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Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER this week shows a contingent of LSSP Youth Leaguers on the march during the last May Day Rally. As everybody knows, the question about organising units of the Youth League (and the Trade Unions) into paramilitary battalions so that they will ultimately become the National Militia of Sri Lanka has become one of the major bones of contention between the LSSP and the SLFP. The LSSP has made no secret of its policy objective that a new Militia and a new National Army should be created on a political basis to replace the existing units of the Armed Services and the Police which the LSSP asserts is still only a hangover from a colonialist heritage: that the Innovations, reforms and the like which have been introduced since the Bandarenaike revolution of 1956 has not succeeded in making these Services into an Army or the Police Force of a truly democratic (socialist) state. Though this is the ultimate objective of the LSSP, it has not been over-stressed in propaganda; but the Prime Minister and the SLFP have not reacted kindly to this LSSP strategy. It will be recalled that sometime last year special Emergency Regulations were promulgated forbidding the organisation of such paramilitary units (or the conversation of trade union or youth league volunteers into such units), and thereafter giving them training in armed warfare. The LSSP, however, has not openly condemned or rejected these Emergency Regulations, but the last May Day Rally demonstrated how far the preparations have gone towards the making of a LSSP national militia. The LSSP is a political party which knows where it is going and how it wants to get there. But whilst it has not yet made an issue of this Emergency Regulation forbidding the organisation of a new LSSP-oriented National Militia and Army, the LSSP has been reluctant to make concessions to SLFP pragmatism on matters of economic and fiscal significance. In fact, in recent times the LSSP has been able to push the Government and the SLFP into adopting more and more of LSSP-ism into practical implementation. But from last October-November, the SLFP has shown a rare unwillingness to be pushed anymore—beyond a point. That is why the last Budget, adopted in November/December 1974, still remains (very largely) a dead letter. Tribune has pointed out on several occasions that a Revenue (or Finance) Bill to implement the Budget and give teeth to some of its more drastic provisions has not yet been presented to the National State Assembly.

IN THE MEANTIME, preparations are naturally under way to formulate the Budget for the coming year. It is an ironical paradox that, whilst the Budget for the year which is fast drawing to a close is still a non-budget, active preparations for the next Budget are nearing finalisation. The Ministry of Finance, which is an LSSP stronghold, has the task of formulating and presenting the Budget—allegedly with the approval of the Council of Ministers, but in practice many SLFP Ministers in the past have realised only too late the real implications of many budgetary provisions. After its establishment, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, under the Prime Minister, has not only sought to exercise some kind of SLFP restraint on the LSSP Ministry of Finance but also impose a kind of administrative veto where it has become necessary from an SLFP point of view. Students of history and current affairs will be surprised about the extremely large number of matters where stalemate has been reached as a result of inner SLFP-LSSP contradictions and differences. And today, these differences have reached near-bursting point and it is not clear at what point of time they will boil over. The question about the nationalisation of company-owned estates is a case in point. Though the LSSP agrees in principle that company-owned states should ultimately be nationalised (and compensation for foreign owners be paid promptly and in foreign exchange), it does not want to jeopardise the future of the biggest foreign exchange earning industry to the embryonic (and still inefficient) machinery for running (and managing) nationalised undertakings. There is no doubt that majority SLFP thinking (and the Prime Minister's) favours a kind of suspended status quo in this matter by allowing the old established Agency Houses to continue managing the estates for a specified period until satisfactory alternative arrangements are made to run these estates on a hundred percent basis. The Prime Minister views this matter from an angle of pragmatic realism but the LSSP feel that if any quarter was given to vested interests at this stage it would enable them to dig in and thereafter reverse all that has been achieved in the cause of socialism so far. How this SLFP-LSSP conflict will resolve itself is hard to say or predict. Even before this issue of Tribune is out matters may come to a head, but if the LSSP have their way nothing will happen until the next Budget.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

LSSP Hits The
Headlines

THE SLFP-LSSP CONFRONTATION within the much talked-about unity of the United Front took a serious turn on Wednesday August 13. On the day before, at a meeting to commemorate the Hartal of 1953, two LSSP leaders, Dr. N. M. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, had stated that they would be compelled to quit the Government if the nationalisation of estates was not done satisfactorily. The *Daily News*, on Wednesday August 13, in its City Edition, (and not any of its other editions,) had reported as follows under the following headline: **LSSP TAKES STAND ON ESTATES ISSUE: NM, COLVIN'S HARTAL DAY SURPRISE: TALK OF QUITTING UF IF TAKEOVER IS NOT DONE SATISFACTORILY...**

The Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, said yesterday, that if the nationalisation of estates was not going to be done in a satisfactory way the LSSP would leave the United Front government. Dr. Perera made this statement when addressing the twenty second commemorative meeting of the hartal of 1953 held at the New Town Hall. Some persons embarked on nationalisation in order to perpetuate their names. It did not matter whose name was sought to be perpetuated, Dr. Perera declared. The LSSP wanted nationalisation to be done properly and the nationalised projects administered for the benefit of the people. In the course of his speech, the Finance Minister also remarked that the LSSP had accepted ministerial appointments in the government to work for the good of the common man and not just to fool around. It the people were prepared to make sacrifices, what was the difficulty in implementing the progressive policies of socialism he asked. Dr. Perera added: "The LSSP will not allow the reactionary forces to raise their heads again. In 1970 the UNP's power ended and the power of reaction would not be allowed to rise again." He said the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was able to introduce progressive

policies in 1956 mainly owing to the co-operation of the left parties who had signed a 'no contest' pact. The hartal of 1953 had proved for the first time what the working classes could achieve.

Mr. T. B. Tennekoon, Minister of Social Services said that it was because of the 1953 hartal that the conditions, were made propitious for the revolutionary changes introduced by the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1956.

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Plantation Industries, said that the British were anxious about what compensation they should get once the estates were nationalised. He said there were persons who advocated that the estates, once they were taken over should be managed by the Agency Houses for two years. The LSSP would not support that type of nationalisation. They were always with the people and they were ready to be with the people. Today, they had to be prepared to fight the forces of reaction and the CIA. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, said that there was nothing that could not be accomplished by the unity of the workers and the hartal of 1953 proved that. He said all the working classes should be united if the Socialist program was to be consolidated.

Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene and Mr. Bernard Soysa also spoke. Mr. Bernard Soysa presided.

The Prime Minister reacted swiftly. Within a few hours of the newspapers report being published on Wednesday, the PM had caused the customary Wednesday Cabinet meeting to be put off and had sent off a letter to the LSSP (to NM as the leader) calling for an explanation about the speech. For over twenty fours the contents of the letter was not known, but the fact that a letter had been sent (and the Cabinet meeting put off) gave rise to speculation in political circles.

LSSP reactions to the PM's letter were not known for a long time. The early edition of the *Times of Ceylon* on Thursday, August 14, carried a hint from "an official LSSP spokesman" that the report in the papers about what the two LSSP leaders had said at the Hartal meeting was "incorrect." This

was the traditional way in Sri Lanka in which politicians removed the sting from the speeches they made—but in this instance those who were present at the meeting confirmed that what was reported had been said: and also much more which was not complimentary about the SLFP or Mrs. Bandaranaike.

The LSSP did not respond to the Prime Minister's letter for twenty four hours and it was whispered that the Politbureau was still discussing the matter, evidently weighing the pros and cons of quitting the Government. Whilst this debate went on inside the LSSP, the PM in the afternoon of Thursday, August 14, released her letter to the LSSP to the press. The public learnt for the first time that she had even wanted Dr. N. M. Perera from going to Guyana to attend the Commonwealth Finance Minister's Conference and to Washington for a meeting of the IMF—he was scheduled to leave on July 19. This was the first time since UF came to power in 1970 that the PM had directed one of her Ministers to cancel a foreign trip and to make this public.

The Prime Minister's letter to the LSSP was a lengthy one and it was carried in the late edition of the *Observer* on Thursday August 14 under the stirring frontpage banner headline: **NM TOLD: HOLD UP YOUR TRIP TO COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE: PM RECALLS LSSP RECORD ON KEY ISSUES.....**

This is how the *Observer* report read.

In a strong letter written to Dr. N. M. Perera yesterday, Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike has asked the Finance Minister to "hold in abeyance your plans to leave for the Commonwealth Finance Ministers Conferences and the IMF and World Bank Conferences." She has accused Dr. Perera of engaging in "vitiuperative politics" and said that such activity must cease immediately if the UF in the next two years is to function efficiently as a Government. "I must have your assurance on this matter immediately if we are to continue to work together as a front", the Prime Minister has said.

The following is the text of Mrs. Bandaranaike's 3½ page letter:

My dear Minister,

I was shocked to read in the newspapers this morning reports of the speeches that have been made by you and other speakers of your party on the occasion of the hartal commemoration meeting held yesterday in the New Town Hall. I have checked with such sources of information as are available to me and I am satisfied that those reports are substantially correct.

As the Prime Minister and Leader of the United Front Government, I cannot allow constituent Parties of the United Front to attack the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of which I am the President, particularly when these attacks are directed against the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, myself or my Ministers, in such a manner as to mislead the public into a wrong belief that progressive policies in this country only became possible because of the participation of your Party in the progressive policies initiated by the late Mr. Bandaranaike.

I have been very patient with you all this time because I have never wanted petty personal differences to stand in the way of real unity among the people of our country in the cause of socialist progress, and I have made every effort to prevent personalities and personal differences from clouding political issues.

I do appreciate that Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and you are distressed over my decision that the nationalisation of Estates will be handled by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Kobbekaduwa, and not by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva as your party seems to have mistakenly assumed without any discussions with me. I have already told you that the nationalisation of estates is an extension of the programme of Land Reform legislation which began in 1971 and that the necessary legislative and implementational steps will be taken by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. The attempt by your party to show that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party headed by me is opposed to nationalisation as you are perfectly well aware is without foundation. The programme of nationalisation commenced in 1956 with the Government of the late Prime Minister at a time when your co-operation

was not available to the late Mr. Bandaranaike, because of ideals you held then but which you have since abandoned on questions such as parity of status on language and citizenship for all persons of Indian origin not to mention the armed struggle and proletarian revolution. I clearly remember when we were drawing up the manifesto for the 1970 elections and it was suggested by the S.L.F.P., that the proposal for the nationalisation of banks be included, you thought it was not necessary as they could be controlled by other means, and thereafter on our instance you did not mind it being listed. The point I am trying to make is that even this important proposal was initiated by the SLFP and it found a place in the manifesto as a result of that initiative. Under these circumstances, it is regrettable that statements are being made in public by members of your party that certain SLFP ministers are standing in the way of the nationalization of banks. During the last 5 years though the question has been raised in the cabinet and the parliamentary group as to why this has not been implemented, your answer was that the time was not opportune due to various reasons. I am not here contesting the validity or otherwise of the reasons given. All that I am seeking to do is to indicate my disapproval of the attempt by your party to mislead the country on this issue. I would like to refresh your memory with regard to the nationalisation undertaken by successive SLFP Governments since 1956, before your Party joined with us in a coalition. The nationalization of Buses, the nationalization of the Port, the take over of foreign bases in Sri Lanka, the nationalization of foreign Petroleum Companies, the nationalization of Insurance, the nationalization of the Bank of Ceylon are among the major progressive measures taken by the SLFP Governments. In these circumstances for you to suggest that the SLFP stands against nationalisation is a manifest misrepresentation of our respective positions calculated to mislead the public at large and to create dissension within the United Front itself. The SLFP never hesitated to nationalize when it was convinced of the necessity to do so in the public interest.

