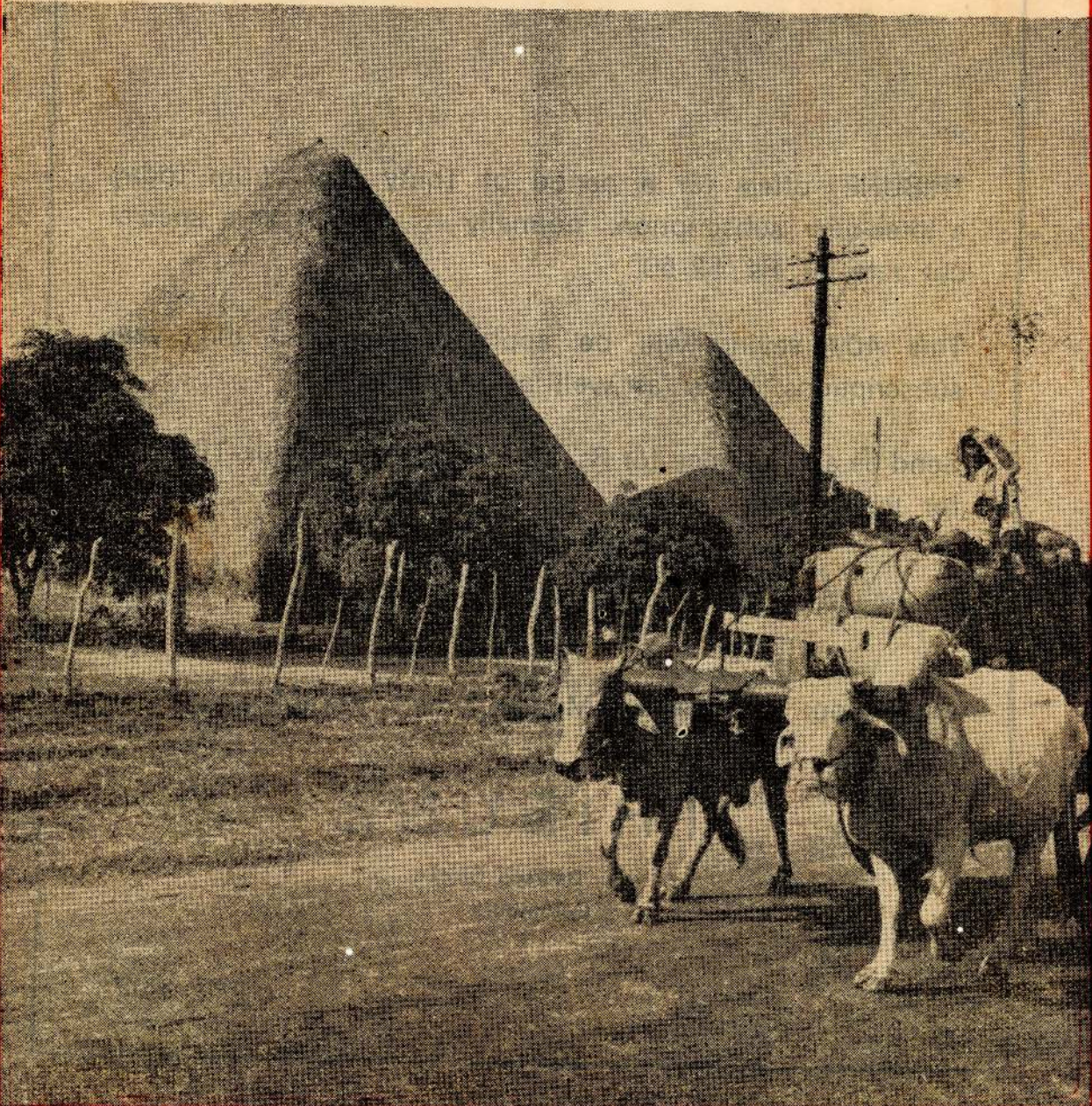


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TRIBUNE





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Letter From The Editor

ONE OF THE MANY LETTERS we have recently received from our readers comes from a very old reader, Mr. E. Seemanpillai, of Mylambavali, Chenkaladi, in the Eastern Province. His articles and comments on certain current matters have appeared in the *Tribune*. In a letter dated May 27, he writes: "I am delighted with your issue released on *Tribune's* coming of age, its new format and more orderly presentation of contents. I would however venture to make a few suggestions whatever their worth or applicability in the current conditions: (1) your cover pages (front and back) could be of thicker material to ensure rougher usage and more lasting preservation. Two more advertisements should cover the cost of the thicker material. (2) The cover-picture now introduced should be allowed to continue and should be representative of the most outstanding topic of the week or something quite arresting to the eye propaganda-wise. (3) The news coverage and contents should progressively increase reaching an optimum of 50 pages of worthwhile information as envisaged in an earlier edition of *Tribune*. (4) Every issue should carry a table of contents relative to the news conveyed in that particular issue together with a further table indicating the major events to be covered in the next succeeding issue. The next issue would then be more keenly awaited resulting in a larger clientele. (5) You have not had a coming-of-age party to which could be invited editors of sister or kindred publications together with strictly unaligned notabilities in the field of social, economic and cultural welfare. As to the letter from the Maldives captioned 'Censor Commission' and pseudonymed 'Well-wisher' it is not likely to impair *Tribune's* credibility because of the imputation contained in that letter that a locally or editorially brewed concoction was being served up in support of the spurious contentions. You have my good wishes as also the good wishes of all those who value free comment and uncensored publications in the interest of truth and democracy."

MR. SEEMANPILLAI'S SUGGESTION that we should have a thicker cover is an excellent one, but apart from the fact that suitable cover paper is not always available with the EPMC, thicker art paper is not only expensive but is out of stock more often than not. Admittedly, more advertisements will enable us to use good quality art paper whenever it is available, but we can only keep our fingers crossed that we are able to do this in the near future. Newsworthy cover-pictures about some outstanding topic of the week is beyond our present resources and possibilities, but we hope to have a series of eye-catching pictures about some aspect of life in Sri Lanka which lends itself to appropriate comment. Some years ago we had hoped to reach a fifty page magazine, but that was at a time when paper was cheap and freely available and printing costs were much lower than now. But with the solid support we are getting from our readers and the rapidly increasing number of subscribers, we shall endeavour to increase our pages progressively. We are conscious that *Tribune* does not as yet cover many fields: book reviews, films, music, education, science, sports and a host of other topics. We have not yet been able to devote adequate space and attention to the many constructive undertakings in the fields of industry and agriculture which have become part of the new Sri Lanka now coming into being. We will certainly endeavour to improve on our table of contents; but depending as we do on free-lance contributors and columnists who are preoccupied with their day-to-day activities to earn a living, we are not able to set out with certainty what every succeeding issue will contain. We agree that if we are able to announce each week what each succeeding issue will carry, it will help us to increase and stabilise new readership. As regards a coming-of-age party, we must confess that we had not even thought about it. The present climate of austerity, guest-list ceilings and devalued passion fruit cordiality is not conducive for such a get-together.

On the cover we have a scene close to the Paper Factory at Valaichchenai in the Eastern Province. The picture depicts two pyramid-like conical heaps of straw which is the principal raw material at the factory. It is only when the paper factories at Valaichchenai and the new ones coming up at Uda Walawe and Rajangane are able to produce paper in adequate quantities and at prices which are reasonable in the context of other prices that papers like *Tribune* will be able to grow and expand. Valaichchenai, with all its shortcomings, has been a beacon and symbol of industrial development in this country.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Ragging

THE RAGGING IN THE PERADENIYA CAMPUS has started a chain reaction of disturbed thinking among all sections of the people in this country. The full enormity of the deplorably depraved levels to which ragging had descended was not realised by many people. When *Tribune* had persisted in saying time and time again that the reforms of Minister Baduddin Mahmud and his Secretary Udagama had ended all education in this country, many had thought that we had been carried away by hyperbole and exaggeration. The fact is that we have been aware for sometime that in nearly all campuses, except in Vidyodaya and the new-born one at Jaffna, ragging had become the last refuge of the frustrated, the mentally perverted and the sex maniacs, (the local aberrations of the vulgarly permissive society which has emerged in some parts of the world), under the protective smokescreen of UF slogans.

The evidence which has transpired at the Vidyalandara inquiry into the ragging of Mathematics teachers is only the tip of an iceberg. And the events in Peradeniya this term has come as a shock to the public. Whether Rupa fell off the fourth floor by accident, or in a drowsy state, or because of financial troubles, or because suicidal tendencies run in her inherited bloodstream—there is no doubt that ragging had reached undesirable limits at Peradeniya. What is worse is that victims have been terrorised into telling falsehoods either to deny the ragging or minimise it. *Tribune* investigations have revealed that a climate of terror had been created in the campus so that the truth would never leak out. This was because the ragging which had been organised by a gang of political hooligans, supported by ultra-leftists from two well-known political trends in the country and also by important political elements in the teaching staff in Peradeniya and the Ministerial Establishment. These two ultra-left groups which have combined in Peradeniya are now in a (temporary) political honey-

moon and control the Student Council. They enjoy power, influence and prestige owing to the positions of strength they enjoy in the Campus, in the educational Establishment, in the Mass Media controlled by government and even in the periphery of the Palace.

