

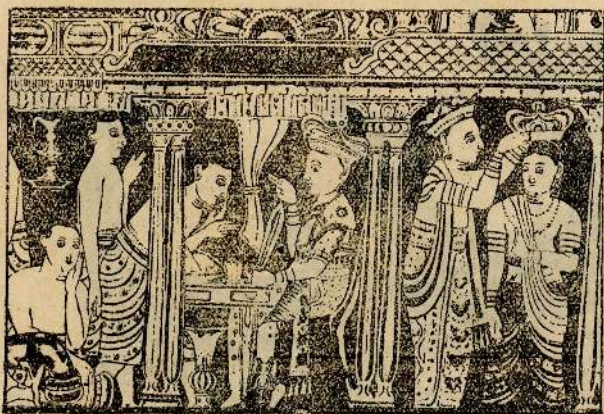
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TRIBUNE

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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a picture of wildlife that is fast disappearing from Sri Lanka the Paradise that was. In our issue of May 31 we had a cover picture of a leopard and we drew attention to the fact that the leopard was being shot out existence by vandals who exported the skin. After that note appeared, the local Wildlife and Nature Protection Society (WNPS) suddenly sprang into action on this matter and a number of news reports inspired by them have appeared in the Observer to show that a great deal was being done by the WNPS to "save wildlife" in this country. We had earlier drawn attention to the fact that venison was being served regularly at certain hotels and resthouses frequented by tourists. The WNPS, a short time after that, had proclaimed through the Observer that it had made an island-shaking discovery that venison was, in fact, served at a tourist hotel (and that hotel had the brazenness to offer a venison dish to a high and mighty member of the WNPS). Until this WNPS dignitary made this startling discovery, the WNPS officially refused to take cognisance of fact that venison was freely available at certain eating places right through the year—this can be easily be done now by an enterprising hotelier with a deep freeze and a modern gun (or rifle).

In that Observer piece on venison, the WNPS had declared through one of its luminaries that drastic action would be taken to save the spotted deer (the sambhur and the elk have already become memories of the past). But as far as we know, apart from indulging in pathetic correspondence appealing to the tourist industry not to encourage venison eating, the WNPS has done nothing concretely practical or realistic to stop the slaughter of the innocents in our jungles. The government's Wildlife Conservation Department (WCD), motivated by the same methodology which has inhibited the thinking of the WNPS, had withdrawn all normal methods of preventing the killing of protected species. For five years now, the WCD presumably following the logic of the WNPS, had pulled out its game wardens from all areas except within the confines of the sanctuaries—with the result that poachers and other two-legged killers have had a free hand. Even now the WNPS and WCD have not learnt the lesson of the last five years.

What are they trying to do now? According to a report in the Observer on July 7, the WNPS and the WCD "have sought the assistance of foreign embassies in Sri Lanka to prevent their nationals in trading in leopard skins...the Department and the Society would conduct joint raids on homes of foreigners suspected of trading in leopard skins...has requested certain West European embassies here to take immediate action to check the activities of some of their nationals in the interior of the island in this connection....." (But, why blame the foreigners alone? What about the locals who operate under the nose of the WNPS?) The WNPS chieftain bemoaned the fact approximately 100 to 150 leopards were killed every year by certain foreigners and that on a conservative estimate three leopard skins were flown out every week (and that each skin was worth about \$ 6000 abroad). The WNPS and its sidekick, the official WCD, now seem to believe in conducting raids at the exporting end. Why should they not try to stop the slaughter at the source? This indeed would be the only practical way of reducing or eliminating the slaughter. It is time that there is fresh re-thinking on this subject. The WNPS and WCD should devise a scheme to minimise the wanton killing in the actual areas where the animals are killed. They must have check points and barriers on road and rail centres (and junctions) through which the meat and or the skins are taken for disposal. Furthermore, the Government must confiscate the firearms of those who kill such protected animals, apart from hauling up such persons before the courts on charges that will earn them deterrent punishment. Unless this is done together with a rigorous scheme of game watching, the pious hopes and good intentions of the WNPS and WCD will prove futile and abortive.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

India At The Cross Roads

INDIA AND INDIRA GANDHI still continue to compel attention. She was on the cover of The Economist of June 21 with a caption Oh! Allahabad!, of the Time of July 7 with the caption India: Crisis For Democracy, of the Newsweek of July 7 with Indira's Iron Fist and of the Far Eastern Economic Review of July 11 with Indira Gandhi; Emress Apparent.

The Economist's comments were evidently written before the paper was able to deal with the declaration of the State of Emergency on June 26. It was a rather dispassionate analysis of the impact of the Allahabad judgement with true British aloofness, but with the paper's customary cynical sternness about the muddling efforts of developing nations to reach true democratic greatness and improved standards of living by methods which received the stamp of approval of The Economist's brain's trust. In any event, the paper's comment is always penetrating and knowledgeable and throws revealing light into certain aspect of the situation. We quote two extracts below which will provide a reader with the Economist's approach to the new revolutionary turmoil that has surfaced in India.

"First, give 2 1/2 cheers for Indian democracy. How many other countries have courts so free as to be able to convict a well-entrenched prime minister of election offences? For that matter, how many countries interpret their election rules so stringently as to consider the "corrupt practices" Mrs. Gandhi was found guilty of in Allahabad last week—using local officials to erect election platforms and loudspeakers in her constituency at public expense; using a temporary civil servant from her private office for electioneering—to be offences at all? Even in India these violations turned on fine points of law. What Judge Sinha decided last week was that a 1969 central government order, authorising state officials to arrange prime ministerial meetings at public expense for security's sake, conflicted with India's Representation of People Act. The second charge, that Mrs. Gandhi's secre-

tary had campaigned illegally, rested on a similarly legalistic distinction between the date of his oral resignation and its formal announcement. Yet the apparently technical nature of the offences does not alter the fact that Mrs. Gandhi may soon face the ultimate punishment for a politician: if India's supreme court does not reverse last week's judgement by the high court in Allahabad, she will lose her office just as surely as if she had covered up a raid on the Watergate. The irony of the Allahabad exercise is that both Mrs. Gandhi and India's electoral system could have been brought to book there for some truly serious abuses which have been troubling thoughtful Indians for some time. The most flagrant of these has a familiar Watergate ring: it is the illegal collection by political parties of "black", or untaxed, money from companies and individuals which is used to finance hugely expensive elections.....

"What is certain is that, after Allahabad, Indian politics can never be quite the same again. At the very least Judge Sinha's verdict has compelled Indians to think the unthinkable. A week ago India without Indira Gandhi was almost as unimaginable as India without the Congress party. Today, for all their dramatic rallyings around the prime minister, Congress leaders are undoubtedly reviewing candidates for the succession. Mrs. Gandhi has decided to continue in office until the appeal is finally heard, which may take anything from six weeks to many months. In the meantime she will keep her iron hand on the party in order to assure herself the right to choose a successor, if successor there must be. On current reckoning the defence minister, Swaran Singh, is a nose ahead of the agriculture minister, Jagjivan Ram, because of his greater loyalty to the dowager queen. If the Gujarat election and the Allahabad judgement prompt Indians to draw some of the right lessons—the opposition to unite, the Congress party to reform, and Mrs. Gandhi or her next-in-line to start training some able successors—then Indian democracy will be healthier as a result. A muddling democracy is not easy to justify in a sub-continent of paupers, particularly at a time when the pauper nations—India first among them—are tottering economically. If the only

effect of Allahabad is to cast out a long-serving and still popular prime minister for what amounts to a peccadillo, the strains on that democracy may grow stronger than ever."

While opinion abroad was generally critical about Mrs. Gandhi's continuing as Prime Minister pending the Supreme Court appeal, opinion inside India was sharply divided so far as the articulate political elite was concerned. The rightwing national dailies (except the Hindu) felt that she should step down until the Supreme Court appeal was decided (and this demand became more insistent after the Vacation Judge had given her only a conditional stay order. But the opinion of the Congress-minded and leftwing was that she should stay on until the Supreme Court gave the final verdict. The weekly magazine Mainstream, an independent leftwing paper which has extended critical support to the Indira Gandhi government summed up the situation immediately after the Allahabad judgement (in its issue of June 14) in the following terms:

"A nation does not lose its identity nor its greatness just by the verdict of a court of law. The Rule of Law, claimed to be the basis of parliamentary democracy, does not mean that political process of a country can be stifled or distorted by one stroke of the pen, however eminent the person wielding that pen may be. In fact, it is the other way round. The compulsions of a democratic order vests Parliament with sovereign authority and not the Judiciary which is expected to implement the behests embodied in law, of the supreme elected body. If Indira Gandhi, in the eyes of the Allahabad High Court, has been found guilty of technically corrupt practices during her election to Lok Sabha in 1971, the Supreme Court is yet to pronounce its verdict on the case. What sounds as bizarre is that the person whose mass appeal enabled most of the Congress MPs to win at the poll—a mass appeal based on the promises made and expectations roused thereby—should herself be found to have managed, in the eyes of the law, to collect votes through irregular means. If the people in the overwhelming majority of the constituencies all over the country reposed confidence in her words and voted for the candidates for whom she had campaigned, how could it be

that in her own constituency, the majority came to her because of the improprieties committed, in the main, by Yashpal Kapur.

Beyond the four corners of the law, this is the essence of the political issue that is bound to be raised by the millions in this country. Without the least disrespect to the Judiciary, there is no escape from this basic political question involving a democratic order. It is but natural that the Right Opposition should try to make the most out of the verdict, and one is not in the least surprised by the chorus of clamour for her immediate resignation from the office of Prime Minister. Throughout the last five years, the leaders of the Right together with the frustrated fringe of the Left have failed to dislodge her from power by the normal democratic process. They have found in Indira Gandhi—with all that she stands for in the eyes of the masses—a persistent thorn in their path, to power through the ballot box. It is only to be expected that the Allahabad verdict provides for them a shot-in-the-arm, particularly after their showing at the poll in Gujarat, which is, in a sense, the home ground of the Right. It is not difficult to forecast that even with all the over-time efforts that will be made by the Right now to tarnish Indira Gandhi's image, there is little to show that the Right itself can come back to power in the country as a whole through the democratic process.

At the same time, it would be a folly to underestimate its power of mischief. The Right would do its utmost to present before the masses in the far corners of the country a distorted version of the implications of the Allahabad verdict, and thereby spread confusion. It is not that the Right can regain the position to defeat the Congress outright through normal poll contest and thereby gain power. What it will certainly try to do is to undermine the faith of the masses in parliamentary democracy by propagating that even the Prime Minister has not been immune from resorting to irregular means. This way, a new form of destabilisation of the democratic order would be the order of the day for the Right.

And this is not a far-fetched assumption as one reads the official disclosures, however censored, of the CIA activities in different parts of the world, and as one witnesses be-

fore us the strange phenomenon of JP bringing together in eastern India under his umbrella such disparate elements as the RSS and the Naxalites, the Syndicate and the CPM—and all in the background of the not-so-hidden Sino-American coordination in a bid at political offensive against this country.

"It is this wider perspective that all patriotic forces will have to keep in mind. It is not a question of saving Indira Gandhi personally. What is to be understood is that Indira Gandhi, in the eyes of the millions in this country, represents the democratic urge for a better order for the havenots. And it is the delay and the procrastination in fighting for that objective on her part as also of her party that have largely eroded the strength of the Congress; and if the adverse verdict in a court of law has assumed such unusual importance it is because of this continued denuding of the Congress positions as a result of the poor showing on the performance front. And yet with all the drawbacks of the Congress, the Right Opposition has not been able to make headway to a corresponding degree.