I do not remember any suggestion or attempt by your party after the constitution of the United Front to suggest a ceiling of 50 acres in the ownership of land. The initiatives for land reform once again came from the SLFP and the Minister Kobbekaduwa has as your own Janadina Newspaper has expressed it acquired fame in the process. He was after all implementing a decision taken by us in 1971 without any ulterior motives of creating an empire for himself or acquiring heights of personal glory or immortality. It is only natural that foremost in Mr. Kobbekaduwa's mind should have been the natural desire to redress the grievances of centuries of oppression to which particularly the Kandyan peasantry had been subjected.

If your party had felt so strongly on the subject of land reform or nationalisation of estates how is it that in the recent election manifesto of 1970 this item was excluded from the discussions in which you participated. It was not even raised by you. If your party held such strong views regarding the nationalization of foreign owned estates how is it that the LSSP agreed at the Cabinet as well as in their speeches in Parliament to the exclusion of foreign owned estates from the operation of the land reform ACT NO. 1 of 1972.

Your speeches suggest that there are differences between our parties on the matter of the content of the nationalization law which Mr. Kobbekaduwa will shortly be presenting in Parliament as an amendment to the Land Reform Act. Your suggestion is explicit that what is intended, to be done is to leave the management and control of the Estates in the hands of the former owners, whereas your party believes that there should be an immediate transfer of the ownership and possession of these lands to the State overnight as it were.

I would refer you to the draft Cabinet Memorandum which Dr. Colvin R. de Silva submitted to me for my consideration when he was under the mistaken assumption that the subject has been assigned to him. In it he says "...that where any Estate is vested in the State under this legislation the Agency House, Organisation or person which or who was on

the day immediately prior to the day of such vesting responsible and, in charge of the management or supervision of the management of such an estate will continue to be responsible for and in charge of the management or supervision of the management of such Estate until the Minister otherwise directs and subject to such general or special direction as may from time to time be issued by the Minister. The remuneration payable to such Agency House, Organisation or Person shall be as determined by the Minister." Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's draft cabinet memorandum further proposed that as the State Plantations Corporation would be inadequate to handle the Estates taken over 5 handpicked agency houses chosen by him should be entrusted with this task. Dr. de Silva also contemplated the payment of compensation particularly where foreign companies were concerned. In fact before I went to Jamaica via London for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference I discussed this whole question with Dr. de Silva as well as other Ministers and it was agreed in principle to the payment of compensation. It seems to me therefore that the real area of controversy in regard to nationalisation law is a personal one and not built on any differences in policy or approach to the subject of nationalisation and this is indeed a most unfortunate situation. Individual feelings cannot in my view be a substitute for policy. Your attack on the SLFP is not limited however to questions relating to the nationalisation of the estates. You have thought fit instead to denigrate the position of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and successive governments led by me and I cannot allow such charges to pass unanswered. It is quite true that Mr. Bandaranaike did not agree to lead a heterogeneous group devoid of an agreed policy line to form a government in 1947. You can imagine what the result would have been had he agreed. Would Mr. Bandaranaike have led a Government committed to parity of status on language, to the grant of citizenship to all persons of Indian origin or directed towards armed struggle and revolution contrary to democratic principles?

These matters surely must be within my knowledge more than anybody else. Those who carried out a campaign of placing systematic impediments in the way of the administration of the late Prime Minister obviously cannot claim superior knowledge. The present partnership in the furtherance of the Socialist Course was arrived at because we were prepared to overlook these in the broader national interest.

If your party commended the support of the masses and it was your support that made possible the socialist victories that we have achieved after 1956, how is it that the Hartal 1953 for instance did not result in sweeping victories in the subsequent elections for the LSSP? How is it that at the elections in March 1960 that you did not achieve better results without a no contest pact with the SLFP? This was at a time when the SLFP was in a state of shock and confusion shortly after the tragic death of its leader.

I have never doubted or denied that the unity of our parties has distinct advantages for the cause of socialism in our land, but such unity cannot be preserved on the basis of unprincipled compromises or unprincipled attacks by each of our constituent parties against the other. When you speak of having documents in your possession relating to the no contest pact of 1956 which you are prepared to disclose at the proper time are you trying to suggest that you have available to you some secret information which could compromise the name or reputation of the late Mr. Bandaranaike? We are not ashamed of any of the agreements we have entered into and I would challenge you to make whatever material you have published because we for our part have nothing to hide.

This is something you have done before for instance in Parliament you said that you had information available to you which could have sent a member of Parliament now in the Opposition to the gallows, had you chosen to disclose such information.

You did the same thing once more when you claimed that you had documentary evidence of CIA involvements and financial dealings at the recent May Day Rally

but where you have failed up to now to furnish such material to me for purpose of investigation although I have repeatedly asked you to make this information available to me.

You will appreciate that this kind of vituperative politics must cease immediately if the United Front in the next two years is to function efficiently as a Government. I must have your assurance on this matter immediately if we are to continue to work together as a front.

Meanwhile I shall be grateful if you will hold in abeyance your plans to leave for the Commonwealth Finance Ministers Conference and the IMF and World Bank Conferences.

Having regard to the publicity your statement has received in the newspapers, I have decided to release a copy of this letter to the newspapers.

At the time of writing these notes, the LSSP reply was not known, but the story has come down the grape vine that the LSSP was taking a hard line because it did not mind quitting the UF at this juncture. Many times in the past, what seemed a major crisis had hotted up, but everything had fizzled out. What it will be this time is anybody's guess at this stage.

One of the major disadvantages of a weekly paper is that copy has to be sent usually to the press a week ahead—because of the five day week, and this week a Poya holiday comes right in the middle of the second half with the result that everything has to be advanced by one day if the Tribune is to reach its readers before the weekend. As a stop press item, it was possible to squeeze in a little box at the last minute (as we did last week and at other occasions as well). But comment on all important issues is usually one week to ten days behind time.

It is difficult to speculate on the outcome of the crisis until the LSSP reply is known. After the reply is made public, it will be time enough to examine the implications of the current SLFP-LSSP crisis.

At the moment, the CP does not seem to have involved itself in the unnecessary quarrel the LSSP has picked with the SLFP and the PM. The CP will also be preoccupied with its Ninth National Congress of the Party. The CP knows the advantages of being in the Government, but it must be noted that it has not been able (with just one Ministry) to indulge in the widespread patronage politics that has helped the LSSP to become a force in the administrative and political set up in the country. Whether the LSSP will be able to sustain its important position once it is no longer able to dispense patronage is yet to be seen.

CHANGING WORLD

BY KAUTILIYA

India, USA, USSR, Bangladesh

IT IS DIFFICULT even now to assess and evaluate the impact of the developments which have taken place in India from June 12 and more especially after June 26 when a State of Emergency was declared. A very authoritarian form of government has been imposed to curb the activities of a not-too-discreet an Opposition and it is difficult to say at this stage how long this strong arm government of Indira Gandhi will last. It is to be hoped that it will be temporary. In meantime, much good in the economic field seems to have been achieved and the drive for self-discipline and national regeneration has been noted even by hostile critics. A more studied and careful examination must be undertaken before any serious conclusions can be drawn even at this juncture.

In the meantime, it is interesting to examine the impact of these developments on the foreign policy postures of India and also in her relations with her immediate neighbours in the region. With the Lima Conference round the corner and the forthcoming sessions of the UN General Assembly, India has to put her best foot forward to make it clear that the traumatic events inside the country have

not had a deleterious effect on her foreign policy. G. K. Reddy, the Hindu's well known correspondent in Delhi, in an enthusiastic despatch on July 23, had said that India's foreign policy was now free from political pressures. This is what he said:

The Emergency is certainly helping to give a more purposeful direction to the pursuit of India's foreign policy objectives free from the domestic political pressures. In adhering to its basic policy of non-alignment and friendship with all peoples irrespective of their social systems, the country is now able to display much greater flexibility in developing mutually beneficial bilateral relations with other nations, without allowing foreign affairs to be treated as a plaything of internal party politics as in the past.

Reddy has also pointed out that India was extremely keen about restoring good relations with the United States.

A major foreign policy task now before the Government is stabilisation of the relations with the US. The proposed ministerial-level meeting of the Indo-American Joint Commission in the near future is only a starting point for better relations in the fields of economic, technical and cultural co-operation. Though the stage has not yet been reached for discussing any firm dates, the projected visit of President Ford to India is still very much in the thoughts of the two Governments. The recent meeting between the Indian Ambassador, Mr. T. N. Kaul, and the U.S. Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, has gone off quite well, according to indications here. From the U.S. side too there are renewed signs of a keen desire to establish a good working relationship with India by steering clear of any involvement in its internal developments.

In seeking better relations with the U.S., India on its part continues to attach considerable importance to trade rather than aid as a sound basis for increased co-operation. But there are still spheres where a more advantageously placed country like the U.S. can help India to tide over some of its difficulties in times of economic strains. Though the Soviet

Union is re-entering the American foodgrain market in a big way, the U.S. will be still left with a substantial surplus on its hands which could be sold to countries like India on deferred payment. There is a strong possibility of the U.S. offering India a good bit of the surplus in the near future under mutually acceptable terms. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, is planning to pay a goodwill visit to Brazil next month on his way to Lima for the non-aligned Foreign Ministers' conference. He will go to New York thereafter, to attend the special U.N. General Assembly session on world economic problems. After his return to Delhi, he will go back to New York in early October for the regular General Assembly sessions. So the Indo-American Joint Commission meeting may be held in Washington either in September or October depending on Dr. Kissinger's other commitments.

In a later despatch on August 5, Reddy had detailed the steps the Government was taking to forge better and happier links with the Ford Administration and the banking and financial circles in the USA.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, is leaving on August 17 on a three-weeks trip which will take him to Brazil on a goodwill visit before he arrives in Peru for the non-aligned conference. The Finance Minister, Mr. C. Subramaniam, who will be proceeding to Guyana a week later to attend the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' meeting on the eve of the annual World Bank and IMF conferences will also be in New York about the time Mr. Chavan arrives there for the special U.N. General Assembly session on world economic problems.

While Mr. Chavan is busy at the U.N. working in concert with the other developing nations for evolving a common approach to these problems. Mr. Subramaniam will utilise the opportunity to explore the possibilities of increased Indo-U.S. economic co-operation. The President of Chase Manhattan Bank, Mr. David Rockefeller, who has been taking a keen interest in India's developmental problems is inviting over 20 top-ranking U.S. investors to his country estate during that weekend to meet Mr. Subramaniam.

It is a rare honour for any visiting Finance Minister that so many U.S. bankers, industrialists and investment experts have responded to Mr. Rockefeller's invitation to spend a week-end together listening to Mr. Subramaniam's elucidation of India's economic policies and aspirations. There are reports that both official and non-official opinion in the higher American circles has veered round to the view that the Prime Minister and her senior colleagues are putting the present emergency to good use for infusing some dynamism into the Indian economy and stepping up the country's productivity for ushering in some socio-economic changes.

The useful talk that the Industry Minister, Mr. T. A. Pai, had with the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. William Saxbe in Delhi has also helped to clear the decks for the impending Indo-American dialogue both in the political and economic spheres. The External Affairs Minister will be going back to New York towards the end of September to address the regular annual session of the General Assembly and also make an important policy speech at the Council of Foreign Relations before the meeting of the Indo-U.S. Joint Commission in Washington.

