required to ensure regular supply of essential drugs and common household remedies to the people both in urban and rural areas. It has listed the essential drugs, production of which should be given top priority. More entrepreneurs should be encouraged to take production of such drugs. If necessary, foreign technical know-how may also be obtained immediately. The Committee wants the distribution system to be rationalised and decentralised in regard to household remedies and commonly used medicines. For this, assistance should be sought from the postal department, Indian Oil Corporation depots, and co-operative societies in rural areas. The Committee also wants a short-term course to be instituted to train pharmacists for undertaking the job of distribution of medicines in rural areas.

—Hindu, 5/3/75

Confidentially

- Police • SLBC
- Postal

IS IT NOT TRUE that political and other circles are very impressed about the manner in which the Police had tracked down the insurgent leader Marasinghe who had been rescued from a mail train near the Kalawewa railway station not very long ago? That the escape was one of the most spectacularly dramatic episodes since the insurgency of 1971? That it read like of the daring feats of the Scarlet Pimpernel? That what was more interesting was that the anti-insurgency unit of the Police had tracked down Marasinghe to a shack outside Boralesgamuwa on the outskirts of Colombo within a short time of the escape? That this was an even more memorable feat than the escape because the Police had thereby destroyed their earlier reputation for heavy-handedness in these matters? That with this swift arrest, (or re-arrest), it was clear that the Police now had a grip on the undercurrents in the underworld of the insurgent movement? That the arrest of Marasinghe at Boralesgamuwa was effected at considerable risk? That if the Police team had been a little slow in taking their man he would have shot some of them with the fully loaded pistol under his pillow? That although the Police had an element of luck in re-taking Marasinghe without suffering any casualty, there is also no doubt that our Police has now attained maturity and finesse in coping with the problems of the insurgent world? That the quick re-arrest of Marasinghe is a distinct feather in the cap of our Police Force?

IS IT NOT A FACT that there is a great deal of misgiving and uneasiness in Buddhist circles about a Panel discussion which had taken place on Sunday, July 19, on the Sinhala Service of the SLBC (Channel One)? That many readers of *Tribune* have drawn our attention to this discussion? That many of them say that it was wrongly entitled RELIGION AND MORALITY

or something like that? That the complaint is that the whole discussion was tantamount to a debunking of the Five Precepts of Buddha under the smokescreen of a learned discussion on religion and morality? That readers who had listened to the broadcast say that while it may have been a useful academic exercise in the cloistered atmosphere, of a university tutorial class it was not the kind of a discussion suitable for a popular radio broadcast in a Buddhist Country? That it was stressed that this panel discussion was obviously directed towards breaking down concepts, beliefs and faith with which Buddhists had enveloped themselves for countless centuries? That while this kind of debunking of ideas may appeal to an *avant garde*, it has horrified the conventional? That what they say is that the Government Radio should not seek to disturb the *status quo* in such matters? That if opportunities are given for such iconoclastic polemics on the Radio, equal time must be given to the conservative conventionalists to refute them? That they insist that a State Radio should not be permitted to enter polemics of this kind especially in matters of religious belief? That the said panel discussion was organised by some of the top men in our mass communication media world? That the comper was Raja Dharmapala? That the Chairman was Wimal Dissanayake?

IS IT NOT CORRECT that there is a great deal of anxious speculation about the fate of a top star in the Tele galaxy of celestial shooting stars who has not been dealt with in the same manner as the five who have been interdicted until they clear themselves of charges that will soon be framed against them on the basis of certain evidence which have transpired? That this particular person too has done no more and no less than what the five had done? That he too is alleged to have affixed his signature to a letter to support the application of an applicant for international honours? That *Tribune* had made a mistake in stating that this particular letter did not "borrow" a Defence Ministry File No. to impress the international authorities concerned? That the fact is that this letter too, like the others, had a Defence Ministry File No.? That what is

intriguing to many is why this person has so far got away scot free? That the least that can be done is to send him on leave? That it would be far more gracious for him to renounce the balance period of his extension? That if some cantankerous bureaucrat should think of placing him on a charge like the other officers he was in danger, like the others, of losing his pension rights (and what not) if found guilty? That if he was exonerated he could get no more than the back pay for the balance of his extended period? That many expect some dramatic occurrences in this sector?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the interest shown in this column and by the *Tribune* in general in matters postal and telecommunications has brought a floodtide of information about developments and happenings in this Department for the last ten years and more? That it will take a full team to investigate, process and classify the information received? That the information provides a revealing insight into the working of a bureaucratic machine? That it reveals how careers were made, how promotions were secured and how shooting stars come into being? That there are many tales of victimisation ranging from seduced subpostmistresses to straightforward acts of political discrimination? That this kind of conduct and behaviour had progressively increased during the last decade and more? That an enterprising short story writer or budding novelist will find some of the human stories of the subpostmistress in remote rural areas in confrontation with the bureaucrat from Colombo will provide first rate material for story writing?

NEXT WEEK

- * U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS
—by Henry A. Kissinger
 - * STORY OF KANDY—2
—by Ina Trimmer
 - * ANNE RANASINGHE'S POEMS
—by Dr. Ashley Halpe
 - * PLEASURES OF RUINS
—by Herbert Kenueman
-



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and my

FAVOURITE



A CALL . . . to . . .

Men and Women of Goodwill

Everywhere in the World

- To **RECOGNISE** the power of goodwill as a vital force, moulding men's opinions and guiding their actions in constructive co-operation.
- To **REALISE** that this power is greatly needed in world affairs at this time, and that without goodwill among men no lasting peace is possible.
- To **STRIVE** to exemplify goodwill increasingly in their daily lives and so become effective goodwill units within the body of humanity.
- To **GIVE** personal recognition and support to every statement and effort by prominent men and leaders of thought everywhere which has the quality of goodwill, so that whenever and wherever the power of goodwill is used it will have the support of an enlightened public.
- To **USE** their time, their thought and their money to increase goodwill action everywhere in the world.

Men and women of goodwill are those of all countries, all races and of every class who are naturally kind, who prefer friendly relations with others, who know the practical value of unselfishness, and who live constructively. They prefer to understand and to co-operate with other races, nations and individuals. They therefore do not hate, criticise, condemn, attack or destroy. They are intelligent people whose minds have not stifled the dictates of their hearts. They are known by the way they live.

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