The President of the Campus, Dr. George Kodituwakku, was regarded as enjoying political immunity of a high order because he was reputed to "have worked hard for the UF—SLFP—in the last general elections." For this reason he was feared by the fellow members of the staff who wanted to keep their jobs and he was also able to command collusive support among the vociferous and politicised sections of the campus youth. There is no doubt that the outgoing President had minimised and even drawn a smokescreen over the kind of ragging and terror which had become part of the way of life at the Peradeniya campus.

In the bad old days which these ultra-left intellectuals describe as slave or early tribal societies, one custom was that the village priest, or king, or the elders, (or seniors if you please to call them), had the right to initiate every young girl into the mysteries of sex and life as soon as they attained the age of puberty. Every young man who also put through another rigorous initiation in sex and hard living as part of their training for manhood. All this in ancient savage civilisation was done with consent and acceptance by the community then.

In Peradeniya, for some time now, every girl student was regarded as having been initiated into university life only after she had had sexual intercourse with an approved senior. (This can be done today without untoward consequences thanks to *Preethi*). Every male fresher had to undergo a course in sexual perversities and abnormalities as part of his initiation. Various pseudo-political excuses were trotted out to support this pernicious ideological climate of primitive savage society which had been introduced into Peradeniya. The rural female student was terrorised and brainwashed into thinking that they could become sophisticated only through permissive sex of the modern era—and once forcibly introduced

into this kind of secret society she was part of it because she could not reveal its mysteries, especially in her village or to her parents because it would blast her prospects of marriage in the village ethos. The girls from the urban areas were forced into sexual relationship on the ground that their "bourgeois" tendencies had to be eradicated. In fact, the girls from the urban schools and areas were subject to great mental and physical sadistic torture. What the men students suffered cannot be retold without making one's blood boil.

What we have set out is not from fantasy but the naked truth pieced together from a hundred sources unwilling to reveal the truth in public because of fear. They have assured *Tribune* that even the girl who fell from the fourth floor will be sufficiently brainwashed into telling a story to support the political hooligans—the story which has been agreed upon is that in a drowsy mood she had accidentally leant too far over the balcony and thereby had fallen. Unless the political hooligans among the students and the teaching staff are removed from the scene, the truth about the depravity at the Peradeniya campus will not be known for a long time.

And these political hooligans, supported by a brains trust in Colombo, have already launched their campaign to mislead the leaders of the government and sections of the public. Their defence and their excuse is both a red herring and a smokescreen (of tear and poison gas). They say that "reactionary" politicians and ideologues had conspired with some "reactionary" members of the staff to exaggerate the ragging, that they had concocted "bad cases" of ragging fit enough to be sent to the hospital for treatment and that they had started a public uproar unnecessarily. Through a press controlled by a peculiarly perverse brand of ultra-leftists (to whom permissive sex has become an ideological weapon, and this has manifested itself in a prestigious magazine published by the premier governmental publishing house), this political smokescreen has been spread. These students have threatened to "go home" if the government does not sur-

Compulsory Campus Sex

render to their demands. They wave the UF flag in the hope that the Government will be black-mailed into surrender.

In the fifties, in the USA, McCarthy had got away with murder under the witch-hunting slogans of anti-communism—and this finally led up to Nixon and Watergate. In Sri Lanka, we have for some time now been inflicted with similar witch-hunting slogans directed at so-called "reactionaries" to eliminate political opposition. For exposing the truth of the underworld in Peradeniya, *Tribune* will be called "reactionary", but *Tribune* has withstood such appellations from political hooliganism for twenty years now as it chose to dissent from ultra-ism of every kind. And it will not be deterred by much such attacks now.

The freshers, both male and female, who had been able to escape such primitive initiation into sex as a necessary concomitant of ragging and thereafter acceptance into the campus fraternity, during the last two years, are few and far between. But the initiation was of such a kind that many are shy to talk about it. It will be argued that those who talk are falling back upon their imagination. But it is only after careful sifting of the reports we have received from many reliable sources, among students—seniors and freshers—and also from among the teaching staff that we have ventured to make these generalisations. We are conscious that generalisations are usually over-simplifications that cannot reveal the whole truth. In this case, our generalisations are not over-simplifications but only restrained under-statements: and, that the real unvarnished truth will read like a horror story beside which Frankenstein and Dracula will fade into insignificance.

It is also admitted that this venom had spread out from Peradeniya to the other campuses, and that it had caught on at Vidyalkara in a way that it had landed the latter campus into a blaze of notoriety. Vidyodaya, for some strange reason, seems to have escaped this sex perversion but its students had reached out to other political abnormalities which need not be discussed at this juncture. Various suggestions have been made in the Vidyalkara inquiry as to why such perversities

have become "normalised". There have been attempts to explain how the students in their frustration have been driven into all this. But such incursions into Freudianism is of little help. It is not that these students and their political patrons have to be "psycho-analysed", but they have to be dealt with severely by the governmental authorities which have taken upon themselves the task of organising and regimenting Sri Lanka into a better way of life.

Ana, at long last, the Government has now been moved into action in regard to Peradeniya. It would be useful if the Vice-Chancellor's probe team (which included the Vice-Chancellor himself) would reveal what they heard, discovered and saw when they went to Peradeniya. It would be also interesting to know all that the Cabinet was made aware of before it made its historic decision to act with determination to stamp out political and primitive hooliganism at Peradeniya—in spite of the pressures from ultras in the seats of power and influence in the Establishment. The pleas that these tight restrictions placed on ragging should be relaxed, the demand that the Police should be withdrawn, the request that a President who had the confidence of the students (the vociferous hooligan elements) should be appointed and the battle-cry against so-called "reactionary" conspirators should be ignored.

If the state of affairs which had prevailed at Peradeniya had been allowed to go on, the political beneficiaries would have been the politicians now branded as reactionaries. The ultras who had hoped to carry through a Vietnam-type revolution in Sri Lanka with this kind of sex permissiveness would have brought moral, cultural and ethical disaster upon the country—as they have already done in some measure.

There is another matter which the authorities must investigate in regard to Peradeniya and the other campuses: viz the extent to which drugs like LSD, ganja, heroin and opium are being used by certain sections of the students as part of the political terrorism to induce students to accept Primitivism under the garb of the Revolution. The situation today is that parents who know even a wee little bit of what has taken place in Peradeniya and the other cam-

pus do not want to send their children, especially their daughters, to the University. It is the publicity and attention which has been paid to the university campuses in recent months that has awakened many parents to the real situation. Many have told *Tribune* that they would rather keep their daughters at home than send them to the university even if they had been selected through the rigours of the Mahmud-Udagama standardisation tests. The parents of male students, however, feel that the boys should be able to stick it through even such barbarity for the sake of their future.

It is time that there is a new reappraisal of the kind of university education which has been foisted upon this country in the Mahmud-Udagama regime. If the genuinely progressive elements in the United Front fail to realise the real truth and take appropriate action to remedy matters before it goes any further, if they fail to eliminate the ultraism which is ruining every aspect of life in the country, it will be the dihard reactionaries who will benefit. Ordinary parents have become fed up with the kind of education and social environment in the different campuses reflected in the abnormalities and perversities of Peradeniya and Vidyalkara. All this is associated with the Mahmud-Udagama regime under the auspices of the United Front. (The Vidyodaya effort to "welcome" freshers rather than "rag" them was a pleasant surprise, but one swallow does not make a summer, and there are many other unwelcome features in Vidyodaya that need investigation).

Tribune has for long left untouched the kind of University life that has come to be in the Mahmud-Udagama era, but today we have been overwhelmed by so much that has been thrust under our nose that we cannot remain silent. Every campus today, without exception, is a hotbed of intrigue and personal egoism. Education is the last thing that university teachers (at least among most of them left behind without being carried away by the brain drain) seemed to be concerned about education itself. It will need volumes to set out even the little we have so far discovered.

And the only conclusion that any right thinking and sane person can come to is that there is nothing like university education in Sri Lanka today. It is not the university education of the West—Cambridge, Oxford and Harvard—w are thinking of. The fact is that Sri Lanka now no kind of university education at all—whether we accept Peking, Moscow, Prague, Berlin or Paris as models. We have descended in this Mahmud-Udagama era, into a cultural and educational desert with only mirages to spur us on and keep us happy.

Unless the leaders of the United Front, who certainly know better than many humbugs who climbed the bandwaggon after 1970, bestir themselves and do something to remedy matters, this period will go down to history as the beginning of the Dark Ages in University Education (or any education for that matter) in Sri Lanka. All the economic "progress", about which so many heroic speeches are made, will be wiped in the Dark Ages that must necessarily follow a system of university education based on ragging and perversities—part of which have now surfaced at Peradeniya and Vidyalankara.