Even with all these careful moves, New Delhi could not stop President Ford from cancelling his proposed visit to India later this year. It is reported that he has also cancelled his visit to Pakistan to show that the USA was not discriminating between the two countries—Pakistan had departed from democracy as understood in the USA a long time ago without evoking the kind of critical comment in America which has now arisen in regard to recent developments in India.

Reddy in his despatch of July 23 had also pointed out that India's relations with the socialist countries, especially the USSR, was based on firm and clear understanding and friendship.

There is considerable satisfaction in Delhi over the sympathy and understanding shown by the socialist countries in their response to the steps taken by the Prime Minister in coping with the recent developments. The Indo-Soviet friendship which has stood the test of time, remains the bedrock

of India's foreign policy in seeking good relations with all the countries irrespective of their political dispensations. The two countries continue to move closer both in the bilateral and international spheres in pursuit of their respective ideals and aspirations. The Soviet Union is awaiting the long overdue return visit of the Prime Minister after Mr. Brezhnev's goodwill trip to this country when she is a little free from her preoccupation at home.

He had also pointed out that there was a keen desire to develop good relations with all countries in the world.

The emphasis now is on exploring new avenues of co-operation with all countries, whether sympathetic or critical, to the extent possible in the circumstances in order to give greater depth and dimension to India's foreign relations. Though it is not happy with the over-reaction of some sections of opinion in the West, India is not deviating from this chosen path by allowing its better judgement to be adversely influenced by such prejudices. If the Government is not going to be swayed by domestic pressures, it will not be deflected from its basic policy by foreign criticism.

The Prince of Wales, for example, will be paying a longer visit to this country in October when he will have an opportunity to see other parts of the country and meet the younger Indian generation. The West European countries like Britain, France and West Germany—like Japan, Australia and New Zealand in the East—continue to maintain good relations with India. The Afro-Asian community as a whole has shown great understanding of the recent events entertaining every hope that India will continue to play a leading role in world affairs as the spokesman of the poorer nations.

In his despatch of August 5, he had drawn special attention to India's close and developing ties with the Soviet Union in the context of US-USSR detente.

These moves for better relations with the United States are followed by similar efforts to further strengthen India's friendship with the Soviet Union. Apart from the beneficial bilateral aspects of a closer understanding with the two

super powers, the policy of utilising these relations for increasing India's self-reliance will go a long way in stabilising the situation in the sub-continent, encouraging greater co-operation in the region and promoting peace in Asia. It is in this context that India has wholeheartedly welcomed the Soviet-American detente as something that is going to benefit the whole world, despite its differences with the U.S. on issues like the Indian Ocean and arms supplies to Pakistan.

INDIA'S TROUBLES were not confined to her anxiety to establish friendly and close relations with all countries especially after there had been sharp criticisms about the manner in which democratic rights had been set aside in the State of Emergency. The Indian Government and Indira Gandhi claimed that these measures were necessary to check the extremists on the Right as well as the Left—all of whom had combined to lead an assault on the centrist left-inclined grouping led by the Indian PM.

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In seeking to isolate and crush the left extremists, in particular, the Indian Government has had to detain and gaoil thousands of pro-China Maoists—many of whom have gone underground. New Delhi has not only had trouble with the Maoists inside the country but also from the tribals in the border states especially in those states which are no far from Chinese territory. The following report from Delhi shows how serious the problem is and the care taken by the Government to ensure stable conditions prevail in those territories.

Mr. K. Brahmananda Reddi said here to-day that there had been much improvement in the situation in Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland and the insurgent activity in these areas was under control, but there was no room for complacency yet. The firm policy adopted by the Government against law-breakers, coupled with the sympathetic treatment of those who abjured violence and returned to normal life had yielded good results.

In an interview to All India Radio, Mr. Reddi added that about 580 Naga and Mizo rebels had been captured so far by the security forces in 1975 against 328 captured during 1974. Over 300 hostiles had surrendered during this year as against only 72 in 1974. Considerable quantities of arms and ammunition had also been recovered or surrendered.

Mr. Reddi recalled that a gang of about 150 underground Nagas trying to escape to China in December, 1974, was duly intercepted. The gang included the self-styled Speaker and the self-styled Vice-President of the 'Naga Federal Government'. Recently a number of high functionaries in the underground surrendered to the authorities along with their weapons and followers. He said the Government was also determined to protect the law abiding population of the area against intimidation by the underground and their terrorism.

Mr. Reddi said that such persons who wanted to lead a peaceful life after surrender would get due sympathy, help and consideration in their rehabilitation. The Government's aim, he said was to bring the misguided elements on the right path and rehabilitate them as law-abiding citizens.

He said the soil and climatic conditions in the area were favourable for development of agriculture. Also, to give impetus to systematic and scientific growing of fruits, Rs. 2.5 crores had been earmarked in the regional plan. More was on the anvil with regard to industry. Techno-economic surveys had either been done or were in progress.

Mr. Reddi said the Fifth Plan outlay for the region was over Rs. 900 crores against the provision of Rs. 400 crores in the previous plan. He pointed out that the plan of the North Eastern Council was in addition to, the plans of the constituent units. An additional provision of Rs. 100 crores above the Plan provision of Rs. 900 crores was likely to be funneled to this region through the North Eastern Council.

BUT AN EVEN MORE serious problem for India has arisen in regard to Bangladesh. China is undoubtedly seeking to penetrate Bangladesh in order to persuade Dacca to adopt an anti-Indian bias. This attitude on the part of China is understandable in the context of current Asian politics. Recently, on his way to North Korea to hand in his credentials as Bangladesh's Ambassador, Mr. Kwaja Mohamed Kaiser had stopped over in Peking. There, he had unofficial contact with Chinese leaders and officials he had known when he had been Pakistan's Ambassador in China years before. As a result of this, it later transpired in Foreign Ministry circles in Dacca that Kaiser had sounded China about establishing diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and China. It would appear that he had been told that it was premature and that such ties could become a reality only if Bangladesh changed its pro-Indian policies.

In Bangladesh itself there seem to be officials who are happy that China has begun to show an interest in establishing good relations with Dacca. But there are other circles which still feel strongly about the fact that China had supported Pakistan in its military repression against Bangladesh and that China had refused to recognise the new state and had stood in the way of her getting UN recognition. But hopes seem to be entertained in Bangladesh that Peking will soon change her policies towards Dacca. Even before

Kaiser had gone to Peking, China had started de facto trading relations with Bangladesh.

For the first time after the creation of Bangladesh, a trade delegation had gone from Dacca to Canton this May to take part in the International Trade Fair. Four major contracts were signed: Bangladesh agreed to supply China jute and jute-made products whilst China undertook to supply cement, coal and other goods. After that, a Chinese trade delegation had come to Dacca and had proclaimed among other things that China was willing and able to supply Bangladesh 20,000 tons of cement at a price which was half the world market price.

The hopes generated by the Chinese trade delegations negotiations had made many officials in Bangladesh feel that China alone was in a position to give new life to the sick and tired economy of Bangladesh. A strong lobby seems to have developed in Dacca to persuade Mujibhur Rahman that if Bangladesh "diversified" its foreign policy, China would step in to become Bangladesh's economic saviour. But Mujibhur, though inept and inexperienced in foreign policy matters, and may be sorely tempted by the glorious promises and hopes held out by China, his horse sense and sagacity makes him realise that it would be foolish to turn against India. And there are many anti-Indian elements in Bangladesh who are even more anti-Chinese. All these contradictory influences constitute a disturbing factor in Bangladesh politics and adds to India's worries.

India has many friends in Bangladesh. They have pointed out that

Detentions in U.K.

There were 60,000 people held untried or unsentenced in prison, in Britain last year. The Guardian disclosed yesterday. Of these 27,000 were not subsequently given custodial sentences, it added. The paper's reference to the people in detention came in an editorial discussing rejection for the third time in ten days of a bail application of the Labour Member of Parliament. Mr. John Stonehouse, facing 21 charges of forgery, conspiracy and fraud.

Kaiser's negotiations and China overtures are intended to drive a wedge between Dacca and Delhi. That Peking has long been seeking to isolate India and diminish its influence in Asia and the world is no secret. China has utilised its relations with Pakistan for this same purpose. And now Delhi is aware that China is doing its best to use Bangladesh for the same purpose.

How India will meet this challenge is to be seen. Bangladesh is a new state New Delhi and Indira Gandhi helped to create and bring into existence. Will Dacca begin to tilt against New Delhi? This may not be in Dacca's interest, but history has many imponderables which make it difficult to guess what is round the corner.

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POSTSCRIPT

Within thirty six hours of the above note being sent down to the press, a coup took place in Bangladesh which has completely changed the geopolitical balance in the South Asia region. Overnight, after the physical elimination of Mujibhur Rahman and his family,

the new President Ahmed (formerly Commerce Minister), backed by the Army, declared Bangladesh to be an Islamic Republic thereby reversing the basis of an entire secular Republic which had been set up after Bangladesh was established. This one simple declaration indicated that a new political regime had come into being with reaching geopolitical implications in the current situation. In less than a day of the day of the coup being effected, Pakistan recognised the new regime and promised it help in food and clothing. After a few days, India which has suffered a major setback as a result of this coup made a noncommittal statement, regretting the death of Rahman and indicated that it was deeply concerned with changes in the neighbouring countries; but, India did not hasten to recognise the new regime.

It is yet too early to gauge the extent and depth of the change in Bangladesh, but a comment by an AFP commentator, Serge de Gunzburg, writing from Paris is the first interpretative analysis from a western source.

Friday's coup d'etat in Bangladesh could carry South-East Asia into a new era in which the balance

of power in the region would shift to the solid advantage of China.

It is known that the nation's new President, Khandaker Moshaque Ahmed, disapproved of the pro-Indian and pro-Soviet policies of the man he overthrew, Sheikh Mujibhur Rahman.

If those leanings were abandoned, it appears that Mr. Ahmed would have no choice but to seek closer relations with China.

He might also be led to seek a real reconciliation with Pakistan, which is a friend of China and adversary of India. That situation would be paradoxical since Bangladesh owes its existence to the military action by India that gave it the opportunity to break off from Pakistan.

Such speculation is purely hypothetical but in any case, the present division of spheres of influence has been thrown open to question. In yet another shift, the transformation of Bangladesh into an Islamic Republic is likely to lead to its integration into the political alignments of the world's Moslem nations while facilitating its reconciliation with Pakistan.