In this crucial situation, it is necessary for the Congress to wake up, if it has to retain its seat of power. In a sense, the Allahabad judgement may prove to be a blessing in disguise if the Congress leadership is shaken out of its complacency and its almost incorrigible habit of drift. This nation has the tradition to rise up when the occasion demands. It is up to the Congress leadership to get out of its stupor and engage itself seriously in discharging its duty by the people who have voted it to power. The initial reaction of the Congress leadership demonstrates a new awareness of the urgency of preserving and consolidating unity.

But this alone will not do. What is needed, here and now, is a renewal of the pledge to the masses, to strive in a dedicated manner to strengthen the independence and economy of the country: which, concretely, will bring about a better deal for the under-privileged in all walks of life. It would be of little consequence if the Congress leaders think that their job is done with fulsome pledge of personal loyalty to Indira Gandhi. They can save Indira Gandhi and themselves if they live up to the pledges that they are committed to the masses of this country.

For Indira Gandhi's part, too, it is the moment of facing perhaps

the most formidable challenge in her political career. This is the moment when she can once again recapture her popularity of 1969-72 if she returns to the path of radical advance with an onslaught on the corrupt vested interests represented by the Right. And to do this in a manner that convinces the people of this great country, she has to rise above all petty considerations. This is the hour when she has to realise what a terrible liability the tribe of Yashpal Kapurs means for her. And there must be no delay in turning such parasites out of the political precincts around her if she has to earn back the respect of all those who still have their confidence in her.

The Mainstream followed up this line of argument in its editorial of June 21, 1975, but pointing out serious defects within the Congress which had to be remedied. The editorial concluded with the following words:

It is a welcome development that the Congress leadership should think seriously about electoral reforms, although it would be hard put to ward off the charge that it could wake up only when its own leader has become a victim of anomalies in the entire electoral process. Every political party in the country has been demanding such reforms for a long time, but the Congress did not bother so long as it could manage to run poll campaign with the help of Money Bags. Today, the irony of the situation is that Smt Gandhi has been indicted of corrupt electoral practices by a court of law on the petition of a person whose record in polluting public life is undisputed. If the charges against Smt Gandhi are of a technical nature—as a layman would look at it—the fact that she has in the eyes of the law been found guilty of corrupt practices has provided a godsend for her opponents to accuse her of corruption. Such a charge can certainly be met not only by appealing to the Supreme Court but also by taking concrete steps here and now that would convince the people at large of her determination to weed out corruption from public life. This is not a difficult task for her if she is ready to take the initiative in turning out all those placed around her—whether by ties of blood or sycophancy—and thereby display the courage to rise above petty considerations and proclaim by her action that she would permit not even the semblance

of corruption around the seat of power. There are instances in history in which sycophants' sins have visited upon those who harbour them and out of such stuff, it may also be noted, that CIA operators are often born. Today more than ever before the Prime Minister of India has to be like the Caesar's wife. She can ill afford the luxury of hangers-on whose names stink of corruption and who need extra security to save themselves even from the crowds that came to greet her. Whether one likes it or not, the cohesion and progress of the country depend on the unity and determination of the Congress. There are thousand upon thousands of Congressmen and women who figure neither in the speeches and statements nor in lobbying and money-making operations, and yet they constitute the silent backbone of this vast organisation. Those who talk big or mouth radicalism can never thrive unless and until they actively identify themselves with this silent, unpolluted majority inside their own party. This massive force has come to look upon Indira as a symbol of both cohesion of the nation and the well-being of the millions. It is therefore all the more incumbent upon Indira Gandhi to win back this confidence by taking steps that will convince the masses that neither corruption nor vested interests shall get any reprieve from her even if this demands personal sacrifice. And upon all her followers, those who claim to run the Congress, the consciousness must dawn that there is no short-cut to any difficult situation. Those who are found to be talking glibly of the Mujib way are either living in a fool's paradise utterly ignorant of the realities of India or are playing into the hands of agent-provocateurs. There is no escape from paying for the wages of drift. Drastic steps are no doubt called for, but they cannot succeed without going deep among the masses that constitute this nation: Gandhi did it, let it be noted by the feather-weight hot-house politicians that strut about in the corridors of power in New Delhi. This, indeed, is the moment of truth for Indira Gandhi and of the Congress as a whole.

But within a few days of this issue of *Mainstream*, a State of Emergency had been declared and there was a total and rigorous (pre-) censorship. Even the *Mainstream* seems to have been taken aback. Its editorial in its issue of

June 28, consisted of a poem from Tagore on Freedom with the following note: "Somewhere in the excitement of the National Emergency, the editor has lost his notebook. However, Rabindranath Tagore, has in the abundance of his generosity, lent him his own notebook.

*Freedom from fear is the freedom I claim for you, my Motherland—
fear, the phantom demon, shaped
by your own distorted dreams....*

IT IS LIKELY too that other newspapers and periodicals had resorted to a similar device to protest against the far-too-rigorous censorship because there was a governmental announcement over the Radio that certain newspapers were seeking to use (or misuse) quotations from Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru to make a mockery of the censorship and that this would not be allowed.

It is still possible to detect the trends of opinion within India itself in spite of the censorship, and we shall devote some attention to this in subsequent issues. In the meantime, it will be interesting to see how neighbouring countries and the rest of the world have reacted to the new developments in India. In Sri Lanka, the Government and the parties of the United Front have given total support to the actions taken by Mrs. Indira Gandhi to save the country from the Opposition parties which had proclaimed that they would resort to extra-parliamentary and extra-legal mass action to compel Mrs. Indira Gandhi to resign.

Pakistan has been cautious, and neither Bhutto nor any government spokesmen have indulged in any sharp attacks. The press in Pakistan too has been restrained—all following Bhutto's directive that they should not find any comfort in the troubles which had befallen a neighbour. In Bangladesh, Mujibur Rahman, who had taken even more rigorous steps than Mrs. Gandhi, understandably supported her. The reactions of Burmese leaders and press are, as yet, not known. In Europe, opinion has been generally critical on the ground that this was a departure from "democracy" and the "rule of law." Official US reaction have been non-committal taking the position that this was something

that related to the "internal affairs" of India. Non-aligned countries like Tanzania, Zambia and others have been generally sympathetic to Mrs. Gandhi. The USSR and the socialist countries which follow the lead of the Soviet Union have extended solid support to Mrs. Gandhi in this hour of crisis.

China is the only country which has officially and through its press condemned developments in India in no uncertain terms. (Significantly, North Vietnam and Hanoi have given Mrs. Gandhi support as enthusiastically as the USSR and Moscow have done). These attacks by China bring home the fact that relations between India and China will enter a new phase of acrid controversy. Over Sikkim and Kashmir, Peking has consistently attacked New Delhi over the last few months. All speculations, which had arisen from the time Mao had smiled at the Indian Charge d'Affairs, at a reception in Peking that a normalisation of relations between the two countries was round the corner have disappeared.

It is interesting that it is the leaders of the Opposition Parties, both rightwing and leftwing, want an immediate normalisation of India's relations with China. Politics brings to the forefront strange alliances. For instance, New Delhi's agreement with Sheikh Abdullah over Kashmir evoked deep criticism from Peking and also the diehard Hindu Jan Sangh which is bitterly anti-China and has always referred to China as India's enemy. Number one Jan Sangh has carried on a major campaign that Indira Gandhi was doing nothing about the construction by Chinese army units of strategic roads and military installations very close to the northern frontiers of India. (Surprisingly some retired military men like Gen. G. N. Choudry had in a series of articles in the *Indian Express* expressed the view that these Chinese facilities were of no military significance. Choudry is a controversial figure because of the part he had played as Chief of Staff in the closing stages of the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict in the Himalayas).

China has made it clear that she is not hostile to India or the Indian people, but that she was opposed to Congress Party led by Mrs. Gandhi because she and

the Congress had gone too far in developing cordial relations with Soviet Union (whilst overlooking the United States). This is also the view of the main rightwing Opposition groups in India like the Jan Sangh, Swatantra and other parties. The ultra leftwing group of Maoist-inclined parties want better relations with China because they assert that the Soviet

Union is just another "capitalist country" as Peking does. The fact that Peking speaks warmly about the Indian Opposition has evoked comment that it was strange for the ultra left and the ultra right wing should combine under one flag as they had done in India under the leadership of a man like Jayaprakash Narayan.

Not much attention has so far been paid to the developing tangle between New Delhi and Peking on the one hand and between Hanoi and Peking on the other. But this aspect of the matter will unfold a new pattern of geopolitical confrontations on the Asian continent and this is something worth watching.

CHRONICLE

July 1 — July 7

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.

TUESDAY, JULY 1: Professor P. W. Vithanage, President of the Peradeniya Campus, said yesterday that except for the senior students who are on vacation all other students numbering nearly 2000 returned for their lectures yesterday and the situation in the Campus was normal: the other campuses too where students boycotted lectures in sympathy with Peradeniya students had also returned to normal—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the situation in all campuses returned to near normal and academic circles have commended the Government for the manner in which it had tackled the situation: according to *Virakesari* the situation in the Peradeniya Campus is normal and lectures will start in a day or two. Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, yesterday at a press conference outlined the details of the work of the Credit Councils which comes into operation from today—CDM & CDN. Mr. Nihal Jayawickrama, Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, in a statement to the *Daily Mirror* while confirming his earlier statement about the Declaration of Assets Bill in which he said that the delay in the implementation was due to the delay in printing the necessary forms said that this is not actually correct and that forms had not yet been forwarded for printing to the Government Press. Air Ceylon pilots came out on strike yesterday in protest against the appointment of Mr. K. M. Wijesinghe as Operations Manager—CDM. Mr. Peter Griggs, Chief Detective Inspector of Scotland Yard, and a Detective Sergeant were present at yesterday sittings of the CJC (Exchange Frauds) in the inquiry against Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, a former Governor General of Ceylon—CDN. Three tea estates belonging to Galaha Ceylon Tea Estates Ltd. will come under the administration of State Plantations Corporations and the Ministry of Plantations Industry: these three estates were among estates which were recently featured in British Television programs which exposed living conditions of workers as inhuman—CDN. When the NSA meets today the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will present National Prices Commission Bill.—JD.

The Central Advisory Committee of the Department of Inland Revenue, which complained about attempts by interested parties to hush up frauds in the non payment of income tax and foreign exchange malpractices, had now submitted further details and evidence to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance—ATH. The Supreme Court in a judgement made order that farmers who cultivate government lands cannot be ousted from such lands just because they are non-citizens: in this case that came up before the Chief Justice, Justice Tennekoon, Justice Jaya Pathirana and Justice B. S. C. Ratwatte, the Ceylon Workers Congress had filed action against an order of the agricultural authority which had issued orders to a Superintendent of an estate in Ingiriya to oust four Indian labourers who were non-citizens and handover the lands belonging to the Government in which they had cultivated paddy to Ceylonese labourers: all three judges were unanimous in the judgement—VK. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, paid a surprise visit to Mr. P. Neminathan's (MP for Trincomalee) house and sought the corporation of Tamils to the UF Government: the MP had earlier announced that he was boycotting the Minister's visit to Trincomalee and had black flags flown in his residence: the Minister went to Trincomalee to open a branch of the Insurance Corporation—VK. The popular Bombay weekly *Blitz* said that there was master plan to oust Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India by coup d'etat: seven deputies of the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) belonging to the ruling Congress demanded the expulsion of the BBC correspondent in New Delhi.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2: The Commission of Inquiry appointed to probe the Martinair air-crash at Maskeliya last year in which 191 people lost their lives reported that the cause of accident was due to off standard communication equipment on the aircraft which led to the misreading of the aircraft's position as given by the crew: the Commission has made several recommendations for the guidance of Charter operators—CDN. According to the *Observer*, the V. W. Kularatne Commission report on last February's Vidyalankara Campus ragging will be out today and the Commissioner has expressed shock and horror at the depravity demonstrated by undergraduates who ragged a group of mathematics teachers who had reported to the university for a training course. The International Development Association's soft-loan affiliate of the World Bank yesterday announced a 4,500,000 dollar credit to Sri Lanka for the development of industry and tourism—CDN. Construction on the giant Bowatenne tunnel, 4 1/2 miles long and 12 feet in diameter with a capacity to carry 1,000 cubic feet of water per second, which will enable Mahaweli waters to be carried to the North

Central Province under the Mahaweli Diversion Scheme was completed on Monday night—**TOC**. The pilot's strike at Air Ceylon has been called off—**CO**. Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, said last night at the NSA that matters over the American Embassy's PL 480 dealings are still not over and he still suspects these transactions—**VK**. Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma, the ex UNPer and the main opponent of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene at the forthcoming Colombo South by election, in a statement to the press said that there was a secret defence organisation inside the UNP headed by Mr. Jayewardene and Mr. Cyril Mathew and he was prepared to reveal to the Government the activities of this dangerous organisation—**ATH**. Indian socialist leader J. P. Narayan has been on hunger strike since his arrest five days ago; following opposition moves for strikes the Indian Government banned all strikes in the country; China has warned that the Soviet Union posed a menacing threat to the security of South East Asia and was seeking new military bases in the region. Dennis Hills, the British writer sentenced to death in Uganda, for alleged anti-Government activities was pardoned by General Idi Amin today.