BETWEEN THE LINES BY SERENDIB

Colombo South, JR And The UNP

THE NOMINATIONS for the Colombo South by-election will be handed in on Thursday June 19. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene will certainly hand in his nomination papers for election to a National State Assembly he now calls "legal but illegitimate." Not so very long he had chosen to proclaim that the NSA, would be "illegal and unconstitutional" after May 27, 1975. From this dizzy position, he has backtracked to say that even if the NSA not strictly illegal and unconstitutional, it had no moral justification for its extended existence. And, today, he has found a new formula to give expression to his political predicament: he says that the NSA was "legal but illegitimate." In many

legal systems an illegitimate child can enjoy legal rights even before total legality was acquired. This kind of legal quibbling has not helped the image of JR as a national leader.

But this is not the only kind of prevarication JR has been guilty of. Not very long he had stated that he was certain that there would be General Elections in 1975 and that if he was not able to bring this about he would resign from the post of Leader of the UNP. This was a categorical statement, and Tribune had written a piece on what JR, the seasoned politician that he was, might have meant by this statement. Many had wondered how JR had hoped to achieve this objective of a 1975 General Election, and Tribune had devoted several columns to speculate on this JR pronouncement. Many UF leaders had good-humouredly twitted JR by asking the UNP to look for another leader by the end of 1975—because JR had promised A General Elections before the end of year.

And now comes another feat of backsliding which does neither JR nor the UNP he leads much credit. The *Daily Mirror* of Friday, June 6, had a top front page lead under the heading: UNP LEADER'S STATEMENT SPARKS OFF CONTROVERSY WITHIN PARTY. I DID NOT PROMISE POLLS THIS YEAR: JR. The report read as follows:

The leader of the United National Party, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, has taken up the position that he had at no stage, promised to ensure that a General Election would be held this year. Addressing the party's electoral organisers recently, Mr. Jayawardene said that he had promised only to try his best to see that elections were held before the end 1975. Mr. Jayawardene said this when the electoral organiser for Beliatta Dr. Ranjit Atapattu commended the UNP leader for having promised to have general elections held before the end of this year. This statement by Mr. Jayawardene to the electoral organisers has sparked off a controversy within the ranks of the United National Party. A certain section holds that the UNP leader had not only promised his party that he would see that

parliamentary elections were held in 1975, but had also indicated that he would resign from the party leadership if he failed to do so. They also state that since there had been no denial of newspaper reports regarding Mr. Jayawardene's pledge. UNPers expected elections to be held before the end of the year. Meanwhile, another section argues that Mr. Jayawardene could not have given such a promise as he had no power to decide on holding elections. They also contend that he had not agreed to quit the party leadership if no elections are held before the end of 1975.

Up to the time, of writing these notes, on 10/6/75, this news report has not been denied by JR or the UNP.

But what is even more significant is that the statement made by J. R. P. Suriyapperuma to the Working Committee of the UNP has drawn wide public attention. Suriyapperuma was one of the bright lights of the younger set in the UNP. He had contested Mrs. Bandaranaike at Attanagalla in the 1970 elections and many people were surprised by the fight he put up against a formidable opponent. Suriyapperuma is undoubtedly one of the best platform speakers in the country today. He had differences with JR over the latter's strategy and tactics at the Kalawewa by-election, and for what Suriyapperuma had said about this and other actions of JR, the UNP leader had insisted on his being thrown out of the UNP. Suriyapperuma had thereupon released a statement which was his reply to the UNP's Working Committee. This statement was given the widest publicity in the *Janadina* and *Aththa* and other Sinhala papers. This concise report in the *Daily News* of 7/6/75 gives the gist of his argument.

Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma—the UNP stalwart who was sacked from the Party two days ago—in a statement yesterday to the Working Committee of the UNP questioned the fate of a Party which could not make up its mind about electing a Leader of the Opposition in the National State Assembly. Mr. Suriyapperuma, in a scathing attack on the policies of the present leader of the UNP, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, stated that Mr. Jayawardene's activities

in the past few years would make the late Mr. Dudley Senanayake turn in his grave.

The statement said: "Your (Mr. Jayawardene's) history hounds you out like a rabid dog. You were the first person to tell the government that it should continue in office for seven years after 1975. You said there will be no election till 1977. And it was you who said that the present government was progressive and deserved every co-operation."

Mr. Suriyapperuma's statement, directed at Mr. Jayawardene said: "You have become a riddle to yourself and the party. You are like a place of worship rendered dirty by crows. Because the place is dirty one quails from worshipping. And one is averse to the thought of pulling it down because it is a place of worship. If you conduct a secret-ballot operation you will realise this is the opinion of 90 per cent in the party." Mr. Suriyapperuma's statement ends asking Mr. Jayawardene to name him as the party candidate when nominations are made for the Colombo South seat on June 19.

Suriyapperuma's letter does not do JR much good especially when it is known that Suriyapperuma represents the still very strong Dudley-Senanayake faction inside the UNP. He is one of the strongest pillars of this faction and JR cannot hope to liquidate this group by purging a few of the stalwarts in the group.

Rumours persist that Suriyapperuma is likely to hand in his nomination for the Colombo South by-election. If he does, his showing at the polls will come as a surprise to JR and many UNPers. With the UF decision not to contest the by-election, all anti-JR votes will undoubtedly go to Suriyapperuma—unless O.L. de Kretser of the Sri Lanka Vimukthi Balavegaya also hands in his nomination. If he does, he will certainly corrode into JR's votes among the two predominant minorities in Colombo South, namely the Tamils and the Burghers. Though the TUF will not actively support any candidate opposed to JR, the TUF will not throw its weight behind JR and his UNP. The result will most likely be that the TUF will de facto permit a free vote among its Tamil supporters and there is

reason to think that JR has not endeared himself to Tamil voters ever since the communal riots of 1958 and JR's anti-federal and anti-SWRD-SJV pact campaign from 1957 until the time of the late Premier's assassination—and right into the two 1960 general elections.

The United Front has wisely decided to keep out of the Colombo South by-elections. It has thus by-passed problems as to whether the LSSP or the SLFP should have fielded a candidate in the two-member seat. It has also prevented bringing to the surface any differences that continue to exist within its ranks. And the way this has been done has turned the spotlight of attention to the UNP itself, especially the situation brought about by Suriyapperuma's expulsion from the UNP.

The Government must be also congratulated for resisting the temptation offered to it by some of its Parliamentary Members to amend the Constitution to disbar members of the NSA who resign as a gimmick from recontesting in the by-elections. Such a step would have been disastrously undemocratic. There is no doubt

that JR's resignation, in the context of everything he has said and done is a gimmick. Ever since he took over the leadership of the UNP he has moved from one gimmick to another. It was satyagraha and civil disobedience at one time. At another time it was to effect a merger with the rightwing elements in the SLFP—and he had even been prepared to go contrary to wishes of a majority of his Party members in regard to the Kalawewa by-election (he was fortunately saved by the refusal of the SLFP High Command to fall into JR's trap by giving nomination to Anura Bandaranaike.) After that, JR had threatened to launch a campaign against the "illegal" National State Assembly, and when the UF government promulgated laws to prevent "subversion" of the Constitution through extra-parliamentary action, JR performed another somersault and evolved the "legal but immoral" formula to begin his backsliding into his present "legal but illegitimate" stand. He had also hit upon a resignation gimmick to force a by-election in the belief that the Government will seek to do a-KKS in regard to Colombo by delaying

ON GROWING MORE MANIOC

The *Sunday Times* on May 11, 1975 had a piece entitled THE FATE OF MANIOC. The report read as follows:

A top-ranking bureaucrat, who had a part of his estate in a provincial town cultivated with manioc, went to his estate last week-end to collect the proceeds of his crop. The manioc was taken by some of his employees to the "pola" in town. In the evening the men returned saying they had paid Rs. 6 as ground rent at the "pola" but had sold nothing. The bureaucrat then told his employees to take the manioc and give it away free. A couple of hours later the men returned with the manioc saying no one in the area wanted manioc as they all had manioc which they had cultivated but could not sell.

That there is no doubt that today the manioc, sorghum, yams, maize, kurakkan (etc. etc) market has collapsed with the indiscriminate importing of PL 480 flour? That at one time every Minister of the government was shouting himself hoarse asking people to grow manioc and yams, sorghum and maize? That nothing on earth will now persuade people to grow these items large quantities? That a few might be willing to grow a little just for their own consumption? That farmers of every variety now know that these commodities have no steady market at reasonable prices? That this is agriculture in Sri Lanka if you please? That now, a foreign nut has found new virtues in the *dambala*? That this kind of gimmick will no longer enthuse the farming community now smarting under the humiliation and loss they have suffered as a result of growing manioc and yams? That in many parts of the country manioc has no buyers? That all talk about purchases—for "industrial use" and for processing export are no more than old wives tall tales?

the by-election and thereby become a hero. For a time, he had already put on the halo of a martyrdom when TB Ilangaratne and his Deputy PR Ratnayake had had sought to bring about a constitutional amendment to disbar all those resigned from re-contesting in the ensuing by-election. Fortunately, this undemocratic UF gimmick to counter an adventurist UNP gimmick was thrown out by the wiser leaders of the UF, primarily because of the firm stand taken against it by the PM.