CHRONICLE

August 8 — August 14

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—Achtha; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8: A Japanese Air Lines DC 8 carrying ten Japanese Red Army Guerrillas and their four hostages touched down at the Katunayake International Airport last night for refuelling: as the plane came to a halt all lights in the airport were switched off and the DC 8 was ordered to a point about 500 yards from the terminal building where the Sri Lanka Air Force has its own re-fuelling point: strict security measures were observed for two hours and fifteen armoured cars stood by till the plane was refuelled: Director of Civil Aviation, the service heads, heads of missions of the Malaysian and Japanese governments in Colombo and the representatives of the American Embassy and the Swedish Consulate were present at the airport till the plane took off: no person was allowed to disembark from the plane: the Local Malaysian High Commission yesterday made a request to the Foreign Office

to provide refuelling facilities to the DC 8 carrying the guerrillas and their hostages after Aden disallowed such a request made: after refuelling the plane took off to Tripoli, capital of Libya; the Red Army Guerrillas thanked the aviation authorities for the facility provided to them—CDN. Replying to a question by the Deputy Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs, Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, said that he would bring it to the notice of the Attorney General and judges that it would be better if they were not seen at foreign embassy parties where persons accused of foreign exchange offences and being tried before the Criminal Justice Commission were invited—CDN. Following the initiative taken by the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr. Bernard de Soysa, the dispute between the Finance Ministry and the Customs Officers' Union is likely to be settled today—CDN.. The *Janadina* editorially criticised the Buddhist organisations which protested against a film entitled *Siddhartha* now being shown in a Colombo cinema and said this film has nothing to do with the life of Lord Buddha. Justice Minister Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike appointed a three-man committee headed by Mr. Sivanathan to inquire and report into any difficulties in implementing and other matters recommended by the L. B. de Silva Salaries and Cadres Commission—ATH. The Government will shortly set up a disciplinary Board to deal with all disciplinary matters of State Corporations and Statutory Board employees—CDM. Police detected in the thick jungle in the Ambalantota area what was

described as a factory for producing Ganja oil and took into custody several persons employed and implements worth thousands of rupees: Police investigations revealed that ganja oil was produced to be exported to foreign countries mixed with other vegetable oil—LD. All seven accused including a Inspector of Police were yesterday sentenced to death in the Hakmana double murder case by the Negombo High Court Judge—VK. According to the *Dinamina*, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* has said that the attempt by the leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to challenge the leadership of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike by resigning and recontesting the Colombo South Seat in the National State Assembly had only boomeranged on the former. The United Nations Security Council rejected the application for membership by South Korea but agreed to consider separately the application of North and South Vietnam for membership in the Security Council: America is expected to veto these applications in reprisal for the decision against South Korea. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat said yesterday that he has full confidence in US Secretary of State Dr. Kissinger's attempts to bring a settlement to the Middle East dispute.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9: Under the Criminal Justice Commissions Act a fresh warrant has been issued by the President constituting a commission to inquire into all offences in relation to currency or foreign exchange committed between December 15, 1972 and August 1, 1975: the earlier warrant issued by the President was in respect of offences committed between December 14, 1962 and December 14, 1972—CDN. According to the Ministry of Justice the scope of the Assets and Liability Law will be expanded shortly bringing within its purview thousands of state and corporation employees including CTB conductors and drivers—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Local Government, yesterday made order dissolving the Jaffna Municipal Council: Mr. V. Nadarajah, Attorney-at-Law, has been appointed Special Commissioner of the Council—VK. Police have so far not been able to get a breakthrough in the killing of Mr. Alfred Duraipapp, former Mayor of Jaffna—CDN. The CTB has found a long time racket involving drivers, pump attendants and Petroleum Corporation employees on the consumption of fuel by the CTB—CDM. As a step to promote Ayurvedic medical practice the Ministry of Health has appointed a Ayurvedic physician as Additional Secretary to the Ministry of Health: this is the first time an ayurvedic physician has been appointed to this post—DM. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, UNP MP for Dedigama, in a statement to the press has said that in his attempts to unite the UNP if he were to be secluded in political darkness either temporarily or permanently he would willingly accept it for the sake of the masses—DM. The *Aitha* commented on the need for wiping out the shortcomings in the country's Police service and quoted several incidents revealed by witnesses in the sensational Hakmana double murder case in which seven men including a former OIC of a Police station was sentenced to death. A representative of Sterling Company estates arrived in the island yesterday to have discussions with Government officials on the proposed nationalisation of all company owned estates—JD. The IMF set up a new fund to help poor countries pay their oil bills. The United Nations Security Council on Admissions yesterday approved

the applications of North and South Vietnam for United Nations membership over the vigorous opposition of the United States. The mass kidnapping operation of the Japanese Red Army guerrillas ended in the early hours of yesterday at the Tripoli airport when they gave up their weapons and stepped down quietly from an airliner they had commandeered to fly them for 6,000 miles from Malaysia.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 10: Mr. Takeo Fukuda, Acting Prime Minister of Japan, has conveyed his deepest appreciation to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, for granting stop-over facilities to the Japanese Airliner that carried the Japanese Red Army guerrillas and their hostages from Kualalumpur to Tripoli—CO. Dr. Alhaj Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, addressing a meeting at Matara said that after studying the report of the Kularatne Commission on ragging at the Vidyalkara Campus he dreaded to think of universities—CO. The NSA last week passed the regulations prepared by the Atomic Energy Authority in consultation with the Ministry of Health and the Atomic Energy Agency: these regulations cover the transport, storage and use of all radioactive materials—ST. The Department of Police decided to give special training to policemen all over the island to quell any type of breach of peace: a special conference was summoned at the Police headquarters for this purpose last week—VK. Customs and Police will launch joint raids and will engage in other preventive measures to stop the smuggling of narcotics into the country—SLD. The JCTUO has taken all steps to successfully conduct the workers mass rally at the Hyde Park, Colombo on August 28: this meeting is organised to remind the Government of certain pledges it had given the JCTUO including the nationalisation of banks, estates and a wage hike for all categories of workers—JS. The 22nd commemoration of the 1953 hartal will be held at the New Town Hall premises on August 12—JS. Students of the Vidyalkara Campus of the university belonging to the Muslim Majlis embraced and received the freshers when the latter arrived at the Campus premises to commence their university career and later the freshers were served with cool drinks by the students of the Muslim Majlis—VK. Department of Archaeology has instructed the Customs to have strict check on every item of antique value that tourists try to take out of the country: the Customs had stopped allowing the tourists to take out of the country all items of antique—ST. The Indian Government presented to the Upper House of Parliament a bill that will make the country's Prime Minister immune from criminal proceedings for acts committed before or after coming to office. The New Zealand Government announced a 15 per cent currency devaluation from tomorrow.

MONDAY, AUGUST 11: A Joint Committee of representatives of the European Economic Community and Sri Lanka will soon be set up to implement the provisions of the agreement on commercial co-operation between Sri Lanka and the EEC signed recently in Brussels—CDN. According to the Ministry of Transport CID has been called into probe certain allegations in the Air Ceylon including foreign exchange frauds—CD. The Ceylon Bank Employees Union in a press release states that it welcomed the nationalisation of banks—CDM. The Tamil United Front

had protested against the arrest of several Tamil youth in Tamil speaking areas over the killing of Mr. Alfred Duralappah, ex-Mayor of Jaffna: the TUF decided to meet relevant officials in this regard and request them not to harass Tamil youths—VK. Teachers in the Colombo district will launch a one day token strike on August 14 on the question of salaries of trained teachers—VK. Dr. Alhaj Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, speaking at a meeting in Matara said that no purpose would be served in frequently changing the governments—VK. The Police and the Village Council in the Attanagalla electorates yesterday disallowed two meetings organised by the LSSP—ATH. Mr. T. G. Puchiappahamy, Chairman Gem Corporation, is likely to succeed Mr. K. Kanagasabapathy as Controller of Exchange who is expected to be promoted as advisor to the Governor of the Central Bank—ATH. The People's Republic of China has promised the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, a sum of Rs. 100 million to the Gin Ganga flood protection scheme: the Director of Irrigation has said that by the middle of next year a Chinese team will arrive in the island to commence work on the project—LD. A team of officials headed by Justice Minister, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, will shortly leave for Lima, capital of Peru, to attend the foreign ministers conference scheduled to commence there on August 25—JD. The All Ceylon Oil Workers' Union of the Petroleum Corporation has launched a strong protest to the Prime Minister against a proposal to set up a Corporation for Security work in state corporations—JD. The Upper House of the Indian Parliament yesterday approved a Bill by the ruling Congress Party to prevent the Prime Minister ever being taken to court on criminal charges for actions before or after assuming office. The Japanese and Malaysian government officials returned to Kuala Lumpur yesterday after their release by Japanese Red Army guerrillas at Tripoli where they were taken as hostages. A high ranking Israeli delegation left for Washington to have discussions on Israeli's long-delayed request for US military and economic aid.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, speaking at the 75th anniversary commemorative meeting of the Irrigation Department said that the country can no longer depend on rain fall and therefore the Government has launched an intensive program of installing tube wells: she also said though the Mahaweli waters will be diverted to the North Central Province in November this year yet some parts of the province will still not get the full benefit of this and therefore to use the water wisely—CDN. India last week signed an agreement with the Government to provide Rs. 100 million for the Government's Rs. 980 million fertiliser project—CDN. A petition was filed yesterday by a resident of Kollupitiya, Colombo, before the First Deputy Registrar of the Supreme Court challenging the election of the President of the UNP, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to the Colombo South electorate—CDN. Mr. L. H. Sumanadasa, Vice Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka, addressing a meeting at the Jaffna Campus of the university appealed to new students to help create a new united Sri Lanka and "cement the foundation for better understanding between the Sinhalese and the Tamil people—CDN. Mr. Arthur Clarke, world famous scientist living in Sri Lanka was gifted with a television receiving equipment at his

Colombo residence by the Indian Government: the Indian Government on August 1 this year in collaboration with the American Government started a Television Station to carry out educational experiments: this gift was in appreciation to Mr. Clarké who in 1945 suggested the use of satellites for radio and TV communications—CDN. Police disallowed a celebration in Uduvill, Jaffna, organised in connection with the birthday of the First Minister of Tamilnad in India, Mr. M. Karunanithi—VK. The Inspector General of Police has ordered all police stations throughout the island to raid all illegal book-making business centres in the island: the IGP's instructions follows reports that bookmakers are once again flourishing in the business which is now banned in the country—CDM. Thousands of members belonging to the Union of Post and telecommunication Officers will work-to-rule from today in protest to a action on one of the members of the union by the Department—CDM. In a day or two the Government will recruit nearly 1,500 unemployed graduates for various jobs under the District Development Program of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs—ATH. The Government has commenced talks with several European countries to start a streamlined electrical rail service in the country—LD. The US will launch today a laboratory spacecraft that is expected to make a soft landing on the mysterious red planet Mars in next Summer in attempt to search for life in Mars. Nineteen American Congressmen headed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives arrived in Leningrad on Sunday to begin talks in Moscow with the Soviet Parliament officials.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13: Speaking at the Hartal commemorative meeting held at the New Town Hall yesterday Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, said that if the nationalisation of estates was not going to be done in a satisfactory way the LSSP would quit the United Front: Dr. Perera further said it did not matter whose names are perpetuated on nationalisation but his party wants nationalisation done properly and the nationalised projects administered for the benefit of the people: he added that his party had accepted ministerial appointment in the Government to work for the good of the common man and not just to fool around: he posed the question as to what prevents one to implement progressive policies when the masses in the country are prepared to sacrifice: yesterday's meeting in which Mr. Bernard Soysa, Deputy Minister of Finance, presided was also addressed by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Plantation Industries, Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction and Mr. T. B. Tennekoon, Minister of Social Services—CDN. The *Janadina* editorially requested the government to drop the idea of establishing a Security Corporation. Fifteen more suspects will be soon produced before the CJC (Exchange Offences) on charges of foreign exchange violations—LD. Police investigating the Duraipappah killing has detained a principal of a school under house arrest for questioning—LD. The Indian Government informed the Government of Sri Lanka that US, USSR, France and Britain have refused to participate at discussions aimed at making the Indian Ocean a nuclear free zone: India also informed the Government that later the USSR might agree to this discussions—LD. Millions worth spare parts airlifted by the Railway Department an year ago is still lying at the airport warehouses—DM. Prime