THURSDAY, JULY 3: The Kularatne Ragging Commission has recommended that ragging in any form should be banned and ragers should be debarred for life from all university examinations both internal and external: the Commission also recommended that Police should be summoned to the Campus in the event of any breach of law and court action should follow—**CDN**. The Minister of Education told a press conference yesterday that the Commissioner has said in his report that he had been seriously concerned about publishing the material of the report because it reads like a work of pornography but the Government had decided to publish the entire report in spite of its contents, in the public interest: the Commission had recommended the sacking of a few students, teachers and officials of the Vidyalkara Campus of the University who were responsible for the ragging of mathematics teachers: the Minister of Education tabling the report at the NSA yesterday said that he was ashamed to table such a report: the Minister further said that the Government had accepted several major recommendations found in the report—**CO**. The *New Times*, a Soviet weekly of world affairs, in its June issue has named Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, former Prime Minister, as one of the assassination victims of the American CIA—**CDN**. The Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Moscow) celebrates its 32nd anniversary today and members of the party will go from house to house collecting money for the party—**TOC**. The CIC (Exchange Frauds) yesterday reserved order for July 11 on the preliminary point on jurisdiction raised by the defence in the case against Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, a former Governor General and five others—**CDN**. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Home Affairs, Local Government, Public Administration and Justice, is considering a proposal whereby the system of electing members to local bodies by public votes will be done away and instead committees appointed by the Minister on the recommendations of the MP of the area will administer the local body: the proposal drafted by the Minister has been handed over to the Cabinet for approval and if approved it will come before the NSA in the form of a Bill—**ATH**. Telegrams numbering nearly 7000 were so far received by the Cabinet requesting not to reduce the salary of

specialised trained teachers—**LD**. Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, last night announced a 21 point new economic plan for the country in which several far reaching economic plans are proposed: the Premier ordered a crackdown on smugglers tax evaders and land speculators and accused them of running a parallel economy within the country. Israeli Prime Minister Rabin said that he thought that Israel should avoid confrontation with the US and make every effort to achieve a new interim agreement with Egypt.

FRIDAY, JULY 4: The Secretary to the Ministry of Justice has recommended to the Council on Legal Education that arrangements must be made for rural students to gain entry to the Law College easily instead of the present manner where only urban students with a good knowledge of the English language find it easier to gain entry—**CDN**. The Minister of Education, Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, yesterday ordered that top priority should be given to the implementation of the recommendations of the Kularatne Ragging Commission's report: the Minister also said that amendments to the Education Act No. 1 of 1972 were being drafted on a priority basis so that the decisions of the Cabinet on the Kularatne report and other recommendations would be placed before the NSA within the next two weeks for approval—**CDN**. The *Janadina* editorially commenting on the Kularatne Commission report on ragging at the Vidyalkara Campus of the University blamed the leaders of the Student Council, teachers and especially the administrators on the Campus for not reporting the uncontrollable position that prevailed there earlier; the editorial further said that amendments alone will not change the situation in the campuses and requested the Government to implement a vigorous change in the type of administration. The Government decided to nationalise all sterling companies with compensation that have failed to incorporate themselves into rupee companies under the Registration of Companies Ordinance: the Samasamaja Youth Leagues requested the Government to nationalise all such foreign companies and banks without paying any compensation whatsoever—**JD**. An insurgent leader who was being transferred by train from Batticaloa to Jaffna by train under armed Police and Prison escort was rescued by a gang of youth carrying revolvers and knives on Monday night at Kalawewa: a prison guard and a Police constable were stabbed in the rescue operation—**TOC**. The Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Mr. Agha Shahi, arrived in Sri Lanka yesterday on a two day official visit—**CDN**. Ceylon historian S. A. Pakeman died in England aged 84—**CDN**. Libya has imprisoned 39 military officers who called on Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi to change his policies and have his mental health checked. Nearly 10,000 people are under arrest in India following the emergency: Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, charged the Opposition parties for not fulfilling the obligations which democracy imposed on them.

SATURDAY, JULY 5: Mr. Harold Wilson, British Prime Minister, replying to a question in the House of Commons said that he had discussed with the Sri Lanka Prime Minister several matters including the take over of British owned plantations in Sri Lanka with compensation: the Minister of Plantations, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, stated yesterday that he had always made it clear that take over will be with compensation and not confiscation—**CDN**. According to the Ministry

of Industries and Scientific Affairs by October this year the people of this country will know definitely whether there is oil in Pesalai in commercial quantities: the work on the exploratory production well will take two more months to be completed and if satisfied the Petroleum Corporation will dig ten more production wells—CDM. The Ministry of Health enlisted the co-operation of the Army to combat the spread of malaria—CDM. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will make a visit to Asian countries at the end of August this year to enlist support for the forthcoming Non-Aligned Conference to be held in Colombo next year—VK. Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapourma, the main opponent of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene at the forthcoming Colombo South by-elections, told a propaganda meeting yesterday that Mr. Rukman Senanayake the UNP MP for Dedigama, had told him personally that the latter will not participate in propaganda meetings organised in support of Mr. Jayewardene—LD. The *Janadina* editorially requested the Government to deeply investigate the University students' problems following the recent developments in the various campuses: the paper wanted the government to find out the forces behind all these troubles especially to know whether CIA had a hand in this matter. According to the Communist Party of Sri Lanka the house-to-house collection of funds for the party launched on the 32nd anniversary had been very successful and out of Rs. 100,000 the party intended to collect, Matara district alone it had subscribed half the sum required—ATH. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Indian Prime Minister, said yesterday that her Congress Party was united and supported her stand throughout the whole crisis and all efforts by the Opposition to split the party had failed. Israeli Prime Minister, Rabin, urged the United States not to expect his country to surrender its vital security interests in the search for a Middle East peace. US President Ford accused the Democratic-controlled Congress of trying to over-regulate American society by going on a "borrowing and spending spree."

SUNDAY, JULY 6: The Vidyalkara Ragging Commission's report which the Minister of Education, Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud said "almost reads like a work of pornography" will be published by the Government: initially the government will print 10,000 copies and if necessary the print order will be increased: according to the Minister of Education the decision to publish the report in its entirety, in spite of its contents, had been taken in the interest of informing the country about the depravity demonstrated at Vidyalkara to which the report bore ample testimony—CO. The Ministry of Irrigation and Power with the Division of External Resources of the Ministry of Planning has taken up the question of seeking Chinese assistance for training local engineers in that country—CO. President Luis Echeverria of Mexico will visit Sri Lanka on July 24—CO. (Reuter). The anti-JR clique in the UNP is making arrangements to get down nearly 20,000 UNP youths to Colombo on the day of the Colombo South by elections and according to Mr. Leslie Perera, Vice President of the All Ceylon Youth Leagues of the UNP, this move is being taken to show Mr. Jayewardene the opposition of the UNP youths against Mr Jayewardene's activities—SLD. American Ambassador in Sri Lanka handed over to the Prime Minister a forty-minute documentary film on Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy at the ceremonies held at the Amba-

sador's residence on Friday night in connection with American Day—VK. The JCTUO decided to request the Government to fulfill the assurances it gave to the Council on January 29 on the 28 demands over which the JCTUO prepared to launch a token general strike which was later called off on the assurance—JD. More than 1000 people died and several were injured during the past 10 days in factional violence in Beirut. British Premier, Harold Wilson, told Parliament that the labour Government would keep pay rises to a maximum of 10 per cent as an anti-inflationary measure. According to Israel Radio 14 people died and 65 injured in one of the worst guerrilla attacks on Jerusalem.

MONDAY, JULY 7: According to the Health Ministry for the first five months of this year 31,387 cases of cerebral type of malaria—*falciparum*—have been detected: the Ministry has stepped up the campaign to combat the disease and called for public co-operation mainly in the North Central Province—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a farmers' rally in Bingiriya yesterday, said that the Government will soon take a decision on foreign owned estates in the country and make a public pronouncement of policy—CDN. The Vidyalkara Campus of the University reopens today for senior students—CDN. Prime Minister referring to the situation in the universities at yesterday's farmers' rally at Bingiriya said that the Government will not tolerate any more of those ugly incidents that took place in the various campuses and if the establishment fails to "clean up" the campuses it will not hesitate to close them down—CDN. The Premier said that she has no intention of assuming dictatorial powers and instead elections will be held in 1977 and before that all attempts will be taken to relieve the various burdens placed on the masses of this country—VK. The Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Moscow wing) in a statement to the press had firmly approved the stand taken by the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, regarding the present situation prevailing in the country—CDM. According to a new program of assigning extra powers to the Janata Committees, members of JCs are empowered to visit any government Department at any time and inspect documents if there are allegations of corrupt practice or fraud—LD. A bomb exploded under a seat in the plane in which the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan travelled back from Katunayake to Islamabad: the explosion took place at the Islamabad airport soon after the passengers had disembarked from the Boeing 707—VK. The Food Department last week rejected all offers received on a 10,000 ton sugar tender because the prices were too high and also because the World Food Program had purchased 13,000 tons of sugar for Sri Lanka, which was due to arrive in the country by the end of this month—CO. Indian Government imposed a total ban on ragging in all Indian educational institutions. British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan will visit Kampala next Wednesday for talks with President Idi Amin of Uganda following the reprieve of British lecturer Denis Hills.



WHAT TRIBUNE WROTE FIFTEEN YEARS AGO ON JULY 19, 1960

SIRIMA

— forward to victory —

By James T. Rutnam

(We publish below an interesting article which seems apposite in the present political situation, and which was entitled "Sirima—Forward to Victory" where the writer confidently and singularly anticipated the emergence of Sirima Bandaranaike as the first Woman Prime Minister in the world. It appeared in the Special Issue of the Tribune which was circulated with posters announcing "Sirima Will Win" on 19 July 1960, the day before the Prime Minister's victory at the polls. We have no copies of this issue left, except those in our files. One copy with the Prime Minister's autograph given shortly after the Elections is now in the British Museum. The article was written in characteristic style by James T. Rutnam who was feted recently on the seventieth anniversary of his birthday. Rutnam had been associated with the Tribune almost from its inception over twenty years ago. It is interesting to note that the issue of the Tribune that appeared after the Elections, on 27 July 1960 had two long articles, one with the caption "Take Over Lake House" by "Junius", and the other "Press Tyranny Must End" by James T. Rutnam. It took some years, as we know, before this was implemented—Ed.)

The Man (or the Woman) and the Moment must come together. Sirima has arrived to command the Moment.

But for the tragic death of her husband, Sirima would have been only a name attached to the glory of Bandaranaike.

Today, however, she faces the country as a national leader, alone and in her own right.