In the meantime, JR in starting this resignation gimmick had proclaimed that he staked his leadership of the UNP on a 1975 General Election. In retrospect, it is clear that he had based his calculations on the belief that a break between the SLFP and the LSSP had become inevitable in 1975—and this had

seemed so if one took the headlines, comments and news reports in the Anura Bandaranaike paper, the *Ada*, seriously. It was obviously JR's calculation that the SLFP and the LSSP will part company before mid-1975 and that this would make a General Elections inevitable almost immediately—at least before the end of the year. What JR seems to have forgotten is that the PM was not likely to bring the SLFP's differences with the LSSP to a head until the nonaligned Summit of August 1976 was over.

The fact that JR was not able to realise this simple fact is an indication of the extent to which he has lost touch with reality. And what is even worse is that he has lost touch with the realities within the ranks of the UNP by insisting upon the expulsion of Suriyaperuma. The future of the UNP

can be evaluated only in terms of youthful persons like Suriyapperuma, Rukman Senanayake, Gamini Disanaike and other like them—and not ageing leaders like JR who seem to think that the tactics and strategies of the forties and fifties in the heyday of Sir Oliver and D. S., or Sir John or Monty will pay dividends today. He has even resurrected figures who had brought ruin to Sir John and the UNP, and even Dudley in the 1965-70 period into positions of strength and power in the machinery of UNP's Establishment and this does not augur well for the UNP. What all this amounts to is that the UNP is today totally devoid of discerning or effective leadership capable of leading the country at the present juncture.

CHRONICLE

MAY 31—JUNE 6

A DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD
COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWSPAPERS
PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO.

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; TOC—Times of Ceylon; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

SATURDAY, MAY 31: Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, will represent Sri Lanka and will lead the group of 24 developing nations at talks of the Interim and Development Committees of the International Monetary Fund to be held in Paris in the early part of June—CDN. Nominations for the Colombo South seat in the NSA fell vacant after the resignation of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the Opposition and President of the UNP: the date for the by-election will be fixed within three to five weeks of the nomination—CDN & CDM. The Opposition announced that it will not co-operate if any member of the Opposition takes up the post of Leader of the Opposition—CDN. The practice of paying money to drought relief workers has been stopped and instead such workers will be issued with food rations—CDN. Addressing a conference of progressive writers for national integration at the BMICH yesterday the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said that the Government was willing to solve the problems of the Tamils by dialogue—VK. The Permanent Representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation to the Arab League in Cairo, Mr. Gamal El Sourani, will arrive in the island tomorrow and will spend a week in the country—CDM. Following strict vigilance on the smuggling of gold to India the price of gold has come down by Rs. 50 to 100 per sovereign—LD. An agreement was signed yesterday

in Colombo between Sri Lanka and the World Food Program by which Sri Lanka will receive food grains worth 123 million dollars—DM. At a press conference held in his office Dr. N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance, announced that import duty on cars has been reduced by large percentages with immediate effect—CDM. President Ford assured his NATO allies that there will be no American troop withdrawals from Europe without parallel troop cuts by the Soviet Union and its partners: the President said this in a major policy speech to the NATO Alliance summit meeting in Brussels. Egyptian Foreign Minister, Ismail Fahmi, in an interview published in Cairo said that there would inevitably an explosion in the Middle East if the present situation continues.

SUNDAY, JUNE 1: Highest level discussions are now being held between foreign banks operating in Sri Lanka and the Government for exemption from incorporation under the Companies (special) Provisions Law: as in the case of foreign airlines and insurance companies the foreign bank are seeking exemption from the provisions of the law—ST. The UNP said that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, will seek re-election to the Colombo South seat in the NSA—ST. Certain opposition parties are carrying out an anti-government propaganda among student organisations at the various campuses of the University of Sri Lanka: the Leaders of these opposition parties are said to be instigating the students to agitate for a general election this year—ST. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, has instructed the Vice Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka, Mr. L. H. Sumanadasa, to conduct on the spot investigations and submit a report to him and if necessary to close down the Peradeniya campus of the University following the alleged attempt of suicide by a female student: several incidents of ragging are reported from the campus and the student concerned a first year undergraduate is warded in the Kandy General hospital with severe injuries and her condition is reported to be critical—CO. Mr. H. W. Jayewardene was elected President

of the Bar Association with a majority of 111 votes and Mr. Desmond Fernando was elected Secretary—CO. Commenting on the Prime Minister's statement that the Government is prepared to hold discussions to solve the problems facing the Tamil community of this country, prominent TUF leaders said that the Government must have talks with the TUF to solve the problems of the Tamils—VK. President Anwar Sadat, is confident that his talks with President Ford starting today will generate new and decisive action towards a Middle East peace settlement: the two leaders are meeting today in Salzburg, Austria.

MONDAY, JUNE 2: The constituent parties of the UF Government are of the view that no issues affecting the Government, its supporters of the mass of people are involved in the Colombo South by-election and as such it is not likely that the UF will contest the forthcoming by-election—CDM. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition, speaking at a meeting yesterday said that the UNP considers the present Government as legal but illegitimate: he further said that he is happy that there are members who are still democratic at heart and he is confident that the Prime Minister, will them over—CDM & CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has been invited to deliver the keynote addresses at the International Women's Conference sponsored by the United Nations in Mexico and a special session of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva this month—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, speaking at a meeting in the Uva Paranagama electorate said that even if Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP, is returned to the NSA after the Colombo South by-election still he has to declare his allegiance to the present Constitution to be admitted to the NSA—JD. Owing to the improper facilities for the sale of passion fruit juice a quantity of 600 tons worth Rs. 30 lakhs is in danger of getting spoilt at the Marketing Department stores—ATH. Following the sacking of a student by the Principal for actively participating in the boycotting of classes on Republic Day, students of a leading school in Batticaloa will boycott classes and hold protest rally today—VK. In a letter to the Prime Minister, the Communist Party-controlled Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions has urged the Government to establish full diplomatic relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam—CDM. Three men were sentenced to death and 29 others to jail by the Supreme State Security in Cairo on charges of plotting to overthrow President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. Indian Food Minister Jagjivan Ram was hit on the head by angry crowds throwing stones at an election meeting in Gujerat. Mr. Harold Wilson, British Prime Minister, and a majority of government colleagues have recommended the entry of Britain to the ECM while a minority of the cabinet disagrees and both sides came into sharp conflict as the campaigning entered its final phase for next week's referendum.

TUESDAY, JUNE 3: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, speaking at a public rally at Ambalangoda asked Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, to stay away from the NSA for the next two years because there was no meaning in returning to the Parliament which he claimed was illegal—CDN. US Senator, Vance Hartke, speaking in the Senate on May 22, Republic Day of Sri Lanka, said that the country

has maintained an enviable record among developing countries by retaining her democratic institutions intact—CDN. A team led by the Vice Chancellor of the University, Mr. L. H. Sumanadasa, probing into certain incidents of alleged severe ragging at the Peradeniya Campus had found definite evidence of ragging: three student leaders of the Vidyalankara Campus of the University have been suspended indefinitely for allegedly insulting the President of the Campus—CDN. According to the Indian weekly *The Blitz* Sri Lanka was the next target for attack by the CIA of America—CDM. Ten more Tamil youths remanded for political reasons were released on Friday—VK. The ceiling on the value of bona fide gifts have been raised with immediate effect from Rs. 250 to Rs. 600: such gifts are exempted from import licences—TOC. The Ministry of Agriculture has decided to make use of Production Committee to purchase paddy in areas where purchases by co-operatives are unsatisfactory—CDM. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP speaking at a meeting at Havelock Town said that to attain power the UNP had to struggle very hard and as a first step in these struggles an army must be formed to fight the present Government—JD. Japan's former Prime Minister, Eisaku Sato, died yesterday at the age of 74. Thirteen people died and several others were injured when Rhodesian Police fired on African rioters. President Idi Amin of Uganda has signed a land reform decree nationalising all land in the Republic. The Arab League Secretariat stated that Arab countries are divided on whether to hold the planned Arab summit conference as scheduled in Momadishu, Somalia on June 28.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4: The Police yesterday informed the Vice Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka, Mr. L. H. Sumanadasa, that yet another student of the Peradeniya Campus had been admitted to the Kandy Hospital with head injuries: according to information incidents of ragging continued at the Campus: the President of the Campus in a statement to the press said that he had already taken a number of steps to eradicate ragging once and for all—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, making a statement in the NSA yesterday said on the figures of withdrawals and other material available to her she had come to the conclusion that there had been no misuse of PL 480 Funds by the American Embassy—CDN & CDM. The Premier yesterday tabled in the NSA a statement on the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Kingston Jamaica and her visits to Iraq and Guyana—CDN. The Government Parliamentary Group's proposal to amend the constitution to prevent the MPS who resign from the NSA from recontesting at a by-election will go before the Cabinet for discussion—CDN. The Minister of Transport, Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, yesterday told in the NSA that Mr. Sam Silva, former Chairman of Air Ceylon submitted his resignation before he left for Paris and the resignation took effect while Mr. Silva was in Paris—CDM. Difference of opinion and a rift among the high officials in the Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation has resulted in the appointment of a committee headed by a Cabinet Minister to probe the matter and arrive at an amicable settlement—LD. The Colombo Tankers Ltd., a subsidiary of the Ceylon Shipping Corporation, will sign an agreement today with a leading shipping firm in Singapore in the matter of repairs to vessels belonging to the Corporation—JD. US Secretary of

State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, said that summit talks between President Ford and Anwar Sadat had been positive and constructive and should lead to serious talks between the US and Israel. Ten of the 20 member states called for a postponement of the Arab summit conference due to be held in Magadishu, Somalia. A Pakistani ship left for Laida with a cargo of cotton, marking the resumption of trade between the two countries after a 11-year break.