Minister will inaugurate work in connection with the restoration of the Colombo-Puttalam canal on August 15—CDM. China has told the Palestinian Liberation Organisation that it will "unconditionally" back the PLO's effort to oust Israel from the next session of the UN General Assembly. Ugandan President Idi Amin announced that Palestinian suicide squads have joined the Ugandan Air Force and are ready to take part in any mission to liberate any part of Africa.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday called upon the LSSP to explain certain statements reported to have been made by Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Plantation Industries, at the Hartal Commemoration meeting held at the New Town Hall on August 12: In his address at the New Town Hall meeting Dr. Perera is reported to have said that the LSSP would quit the UF if the nationalisation of foreign and company owned estates are not done properly: the weekly cabinet meeting scheduled for Wednesday was postponed yesterday and the Prime Minister called on the President at the Janadhipathimandiraya: meanwhile Dr. N. M. Perera, was yesterday out of Colombo for most of the day and the letter calling for explanation was not received by him till late in the day: questioned by the *Daily Mirror*

about the present situation Dr. Perera said that the LSSP is not concerned about the individual or party that would introduce the nationalisation of estates but his party is concerned with the efficient and careful management of the national wealth of the country—CDM & CDN. The Sri Lanka Communist Party's ninth delegates conference will be held at Matara from August 20 to 24 and several foreign delegates from socialist countries are expected to attend the conference—CDN. The 24th anniversary celebrations of the SLFP will be held at Trincomalee on the 23rd of this month presided by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike—LD The *Aththa* editorially posed the question whether there is tug-o-war going on in the judicial service of the country: the paper further said that the trouble started from the time a ceremonial sitting was held at the Supreme Court to pay tribute to Sir Edward Jayatileke, an ex Chief Justice. The Narcotic Bureau of the Police is investigating the method how opium is smuggled into the country in large quantities—DM. Egypt has given its final terms for a Middle East peace accord with Israel and expects the agreement to be signed this month: in Washington, Israel and American negotiators yesterday began drafting the exact language of the proposed new Interim peace agreement with Egypt.

CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS ON

University Discipline And Welfare

By The Rev. Celestine Fernando

This article is based on Memoranda submitted to the Needham Commission and the Kularatne Commission.

PART I.

THE CHARACTER AND QUALITY of University life, University discipline and welfare have been the deep concern of a growing number of people in recent years and specially since Universities have become intimately related to modern politics. As in every other community, so in Universities, the character of authority and leadership, discipline, welfare and deep sensitivity to personal need are all inter-related. The perspective play "අපට පුතන් මගන් කැමෙන්" is a serious comment in depth on some of the basic issues involved.

Ragging and violence in Universities are by no means a new phenomenon. The history of ancient and medieval Universities and specially the conflicts between "town" and "gown" clearly reveal this. Even in the Ceylon University College there was a certain amount of ragging. Then, as now, it was not the product of the active majority but of a comparatively small, zealous and vocal minority. Today things are different. Then it was brief, boisterous and occasionally vulgar. Now it lasts longer, causes harm to property, body and mind and is developing a violence and terrorism, sadism and revolting obscenity which is a danger not only to the life of the University but to the whole nation's cultural and spiritual well being.

PERHAPS the kind of "ragging" we have today is an aspect of the spirit of our age and of the deeper problems of community life—disunity in the home, the breakdown of religion, the terrifying prospect of unemployment, the widespread incidence of bribery and corrup-

tion, all spoiling public and private life. We must needs pause to ask whether all this has not been accentuated by the character of the politics of violence by some people which is advocated even today as a valid instrument of change in Sri Lanka, the casual attitude

to law and order based on the theory that "because the people are sovereign" any majority anywhere is above the law, the assumption that physical power is equivalent both to political and economic power, and above all, the temporal and temporary attitudes to life and its problems which issue in a philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die."

Perhaps the best recent analysis of the causes and the problems involved in ragging have been made in the courageous and factual articles written by Dr. Brian Seneviratne and Dr. Michael Roberts. The suggestions in this paper on University discipline and welfare are based on some years experience as a Chaplain and in the area of Pastoral Counselling in association with University staff and students in Sri Lanka and elsewhere. They are based on the assumptions that:

- (a) The University is primarily a Community of Science and Learning for human and wholesome living and for the training of our country's leadership and not just a "think-shop" for the propagation and discussion of ideas nor a mere technical training establishment. It is a very important sector of our nation's life—with a great contribution to make in all fields of national endeavour;
- (b) Being a

human community, all its members should be called upon to stress the human values of unity, freedom, justice and brotherhood which, involving personal relationships, require disciplined living from day to day. Only disciplined persons will know how to keep the scales even among these qualities. Such discipline is not beyond the reach of the average university student; (c) Being a social group within the nation on which so much of the nation's wealth is spent each year, it must make use of the best resources of our national cultural heritage and also draw on all possible international resources for the good of the nation as a part of the international community to which every University belongs; (d) Among the available basic resources in a multi-religious society are the resources of religion and ethics with perspectives and values related to integrity and honesty, courtesy and respect for personality—concerning which all the great religions would generally agree and are officially obliged to propagate, even if few religious institutions may seem to reflect these perspectives and values in their own life and work; (e) If the citizens of Sri Lanka are to respect law and order as a part of their cultural and social responsibilities, then there should be no place in the land, whether in the highest political, religious or University circles where the ordinary processes of the law may not and cannot operate.

MY PRACTICAL PROPOSALS; based on the above assumptions, are that: 1. There should be a serious re-examination of our University life and structure and especially its power structures and administrative processes, in terms of basic aims and avowed purposes, in keeping primarily with the highest standards of University life and not primarily in terms of passing political pressures. In such studies the contribution of all past and recent University Commissions must be taken seriously; 2. University Administrators, staff and senior students have a primary responsibility to be exemplary in their behaviour, speech and relations with fellow staff and students: There should be no surrender to those whose primary purpose is "to get their own back from freshers" or from society—on the basis that they must react to the suffering they

may have endured by inflicting more suffering on others; 3. The Administration and other power structures should be based on principles of Truth and Fellowship with no inhibitions or frustrations encouraged by political or other interference or control; 4. every effort must be made to provide at least the basic needs of the students in terms of hostel, library, common-room and recreational facilities. The lack of these can create many serious problems throughout one's academic career; 5. University students and all University employees must have access to all administrators according to the usual norms of discipline and agreed patterns of consultation. Their common problems must be openly discussable with honesty and courtesy and without fear of any reprisals—political or administrative; 6. appropriate structures should be carefully set up and maintained for periodical evaluation of University life in which University administrators and representative staff, students and employees can freely participate at different levels of University life but in relation to one another; 7. provision must be made for University Counsellors who have had experience of University life, to work through personal relations and conciliatory processes within the University. If they are provided by non-University sources, they should be made welcome and officially recognised by the University authorities; 8. the buildings and premises of a University campus should be kept tidy and beautiful as far as possible. As in school so in the University, disorder, shabbiness and constant neglect of basic maintenance of buildings and premises can have their effect on student, employee and staff morals and create a poor image of what a University ought to be.

THE FOLLOWING (slightly adapted) extract from a memorandum sent earlier to the Needham Commission will supplement what has been stated above; 1. University students should be treated as responsible persons and one or two of their official representatives should be allowed to serve on the Board of Residence and Discipline and similar conciliar bodies; 2. in every Hall and Hostel greater responsibilities must be given to students to manage their

own affairs through student's Welfare and Disciplinary Committees; 3. staff relations with students should be encouraged somewhat on the basis of the *Guru-Chela relations in ancient Eastern Universities* or *Tutor-student relations at Oxford and Cambridge*, for the establishment of patterns of mutual confidence and respect. Such personal relationships which are essential for building human community life ought not to be considered outmoded even in this political party and class ridden age; 4. senior staff should set an example to junior staff and students and the question should be asked whether Staff Club norms help or hinder student welfare and behaviour standards. *How do they act and what do they discuss in Staff Clubs which can inspire students to the highest patterns of behaviour?* 5. more staff members should be ready to co-operate in University group activities and specially welfare projects in the service of the community; 6. when any complaints are made of indiscipline or immorality during rags or otherwise the procedure for enquiry should be put into effect immediately. *The Wardens of Halls and Hostels should be known to possess the necessary disciplinary powers within their own spheres of authority and such powers should be strictly enforced without interference from higher University authority except the normal right of appeal to proper conciliar bodies or other authorities "where the buck stops."*

STUDENT WELFARE. 1. The Deans of Faculties and Wardens of Halls and Hostels should be in such close contact with the student that any suggestions or complaints on Hall or Hostel life would be made to them and these should be attended to as early as possible—especially when they concern food, medical aid and other serious personal needs as in every human community these are very sensitive areas; 2. in every Hall there should be an effective staff student welfare Committee (however small it may be) to discuss general student welfare needs and to see that steps are taken effectively to meet them; 3 the University should treat the Student Councils seriously and encourage student co-operatives and other welfare services of mutual self-help which the Student Councils could organise with

Student Welfare

University aid and staff co-operation; 4. there should be adequate funds at the disposal of Wardens and Deans to help individual students in need in case of emergency in addition to the Vice-Chancellor's funds; 5. such organisations as the World University Service (Ceylon Branch) University, Social Service Unions, Religious and other Societies should be systematically encouraged to organise regular work camps and other community projects with subsidies from the University or the Government in addition to what they collect from the community (as some have magnificently done) for the constructive expression of student interest, energy and enthusiasm. It is not enough merely to tolerate such organisations; 6. there should be a net work of relationships established between the University, other centres of higher Education, the schools and the community through extension courses related to the nation's needs which could bring the University into closer contact with the rural population of our land. It is not enough for Universities to be related primarily to the Ministry of Education and to Political authorities if the University is to be the nation's responsibility and the community's concern for even if the finances of the University are dependent on parliament, this money belongs to the people—like their votes at election times.

PART II

ONE WONDERS whether basic suggestions for University discipline and Welfare such as the above can be implemented without a much deeper understanding than is now generally evident of the perspectives, values and structures of society as a whole—of which the University is only one affected part. My own conviction is that any real change either in our society or in the University will be possible only if there is a massive and widespread concern for the spirituality, the moral character and the truly religious values of our people. There is a deep and widespread ignorance and misunderstanding of religion and morals today largely consequential on the failure of religious institutions themselves. Too many of them seem to have lost their deeper spiritual vocation in the pursuit of material

poral interests. In such a situation all sectors of society, the Government, the University and the religious institutions themselves have a primary and the urgent responsibility to promote the more serious and widespread understanding of religion in terms of the basic teachings of the different religions of the people. It is when such basic study and research in religion is not an ongoing and serious pursuit that it is prostituted into a materialistic and exploitable commodity to which lip service is paid by public speakers according to where and whom they address. Then religion ceases to become the cement of society, it is neither "salt", "leaven" or "light"—it only perpetuates the darkness and may even deepen it. The vast majority of persons—young and old—shun what few seem to take seriously, although all would honour such persons as Gautama Buddha, Mahatma Gandhi or Jesus Christ. But the honour shown is too often superficial with no efforts to take the teaching of the people so honoured sufficiently seriously in a way that it will be reflected in personal or corporate living—although there is certainly enough in common in such teaching to help in the building of a new society.