True, she says she will carry out the policies of her late husband, and we have no doubt she would. But she will not be content with remaining where Bandaranaike was forced to stop. She will continue in the same progressive crusade using her own will and her own judgement.

It is unfortunate that the country is not made fully aware of Sirima's strong character, capability and integrity. The so-called National Press of Ceylon has done the country a grave disservice by distorting her true character and caricaturing her in the vilest and most indecent manner imaginable.

Very soon, however, the truth will be out, and her cowardly detractors will be denounced by the people, and retribution will overtake them.

Sirima's "strength" and "handicap" are that she is the widow of Bandaranaike. It is her strength because her husband was the architect of the Revolution in Ceylon, and because his cruel assassination has aroused the people into indignation. But it is as well her handicap, for people are quick to assume that this great man's widow is nothing but a helpless woman, struggling hard to defend her husband's memory against his enemies.

There is, however, another side to the picture. One has only to meet her and engage in a conversation with her for a short while to know that she is a remarkable woman with a mind of her own,

with a clear sense of mission, and a determination whither she should proceed and how she should lead her people.

Born on 17 April 1916 into a feudal Kandyan family in Balangoda, the Ratwattes, she shed the slough of feudalism with the same alacrity and conviction as did her husband.

She married Bandaranaike on 3 October 1940, and from that time onwards began her education and graduation into becoming a servant of the people.

We have observed her holding high office and rendering efficient service in various institutions and societies such as the Social Service League of Balangoda, the Lanka Mahila Samiti, the CNAPT, the Sinhala Institute of Culture and the All-Ceylon Buddhist Women's Association, but always she was overshadowed by the name, fame and greatness of her husband.

Cheerfully she chose to live the life of an inconspicuous guide, counsellor and inspirer of her husband.

But suddenly Destiny intervened.

Her husband was snatched from her arms, and her world came almost to an end.

Nobody had, however, bargained for a resurgent Sirima, rising from the death-bed of her husband, resolved not only to avenge his death, but also sworn to annihilate all those reactionary forces both within and without her husband's Party, that dared to destroy the fruits of the Revolution inaugurated by Bandaranaike.

Now she faces the country as a dauntless and undoubted leader of the combined forces of the opposition to the UNP and MEP. She has cleansed the party of the vermin that infested it. Perhaps there is a little more to be removed, and she will probably complete this unpleasant task in due time.

Now she challenges Reaction to do its damndest.

She has been intimidated, ridiculed, slandered, defamed, her honour assailed and her modesty questioned, by the UNP and the disreputable daily Press of Ceylon.

She has answered these vultures with an unruffled dignity that has put them to shame. Failing to subdue her with threats and obscenity, her traducers now come in the guise of friends counselling her to beware of the Marxists.

She is not frightened of Marxism. She has learnt the lesson that her husband had failed to learn, and for which he paid dearly with his life.

She is not prepared to temporise with Reaction, and she is not afraid of the bogey of Marxism.

Because of her courage and tenacity, of her quick grasp of essentials and her political acumen she might even prove herself a greater leader than her late husband.

The minorities need have no fear that their rights would be trampled down by any Government of which she is the leader. We have observed that during the spate of speeches made by her during the current election campaign, not one word was spoken against the Tamils, Muslims or Burghers, nor did she trot out the familiar slogans that Hitler once used against Marxism, Communism and the so-called Red Peril.

Tomorrow will be a decisive day in the history of Sri Lanka.

Let us trust and pray that we shall be able to salute this courageous woman as the first woman Prime Minister in the world, as the acclaimed leader of our nation in whose hands we could readily place our destiny with confidence and hope.

CONTINUED FROM THE
LAST ISSUE

Frederick Dornhorst—2

BY JEPHARIS

I left St. Thomas' at the end of 1859 and for one whole year I was without school. During a large part of this time your Aunt Eliza was staying at my mother's house in New Chetty Street (which I pointed out to you one day when I took you all to show you the merry-go-round) having come there for her first baby, your cousin Hetty, now Mrs. George Arndt, and I too stayed with them. I am ashamed to say I led a very idle life, always in mischief and giving my friends at home great trouble. Your Uncle Johnny was the only one of whom I was afraid, and thanks to the control and influence he exercised over me I was saved from going altogether to the bad. My poor mother was very distressed and her peace of mind was restored only when I was again sent to school. That event happened in 1861 when I entered the Colombo Academy (now called the Royal College) and was placed in the first class of the Lower School with old Mr. Gogerly for my master. Very little serious work was done here. The Lower School of the Colombo Academy during this period was in a very unsatisfactory condition. The masters had not their conscience in their work and the boys were ill-trained and neglected.

In 1862 I was promoted to the Upper School, which consisted of three classes, and in 1864, when I was just fifteen I had attained the proud position of a boy of the first class of the Upper School. One privilege which had hitherto attached to this position was immunity from the cane, which good Dr. Boake used too freely in my humble opinion. But I am ashamed to say

that we boys showed ourselves undeserving of the privilege. I must here tell you that the first class in those days prepared for the Calcutta University Entrance Examination, and one had to be sixteen to go in for it. Now it so happened that most of us were under age, and knowing that we had not the dreaded prospect of an exam before us that year, we neglected our work and indulged our animal spirits. As Dr. Boake used to say, we failed to maintain the dignity and position of boys of the first class. We had our teachers, especially kind, gentle Mr. Marsh, our mature (?) head master. A very miserable life. We were constantly in trouble, and it was not long before Dr. Boake treated us, as if we did not belong to the first class, by caning us all round. Here I pause to say that, with all my respect for that good and large-hearted Irish clergyman, whose memory I shall always venerate, in my opinion he could have done better had he less frequently sought the aid of the birch. Corporal punishment is a barbarous mode of correction, to be resorted to on very extreme occasions, and should always be the exception and not the rule, in dealing with juvenile offenders, both at home and in a school.

The year 1864 was ill-spent and at its end we, certainly I, had only a record to show of mischief and floggings. The next year we entered upon with firm resolve to work up for our entrance, but it was no easy matter to shake off old habits of idleness and love of mischief. Here I must tell you that I always worked with a head at my classics, English, Latin and Greek. Of History I was very fond, but Mathematics, in every shape and form, was the bete noir of my school life. Well when the year was drawing near its close, about October, Dr. Boake took down our names to be forwarded to Calcutta. When I ventured to say that I did not think I was quite prepared to stand the examination that year, I was told that I would have to leave school. "....." (LATIN) said Dr. B., or, 'bring your two rupees entrance fee tomorrow'. When I got home I approached your Uncle Johnny, with whom I was staying, and begged for a letter to Dr. B. to let me go in next year. Here was your Uncle Johnny's reply. 'If you don't go in this year, I'll apprentice you to Lafaber.'

(He was the family shoemaker). I was on the horns of a dilemma. As then advised, perhaps, I should have had no objection to be sent away from school, but then the prospect of becoming a Crispin and practising the motto "....." (LATIN) was to my boyish simply dreadful.

To make a long tale short, the Entrance fee was paid, my name was sent up, and to work I set myself in right earnest. The examination was held in the first week in December, and when it was over, I was in no enviable frame of mind. But my suspense was at last afforded pleasant relief when the announcement reached me that I was among the passed candidates in the second division. The Academy failed to get even one through in the first division, while St. Thomas' College passed only one student and that in the second division. In 1866 I entered Training College and was dubbed a Junior Freshman. My fellow-collegians were John Casie Chetty (now an advocate) and Herat de Silva (who was a master in the Academy at the date of his death). The first six months were devoted to preparation for the Turnour Prize, which I stood a fair chance to win as I was fairly good in Greek. My name was sent in but the attraction of a wedding was incontestible, and in consequence I lost the chance of being the Turnour Prize Scholar that year. The wedding was Miss Fanny Drieberg to my friend Mr. Van Der Straaten. This was in 1866. I continued in College till August 1867. In 1866 I had a disagreement with your Uncle Johnny, with whom I was staying, and came to my mother. It was a foolish boyish step, but I never forgot the debt of gratitude I owed him and your Aunt Eliza for all they did for me. I was in a contrary mood after I left your Uncle Johnny's and was determined to find employment and support myself. Of course I had to abandon the hopes I had indulged in of entering the legal profession and to content myself with accepting whatever came in my way. This was a take down for me but I had brought it on myself by my obstinacy.

In trying to be independent of your Uncle Johnny by becoming a clerk in a Government office I was acting like the man in the proverb who cut his nose to spite his face. But tho' I cannot justify this part of

my life, I have reason to think that it was providentially ordained that I should go through this ordeal. I can assure you, with my exalted ideas, it was a take down for me, who had ridden and driven to school. Your Uncle Johnny always had his stables full : who always associated with the sons of those who were in a high condition of life, the Driebergs especially : who generally moved in a sphere above that of the clerks : to shoulder an umbrella and walk to the Fort to earn the paltry sum of Rs. 45/- a month. But I had to do it and did it. To get this junior clerkship in the Audit office I had to stand an examination ! As I said before although this event of my life seemed a calamity to me, who had seemingly a more ambitious future before him, it was a misfortune which proved a blessing in disguise. Living with your Uncle Johnny, who was in well-to-do circumstances, and mixing with people who were above want, I was fast forgetting my true position, the son of a widow whose industry and that of her daughters were helping them to live in modest....

I now began to think and act for myself, being brought face to face with my true position. I now saw clearly that my future depended on me and me alone. I was sternly reminded that I had no claims upon anybody for preferment. Indeed I may say that my education, in the right sense of the term, only began at this period of my life. I mark it as the crisis, which occurs in the life of every man. It is that tide in the affairs of men of which Shakespeare speaks. Luckily I recognised the seriousness of the position. In pulling the chain of a flush in a Govt. office, I felt I had gone down many steps in the social ladder, and the ..of the feeling incited me to acquire by my own deserts that position, which I had hoped to attain to by Uncle Johnny's influence, or more accurately, which my boyish vanity hoped would be mine by right.

The disillusion was the greatest blessing that befell me. I now resolved to work upwards. I did not like a clerk's life I had been educated above that sphere. I determined to save enough to buy the stamps* required for articles to become a Proctor. In Dec. '67 I heard of a vacancy in the Colombo Academy of the twelfth mastership of the Lower School and app-

lied for it. With Dr. Boake's assistance as well as the Certificates given me by Messrs. Steward and Marsh, I secured this place, which gave me £ 1.10 more a month, the salary being £ 72 per annum. Tho' my place was that of master of one of the infant classes Dr. Boake put me in charge of the Upper School third class. This was a decided boon to me, the boys were advanced and I had to prepare my work in order to instruct them.

I now began to acquire those habits of study, method and punctuality, which I utterly failed to form in school. I can assure you my children that but for the responsibility being cast upon me of having to teach an advanced class, my life would have been one without character. Try to form habits when you are young, at home and at school. You will find it difficult to repair the neglect in advanced life. I doubt not but that I was forced by the necessity of my position to set an example to the boys under me, I would have failed to acquire these habits, which are essential to the formation of character, and therefore, essential to success. Yes, there is no more despicable object one can meet with than a ..man, a man who has no definite opinions, no definite aims, swayed hither and thither, and devoid of all set purpose.

I remained a master in the Academy for six years and these were the most useful years of my life. They afforded me a second education. I worked steadily and conscientiously and earned the high opinions of those above me. See the Certificates testifying to the manner in which I discharged my duties which were given me by Dr. Boake, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Todd and the Director of Public Instruction. I entered Govt. Service in 1867 (Augt.) on a salary of £ 54 per annum and when I left I was in the receipt of £ 350 per annum, £ 150 my own pay as fifth form master and £ 200 ..pay as acting for Mr. Cull, who had then been appointed Second Principal Assistant.