THURSDAY, JUNE 5: The Government yesterday replaced the President of the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka, Professor George Kodituwakku, by Professor P. W. Vithanage: following discussions with high officials of the Ministry of Education, the Cabinet decided to move the Police into the Campus where student ragging which had got out of control has been causing the authorities much anxiety during the last few weeks—CDN. The Finance Ministers of Sri Lanka, India and Bangladesh who met in New Delhi decided to ask for an extension of the International Monetary Fund's special oil facility beyond 1976: they also decided to press for more money from the Oil Fund to be given to the developing countries on more liberal terms than last year—CDM. A prominent member of the UNP, Mr. J. P. Suriyapperuma, was expelled from the party at the Working Committee meeting of the party held yesterday—CDM. Following representations made by the MPs of Eastern Province, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, ordered the immediate stoppage of all archaeological research work in Fort Fredrick at Trincomalee where the Koneswarar temple, a famous Hindu shrine, is situated—VK. According to the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands over 5000 cases are pending before Agricultural courts established in all the 22 districts of the island—JD. The Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation decided to take stern action against a section of trade union officials who are trying to bring a rift in the union by introducing leftist union into the main union—LD. Student leaders of the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka who met the Director General of Education, and Secretary to the Ministry of Education Dr. Premadasa Udagama, had requested him to investigate certain matters where they claim that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, was in the Peradeniya Campus premises during the height of the ragging incidents—JD. Israel Defence Minister, Shimon Peres said that Israel completed thinning out its forces facing the Suez Canal. President Ford who returned from a European tour appeared to be satisfied and looked confident of the future of the North Atlantic Alliance and of progress towards settlement in the Middle East.

FRIDAY, JUNE 6: Seven Police squads moved into the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka yesterday morning while students boycotted lectures in the morning, and in the evening held a meeting and demanded the immediate removal of Police from the Campus and the re-employment of the former President of the Campus, Professor Kodituwakku, as President of the Peradeniya Campus: the students also decided not to extend co-operation to the new President—CDN. According to SLFP Ministerial sources, if the LSSP failed to field a candidate against Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, at the forthcoming Colombo South by-election, the SLFP will consider fielding a candidate against Mr. Jayewardene—CDN. Addressing

the UNP electoral organisers Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, said that he had at no stage promised to ensure that a general election would be held this year: he said he had only said that he would try his best to see that elections were held this year—CDM. At a press conference held yesterday Mr. Anil Moonesinghe, Chairman of the CTB, said though the Board expected a profit of 1.7 million per day in 1975 it is now earning a profit of 1.8 million per day—LD. According to high officials in the banking sector the American Embassy in Sri Lanka has no authority to transfer the monies of the PL 480 Fund to its credit from the rupee account in the Central Bank to any other private banks though it has now transferred nearly Rs. 1 million from the Central Bank to the National and Grindlays Bank: from January 1969 to May 1970 the American Embassy had withdrawn a sum of Rs. 33,668,149.96 from the Central Bank—JD. From yesterday the Ministry of Local Government, Home Affairs and Justice decided to change the present system of effecting promotions to Government servants: according to the new system no interviews will be held but the activities of employees will be watched closely for a long time and individual efficiency and the responsibility towards the post he holds will be taken into account in considering promotions—VK. President Anwar Sadat reopened the Suez Canal—closed by war eight years ago—in a colourful ceremony and signed a document transferring control of the waterway from the military to civilian authorities. Israel announced that the first attempt to send Israeli bound cargoes through the Suez Canal will be made before the weekend.

CAMPUS RAGGING

IS IT NOT STRANGE that the *Daily News* should be carrying on a camouflaged campaign to save the hooligans who have degraded the Peradeniya campus by ragging under pseudo-political slogans? That all discerning persons can easily detect the *Daily News* game of seeking to raise a smokescreen that "reactionary elements" were responsible for the hue and cry about ragging? That an attempt is also being made to make people believe that the leaders of the students in the Peradeniya were angels because they pretended to hold aloft the UF banner? That this campaign has brought disrepute to the *Daily News*? That thinking people wonder why the *Daily News* has not condemned the student ragging at Peradeniya? That the attempt to hide the enormities and perversities under the cloak of legalist quibbles will soon land the *Daily News* into a mess even in UF circles? The question is being asked whether the *Daily News* subscribes to the view that a revolution can be carried out in Sri Lanka through permissive and vulgar sex—after *ultras* had failed to stage an insurrection with shotguns and crowbars? That it is time that the Government made searching inquiries into the political imperatives that seem to shape the slanting of news in the columns of the *Daily News*? That the *Ada* and the *Aththa* have been crying themselves hoarse for an investigation on these lines? That unless something is done by those responsible for the *Daily News* about this, there will be a public outcry against some of the Lake House publications much greater than the protests which had confronted the Wijewardenas?

SOME ASPECTS OF

The History Of Archaeology In Sri Lanka

by James T. Rutnam

TEXT OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. JAMES T. RUTNAM, PRESIDENT OF THE JAFFNA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, AT THE RAMANATHAN HALL OF THE JAFFNA CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SRI LANKA, THIRUNELVELY, JAFFNA, ON 9 NOVEMBER 1974.

I fully appreciate the honour that the Jaffna Archaeological Society has conferred upon me by electing me President of this honourable and learned Society. I am conscious of my own limitations in so wide a field as the one in which we are engaged, but I yield to none in the interest, devotion and enthusiasm I have evinced in this and related subjects for well-nigh half a century. I am also conscious of the fact that this is a historic occasion, for I have been given the privilege to deliver the first public address at the Jaffna Campus of the University of Sri Lanka at the Ramanathan Hall, dedicated to the memory of a great patriot, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan. I am reminded, as I speak, of the historic moments following the dark days in Sri Lanka in 1915 when Ramanathan reached the pinnacle of fame in this country such as no other Ceylonese had ever reached before or since, and when as the large painting which you see hanging in this Hall testifies, he was dragged in his carriage by his adoring countrymen like a Roman Conqueror returning with the spoils of war.

Apart from the artist who had captured for us that glorious hour, the poet too has left for posterity these memorable lines:

*Not horses but relays of men
Draw his carriage through the
streets.*

*A halt is made; he leaves his seat,
Now see him stand
Above the crowd*

*A new-enfranchised country's choice
And now he speaks; be proud
To tell in ages hence you heard
that voice. (1)*

I have heard that voice many times, but, not on that occasion; for I was only a lad of ten years then. I remember however the echoes that were heard in my home and in every home throughout the land.

Time moves on. The fascinating study of the material remains of man's past, known to us as archaeology has also progressed. We have now arrived at a stage when it is possible to speak on the history of Archaeology. This serves to confirm the truism which I venture to state: Whatever studies one pursues, one finally gravitates to the study of History. The Father of History was Herodotus, and he has also been described as the Father of Anthropology and Archaeology. Archaeology has thus engaged the interest and attention of people from classical times. Like most sciences Archaeology too began with curiosity on the part of man. Interest in antiquities, both for possession and study, had manifested itself in the course of time, and this interest had taken a turn towards formal historical antiquarianism as distinct from dilettantism.

The advance of natural science at the close of the eighteenth century was a turning point in the history of all disciplines. Archaeology was able to burst its boundaries and engage in the study of prehistoric man even without assistance from contemporary written sources. Geology and Physical Anthropology became its indispensable aids, and a section of Archaeology described as Prehistoric Archaeology took shape. Gone were the days of Archbishop Usher(2) who claimed that man was created in 4004 B.C., and of Bishop Lightfoot who went one better than His Grace, when with a misplaced zeal for exactitude he asserted that the Creation occurred at 9 am on 23 October 4004 B.C. (3).

Today Archaeology has become a popular subject. It has attracted both trained and untrained minds. The potential danger arising from mishandling of material by the latter could, however, be averted

in a socialist State like ours, without in any way dampening the public interest, with proper guidance, supervision and assistance being made available to bona-fide researchers by the State and the University Campuses.

It is not my intention in this discourse to dwell solely or at length on the historical narrative, for in that case I feel I shall be obliged to repeat the accounts given by such able and learned scholars as D. T. Devendra, Saddamangala Karunaratna, R. H. de Silva and C. E. Godakumbura, all officials of the Archaeological Department of Sri Lanka.

In 1959 D. T. Devendra(3a) contributed an article under the caption *Seventy Years of Ceylon Archaeology* to a journal of the Institute of Fine Arts of the New York University entitled *Artibus Asiae* published in Ascona, Switzerland. (4) Devendra had dated the commencement of Ceylon Archaeology from the appointment of Harry Charles Purvis Bell as Archaeological Commissioner in February 1890. He followed up this article in 1969 with a small booklet entitled *The Story of Ceylon Archaeology*, where he traced the beginnings of his story to 1868 when an "Archaeological Commissioner was appointed to consider practical measures to be taken to conserve ancient architectural structures and other works of art." This booklet was published by the Archaeological Society of Ceylon, Colombo which Devendra as its Vice-President from its inception had fondly nourished and supported until his untimely death.