Only a serious understanding at least of basic religious teaching can lead to response and commitment and to the emergency of organisational structures for a new society and its institutions consistent with such teaching.

Perhaps the following quotations from Dr. T. S. Wilkinson on "Students Growing Unrest" (from the N.C.C. Review April 1975 pp 187 foll.) may be of help here although

it concerns the situations in India for much of what he says applies to Sri Lanka too:

"Some of the problems arise because so far we have relied a great deal on Macro Planning in the realm of education. Take for instance, for high school and primary level education, planning is largely done at the State Capitals whereas a great deal of planning for University and College education is done by agencies located at the National Capital. Perhaps this was necessary at one time but now it is essentially required that there be an inter-play of Macro and Micro Planning. Macro Planning focusses on the broad dimensions of the system and its relationship with the economy and society whereas Micro Planning examines the inner processes of the system and its numerous sub-systems. Micro Planning will require the help of educators and Administrators from the grass-roots upwards instead of planning being foisted from above."

* * *

"Prof. V. V. John of the Institute of Advanced Study, while addressing the 59th Convocation of Nagpur University, stressed the need for participatory democracy in higher education. He was of the opinion that the present system of giving representation to students in decision-making bodies was done more by way of appeasement rather than with a view that there is a great deal of experience and knowledge which the student, operating as he does in another sub-culture, can bring to bear upon the process of decision-making. He said: "The case for stu-

CHEMICAL DIAGNOSIS OF SOIL

A soil kit now being marketed by a U.S. firm contains all reagents and equipment needed for complete chemical diagnosis of soil. This equipment is useful to farmers, teachers of agriculture, florists, nurserymen, seedmen, and fertilizer companies. The SIMPLEX Soil Test Outfit allows the producer to determine immediately the types and amounts of plant food needed without having to send soil samples to a laboratory. The equipment will last indefinitely, according to the manufacturer. Refills of the reagents may be purchased at any time. A detailed instruction book with eight color charts and directions for making the tests, is included. Several hundred tests can be performed for nitrates, phosphorus, potassium, acidity, magnesium, iron, aluminum, calcium, ammonium, nitrates, sulphates, carbonates, chlorides and manganese. The kit is packed in a strong metal chest. The complete SIMPLEX kit costs about \$ 75. Other kits are available, such as SOILTEX, a test for acidity, for only \$ 2.50. The kits are made by Edwards Laboratory, P.O. Box 318, 202, Milan Avenue, Norwalk, Ohio 44857.

dents' participation is that the students will have ideas to contribute to the planning of their own education. A University is a confrontation with ideas and not a shying away from them. To put a few students on the Senate and to call it participatory democracy would be as meaningful as choosing three or four famished persons from among the hungry crowd for a meal and calling it participatory nourishment."

"In a developing country like ours, the successive generations are going to be confronted with multiple choices in every sphere of life and only those who have been trained to make responsible decisions will succeed. It has to be acknowledged at this point that the fundamental problem of our young people today is with respect to making the fight choice. Emerging as we are from our traditional society, the old guide-posts of caste and custom are progressively becoming ineffective in the class and contract society. In a caste structured traditional society, the successive generations were merely required to follow the prescriptions and proscriptions of caste, custom and religion in the conduct of day-to-day affairs. Even with respect to matters such as food, clothing and choosing of life partner, the range was so circumscribed that the young or the old hardly felt the burden of decision-making. Now young men and women are required to choose wisely their occupation, their style of life, their life partner and all the other things which will make their life meaningful. Without the external guidelines of the past, they need to have the inner resources for finding the right direction. Their own family, in many instances, can be of little help because of the vast gap in the education, needs and experience of the two generations. If in the college also, they are only told to make wise decisions without being provided any guidance, they either begin to rely too heavily on the peer group or agencies outside the college campuses such as political parties and labour unions. Even though we vehemently condemn the influence of outside agencies on student bodies such as unions, it has to be recognised that hardly anything can be done to seal them

off from such influences. The only way to counteract these external influences is by providing such guidance that will enable them to become, in the words of T. Veblen, "inner directed". It is not an unusual experience for an Administrator to find students' representatives approaching them with a list of demands as is done by factory workers the idea being that only through collective bargaining, can the college authorities be persuaded to meet the demands. We no doubt condemn this approach, but mere condemnation does not help to improve the situation even though it may help to release our own tensions. What is required is an action positive action, which will enable the student to realise his own folly of emulating inappropriate models and secondly, provide opportunities for his reorientation. This places a pedagogical burden on the teachers and administrators who alone can train the young students in making right decisions.

The issue of choosing immediately brings to the forefront the question of values because no one can exercise his choice without having before him the value goal. Unfortunately, our educational system still reflects the values and morals of a social system which we are trying to renew. Many of our students and educators feel emotionally attached to the norms and values of a tradition-bound society and yet they are trying to achieve an educational system which will become the harbinger of social justice. Such a contradiction is bound to lead to ambivalence and frustration. Many of our overt expressions of resentment are merely born out of an inner conflict. The question here is not of the ultimate values. After all, there are no two opinions about them. But it is with respect to operative values and norms that there needs to be clarity. Once the educators become clear about the operative norms, it will not be then difficult for them to enable the students to reason out the means by which they can achieve the goal. Many of our administrative difficulties arise mainly because we are unable to see the rationale which is guiding the student community, as it operates within the campus and in the community at large. Training the young to make responsible

decisions requires that we be clear in our own minds as to what we are trying to achieve and accordingly make changes in our curriculum. As educators, we need to be prepared to provide them with the necessary conceptual and ideological tools so that they can make their own decisions.

In one of his addresses, Mr. George Jacob, Chairman, University Grants Commission, emphasised the place of proper value orientation to our educational system. He stated: 'The beginning of social and moral values in the younger generation is creating many serious social and physical conflicts in Western as well as in Indian Societies. This can only be remedied by balancing knowledge and skills which science and technology can give with the values generated by ethics and religion.' The Kothari Commission Report published in 1966 also lays the highest stress on the need for moral and spiritual education because according to it, modernisation has to derive its strength from the strength of the spirit. Modernisation means the creation of the widest variety of choices for the citizens. According to the Commission Report, a combination of knowledge and the lack of essential values may be dangerous to the society. However, value reorientation should not be confused with the moral and religious instruction as is given in some institution. Moral and religious instruction does not necessarily mean moral improvement. What is essentially required is the transmitting of vitality and the education of the emotions and discipline of the will."

If all this is true, our Universities, our schools, our politicians and even our religious organisations must be led to make a serious and urgent response to the challenge involved. That challenge is to engage in a deep self scrutiny in terms of the basic spiritual and moral values that dominate and determine our daily personal and corporate living, our social and political behaviour and structures and our University life. This is what any true religion is about and what it demands. A University, like any people, content to ignore this challenge, cannot hope to be at peace within itself or bring peace to the society of which it is a part.

A View of the Universe

—Opposites Attract, Repel, Combine—

By Nahum Stiskin

This article is reproduced with acknowledgements to Japanese quarterly *Oomoto* of April 1975. It is one of a series of articles about metaphysical thought in the Far East and Japan. This article will enable readers interested in this subject to know some of the fundamentals of metaphysical logic in Japan. The "yin" and "yang" concept of the Universe has great similarities to the dialectics of the Greek and European thinkers and also to some of the leading systems in Hindu and Buddhist thought.

The principle of *yin* and *yang* is based upon an intuition that has come to be associated with traditional Oriental man but which, in fact, is universal to mankind. This intuition posits that all things, beings and phenomena, are in a constant state of change, that nature—in the words of western philosophy—is 'process'. Thus, plants, men and ideas are all perceived to bloom in their season and wither in their season. Day changes into night, and night returns to day; the seasons run their course. In daily life we find no constant in the world of the senses.

The *yin/yang* theory emphasizes that the course of this change is not erratic. Man finds himself living in a world of extremes. From midnight to midday, from the heat of summer to the cold of winter, from joy to sadness, all movement appears to be along a continuum from one extreme to its opposite. Judging from everyday experience, man deduces that the universe is constructed on a plan of polarity: beginning and end, male and female, expansion and contraction; life and death. Process occurs as movement between these poles of the universe.

Although at first view nature's poles may present themselves as opposite and mutually antagonistic, on closer inspection we realize that they are complementary; that one cannot exist without the other.

Without the female there could be no male. The lungs both expand and contract continuously. If movement in either direction were to stop, life would cease. Were man to know no sadness, he would never know joy; without the experience of failure, we would know no success; without a knowledge of sickness, he could know no health. The universe and life are said to be made up of the constant to-and-fro movement from any pole to its complementary opposite.

distribution of matter characteristic of the phenomenon of expansion.

By means of this one simple definition, we can now categorize all entities and phenomena into the two categories of *yin* and *yang*. Our categorization, however, is always 'relative', because the theory of *yin/yang* is a theory of dynamic relativity. (Everything, after all, is always changing.) Thus, the color red, for example, whose light wave of low-amplitude is dominated by centripetal force, can be classified as *yang* relative to the color violet—at the other end of the color spectrum—whose light wave of high-amplitude is dominated, in contrast, by centrifugal force. Fire, dryness and masculinity may be classified as predominantly *yang*; water, wetness and femininity, by contrast, may be classified as *yin*.

Our up-dated version of the *yin/yang* theory can be applied without any difficulty to the field of modern physics. The proton, for example, is said to be dense and heavy; a *yang* entity in comparison to the electron, said to have almost no weight or density and therefore classifiable as *yin*. Like male and female, the proton and electron are related by the force of magnetic attraction. The theory of *yin* and *yang* proclaims that all opposites attract, while all similars repel.

THE BASIC CHARACTERISTICS of atomic structure and the primary phenomena of electromagnetism are thus easily analyzable in terms of the 'ancient' *yin/yang* theory. Indeed, it should be understood that the plus/minus terminology used by modern, western-based science is nothing but a fragmented variant of the more encompassing Oriental approach. While modern science compartmentalizes nature and differentiates itself into many fields of research—each guided by a set of 'laws' assumed operative only in its own narrow domain,—the theorists of *yin* and *yang* believed that all natural phenomena (physical, chemical, biological—even psychological and sociological) could be explained by the interaction of these two forces. The ancients perceived life and the universe 'holistically' and recognized that the *yin/yang* polarity was at the root of all orderliness in nature. Upon this ancient sys-

THE CHINESE devised a simple language to express this philosophy. They labelled the two poles of existence *yin* and *yang*, and they proposed that nature was composed of the interplay of these two antagonistic yet complementary forces, the two manifestations of a primal unified energy underlying Existence. Much of the literature that has come down to us today has cast this theory into an irrational light and has made it appear to be a jumbled mysticism. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In fact, this theory of nature is a paradoxical logic of the universe. It is a logic the first phases of which are being resorted to by modern scientists standing at the threshold of a new age.

It is not at all difficult to 're-construct' this theory to satisfy our modern, rational minds. All we need do is define *yang* energy as centripetal force, the force—like that of gravity—that radiates from a periphery to a center. It is the tendency of movement and distribution of matter expressed in the phenomenon of contraction. *Yin* energy, the opposite of the *yang* variety, is thereby rendered to be centrifugal force. Centrifugal force is that which radiates from a center to a periphery, like the force which impels plant life to grow up and away from the earth. *Yin* energy is the tendency of movement and

tem of thought were based such disciplines as acupuncture and herbal medicine, which are now gaining increasingly favourable attention throughout both East and West.