I took charge of a class in the Academy in 1868 and left in 1874, just six years after, to read for my Advocate's Exam. In Feb. I stood my 'preliminary' and was afraid I had made a mess of my Latin Prose. It would have been a disgrace if one

who had taught the..... Classics should have been plucked at a preliminary exam. I 'slanged' your Uncle John for having placed me in this predicament when I got out of the examination room. The resultshowed that my fears were groundless. I was the only one who passed. There were four candidates. I had but ten months to prepare for the second exam and in Dec. of that year attained my ambition of being dubbed an Advocate.

My life since my entering into the legal profession has been a public one. Barring the first six months, when I got little or no work, business came in, and now at the date when I am writing this, I have attained a high position and am in the enjoyment of a large income. If all go well you will begin life with a I had none.

I hope you will make good use of the money and property you will inherit. Be kind to each other. Don't let money matters ever create divisions among you. The terms of my will are as clear and as explicit as I could make them. If you live together until you find homes of your own, you will have enough to keep you in comfort and ease.

When I am dead and gone I hope the few words of advice I have here given will be attended to by you all. God-bless you my children and help you to lead pure honest lives in His Service (!) and that of your fellow men! This is the wish of your father.

REPORT COULD BE A BEST SELLER

"IT'S virtually pornography", said Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud when asked by Pressmen what the contents of the Kularatne Commission were. Dr. Mahmud said that certain Ministers were reluctant to publish the report in full as the revelations were so shocking. But it was agreed that the report should be published in full and the report will be published soon. He quipped that it 'could even be a best-seller.

—Daily Mirror,

3/7/75

Graffito !

By Herbert Keuneman

THIS ARTICLE IS IMPORTANT. At least, it *should* be important to any government (or any supporter) not self-hypnotized into *hubris* and an arrogant mis-assessment of its own 'popularity' and 'success'; as our present one too easily seems to be. So, I repeat:

THIS ARTICLE IS IMPORTANT. THERE HAS APPEARED A WRITING UPON THE WALL.

This is a pretty portentous opening, I must say; but so I intend it to be. There is a writing—as yet faint; it may be true—but not the sort of writing political hoodlums daub with a tar-brush on other folks' whitewash! This is the sort that can grow more intense instead of weathering away.

I have been astonished, as well as disconcerted—for with all its faults a government I believe to be socialist in intention is the one I should vote for over one that professed socialism (whether as campaign gimmick or ineluctable expediency) without a single earlier achievement or attempt in its dossier—I have been alarmed, I am willing to say, to hear in recent days for the first time open and common admission that the UNP—once considered by its opponents defunct and not worth a second thought—may indeed be still not only alive but effectual.

There is, possibly, nothing but rumour—and local rumour is all I can vouch for—behind such open talk. But there are disgusting FACTS behind the talk. And I want to make the point that the talk is not mine: I am only reporting it for what it is worth, because I believe that to anybody who values the good name of People's Government it is worth a very great deal. What is being said, it is essential to realize, is not being said as propaganda by enemies of the government or venal place-seekers eager only to have their place in whatever government at all: it is being said by common villagers whose loyalty to the SLFP has never been questioned though neither has it ever been rewarded. In the present instance it has not been rewarded

even by simple honest dealing in a project advertised as for the villagers' relief!

UNFORTUNATELY, this article will unavoidably appear several weeks after I write it (I am writing it on June 4). But if you who read it when it does appear are a government supporter, do not let the circumstance that nothing sensational or even significant may have taken place in the interval lull you into the hallucination that there is nothing in what I say. And if in the meantime what has been done wrong has been rectified, look upon the fact that it was ever done as typical of what is done when a government in power, fearing perhaps to tread upon favourites' preserves, is too apt to condone where it should be condign. And if you are that more influential class of reader in a position to guard against similar embarrassments, arising again, do so.

For a misdemeanour—but that is a very mild name for it—a crime, of which the story (brief as it is) makes one sick—has undoubtedly been committed, and what is probably only a mean truth underlying it is of the kind that can be 'twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools'. Official dishonesty is that probable mean truth. But up to what level?

The truth must be sought in a welter of fact; of allegation, of which a great deal bears the stamp of truth; of likelihood and supposition; and of rumour. So, here is the whole boiling.

IT IS A FACT that in February this year a well-intentioned scheme of relief employment on public work at village level was inaugurated by Government with a view to aid villagers in those parts of the Island where after three years of inadequate and unseasonable rains and reckless conversion into money of what foodstocks they might have retained they now faced real hunger if not semi-starvation. (It is also a fact that these villagers would have been less reckless if they had not been urged by runaway inflation and led astray by irresponsible official optimism!)

IT IS A FACT that at the beginning of the scheme the rate of payment was a flat one of Rs. 3/00 for a man and Rs. 2/25 for a woman, daily, subject to a maximum of Rs. 70/00 in exchange for not more than 12

days' work in a month by not more than 2 members of a family. If two men worked, one of them was laid off for a day in the twelve so as not to raise the wage bill beyond the Rs. 70/00 limit; but if a man and woman worked, then they could only earn Rs. 63/00, regardless of the number of family members. (This was probably the only occasion on which—maugre all the talk—some disability was brought home to the 'unplanned' family, even by accident!)

IT IS A FACT that, beginning May, this discrepancy was to some extent corrected. The unfortunate man with a wife and only 4 children was held to the old rate; families of 7-10 members were permitted to earn up to Rs. 100/00 in a month of 12 working-days; and the happy progenitor of 8 children or more—9 if his wife was not living—earn Rs. 120/00. The 6+ family could send 4 members to help earn their money, and the 10+ family 6.

IT IS A FACT that the *kankanam mahattaya* (overseer) superintending each village's work-gang and appointed from amongst his fellows by the M.P., on recommendations from the village branch of the SLFP, the Grama Sevakaya and/or the D.R.O., was not always up to making out his check-roll accurately, especially under the later complications of the method of tally despite the requirement that the Grama Sevakaya check over with him his entries and calculations.

IT IS A FACT that this difficulty is invoked by apologists to account for all shortcomings in the administration of the relief work but could be used as cover for a variety of skuldudgeries. (There will be some to refer to when the facts have been dealt with.)

To resume, then.....

IT IS A FACT that, whatever the reason, the payment of wages for relief work has been unconscionably delayed since the March wages were paid on April 10 (in time for the New Year's holiday). For dozens of villages throughout this region not a cent has been forthcoming since then. Two months. Two months during which the people faithfully contributed their twice-twelve days stint of work; and one month during which they have begun to wonder how long it is wise or economic to continue

doing so. For the decision is not always as easy as it may seem. Pinhamy, for instance, has been offered a 'contract' to build door- and window-frames for a richer neighbour's future *bangalava* is he, or is he not, to accept it! It is a cut-rate quick-delivery contract, based upon the premises that at the moment the villager will do almost anything for ready money, and if he refuses it someone else will take it on. But if he accepts it he will lose the Rs. 100/00 relief wage for which household qualifies, because his only grown son still at home is bent on sitting for his 'O-Level' for the third or fourth time and attends a private-tutary to better his this-time chances! and his wife and two grown daughter are the only ones left to cook and mind the house and look after the little ones and nurse the pitiful remnant of their *hena* by hand-watering it with two-gallon pots from the tank a full furlong away. Yes, sure! watering is done at dawn and late in the evening and there is still time for the girls to present themselves at the relief labour site as well; but who are you, sitting in your Colombo armchair or at your Ministry desk, to say how much an ill-nourished human body can take? In any case, that is not the point! If a man is adjudged deserving of relief, then the relief has to be immediate: you don't pay a dole in Government Bonds! And these villagers haven't even bonds for two months' labour they have put in. Yet, strange to say, some few villages have already been paid in full: up to the end of May.

It is this discrepancy which has caused (sometimes wild) talk, as distinct from perfectly justified grumbling, such as the repeated rumour that Quislings—one had almost forgotten that word—Quislings in the *kachcheris* are favouring villages with a UNP leaning or where influential inhabitants were UNP-bent.

Personally, I do not believe this. I do not believe that many political stooges have the guts to endanger good jobs; to be trimmers or turncoats, yes, that is our pattern; but only after victory has been decided. Not do I believe that the rumour has been put about by UNP Fifth Columnists: that would seem too subtle for local politics. What I do believe... But it isn't

what I believe that is important: it remains true that villagers who have devoted their loyalty to the SLFP and hitherto placed their trust in it are beginning to lose that trust. And all because some villages have been paid while the majority have not.

Here are a few such villages so that those who know this part of the country may draw their own conclusions. It is an incomplete and random list; and the reader may gauge that it is not contrived, by the fact that the proportion represented by my list nothing like reflects the actual disparity: the 'Un-paid' list is only of villages from which I have heard the doubt spoken.

PAID Attaragalla; Palukadawala; Attanapola; Gallewa (a portion); Nitalawa; Siyambalawa; &c. &c. **UN-PAID** Ehetuwewa; Manakuleagama; Divullewa; Galkadawala; Waratakagama; Embogama; Konewa; Alutwewa; Lokurugama; Hiddewa &c. &c. &c.

AS I SAY apologists for the state of affairs contend that the check-rolls are in a mess. Does that mean nobody from the passed-by villages gets paid until by some mysterious art the check-rolls are un-messed? How does one un-mess a messed check-roll (which consists of Xs against a name for each day on the job and Os against an absence)? Indeed, what constitutes messed check-roll? can one 'spoil' it like a ballot paper? And, anyway, who is responsible for seeing to the unmessing? One villager complained to me that when a deputation from his village waited upon the D.R.O. they were given this check-roll excuse and told to clear it with the *Kachcheri*. Yet who but the D.R.O. is their link with the *Kachcheri*?

There are likelier explanations of this cruel delay if mere excuses are not to be invoked. One is that certain villages—sometimes because a single man in this on bad terms with some petty official somewhere along the long line between the village and its ultimate paymaster—are in the official bad books. But forty or fifty such villages? Another is that *kachcheri* audit clerks simply can't cope with the arithmetic. Another yet that either they or someone else in the line won't cope until coping is made worth their while. And here, perhaps, we get nearest the

truth; but we must consider *allegations*.

It is alleged that certain *kankanam mahattaya*—particular friends of particular individuals—have been instructed not to mark absentees absent! No one need be very imaginative to reason why.

It is alleged that in some villages there is a regular rake-off—small; but it all adds up—and uncooperative villages do not get paid. The *kankanam mahattaya* says the Grama Sevakaya demands it, the Grama Sevakaya says somebody higher demands it... all the way up to the M.P. (who, of course, if he did not as he must deny such goings on altogether would lay the blame at some point lower down and so *ad kankanam* since it cannot logically go *ad infinitum*).

Well, there it is: this sordid story of greed and/or treachery and/or incompetence or inertia utter callousness towards one's own Party's good name and/or one's own people's wellbeing. And if it doesn't make you sick, you have a strong stomach for wrongs you yourself don't suffer!

P.S. The *anata padi* for April and May was eventually paid: in mid-June. There was no departure from the usual manner of accounting. That means everybody is happy, but some bodies are even happier than the rest!

WILD LIFE

WHY IS IT that the WNPS (short for Wildlife and Nature Protection Society) has developed a sudden and new craze to conserve wild life? That in recent weeks a great many tears have been shed about leopard skins that are being spirited away from this country? That eminent WNPS chieftains have discovered (only recently) that venison is regularly served in eating houses and tourist hosteleries? That these WNPS bigwigs have now begun to contemplate (or meditate) upon the efficacy of raiding export centres (and perhaps eating places) to stop this vandalism? That *Tribune* will have something to say about all this very often?

Theological Reflections

—on Vietnam—

BY TISSA BALASURIYA, O.M.I.

Director, Centre For Society
and Religion

THE END OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM and the complete withdrawal of US forces from Cambodia and Vietnam along with the establishment of the PRG in Saigon and the Khmer Rouge in Phnom Penh has completely altered the position of the Church in these countries. Up to the final stages of the war a large section of Catholics including the leadership was in favour of the now defeated governments. In fact the church establishment was very dependent on foreign personnel and funds. Its ideological orientation too was right wing.