Saddamangala Karunaratne(4a) had earlier in 1956 published a *History of Archaeology in Ceylon* in Sinhalese. The need for a History of Archaeology in Tamil is now strongly felt and I trust one will be forthcoming soon. Karunaratna's book was followed by a short article on the same subject that was contributed by him to the Fifteenth Anniversary Souvenir of the Engineering Association of Ceylon, Colombo, issued in 1957. In 1969 R. H. de Silva (4b) traced "the history of antiquarian studies in Ceylon and the development of archaeological work ever since the importance of safeguarding the cultural heritage of this Island was appreciated by the British colonial Government in

the nineteenth century." His contribution consisted of a long chapter in Volume 3 of the three-volume centenary work of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs issued that year. In this chapter de Silva begins with a description of a discovery by Lt. M. H. Fagan in 1818 (5) of the ruins of Polonnaruwa, the famous capital of Parakrama Bahu the Great (1153-1186) and which was also for some years in the eleventh century the provincial capital in Sri Lanka of the Chola Empire. This city was entombed for as long as half a millennium, and the Portuguese and Dutch were never aware of its importance.

C. E. Godakumbura (5a) chose the *History of Archaeology in Ceylon* as the subject of his Presidential Address to the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he delivered on 29 November 1968. Godakumbura's other contributions of a like nature were published in *Ceylon Today*, the journal of the Ceylon Government Information Department. In the same issue of that journal for October 1965 Godakumbura gave a summary of the work done until then on the pre-history of Ceylon. (6) In 1967 *Ceylon Today* carried a series of three articles by Godakumbura on the Archaeology of Ceylon's Northern Peninsula. (7) Referring to the work begun in Jaffna on 24 April 1966, the author wrote that it was "the first time an organised archaeological excavation was being carried out in the North of Ceylon". In 1968 in the November/December issue of *Ceylon Today* Godakumbura wrote on the history of Epigraphical Studies in Ceylon. (8) To these studies on the history of archaeology in Sri Lanka we have to add two articles written by anonymous authors "A Special Correspondent" and "E.R." that appeared in the *Times of Ceylon* on 25 and 27 September 1956 respectively, one on the *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* and the other a *Profile on Dr. S. Paranavitana* on Paranavitana's retirement from the office of Archaeological Commissioner.

The Administration Reports of Archaeological Commissioners had dwelt at length and in detail on the work done and the discoveries made from time to time and these have been relied upon by the authors mentioned above. One further item needs inclusion here. It is the

documented account of the history of the archaeology of the North Central Province given in R. W. Levers's *Manual of the North Central Province Ceylon*. (9)

This catalogue of publications on the history of archaeology in Sri Lanka is, I venture to say, fairly complete. I propose to confine myself to some remarks arising from a study of the progress and development of archaeological work in Sri Lanka.

First and foremost it must be understood that we use the term Archaeology to embrace a considerable number of subsidiary or related studies and aids. Amongst these Epigraphy is foremost. Then there are also Numismatics, Architecture, Chemistry, Geology, Palaeontology, Anthropology, Ethnology, Ethnography, Sociology, Photogrammetry, Linguistics, Dendrochronology, and Carbon Radioactivity. In its restricted sense Archaeology would mean only exploration, excavation—in short digging up the past.

It is impossible in this inter-related world to confine knowledge into water-tight compartments. This is especially the case with Archaeology. This explains why today in the Government Department of Archaeology in Sri Lanka, we have a team of competent archaeologists, who are additionally and especially qualified in chemistry, epigraphy, architecture, oriental languages and excavation.

Archaeology, as we know it now, is a modern science. During the colonial times those in charge of this work were mostly members of the Administrative Service, then known as the Ceylon Civil Service. The Civil Servants were the all-knowing ones, the closest approach at the time among us mortals to *Bon Dieu*, the Omniscient One, if I may say so with the utmost reverence. We had Civil Servants who became Governors and Supreme Court Judges in this country. We had others of this fraternity who contented themselves with being Food Controllers and Marketing Commissioners. In this same tribe we had several archaeological officials the first of them being Harry Charles Purvis Bell who was translated (no doubt to his own liking) from the eminence of being District Judge of Kegalle to clearing the jungles in Anuradhapura and Polon-

naruva and digging into the bowels of the earth.

You will note that Bell was an amateur as far as Archaeology was concerned. But amateurs, that is those not professionally or academically trained, have done well in archaeological or related work all over the world not excluding Sri Lanka. In this connection Devendra has listed the following Sri Lanka names in this order: Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Ananda Coomaraswamy, C. Rasanayagam, Paul E. Pieris, C. H. Collins, P. E. P. Deraniyagala, R. L. Brohier, C. W. Nicholas, A. Nell and D. P. E. Hettiarachchi. Devendra says that the list is not complete.

A. M. Hocart (9a) who was at one time Archaeological Commissioner was specially qualified in Ethnology and had been a member of the Rivers Expedition to the Solomon Islands. A. H. Longhurst, a brother-in-law of the great John Marshal of Indian Archaeology, was himself Superintendent of the Southern Circle of the Indian Archaeological Survey before he came to Ceylon. P. C. Sestieri, a famous classical archaeologist was sent by UNESCO to work and train students in Sri Lanka.

Sir William Henry Gregory, the Governor of Ceylon in the 1870s, whose statue stands in front of the Colombo Museum, was responsible for engaging Paul Goldschmidt (10) in 1875 to copy and decipher our inscriptions. He died at the age of 27 years in Galle on 7 May 1877 of malaria contracted in the jungles of our land. E. Muller who succeeded him was an epigraphist. He published his most interesting work *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon* in two volumes in London in 1883.

A. O. Brodie, W. A. S. Boake, R. W. Levers, S. M. Burrows, Joseph Pearson, Henry Parker, John Still and T. W. Rhys Davids came from the Ceylon Public Services and had shown enthusiasm in their work which they performed more often as an avocation.

The only official of the early period who was a qualified Archaeologist met unfortunately with a tragic fate. He was Edward R. Ayrton who was accidentally drowned in the Tissaveva in Tissamaharama on 18 May 1914 within a year of his appointment. He was a young Egyptologist who worked

under Flinders Petrie, and was in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes when he decided to come to Ceylon. Had he continued to work in Egypt he would have at least had a share of honour in the glorious discovery of the treasures of Tutankhamen by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter in November 1922. We may well speculate with Devendra, whether it was the curse of the Pharaohs that pursued Ayrton to this distant land and finally overtook him.

It is interesting to note here that the world famous Sir Austen Henry Layard who discovered Nimrud and recovered at Nineveh a great library of cuneiform tablets was a son of a Ceylon Civil Servant, Harry Peter John Layard, who was sent to Ceylon along with his brother Charles by their father the Dean of Bristol sometime after the British took over the Maritime Provinces of Sri Lanka (10a) The Layard family was well represented in the administrative and Judicial services of this country. Even today we are reminded of the family when we come across Layard's Broadway, Layard's Road and Layard's Folly, the last sobriquet reserved by critics to ridicule the construction of the Wellawatte Canal.

(To be concluded)

This address appears in the Felicitation Volume offered to Mr. Rutnam on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of his birthday on 13 June 1975 by the Jaffna Archaeological Society and scholars from the Campuses of the University of Sri Lanka.

NOTES

- (1) A. C. Seneviratne *Ceylon Daily News* following Ramanathan's death in November 1930;
- (2) James Ussher (1581-1656) Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, whose chronology was later inserted in the margins of the Authorised Version of the Bible; See Vergilius Ferm *An Encyclopaedia of Religion* New York 1945, p.807;
- (3) Joseph Lightfoot (1828-1889), Bishop of Durham; See Glyn E. Daniel *A Hundred Years of Archaeology*, London 1952, p.27;
- (3a) (1902-1972) Former Assistant Archaeological Commissioner, See JCBRAS Vol. XVI NS 1972 pp. 38-39;
- (4) Vol. XXII November 1954 Alfred Salmony *Commemoration Number*, pp. 23-47;
- (5) See *Supplement to the Ceylon Government Gazette*, 1 August 1820; *The Orientalist*

Vol. 2 pp. 84 ff. Fagan discovered these ruins on 27 June 1820. On an earlier occasion in October 1817 another Officer travelling from Bintenna to Minery is reported to have encountered some of these ruins; (5a) Former Archaeological Commissioner; See JCBRAS Vol. XIII NS 1969 pp. 1-38; The reference (fn. * p. 13) in that article to the photographer of the 1870 should be to A. Layton, an Englishman and not to S. K. Lawton a Ceylonese photographer at Kandy during this period. The error was due to me and is much regretted; (6) pp. 19 to 25; (7) January 1967 pp. 3 to 10; September 1967 pp. 10 to 15; November 1967 pp. 11 to 16; (8) pp. 12 to 18; Here Godakumbura dwelt entirely with the inter-linear inscriptions of Paranavitana describing them as "a new field of discovery" of "immense philological and historical interest." See fn. 27 *infra*; (9) Colombo 1899, Chapter XV, pp. 211 to 242; (9a) (1883 to 1939), Archaeological Commissioner 1921 to 1930; (10) See K. Indrapala, "Paul Goldschmidt, Sri Lanka's First Archaeological Commissioner" *Purvakala*, Jaffna 1973, 13 to 15; also J. P. Lewis *Tombstones and Monuments*, Colombo 1913 pp. 197, 198; (10a) J. P. Lewis, *op.cit.* p. 25.