If we were to design a pictorial symbol to represent the *yin/yang* theory, it would ideally be more than just internally consistent with the theory itself. We would want it to depict the essential structure of the empirical world. If, then, the operation of *yin* and *yang* is at the core of nature, what fundamental shape would all entities and processes share?

A symbolic representation of the *yin/yang* principle would have to fulfill 5 basic requirements: *first*, it must display the polar structure of the world by indicating such things as beginning and end, above and below, periphery and center. *Second*, it must link the two poles of existence by showing them to be but the two complementary ends of one continuum. *Third*, it must indicate the stages of change, stages exemplified, for instance, by the 'hours' of the day which clock the graduated passage of light into darkness, or by the stages of a man's life. *Fourth*, it must indicate the change of velocity within the process of change itself, showing, that is, that processes speed up toward their conclusion or, in terms of entities, that density is a characteristic of the center. And *fifth*, it must demonstrate that movement can occur simultaneously in opposite directions between any two poles, just as day turns into night on one side of the globe precisely as night turns into day on the other.

THE ONLY PICTORIAL SYMBOL that can fulfill all these conditions is the logarithmic spiral, a spiral in which the distance between coils decreases rapidly as it proceeds from periphery to center. (To be seen as a helix, the spiral must be viewed in depth, with the periphery near to and the center far from the eye.) The logarithmic spiral denotes the poles of existence but also shows them to be indissolubly connected. Beginning at the periphery, its coil proceeds to the center in stages, with speed and density increasing as it nears the center. Finally, the capacity for simultaneous movement in opposite directions between any two poles is revealed if the empty

space between the spiral's coils is taken to constitute a spiral in its own right, this one starting at the center and running to the periphery.

The theory of *yin/yang*, that is, implies the spiralic structure of the universe. What's more, it, alone, can adequately account for a universe of this form. With each discovery of the spiral's central role in nature, the ancient theory of *yin* and *yang* grows more and more relevant to our modern needs and aspirations. This is a contemporary irony, but one which we must grasp and creatively exploit if we are to resolve the conflicts threatening our survival on the planet.

We have already noted that the *yin/yang* theory is most often attributed to the peculiar excellences of Oriental intuition. In fact, the intuition underlying this perspective is not the exclusive possession of one group of people or of one race; rather, it is the universal heritage of mankind. Indeed, its universality has been attested to by the many forms this theory has taken throughout history and all over the world. **I cannot help concluding, however, that perhaps its clearest and most straight-forward expression takes the form of the literature ritual, and symbols of the Shinto religion.**

One can not enter a Shinto shrine without being immediately impressed with the omnipresence of the spiral. Sitting before the shrine's entrance and guarding the compound are the *shishi-komainu* two highly stylized lions whose bodies consist of an aggregation of spirals and helices. The mouth of one lion is always closed; the mouth of the other is always open. We are made to think at once of the antagonistic forces of contraction and expansion, and it's widely acknowledged that the lions represent the forces *yin* and *yang*. WE ENTER THE SHRINE PRECINCTS through the portal of the *torii*. In its simplest form, the *torii* consists of two poles with a rope strung between them and connecting their upper ends. The word *torii* means bird's perch or tree, and we may imagine the birds of these trees flying back and forth between their perches, creating a field of movement or force. It is this movement which, I believe, is

signified by the rope. The two poles, then, the *yin* and the *yang*, are, therefore, never totally distinct; there is always this connecting flow uniting them into a larger whole.

The rope that connects the *torii*, is, of course, the *shimenawa*, the double-helix identical to that comprising the fundamental molecule of life. Now were the *shimenawa* the only artifact present in the shrine suggesting a profound intuition of the spiral principle, one might well be tempted to dismiss its resemblance to the DNA molecule as mere coincidence. But the Shinto shrine is, as we shall see, replete with such 'coincidences': from the *shimenawa*, itself, hang even more spirals—the *shide*, pieces of paper or cloth cut into the form of small helices.

Proceed to the shrine's main building and we find the *gohei* indicating the presence of the Kami, the *gohei* is constructed of a central piece of wood to which are attached sheets of paper specially cut and folded into the shape of two helices. When we examine them closely, we find that the helix on one side of the *gohei* coils in a clockwise direction (like a particle of matter); the other coils in a counter-clockwise direction (like a particle of antimatter).

Or we may see the *haraigushi*, the wand of purification which the Shinto priest waves over a devotee and his offering to cleanse them. It, too, is simply constructed of a central rod to one end of which are attached over one hundred small helical cutouts (*shide*).

The *enza*, a straw mat wound into seven coils, may be visible in the building. Seated upon it, centering himself at its midpoint, the priest meditates and prays. Interpreted in light of the principle of *yin/yang*, the *enza* may be

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regularly

taken to represent a "map of creation", the design of which underlies all entities and phenomena in the universe.

The obvious emphasis given the spiral in the design of the Shinto shrine eloquently attests to an intuition of nature that probed to the core of life. Although lacking access to the technological instruments employed by modern science, the ancient nevertheless arrived at certain fundamental conclusions regarding basic natural principles. Because those fundamental principles were valid, that is, operative in all the domains of nature, individual discoveries in a particular field of research which supported it were taken as gratifying but in no way surprising.

IN MATARA

CP's Ninth National Congress

—August 20-24—

By Basil Perera

NATIONAL CONGRESSES of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka have been landmarks in the history not only of the Communist movement but the entire anti-imperialist and progressive movement. That is why there is more than ordinary interest in the deliberations of the Ninth National Congress of the CPSL now going on at Matara (August 20-24). Many may be interested to know something of the former National Congresses of the CP, under what circumstances they were held what they decided and what influence they exerted on subsequent events. This article is an attempt to answer these questions.

The First Congress of the CP was held in April 1945 towards the end of World War II. It was held in Colombo at the BTS Hall under the central slogan "Unite for Victory, Freedom and Social Advance." It was attended by 109 delegates of whom 34 were factory workers or leading trade unionists. The only fraternal delegate present was from the CP of India. The only messages of greetings received were from the CPs of

Great Britain, the USA and Australia.

When the First Congress met, the Soulbury Commission had just finished their visit to the Island, but not yet published their report with recommendations for a new constitution. The Board of Ministers in the former State Council as well as the main political parties and groups with the sole exception of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress had boycotted the Commission and refused to make representations before it. But already there were vacillations inside the Ceylon National Congress, the Sinhala Maha Sabha and others who had boycotted the Commission about rejecting the constitution about to be offered to the country by Lord Soulbury. It was under those circumstances that the CP's First Congress stated unequivocally that "it is only by breaking with the policy of reformism and accepting 'Reforms Offers' and by mobilising and uniting the masses of our people that we can advance to freedom."

Referring to the vacillations referred to earlier, the Congress said: "These vacillations are dangerous and only play into the hands of the imperialists. It is necessary to end these vacillations and demand the recognition of Ceylon's right to independence and a free constitution." The Congress also passed a resolution on working class unity, calling for a single trade union centre both to win the demands of the workers and establish their leadership in the political life of the country. Other resolutions included one on "Freedom and Postwar Economic Development" and another on Party organisation.

BY THE TIME THE SECOND CONGRESS was held in January 1948, the Soulbury constitution had been proclaimed, the first Parliament elected and the late D. S. Senanayake sworn in as the first Prime Minister of Ceylon. Six months earlier, Mr. Senanayake had struck hard at the trade union movement following the defeat of the General Strike of public and private sector employees in May-June 1947. This had led to a certain amount of disorientation and frustration in working class and progressive ranks

Rejecting all defeatism, the CP's Second Congress sounded the clarion call to "seize the present

initiative and to close ranks now and defeat the intrigues of British imperialism and the Senanayake Cabinet, for winning complete freedom and for working out a progressive domestic policy." The Congress endorsed a minimum programme designed to "break the British monopolistic grip over Ceylon and open to the people of Ceylon a better future alongside the progressive people of the world."

It declared that "all genuine Left elements should today decide between a sterile opposition and mere exposure of the Government on the one hand and, on the other, seeking joint action campaigning for a People's Government which will today meet the desires of the overwhelming majority of the people." It appealed for "joint action of all Left elements, not only for the day-to-day demands of the people but also for the creation such a People's Government based on Left-progressive unity." Following the Second Congress, the CP succeeded in establishing united action with the other two Left parties—the LSSP and the BLP—on a number of ad-hoc issues. But Left unity did not extend beyond that at that stage. The month of that followed the Second Congress witnessed the growth of dogmatic and sectarian tendencies inside the CP, leading to sharp differences within the Central Committee. These differences became so acute that another Congress had to be called that same year to resolve them.

THE THIRD CONGRESS was held at Atureliya in the South in September 1948. Here the Left sectarians gained the upper hand, and the Congress adopted a programme of 'instant revolution.' The essence of it was that Party should develop mass struggles to become open clashes with the existing state and social order, overthrow by force of arms the UNP Government, achieve the forcible destruction of the Soulbury, state apparatus and establish a "People's Democracy."

The Third Congress also enjoined the Party to 'isolate and completely defeat' the other Left parties and other parties with support among the workers. In seeking to implement this 'super-revolutionary' policy, the Left sec-

tarians did great damage to the CP. But soon resistance began to develop within the Party itself against this disastrous ultra-Left course. The Left sectarian tendency was finally routed at the Fourth Congress of the CP held in Matara in September 1950.

THE FOURTH CONGRESS defined the stage and tasks of the revolution in Ceylon as well as the classes that could participate in it. The political thesis adopted by that Congress defined the most important task as "to defeat imperialism and its local lackeys and achieve national independence and at the same time wipe out feudalism or whatever remains of it." Regarding the forces of the revolution, it said: "The working class is the most reliable force of the revolution. All sections of the peasantry will form a stable ally of the working class. A firm alliance of the working class with the peasantry will constitute the main force of the revolution. . . . Then there are various categories of the petty-bourgeoisie. It includes the intelligentsia, the white collar employees, professional men, small businessmen, petty traders, handicraftsmen etc. They will form part of the forces of the revolution."

It was analysing the role of the bourgeoisie that the Fourth Congress broke new ground. It distinguished between two groups of the bourgeoisie—one, the compradore bourgeoisie which, frightened at the sweep of the working class and national movement, has gone over completely to open collaboration with imperialism which needs its assistance to keep the people's movements down. The second group was the national bourgeoisie which could play an oppositional role, however vacillating, in the anti-imperialist revolution.

The political thesis adopted by the Fourth Congress said: "The working class must enter into an alliance with the latter section of the bourgeoisie against imperialism, even if that alliance be temporary and only to a certain extent." Thus did the Fourth Congress lay the ideological and political basis for the general line that the CP was to follow later. Subsequent events fully vindicated the correctness of this line, and in that respect the Congress proved

to be a decisive turning-point in the history of the entire anti-imperialist and progressive movement.

BY THE TIME THE FIFTH CONGRESS was held in 1955, the country had witnessed many changes. Mr. Bandaranaike had left the UNP and formed the SLFP. Dudley Senanayake had won the 1952 General Election. However, after the 1953 Hartal he had resigned and Sir John Kotelawela had succeeded him. The LSSP had split and part of it joined the CP. The Fifth Congress summed up the experiences of the CP during this period and chalked out the strategy that was to result in the 1956 election victory for Mr. Bandaranaike.