The church in Indo-China has not been adequately critical of the evils of western colonialism and neo-colonialism. It has had a pronounced fear of communism. The influx of 700 to 800 thousand refugees from the North after the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu and Ho Chi Ming had established the independent regime of North Vietnam, made the church of South Vietnam even more conservative. The main *raison d'être* of the Catholic refugees was their conviction of the incompatibility of Christianity with the Marxist regime of the North and their fear that their lives were insecure under that regime.

During the past 20 years in spite of the advance of the Viet Cong, the church in South Vietnam substantially maintained its anti-communist posture. In the late nineteen sixties there were a few Catholics, priests and lay people who proposed a more conciliatory attitude for ending the war. These were branded Communists by the strong right wing sections of the church including some of the foreign missionaries. Archbishop Bing of Saigon however took a conciliatory position towards them due to his kindly pastoral concern for all.

It is a pity that even in the 1960s and early 70s Christian thinking in Vietnam and elsewhere has not as a whole been sufficiently aware of the problems of South Vietnam

and Cambodia and were not vocal about them. Those who did speak were marginal groups. We might mention in this connection: the whole neo-colonial approach to development; foreign investment being welcomed, safeguarded and guaranteed by the State; low wages paid to workers especially under emergency regulations; the banning of strikes; vast inequalities in wealth, income and power; corruption; large scale provision for "Rest and Recreation"; corrupt militarism, the divorce of the rulers from the people; added to these the presence of the American advisors and soldiers—the large scale and indiscriminate bombing of North and South Vietnam; the torture of political prisoners etc.

Gradually more and more people became alienated from this pattern of values. Yet we see the paradox of an explicit or implicit alliance between the churches and this model of development and military activity. This however is not something new, for it is a continuation of the position the churches have taken in spite of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. For many churchmen the evils of capitalism are minor compared to the danger of communism

THE RAPID CHANGE in these countries in March and April this year has placed the Christians in Indo-China in a situation somewhat similar to what happened in China in 1949. About hundred and eighty thousand Vietnamese refugees fled the country and we may presume that many of them were Christians. But now they are not so welcome in other countries where a considerable extent of opinion seems to be of the view that the Vietnamese should settle their own affairs; and the new regime in Ho Chi Ming city has not created the image of not being intolerant.

The 2 million Catholics in South Vietnam are proportionately much more, being about 10%, than they were in China. The leadership of the Church is also indigenous. There are about 2000 Vietnamese Priests and 5000 Vietnamese religious workers. The country's rulers have been Catholics. Marxism itself has changed considerably in its attitude towards religion since

1917 and 1949. The problem of the Christians is whether they can whole heartedly co-operate in building up a new socialist Vietnam under the leadership of a Marxist government. There could be a clash in their minds as to what they consider the national good and their understanding of the Christian faith. On the other hand the public authorities may also be sceptical about their loyalty to the new regime since they were among the most intransigent combatants against the North.

These Christians will probably go through the same problem which has been faced by Christians in this century in the USSR since 1917, in Eastern Europe after 1949, in China after 1949, North Korea in the 1950s, North Vietnam from 1954 and Cuba in the 1960s. In all these instances they had little support from the outside churches except for a non-conciliatory attitude leading even to martyrdom.

Very often even within the countries the leadership of the Churches was not quite ready to co-operate with the new regimes particularly in the initial stages. In China the situation led to a sort of schism when the local Christians appointed Bishops with the approval of the State without the blessings of Rome. The issue that is posed to us today is whether the entire Christian world can face this situation in a more enlightened manner without giving up the essentials of the faith and the safeguarding of human rights in difficult circumstances.

In this delicate situation the way in which the Vietnamese Christians may react to the regime and vice-versa can also depend to a great extent on the attitude and reactions of Christians all over the world especially in the western countries. If we Christians outside of Vietnam do not consider the establishment of the PGR government of Vietnam and Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia as tragedies, but rather see in them potential signs of liberation, then the reaction of the Christians and of the governments of Vietnam and Cambodia will be greatly helped in their task of mutual understanding.

The Vatican, especially the Holy Father, can play a very significant role in this connection. It should not be necessary for the Church now

to wait for 50 years as in the case of Russia, 25 years in China, 15 for Cuba to see that new ways of christian living can flourish in socialistic societies; or at least that the peoples of these countries can find a more just way of living under these regimes than in the past. This is one of the greatest challenges to the Holy Father who has proclaimed 1975 the Holy Year of Reconciliation.

The whole christian world has to try to understand the positive values of the new way of life that is likely to be established in these countries. This however will require a radical rethinking of the concept of the church and of its mission in a revolutionary world. Revolution is a regular phenomenon in our times. Profound changes are now taking place in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Portugal.

This phenomenon of expanding socialization of life is likely to be one of the main features of the world in the next 10 years. In order to understand these situations and relate to them creatively we have to reevaluate our own theology both speculative and practical. The teaching and attitude of Pope John XXIII towards the European Communist rulers and regimes can be a source of inspiration to all of us, including the Bishops and the Pope.

IN THE LIGHT of what has happened in Indo-China, we have to ask ourselves what meaning there was in the type of mission activities which were carried out earlier? What relevance did the presentation of the word of God in preaching and in catechesis have to the exploitation of the people—both by the local elite and the foreign powers? Even if christians were opposed to the immorality of public life how strongly did they contest it?

One of first actions of the new regime was the cleaning up of the streets of Saigon which were infested with night clubs, that sprang up as a concomitant of this pattern of development. What meaning did the elitist schools run by christian missions with great dedication have for the formation of youth within the situation of inequality and injustice? Likewise what was the adequacy of social services of a person to person nature, however necessary and good they were, to meet the total prob-

lem of a society which the liberation forces were contesting?

We must similarly question the theology of the Churches which formed a clergy, religious and laity in large measure incapable of reading the sign of the times and being not in sympathy with the anguish of the masses. We should further ask what is the role of foreign missionaries within such revolutionary situations; and should they be so closely connected with foreign armed forces and the foreign cultural presence as some of them were in Indo-China? In fact some of those who most strongly opposed the young Vietnamese catholic pacifists were foreign missionaries who were strongly backed by money and had a sincere though questionable conviction of their mission to save Vietnam from communism.

In this situation the christian communities have to be prepared to learn from the historical situation in which they are placed. This requires several attitudes such as preparedness to re-think the mission of the Church within socialistic societies and even see a providential role in these local churches being left to look after their own affairs in every sense.

Thus another segment of the church is likely to be cut off from direct links with its institutional headquarters at the Vatican, from sources of financial assistance and the flow of personnel from older churches.

Can we see a positive meaning in this self reliance enforced on the local native church? It has to take the initiative for finding solutions to its own problems without relying on an outside authority? Will not this give more chance for the faith to be incarnated in their countries? Should not the central authority of the Church be happy to encourage such self reliance even in the choice of new Bishops, instead of helping bring about situations of impasse as in China?

On the other hand it is to be hoped that these local churches would have sufficient theological and spiritual stamina to participate in the building of a just society without falling victim to the temptation of being coopted by the regime. It is to be hoped that

Rome will not push the local churches to a point of uncompromise against change and that the government would not urge them to schism in order to be more national. A most difficult problem for the peoples of these countries will be the working out of genuine areas of human freedom and authentic living given the socialistic trend towards totalitarianism and conformism.

This problem has so far not been resolved in the socialistic countries. It is a sad reflection on the human limitations of socialism itself. The Christians, while helping to build socialism can contribute towards the furthering of human by their witness to freedom, the ultimate values of truth, love, justice and sharing. Here a long struggle is before mankind as the modern methods of thought control and even physical torture are being used rather widely by governments of both the socialistic and the capitalistic blocs. Indo-China with its religious traditions thus faces the task of humanizing Communism.

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The experience of Indo China can also teach the universal church specially in Asia, Africa and Latin America that a new type of christian living is called for, in which values of social justice, more than mere religious ritual are in honour. We must also be ready to generate a new type of priest and bishop who in socialistic societies would have to share in the task of economic productivity like the rest of the community instead of depending financially on the faithful. New forms of worship and learning of religion have to be thought of. The laity, will have to be much more self reliant and responsive for their religious and moral lives.

FOR THOSE WHO ARE STILL within the free enterprise societies, the liberation of Vietnam can also be a call to a re-thinking of their own attitudes as christians towards the capitalistic pattern of development, based on profit maximisation and generally leading to vast inequalities between the haves and have nots. The revolutionary changes are likely to continue in the Asian countries, in some places like Indo-China by a complete overthrow of governments, in others as in West Asia by use of economic weapons for obtaining control over their national sources. The world crisis is likely to lead to an increase in the tempo of change.

The challenge to christian theology and to Asian religions is to understand these forces, to participate in the necessary struggle and to create the inner ethos for the rebuilding of our societies in a manner that human beings are respected and social injustices greatly reduced if not largely eliminated.

All these taken together really amount to the need for the church to be reborn of the gospel—go back to Jesus Christ beyond the type of theologies, life styles, moulds of authority which have been evolved to suit feudalistic and capitalistic societies. The situation also implies a chance for the church in our countries to be truly christian and genuinely Asian. It is a warning to all religious that the excruciating conditions in which the majority of exploitation will sooner or later lead to radical revolutionary options by them.

The present right wing dictatorships of rulers like Suharto in Indonesia, Ferdinand Marcos in the Philip-

pires, Park Chung Hee in South Korean, Chiang Chung-Kuo in Taiwan, cannot stem this tide of revolutionary upsurge for long, for their solutions are not geared to long term remedies of the ills of these countries. Even the more democratic societies of Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, and the socialistic democracies of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are enmeshed in deep troubles. If their approaches are not more radical and egalitarian here too the masses will rise up in frustration and desperation against socio-economic systems which condemn them to hunger, malnutrition, ignorance and powerlessness.

How long will it take for Christians to learn this lesson of the history of our century? Why should it be that Marxists be the almost sole force who take these issues of justice so seriously as to combat injustice radically? Is it not time to rediscover the deep

radicality of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and try to live in practice before we are compelled to do so by the revolutionary tide of half starved Asia?

How many more lives must be sacrificed before the Christians in the affluent countries understand the demands of the ten commandments and beatitudes in our world, of vulgar affluence and abject misery—and the latter casually linked to the former. May we have the grace to understand this call of our time and thereby help fellow Christians in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Macao, Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau as they go through their agonizing reappraisals in the coming months.

FORTUNATELY there are indications that the Church leadership in South Vietnam is giving a helpful direction to the people. Archbishop Phillipe Nguyen Kim Dien of Hue wrote a pastoral on 1st

S.L.B.C. BIG TALK

IS IT TRUE that when the Prime Minister went to the Federal Republic of Germany last year, the Bonn government had provided facilities for the Prime Minister's voice cast (to Sri Lanka) free of charge? That the voice cast went on the air on three days and the scheduled time limit was 15 minutes on each occasion? That the Bonn authorities later found that the "voice casts" were far in excess of what was anticipated and they had the tapes played back to find that the recording each day had gone on for an hour? That of this one hour's recording only 15 minutes was the PM's? That what had been recorded for 45 minutes each day was not the Prime Minister's voice? That it did not take very long for the Bonn authorities to discover that there had been each day a 45-minute conversation of a private nature between officials of the SLBC in Colombo and the SLBC man at the Bonn end? That the tapes had tidbits like "Loka's wife wants this...." "H.M. wants this...."? That this kind of chit chat had gone on and on? That the Bonn government had therefore refused to foot this excess radio bill which had mounted to something over Rs. 7000? That Arthur Ratnavale, who was Sri Lanka's Ambassador in Bonn, was asked to inquire into this? That he found that the tapes contained more of private dialogue between the SLBC officials at the two ends than the PM's voice cast? That Ratnavale had decided that Sri Lanka must pay for the excess footage in the tapes over and above what the Bonn government had undertaken to provide free of charge? That Ratnavale's sudden and unexpected death had delayed action? That the papers are now with the Foreign Office in Colombo? That if the Sri Lanka Government makes the payment to the Bonn radio authorities for the excess, (as it must) it is only right that the SLBC officials should be surcharged not only at the FEECs rate but with a penalty also added? That with the tapes as evidence it will not be difficult as to spot those who should be surcharged? That these gentlemen (and ladies) by should be dealt with severely for bringing disgrace to Sri Lanka in a foreign country by such conduct?