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—36

Paranthesis (With Sparrows)

By Herbert Keuneman

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS, in the Vanni, insofar as the problems of personnel (the psychological problems) are concerned, may differ little from those faced by more urban householders, save in intensity; the rapacity and amorality of the staff in Co-operatives—it is, I sincerely judge amorality rather than immorality; peculation is not looked upon so much as stealing as it is looked upon as an on-the-ball acceptance of an opportunity to do oneself a bit of good which it would be quixotic, not to say weak-minded! to pass up—is prevalent in Colombo, and only more prevalent in the Vanni because the generally more submissive and credulous villager is easier to cheat than the hard-bitten city squatter or the sophisticated urban housewife; similarly, town domestics offer personality problems, though the problems are not compounded by qu-

ite the same degree of persistence in traditional values and priorities and proprieties! To complicate my own case further, my 'domestics' are, more, members of the family.' Anyway, I would like them to be.

But I have a special Vanni problem of whose extent and urgency the town housekeeper can have no conception. Life here is one long unending and, mostly, losing war waged against wild life! Observe I speak as a householder; not as a farmer, when I could enlarge the list considerably in either sense. My battles are with wild life in its most minor forms: to list them in ascending order of physical magnitude, white-ants; potter wasps; cockroaches; tree frogs; house sparrows; squirrels; *tala-goyas* and rat snakes. The Colombo housewife who fights an occasional skirmish and wins it with the aid of modern weaponry, defeating ants and houseflies with a Flitgun, may smile. She would smile less if white-ants suddenly began to appear out of what may have seemed for years a completely sterile wall and ruined a shelf of books in a night; if potter wasps began to build their ingenious damnable nests full of grubs on furniture, books, pictures, upholstery, curtains, clothes...and removal left, at best, and indelible muddy stain; if cockroaches, of a strain that thrive on the fiercest insecticides, stank up every drawer and cupboard; if tree frogs (strangely enough, during the rains) squatted in every cup or jug that hung from a hook, and habitually hid in kettle-spouts....

But the least laughing matter are sparrows and squirrels! and it makes it no easier to deal with them that they are so loveable in themselves.

WHEN I BUILT THIS HOUSE, with half of it only half-walled and the openings protectible by bamboo tats lined with jute to keep off the rain, congratulating myself on the cheapness and practicality and airiness—you could roll the tats up, of course—and attractiveness of the whole thing, I did not dream that what I had spent so much upon would be reduced to uselessness by squirrels in a matter of two years. Nonetheless, that is what has happened. Jute, evidently, is the prime medium for building squirrels' nests;

and the Vanni squirrels—I don't know whether they are as philo-progenitive elsewhere—nests like nobody's business. For months I tried spraying or dusting the jute with various substances I hoped would keep the squirrels off (kerosene, DDT, even rather unwillingly Racumin which is a highly effective rodenticide) but nothing worked. For several months more I patiently patched; and then, when the jute hung so ragged that patching was impracticable, I stitched back what was left of it to the bamboo strips. But by early this year there was not enough remaining—of nearly 400 sq. ft.—to do even that; and to save the house from its tattered-demolition look for the national New Year's Day I finally stripped off the surviving shreds and cast them to the squirrels.

Now the rain sprays through; the sun stream through, its glare only barely diminished; and the wind, which blows from the south west with great force from May through September, pours into the house as though no rats were there.

When, therefore, a few days ago I found the squirrels attempting to quarry building material from my *beacule* rugs, I set rat-traps for them and took four in a morning. The squirrel menace has temporarily ceased. But I am far from happy about it. I don't know why it seems so much more brutal to trap a squirrel than a rat; but it does, and I hate it.

Yet, someday I shall have to take equally positive action against the sparrows. And the sparrows are even more lovable—just as, believe it or not, they are even more costlily destructive—than squirrels.

I am probably—by sheer association with the little pests—the world's most familiar-with-House-Sparrows person; if I were more observant and more systematic I could probably write the definitive book on them! Hundreds of sparrows (*Passer domesticus*; there, now! you see I know what I'm talking about!) nest in my roof. I mean literally hundreds. Every thatched roof in the village, but there are not very many, has a colony settled in it. But my house, being out in the boon-docks instead of the frequented *gammandiya*, and the roof being unwontedly high and thus a safer refuge, pullulates with them. At sunset there is repeated 'whoo-oo-oosh!' and a flight

of perhaps a hundred will land and simply vanish under the cadjans so that no trace remains of them but the noise; for a constant bickering, exaggerated as each new flight arrives, goes on until nightfall. Then there is silence until dawn, when a chirruping arises that I have not yet learnt to sleep through.

WITH SO MUCH OPEN SPACE to forage in, you might think the house would be left alone during the daytime. But at any given moment there are at least a dozen sparrows indoors perched on beams and wall ledges or hopping about the floor, picking goodness knows what to eat out of the carpet or sometimes trying valiantly (though—heaven be praised—as yet unsuccessfully) to unravel the carpet itself for nest building. For the sparrows is even more uxorious than the squirrel and seems, year round, to do nothing in his off time than flirt, canoodle, contend, mate and nest-build. Oh! those nests. Large enough sometimes to house, one might imagine, a bally turkey; and how infinitely untidy! All day the house is in a mess under a continuous rain of bits of grass and straw (and bird droppings).

If grass and straw were all, I could put up with the bird droppings, even though they mean going over the furniture with a damp rag every time a visitor is expected. But I am bitterly riled when it comes to shreds of cadjan torn from my roof. That is the real destruction I fear from these pestiferous fowl! The cadjans are bound to the laths that support them with strips of green coconut frond which soon wither to the dryness of the cadjans themselves. They are, however, much more accessible to the sparrows, not being interlaced. One by one, as they dry out and the sparrows' mating madness increases, these ties are ripped into threads and carried off in triumph to the nesting site while the broken pieces drift like a brown snowfall onto everything and every-one below. Then comes the south west, and the wind huffs and puffs the cadjans about for five months until the optimum overleap is obliterated; and then comes the north east and the rain just pours through. This is my one bright thought during a drought. (The life of a well laid cadjan roof in this region should be three—or, at the worst, not less than two

years, but I have had to replace my roof, at a cost not far short of a thousand rupees a time, every year since I have had my house). A rain of old nesting-stuff and bird-droppings is bad enough. But when the nests are in active use there is still less welcome debris. *Talagoyas* manage to scale the rough walls to raid the nests—rat snakes, God be praised! cannot do that; but even they attain the roof on occasion if anybody has been so misguided as to leave a ladder or some such thing leaning against the eaves—and then the rain becomes positively gruesome and includes dislodged addled eggs and half-eaten fledglings and, just on occasion, but often enough to keep one's imagination lively, the *talagoyas* or rat snakes themselves

Cricket

IS IT NOT TRUE that a group of Tamil communalists and jingoists in London had carried black flags into the cricket grounds where the Sri Lanka team was playing its Test matches to protest against the fact that deserving Tamil cricketers in Ceylon had been excluded from the team? That selectors in Colombo insist that they chose the team on the merits of the players concerned? That if selection was really done on merit then it is something alien to the Sri Lanka of today? That, today, all selections to every conceivable team or job is not on merit? That they are made on MPs letters, or on a communal quota, or an electoral basis? That merit plays no part in the selection of even technical staff? That the Minister's secret list weighs more heavily than the qualifications of the persons concerned? That such being the state of Sri Lanka, should not our cricket and other teams be also chosen in the customary way on a quota basis or the basis of MPs letters? That if this were done there could be no complaints? That the only way of containing the Tamil jingoists is to select the team on a communal proportional basis? That this will be in keeping with the true state of Sri Lanka today?

when they overestimate their reach! Actually I have never yet had a fall of rat snale. That may-be because there is always enough of snake to maintain a grip however long the stretch; or merely because rat snakes are most uncommo visitors (I have only had them twice). But not even the possibility is exactly comfortable.

How do I get rid of these wretched birds? And is getting rid of them altogether wise? One of the less remembered incidents of the early Chinese revolution was their war against their sparrows. Some economist had calculated the toll they took of crops, though not of any good those same crops might derive from them, and taking it—as usual—for granted that man outweighed all other forms of life the Thinkers appointed a day for Sparrow Slaughter. It was typically well organized. The idea was to enlist every able-bodied citizen from dawn to dusk in driving the sparrows from any spot where they strove to land, and then beating them to death when they fell to the ground exhausted; and the idea was ideally (besides ideologically) put into effect. In that single day almost the entire Chinese sparrow population was wiped out. But—I think this is right—the following harvest was woefully depleted also: by the insect pests the sparrows were no longer there to destroy. I don't want to exchange a plague of sparrows for a plague of cock-roaches, even if the latter might come cheaper.