The political resolution adopted by that Congress declared: "The key to the successful mobilisation of the mass movement for the defeat of imperialism and the UNP Government lies in the realisation of Left unity and a united democratic front of all anti-imperialist and anti-UNP forces." It also warned against the policies of various anti-UNP parties which "pursue their narrow sectarian interests at the expense of the general interests of the anti-UNP movement and propagate the false illusion that each of them can single handedly defeat the combined might of the imperialists and the UNP." No CP Congress took place for the entire period of Mr. Bandaranaike's Government which took power in 1956.

THE SIXTH CONGRESS was held soon after the election to power of the Government led by Mrs. Bandaranaike in 1960. The political thesis adopted by that Congress stated: "The tasks before the new Government and the people are formidable, but they can be faced and overcome by preserving and developing the unity of the middle and Left forces that was built in the struggle against the UNP."

The Sixth Congress met when foreign imperialism and local reaction were launching their first onslaught against Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government. So the Congress also adopted an "Appeal to the People of Ceylon" which said: "The Communist Party appeals to all progressive forces that contributed to the victory of July 1960 to rally together at this crucial hour to protect that victory and carry it forward. Success in defending and

carrying forward the July victory will depend on the extent to which we can consolidate and extend the unity that made this victory possible. The good relations, co-operation and unity that exist between the SLFP, LSSP and the CP should be developed and transformed into a stable united front."

It was precisely questions pertaining to the united front that dominated the SEVENTH CONGRESS which met in Colombo in 1964. By that time the United Left Front between the LSSP, CP and MEP led by Philip Gunawardena had been formed and negotiations were on for the formation of a SLFP-ULF Coalition.

Presenting the political report on behalf of the Central Committee of the CP, Pieter Keuneman, then its General Secretary, called for co-operation between the ULF and "the growing radical forces within the SLFP who seek a solution on the Left." He said: "A Government of the progressive forces, pledged to implement a programme along the lines set out in the 1963 ULF agreement and in which the ULF plays a decisive role, will certainly be a positive development. It can help to bring about a series of important political, social and economic transformations and strengthen the role played by Ceylon in the fight peace and against colonialism."

But the coalition government that was ultimately formed as a result of the SLFP-ULF negotiations that followed the Seventh CP Congress included only one constituent party of the ULF, namely the LSSP. The SLFP-LSSP Coalition Government was defeated in Parliament at the end of 1964 and the UNP came back to power the following March.

While in the Opposition, the SLFP, LSSP and CP formed the United Front based on a Common Programme in 1968 and this front came to power at the 1970 elections.

THE CP'S EIGHTH CONGRESS was held in 1972 soon after the proclamation of the Republic of Sri Lanka a few months earlier. That Congress sought to map out paths and make suggestions as to how the political independence that had been won with the establishment of a sovereign Republic could be used to secure economic independence,

develop a more viable economic widen democratic rights of all working people and advance the country to a position where the people could begin a non-capitalist transition to socialism.

Unfortunately, the Eighth Congress was followed by a disastrous split that tore the Party into two factions conducting a bitter internecine war that went on for the better part of two years. It was only on the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the CP in July 1974 that these two factions came together again.

The Draft Political Report of the reunited Party to be placed before the Ninth Congress say: "This 9th Congress-places new and special responsibilities on our Party and its members. At earlier congresses, our Party concentrated on showing the need for the United Front of the working class and other anti-imperialist and democratic forces, and on how to achieve this. At this 9th Congress, our task is the more advanced one of guiding the working class and other Left and radical forces on a new line of advance for the United Front."

HEAVY CROPS

Mango Trees Can be Activated by Pruning

Dr. V. N. Madhava Rao and Dr. K. G. Shanmugavelu, two professors in the Department of Horticulture of the Tamil Nadu Agricultural University, have devised a way to stimulate dormant mango trees to yield heavy crops. This new method of activating fruit-yield in a mango tree should come as a boon to those who own mango groves.

Mango growers in India are puzzled by the phenomenon of a bumper crop in one year followed by 'no crop' or 'poor crop' the next year or a good crop year being succeeded by two to three "off" years. They are also worried about many old trees not bearing fruits despite their herculean efforts hitherto to activate them. Horticultural research workers

have tried so far manuring, smudging (smoke treatment), deblossoming, irrigating trees, etc., but with little success.

The two professors who took up this challenging task adopted a novel method of making the mango trees behave and bear well. The method consisted of pruning the mango trees. Pruning is an age old horticultural practice normally done on fruit trees like grapes, figs, apples, pears, plums, guavas, etc. Explaining the unusual course they adopted, the professors said, "Pruning of an ever green tree like mango is practically unknown and is seldom practised. But as in the case of human beings sometimes a major surgery is necessary to correct an ailment which does not respond to normal methods or therapy."

The professors conducted their experiment in pruning on three trees in the orchards of the Tamil Nadu Agricultural University—one a 45-year-old Mulgoa (two numbers) and the other a 20-year-old Baneshan (Banganapalle). The yield data of the Mulgoa trees from 1960 showed that only in 1968 they yielded a crop of 500 to 740 fruits. But earlier to 1960 and after 1968 till 1972, the trees gave an average yield of 35 fruits only. The baneshan tree likewise had not yielded well in its 20 years of orchard life.

During August 1972, these trees with a thick canopy of branches were pruned by removing criss-cross branches, the diameter of which was more than 30 cms. The centre of the tree was opened so as to have a full play of sunlight on the tree and the trunk. This also facilitated aeration in the tree. In every branch the weak unhealthy shoots and dried twigs were removed. Also the terminal branches consisting of clusters of three to five shoots were thinned to retain only one or two vigorously growing healthy shoots and the cut ends were treated with bordeaux paste. After pruning, 200 kg of farm yard manure was applied per tree and irrigated profusely.

The result was tremendous. The trees flowered profusely and even the dormant buds developed flower panicles and bore fruits. This kind of bearing, similar to the bearing of jack fruits on the old branches cannot be normally

seen in the mango trees. At the time of flowering carbaryl and wettable sulphur (0.1 per cent) were sprayed at ten-day intervals till the fruits set and this helped to control mango hopper pest. In Mulgoa an yield of 642 fruits was obtained in 1974 and 927 fruits in 1975. The Baneshan tree started yielding during 1974 and 1975. During 1974, an off-season crop of 487 fruits was obtained in January-February besides a regular crop of 171 fruits during May. In 1975, the yield went up to 504 fruits.

The exact causes leading to this 'rejuvenation' are being investigated, but the research scientists believe that the pruning has resulted in the disturbance of the hormonal system inside the tissues leading to their redistribution in favour of "fruitful condition" rather than a "vegetative condition." They said, "we believe that by pruning the following beneficial effects could be obtained: inducing of heavy crop in an otherwise barren tree, induction of off-season cropping, better colour development and good taste and activation of all branches which yield fruits besides the normal crop borne by terminal shoots."

Pruning as a regular practice is now being adopted in a 90-acre orchard with neelum and Bangalore trees near Pattiveeranpatti in Madurai district.

—Hindu



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On Arrack

IS IT NOT A NATIONAL SCANDAL that renters and tavern keepers should be able to adulterate bottles of Government-sealed arrack with impunity? That the Excise Commissioner must be congratulated for the raids he has conducted to detect such adulteration? That in the nature of things it is extremely difficult to detect anything more than a small marginal percentage of those who indulge in adulteration? That the Observer of August 13 had an excellent report on this matter with the heading 360 BOTTLES AT HAMBANTOTA.... EXCISE RAIDS PROVE ARRACK IS WATERED DOWN..... That the report makes excellent reading?

There is a large scale adulteration of all varieties of arrack, the poor man's drink. This was confirmed by the Excise Commissioner, Mr. H. B. Wijekoon, this morning. The Commissioner himself conducted many raids resulting in detections of adulterated arrack and sale of short measure drinks. Mr. Wijekoon said that with the present type of stopper, it was quite easy for tavern keepers to pull them out and replace them in the same condition. "They have even improvised instruments to carry out this operation", he said. The tippler is quite unaware of the fact that the stopper has been tampered with because the quantity of arrack which has been siphoned out and replaced with water is on an average one to one-and-a-half drams. This makes it difficult to detect the difference in taste. "Only the seasoned drinker will know the difference", Mr. Wijekoon added. The Commissioner has conducted four raids in the last few months. At Valaichenai, in the Batticaloa District, he detected 130 bottles of special arrack adulterated with water. Certain other defects were also found at the particular tavern and the licence of the renter was cancelled. Then at Mullaitivu, about 180 bottles were found adulterated and here, too, the

renter's licence was cancelled. Recently at Beruwela, Mr. Wijekoon and party detected a renter adulterating 50 bottles in the middle of the night. The renter was caught red handed. In this instance, as the arrack was not being sold to any consumer, the licence was not cancelled but a fine of Rs. 27,000 imposed. The latest detection was at Hambantota where 360 bottles were found to be adulterated. In this instance, the Commissioner has recommended that the licence be cancelled. The Commissioner blames the present state of affairs on the stoppers that are being used. "Anyone can tamper with a stopper and escape detection," he told the Observer this morning.

That this story reveals a disastrous state of affairs? That it is surprising that the Government should continue using this kind of stopper which can be tampered with so easily? That it will be interesting to know why better kind of stoppers have not been introduced? That it be also worthwhile knowing whether in the past the Government had used a different kind of stopper? That if there was such wholesale adulteration now, it is time that something is done about these stoppers? That it would good to know who the suppliers of these stoppers are and who had placed the order for them? That it will also help if the quantity of such stoppers in stock and the quantity on firm order are known? That it is intriguing to find the Excise Commissioner complaining about the stoppers without his offering any suggestion how the bottles can be better stoppered? That it is strange that he does not seem able to do anything about? That if he has no control over the kind of stoppers to be used why does not the Distilleries Corporation which is responsible for the production of arrack do something about it? That the Distilleries Corporation is one of the star turns of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry can easily streamline the Corporation's management in order to ensure that properly stoppered bottles of arrack are put out for sale?

IS IT NOT A FACT that our arrack and liquor industry has proliferated in the most amazing manner in recent times? That a sizable part

of inflated wages (and income) people now receive is siphoned into the consumption of local liquor? That apart from the State Distilleries Corporation, arrack and other kinds of alcohol are produced by the Sugar Corporation and private distilleries (Rocklands, Mestiya, Mendis, etc. etc.)? That an enormous quantity of booze is now available in Sri Lanka? That it would therefore be interesting to know the number of operating arrack and toddy taverns all over the island? That it will be also interesting to know the number of ("foreign") liquor shops throughout the country? That it will be also good to know the number of other shops licensed to sell liquor? That in addition to this a count of all the hotels, resthouses, guest houses and other joints, which have licences to sell liquor, will help people to understand the vastness of this industry? That it will be of special interest to have the names and addresses of all those who have obtained liquor licences from 1970, that in from the time this liquor trade had proliferated in the most unbelievable manner? That some day, some one will ask the question whether it was in the national interest to license so many taverns, bars and liquor shops? That it will be a moot question whether this manner of siphoning high incomes back into government coffers was the best manner of coping with the problem of inflation? That it will be necessary for the relevant authorities to tell the public what is being done about the adulteration of government-produced arrack? That in the last few months the Excise Commissioner was only able to conduct four successful raids? That if he had been able to carry out four hundred (that is, an average of four each day of the month in different parts of the island) there would have been at least a hundred detections? That if popular gossip is to be believed, adulteration of the stoppered arrack bottles was universal?



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