April 1975—few days after the liberation of Hue in which he thanked God for the final achievement of peace and urged Christians to co-operate in the rebuilding of the nation under the leadership of the P.R.G.

"In the midst of our joy and exuberance, it is now time to make ourselves ready to collaborate with all men of good will in order to reconstruct our native country which endured so much suffering and death. We shall do that under the leadership of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in order to bring to all our compatriots freedom, wealth, and happiness.

Today, more than ever, we must reinforce our national unity, our love for one another, and we must serve our people, and assist them, and share with them food and clothing. We not only give what is superfluous to us, but share with them, with our people, what we have for our own need. This is true charity according to our Lord. By doing that, we only repeat what governments in the whole world are trying to do in a more and more efficient way. 'This is my commandment: love one another, I give you all my love' (John 15,12). Because of his love for us, our Lord died for our deliverance. Then what should impede us to prove our love for him and our love for our fellow man?

We must be generous and forgive all errors of the past. Let us erase the faults, suspicions, and the feelings of hate; let us avoid occasions to create fear again in the people."

(IDOC BULLETIN No. 30-31—April-May 1975—page 3)

Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh of Saigon wrote in a similar strain and called on Catholics "not to evacuate or to arm themselves, but to eagerly contribute their modest efforts to national reconciliation". April 19, 1975.

Already the Christians of North Vietnam have learnt to work together to build socialism. They have suffered together under the heavy bombardment by the Americans. The Government in Hanoi permitted an Archbishop to represent North Vietnam in the Synod of Bishops last October in Rome. Perhaps these are signs of a new approach of a deeper reconciliation. These are exceptional atti-

tudes in the history of the Church. The whole Christian world can learn much from a deep reflection on these events and orientations.

We have just learnt that the 200 bishops and priests have met revolutionary rulers of South Vietnam and that the latter have assured the Catholics that complete freedom of faith is the new Government's policy.

K A Z I — 14

Mawanella And Kandy

By ANATORY BUKOBA

The walk up to the farm, and the bungalow, on the estate seemed different this time than it did a month ago. Hills were round me on all sides, studded with trees, hills high, with great expanses of grass. We thought it may have been all wooded once, and felled to make room for cultivation. The little tea, there was a speck, high up on one hill, and I could not make it out. Ours had once been a rubber estate, and now some of it was being felled. Women were out clearing and carrying away the lighter pieces, trunks, for firewood. The expanses of what looked like grass looked cultivated, for the hillsides in places looked terraced. If I could not see more clearly, perhaps I have only my eyes to blame, but grass there was where there was no cultivation and no trees, and the hillsides were steep. In a few places there was rock.

A valley ran right down the middle, and most of it was paddy fields. Later I was to see as many as six yoke of buffaloes, six pairs, six ploughs, in a field about twenty-five yards long and a few yards wide, or so it seemed to me, and all ploughing in file. As I watched, they finished that field, and the day's work, and they went over the bund into an adjoining meadow, a small one, through which a brook ran. Here they unhitched, and I did not wait to see them wash themselves. Further on there were three yoke of buffaloes ploughing in an even smaller field, the first two pairs driven by older men, the last by a boy of about fifteen years. Most, if not all, of this lot of buffaloes were female. It

was soon after this that I had to flick a leech off half-way up my shin.

The passion fruit at the farm had come on well to judge by the number of flowers that had had to be pollinated each day. The new house, built where our old one had stood, was on top of land terraced by high stone walls built into the side of the hill. On the terrace on which the house stood, papaw trees had been planted by the top of the hill below it. There was a small cope of bread-fruit trees, giant in size, in front of the house. Goats there were, and I heard of a few hens at the back, and an Ayrshire heifer that had been served. The rest I described in the earlier article.

Eighteen children did I count, and two women to look after them, and two men, one an Englishman, and the other a brother of one of the ladies. The Englishman was one of the official Volunteer Servicemen, I think they are called; a farmer's son, and himself a farmer. The brother and sister ran the farm, both in-laws of the real head, who had to divide his time between two of these homes. The children and the farm were an indivisible whole; it was their farm. This was the end of the school holidays. When the term began most of them would have to trek more than a mile to school; down the steep hill they would have to go, and then the climb back. I was used to the atmosphere, which prevailed in both homes. When the children were at play, it reminded me of an English preparatory school. There was this great difference; the life at a prep-school is centred round the class-room. Here it was centred round the practical business of running a farm; Even the villagers commented on it.

Later I had the chance of speaking to people in the village. What a friendly lot they were. I had the impression they would all have had me in their homes, Ceylonese though I was. One man told me the meaning of Asokapura. Asoka, he said, was some kind of a flower garden, and pura I gathered, meant a place. I had only been conscious of the word Asoka as the name of a great emperor. Short squat buses run on this route. The bends will not take a bigger. On some of the hairpin bends, there seemed only

just enough room of get round, and not a foot to spare.

Round Kandy, there are three or four farms, I have seen, that are run on almost the old monastic principles, that prevailed in England and Europe in the early middle ages, when work on the land was done not with a view to robbing the soil for pecuniary reasons, but done well because it was the right thing to do; people had to be fed, and the soil was God's gift to man. I spent just a little time on one of these farms.

Grass grew well, and most of it was Guinea A. The utmost use was made of all the rain that fell. Not only was water saved this way, but the soil was conserved, too. The young coconut palms were laden with nuts. There was a long row of hen houses filled with contented hens. There were many cages of rabbits, happy, too. There were large buildings that housed cattle, *shipper* as these buildings are called where English originated. A calf born that very day, looked so big, it may have passed for a month-old calf anywhere else.

Trees a plenty, and coming to think of it, a large number of buildings and roads for eighty acres. Fifteen workers on Sunday, thirty on week-days, all well fed, and all better paid than most elsewhere. They all worked. There had been big changes since I had seen the place a few years back. Plantain trees, and coffee, and what looked to me like concreted paddy fields, walls built to hold the water in, I forgot to ask about this one. Grass was the basic feed for the cattle; I gathered it supplied them with both the bulk or rough herbage, and the protein. No poonac was bought when it was up in price. Soya beans had been planted, and when parrots began to attack it, it was cut green and given to the cattle. Goats there were and a good many if I remember right. Fruit and I was given some to take away. Manioc, and sweet potato on the adjoining farm that the people on this farm overlooked or overseed. The Milk Board got the milk. The calves got it, too and here they were mostly bottle fed or bucket-fed.

The *factotum* explained his methods. If I use that word, there the master was an institution, a very old famous one. It seems that

the sun plays a great part, and yet there were many trees about the place. There had been very little real capital expenditure. The farm produced nearly all its own manure. The coconut trees were not manured at all with artificial manure, heavily laden though they were. Grass everywhere; you could hardly see to put your foot anywhere, if you were snake-conscious.

All the cattle were washed down every day; hosed they were. There was one man among the cattle, and one man among the hens. On this Sunday the most I saw at a time was a gang, obviously Tamil embagging the sweet potato that I spoke of earlier. Men of all types, resident and non-resident, and families, too. All did manual labour, whatever their rank or social status. The atmosphere was business-like, and I imagine, their life revolved round their business, I hope I am not indulging in poetic licences. What rain fell was not only conserved by contour drains, but directed where it was wanted by gutters. These gutters were clean but could hardly be seen, so much grass was there. For all I have written, I have only seen a part of that estate or farm. Gathered did I that they were all paid well above the usual or minimal guaranteed wage or salary, and they were given their food into the bargain. Their clothes were workmanlike, and the *factotum* was distinguished by his bearing rather than by his clothes.

There are other places around Kandy like this farm. Some of them are there to support much larger residential populations; but I think in the final analysis, they farm for its own sake, because they feel they have a responsibility to the land. They may not express it this way, but I would say that they feel that they owe the land something, which I suppose is another way of saying that they feel they owe God something for the land. That is the way I feel about it, too, and I feel that if more people in this country had this, droughts would be no problem, nor an expanding population; nor eking out a living, or, not nearly so, anyway. There is a word for this, good farm husbandry or husbanding your resources.

NON-ALIGNED —what it means—

By Spartacus

SRI LANKA is getting ready to host the Fifth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries here in August 1976. There is just one year more to go and feverish preparations are being made to ensure that the Conference is a resounding success.

The last, Fourth Summit Conference, was held in Algiers, the capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, in September 1973. Algeria, no doubt, as a country where the traditions of the national liberation struggle were very much alive and strong, a country which fought a long, bloody battle against the colonialists, a heroic people who went through all the ordeals and sacrifices of a liberation war and are now in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle, was honoured to have its capital selected as the venue of the Fourth Summit.

So will Sri Lanka be next year. Our pride will be all the greater because the Conference will take place in a hall erected in honour of and named after the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, architect and pioneer of our own foreign policy of non-alignment which has won us the respect of the world and which we have succeeded in preserving and developing through many vicissitudes during the last 20 years.

"Non-aligned countries", "Developing states", "Third World" etc. are phrases one comes across in the pages of newspapers and political periodicals day in and day out. They are mouthed by hundreds of delegates at numerous conferences, are couched in the wordings of resolutions passed by such conferences and in joint communiques published whenever Heads of State or their Foreign Ministers meet. The variety of nomenclatures suggests that scholars, publicists and politicians are still searching for the term that would fully and accurately express the concept, the new historical phenomenon that emerged after the Second World War, the phenomenon of new independent states which had been

previously the colonies or semi-colonies of the Western imperialist powers. In as much as these countries have taken completely different paths of development and adopted various social and political systems, finding a suitable generic name for all these countries has turned out to be no easy task.

The term "Third World" is very much in vogue today. In fact, even a "Fourth World" has emerged, testifying to the quickly-changing world conditions under present-day conditions. The latter is used to describe the oil-rich Arab states, formerly classed as part of the Third World but now 'promoted' to a Fourth of their own because they can no longer claim to be poor.

But one can hardly, in contemporary conditions, talk of a Third World or a Fourth World that is in complete isolation from the two worlds of socialism and capitalism. The universal problems of war and peace, the security of nations, the scientific and technological revolution—all point to the fact that developments taking place in one corner of the globe, to a greater or lesser degree, inevitably affects the interests of all other regions.

TO MAKE CONFUSION worse confounded, the Chinese leaders have come out with a classification of their own. Here, the two giants of the first two worlds are both grouped under one in the Super-Power category. The so-called intermediate countries are said to form the *Second World*. The rest are all classed as the *Third World*. With disarming ingenuity, China, ignoring for the nonce that she is the most populous country with almost unlimited raw material resources and a permanent member of the Security Council with the right of veto, has classed herself as a member of this *Third World*! This classification is so unrealistic that it has received scant response in the rest of the world.

"Developing countries" or "developing states" is another term much in use today. Perhaps it can claim to have made the greatest headway into the contemporary political lexicon. But how scientific is the term? Are there non-developing countries to contrast with them? Is not the USA and USSR too developing countries? In fact, cannot it be argued that their rate of development is even greater than those claiming to be developing states?

But for the peoples of those countries which claim to be 'developing states', such arguments would sound mere casuistry. For them who gained their independence two or three decades ago, the most decisive question is the path and rate of development. Most of them began their advance after the attainment of political independence burdened with the legacy of colonial desolation and stagnation. They had to overcome their centuries-old backwardness and to embark on the new life of freedom almost from scratch. It is for this reason that the term 'developing countries' has been received with so much satisfaction. Perhaps the satisfaction lies in that it makes them happy to be called 'developing'—even if they are not!

The concept of 'non-aligned nations' (or countries or states) arose in the struggle waged by the young independent states of Asia and Africa against imperialism which was trying to impose upon them, in new forms, their old colonial fetters. In theory, the idea of non-alignment meant refusing to be drawn into the military-political blocs of either camp. But since it was only the imperialist powers that sought to draw the newly-independent states into their aggressive military alliances (SEATO in Asia, CENTO in the Middle East, ANZUS in the Far East etc.) whereas the Warsaw Pact was confined to the socialist countries only who founded it as a defensive shield in 1955 after the formation of NATO in 1949 and the inclusion of West Germany in 1954 and who made no attempt whatever to draw other countries into it, 'non-alignment' from the very inception assumed an anti-imperialist content. That was why the late John Foster Dulles damned non-alignment as an 'immoral' concept.

That was also why the Soviet Union and other socialist countries welcomed it from about the middle '50s, recognising in the non-aligned countries a new ally in the non-socialist world for the common struggle against imperialism.

THIS WAS DIFFERENT from the attitude they had adopted towards these countries for a decade or so

earlier. The well-known Indian statesman K. P. S. Menon, has noted what he called a passive phase in the relations of India (and other newly-independent states) on the one hand and the Soviet Union and other socialist states on the other. This was the period between 1947 and the early 1950's when "some Indians still suffered from the fear, relic of British days, that the USSR was out to turn the world red by hook or crook, and many Russians thought that though India was nominally free she was economically bound hand and foot to the chariot of Western imperialism."

It was only after the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950 (with India coming forward to play a key role in peace initiatives to end it) that the so-called passive phase ended with Stalin himself telling K. P. S. Menon that India in her foreign relations was following "just the right policy." At the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in 1954, by which time India had emerged with even greatly enhanced prestige as a peacemaker, Molotov spoke of India having "entered a new historic era... occupying a very important place among countries which are consolidating their national independence

Tamil Catholics

Sir,

The *Virakesari*, a Tamil daily has published on two occasions (5.3.75, 9.6.75) news items on the plight of the Tamil Catholics in the city of Colombo. The Holy Pope Paul VI has promulgated two themes of reflections for the 1975 Holy year, namely Renewal and Reconciliation. I would like to particularly stress on the latter which means loving relationship with God and neighbour. And so I begin to wonder why that some sections of the people of God are denied of this right to pray and worship in their own intelligible language whereas others are not. Is this justice in the name of Christ? The hierarchy of the Church, should see that communalism doesn't get into the Church of God.

Bro. S. J. Thaninayagam
 @blate Scholasticate,
 Ampitiya, Kandy.
 July 8, 1975

and striving to secure its weighty place in world affairs."

The nett result of the foreign policy of non-alignment first enunciated and put into practice in the 1950's by such men as Nehru in India, Nasser in Egypt and our own Mr. Bandaranaike was that the Western Powers succeeded in dragging into their aggressive military blocs directed against the socialist countries and the national liberation movement only a few countries like South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan (now withdrawn from SEATO). Refusal to join the imperialist military groupings and a determination to participate in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism for independent national development constituted the central principles of the non-alignment movement.

Though not attended exclusively by non-aligned states, indeed the very term 'non-aligned' not having then got any definite connotation, the **BANDUNG CONFERENCE** of 1955 was an important landmark in the history of the newly-free nations of Asia and Africa and a step in the direction of non-alignment towards which these nations were still groping.

Attended by 29 countries of Asia and Africa, the Bandung Conference included countries with different social systems (socialist, capitalist, even feudal) and different political systems ranging from monarchies to republics. Even at that time, as stated above, some were groping towards non-alignment while others (Pakistan and Ceylon among them) were nothing but hangers-on of the the Western Powers.

NATURALLY, THEREFORE, the countries represented at Bandung did not see eye to eye on all problems of world development or international co-operation. The debates were sometimes heated. But contrary to the hopes of many Western sceptics and in spite of the doubtful role played there by countries like Pakistan and Ceylon, the Bandung Conference was able to formulate the urgent tasks uniting these 29 countries in their common struggle against the remnants of colonialism in their lands and for their national resurgence. This success found its reflection in the Joint Communique un-

animously adopted by the participants of the conference.

The first section of this communique dealt with economic co-operation. It said that the development of ties among Afro-Asian countries was aimed at achieving their economic independence. The second section was devoted to cultural co-operation and the third to human rights and self-determination. The fourth section dealt with the "Problems of Dependent Nations" and the fifth to some specific matters like support for the Arab population of Palestine. The sixth section was devoted to measures promoting peace and international co-operation.

The Joint Communique included also what Nehru called the "most important decision of the Conference", namely the Declaration on World Peace and Co-operation. This Declaration set out the principles which should govern relations between nations, principles such as respect for basic human rights and the aims and principles of the UN Charter, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, recognition of the equality of all races and nations, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries etc. These principles were an extension of the principles first enunciated in the preamble to a treaty entered between China and India regarding Tibet in 1954 and which came to be known as the principles of *Pancha Sila*.

The Bandung Conference and its decision evoked a lively response in Asia and throughout the world. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries at once gave their approval to the Bandung decisions, for the latter were fully in line with the principles of peaceful co-existence for which they had been fighting bitterly against the policies of 'brinkmanship', 'positions of strength' and 'rolling back Communism' peddled by such men as John Foster Dulles. Thus was laid the foundation of the alliance between the camps of socialism and national liberation in a common front against imperialism.

But unfortunately, the events following Bandung, especially the disastrous Sino-Indian border clashes, smashed the Afro-Asian solidarity achieved there. Meanwhile, Soviet support for Egypt first against

US threats to drag it into a new military organisation called MEDO (Middle East Defence Organisation), then for the construction of the Aswan Dam and finally against the Anglo-French-Israeli armed aggression in 1956 had given non-alignment a new boost and invested it with a greater anti-imperialist content.

After 1960, the "Year of Africa", many African countries which had won their freedom, came forward to strengthen the non-alignment movement. From then on this movement has steadily expanded. Only 25 states participated in the First Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade in 1961. By the time the Second Conference was held in 1966, the number of participants had grown to 47, that is almost doubled in 5 years. The Third Conference held Lusaka in 1970 was attended by 54 non-aligned states, and the Fourth Conference in Algiers in 1973 by 76.

The non-aligned movement had become a gigantic force, acknowledged as such by friend and foe alike in the world today.

(To be Continued)

IMPORTANT KULARATNE COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) The Ministry of Education to take serious note of R. Weerasinghe, who is a teacher who has been a key figure in suppressing the truth.

(2) The acts of gross misconduct on the part of the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the Students' Council of Vidyalandara Campus in regard to the false declaration should receive the attention of the Vice-Chancellor.

(3) Vice-Chancellor to consider appropriate action are the unlawful and unauthorised occupation of some rooms of the Vidyalandara Campus at Peliyagoda. In fact, a female student who had passed and was presently working in a bank shared a room with a student leader. A list of the names of occupants is given.

—Daily Mirror, 3/7/75.

Confidentially

One Big And Five Little Shooting Stars

IS IT NOT TRUE that even before the *Tribune* had reached the newsstands last week the daily papers had flashed the news that five officers of the postal and tele set up had been "interdicted"? That according to these reports it would seem that documents had been received from abroad which had left the Ministry no option but to interdict these blue-eyed boys who had ruled the roost during the last five years? That two of the five had been sent on compulsory leave a few weeks ago? That the story of this episode has been told in some graphic detail in a number of issues of the *Tribune*? That, to recall briefly, a shooting star—still blazing in the skies a few weeks ago—had started a downward spiral when it was discovered that it had missed the orbit to a foreign station? That the shooting star had also charted its navigation on false premises? That some of these premises had been based on documents (data) that had been wrongly and falsely made? That at the beginning it was known that one person, not entitled to provide such data or attest such a document, had taken upon himself the task of helping out a friend (or patron)? That instead of the pair being interdicted at the first instance (it would have happened if they were less than blue-eyed), a benevolent Ministry had sent them on compulsory leave? That the benevolence had extended to letting them have their official telephones until it was pointed out to the benevolent hierarchy that others similarly sent on compulsory leave had been deprived of their official telephones within twelve hours of being sent on leave (and that on the inspiration of the shooting star who was then in a position to move mountains, mohameds and ministers)? That when action was pending on the two sent on compulsory leave (with Herculean efforts being made behind the scenes to forgive them and then forget) a new bombshell had burst? That a stickler for ARs had sought to obtain information for the international postal com-

plex in order to get to the bottom of the affair? That in spite of efforts to prevent the information being furnished on the ground they were "privileged", photostats of applications for jobs and supporting documents had reached Sri Lanka at the beginning of last week? That it is believed that among the matters which were discovered was that an External Affairs File Code Number had been used to give the impression to the international body that the applications and documents had the sanction of the Foreign Ministry? That according to one press report, the Foreign Office had raised a query how these file code numbers had been used without any reference to or knowledge of the Foreign Office? That this query had thrown the fat into the fire? That the postal hierarchy had therefore to take immediate action? That the packet of documents received from abroad revealed that three others had also at different times attested different documents to help the shooting star using designations to which they were not entitled? That even if benevolent persons were tempted to send the additional three also on compulsory leave, the discovery that Foreign Office file code numbers had been utilised without authority had made interdiction inevitable according to the ARs? That the five would now be served with charge sheets in the normal course? That many think that what has already transpired might compel the hierarchy to hand over the matter to the Police for investigation and action?

IS IT ALSO NOT TRUE that many thinking caps have been donned to decide on what should be done to another person who had uttered a document that was inaccurate? That this document did not have a Foreign Office file code number but it contained a transparently questionable certification? That the high personage (whose services had been extended and over-extended) had stated that a shooting star had been a "lecturer" in an academic institution of high administrative eminence? That it is alleged that this claim is not correct? That this certificate had been given only to bolster up an application to help the shooting star to reach out higher and higher into the starry skies? That so far no action has been taken against this individual? That it is true that he had not used a designa-

tion he was not entitled to? That what he had done was to say that a person had been a lecturer at a place of higher learning which he was not? That this letter (or certificate) was intended to mislead a foreign organisation? That it was a simple case of making false representations for a motive? That the Ministry must now make up its mind whether such an individual can continue to hold any position of responsibility? That it must also decide whether such an individual should be permitted to sit on Interview Boards to select men for the higher grades of the postal and tele service like Assistant Superintendents? That it is a moot question whether any such Board does not get vitiated by the intervention of such a person in favour or against any of the candidates? That it is an open secret that earlier Board decisions had been changed by representations made? That even if this is not correct in fact, it must be admitted that it is to popularly believed in the postal empire that such invention had taken place? That it is time the United Front woke up to the kind of catchers who have flourished by using political slogans to hoodwink their political masters? That these slogans were uttered falsely for selfish reasons? That these catchers had only wanted to further their personal careers? That in the process they were also ready to smear rivals (with far greater technical qualifications and merit) with a political tar brush (as "reactionaries, UNP'ees, FPites," and so on and so forth) in order to get them out of the way? That in the process great injustice had been done to individuals and greater damage to the service? That this kind of McCarthyian-Nixonian witch-hunting coupled with character assassination for "getting on" has now brought a sense of frustration and disillusionment in the postal and tele complex in this country and in other departments as well? That the story of the five who have now been interdicted—all five of them shooting stars of greater or lesser magnitude—only reflects the kind of go-getting that has characterised the postal setup and other departments of governments? That very soon similar shooting star sagas will come to light in several departments of the government?

* * * * *



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