THE FACT IS, when I can stop thinking about my roof I find the little bandits entrancing. I have never been able to make friends with any of them yet—I haven't really tried to—and they don't eat out of my hand; but they regard me, I believe, as a sort of piece of furniture and disregard me: just now there were two of them pecking about for the mysterious provender they gather from my rugs tight under the chair on which I sit typing this. I am careful never to startle them by a sudden movement when they are near by; and in return they treat me as though I were not there, carrying on their courtships, fighting their furious battles, building their unsightly nests, heaving their young out it may be directly over my head when it is time for them to learn to fly.

They themselves are nowhere near as self-effacing; indeed, they must be amongst the most belligerent of living things after Siamese fighting fish! They fight with a fury, and a kind of desperate doggedness, that I, for one, find quite monstrous: as though professional wrestlers were suddenly so far to forget themselves as fight to win. I have seen them, time and again, fall with a thud to the floor from the ridge plate 14 ft. above locked in their characteristic grip, pioned by each other's pinions open beak in open beak, pause still so locked for a stunned space and then fight on, round after round, resting when they must but never letting go until sheer exhaustion overtakes the loser. Sometimes the winner returns to the attack, seeking out his opponent from whatever perch he has fluttered, to and the defeated one seldom seeks by flight to avoid this fresh encounter. I timed one (unrenewed) battle: it lasted 3 minutes and 50 seconds! Their spirit may be admirable. But in their eyes—you can see it—is a concentration of hate that is genuinely appalling.

Nothing demonstrates their pugnacity and combativeness better than their reaction to a mirror. I have to keep my large mirrors shrouded in sheets that they should not be daubed with slime from their poor snotty little beaks made sore with pecking at their reflections. (Every motorist will have observed the same thing who keeps his hub caps polished). Shaving mirrors I used to turn to the wall. But what I had not realized was that what seems a certain primitive, if fallacious, power of reasoning resides in those bird brains. Three shaving mirrors I have lost to my sparrows; two because they apparently argued that a real rival lived within the glass, and, when I had turned them glass inward, kept attacking the paper-covered backs, seeking their armoured enemy, until they had knocked the mirrors off their shelves or hopelessly damaged the silvering.

The first shaving mirror I lost was a very superior one, a magnifying mirror. The sparrows pecked it till it fell out of its frame, in no way daunted that the rival they challenged was one-and-a-half-times or twice their size.

What chance does a roof stand against a hundred or two such warriors!

KAZI—II

In Rajangane Area—(iv)

By ANATORY BUKOBA

April 5.

MY FRIEND in the Rajangane area had been alone two days when he was taken ill with malaria. It placed him in a spot, but as events showed, he was equal to it. Some of his tools, farm implements, were deposited at a neighbour's. He said he buried the rest. The food disappeared while he was away, but nothing else was lost. His neighbour told me that my friend was taken ill at night, and the two went off to the hospital, a sixty cents bus-ride away, and, fortunately, there was a bus at 11 p.m. a bus that was late from Colombo; and the neighbour, himself spent most of the two days, that the patient was away, at the patient's house to keep guard there. There were also the crops. These had to face the possibility of depredations by monkeys, but as it turned out, the monkeys were away. My friend had to borrow some money to get home, and some more money after he got back. Then no work, was done for more than a week except the watering. No rain fell but other areas had rain. I have given a local person's explanation of this in a previous Kazi article. In hospital, a postcard was sent off to my friend's patron, and, luckily, for the patron, this postcard did not reach him until two days before he was due back; for, knowing the situation, he could not but imagine the worst as regards the farm. He got back, after a fortnight's absence, to find nothing amiss, and our friend, in fact, looking fatter.

The *manioc* seems to be coming on very slowly. A neighbour's *manioc* has grown to a great height. The pumpkin or *wattaka* has taken root, and it is beginning to spread. The bed of capsicum or *malu miris* looks poorly, and none of it has been set out yet because of the dry

weather. The coupea does not look much bigger than it was when I last saw it. Something which may seem unpardonable took place. Our farmer friend was reduced to eating all his seed, both cowpea and gingelly. It is true he did not have much, and it can all be replaced.

He came in one day, he said, to find *rilau* monkeys in possession of the inside of the house, and they had pulled things about. I remember that the *rilau* has a reputation for being sly. There was a baby *rilau* at a bus stand once, running after everybody and frolicking with the dogs there, so tame it was. I have heard that they are not to be trusted when they grow bigger, that they bite. While I was there, it was the neighbour's turn to be ill, or, rather, his younger brother, to start off with, for he followed, suit. As I had the only torch, I went along to their house to lend my moral support, for I had precious little else, and I saw, by torchlight, that their vegetables, or subsidiary crops, were well away. It looked impressive. The older brother had gone away for some ice for the younger one's headache, and, by the time he got back, he was feeling ill himself. The father had been away all day, or for a few days but he was back before I left the house.

The question of someone joining my farmer-friend crops up from time to time, and people come along to have a look. There was such a man there on this visit. One big drawback is the coming Sinhalese New Year. It is a time when everybody wants to be home, in their villages, and those who are already here are unwilling to leave until it is all over. I can well understand this, for the Sinhalese New Year is a time for sporting New clothes, for eating *Ka-auns* and plantain, and for music with one's friends, and I cannot see anybody forgoing this for a period of austerity at this time. No, it is much easier to be at home. With prices as high as they are, there seems to be much money around. Two years ago, nobody would admit to having any money with them, to bring away from their homes, to invest in any work. I think most families must have had money hidden away. It may be that it is all being flushed into the open, now, to meet hard times. Anyway, we meet people now, who

say they have money in a bank, money which they are ready to pool with other on such a venture as farming. Whether this is really so, I shall have to wait to see. People seem to have a gift for making money. One sees wood-apple on sale now; yet the wood-apple is not ready. This fruit is being picked, I should think, unripe, for, like this it can be used in pickles. My farmer-friend said he was reduced to eating some himself, I think he cooked it. People open boutiques only to shut them down after a while, and others keep theirs open even when they have nothing, it seems, to sell. Any farmer has to live by selling his crops, but our farmer, or the more enterprising of them, will combine what is often the little farming they do, little because of the weather, with business that is rather more than an English farmer would undertake.

There is no gainsaying the fact that our people, especially our farmers, have not lost the art of living, they work to live whereas the European, that we have got fit for his work. This means that his the recreation that this kind of European takes is only to keep him used to, often lives to work. Even recreation has to be well organized; parties, or games, and so forth. It is not so with our people and, I think ours is the healthier attitude. I sometimes wonder if socialism was not invented to make people work harder. It was certainly invented to enable people to work harder, to take over where the capitalist system lays off; and I have just noticed that I have written, or invented a pun, for that it exactly, what happens. Socialism, I think, may be said to have started with trade unions, one of whose chief functions was to see that workers were not laid off, and in a certain sense, quite rightly, too. However, socialism, or the trade unions, adopted the wrong means. To have adopted the right means would have meant changing society and our whole economic system, something too big to even visualize and it took the line of least resistance, and so saddled us with communism and its derivative.

LETTERS

● Removal of Ministers ● Campus Ragging

Sir,

The rider *Serendib* has set in your issue of 24 May 1975 is not as unsolvable as would appear to be the case. Admittedly unique in several respects is Dr. Colvin's constitutional theorem as against its immediate predecessor, the latter being a Soulburized modification of the draft drawn up by the then Board of Ministers.

Prime Minister and Cabinet are terms of very rare occurrence in British Constitutional Law. It would however be noticed that they find frequent repetition in Lanka's present Constitution. It would also be noticed that several constitutional practices and devices which continue to operate in U.K. without any kind of legal enforceability have found express enactment and incorporation in our Republican Constitution.

According to the Constitution the appointing authority in respect of both Prime Minister and other Ministers is the President. He alone may therefore revoke the order of appointment there being no superior authority to countermand or vary his order. Conventionally the mere indication of the P.M.'s will to be relieved of the services of any particular Minister should ordinarily be sufficient for the latter to tender his resignation to the President with due notice to the P.M. But if the unwanted Minister still clings limpet-like to his portfolio in the face of such indication or refuses to quit when a firmer indication has been administered, the only constitutional remedy would be for the P.M. to advise the President to exercise his authority in terms of section 96 (a). It should be noted that the President may not decline to act as thus advised. Vide section 27 (1).

For a P.M. with an assured majority in the House there is yet another expedient if section 96 does not appear to be sufficiently conclusive or categorical. He may himself resign resulting in the dissolution of the Cabinet

which could then be reconstituted on receipt of summons from the President to form a fresh government or administration. Vide section 98 (1). Under section 92 (2) the President is obliged to summon for appointment the member who, in his opinion, is most likely to command the confidence of the National State Assembly.

The real snag, Sir, appears to be as to the manner in which the P.M. may be relieved of his services by the President. The latter it should be noted is himself at once the nominee and appointee of the P.M. to the Office of President, and the P.M., it should not be overlooked, is himself appointed by the President. There is provision for the removal of the President: there is apparently no such provision for the removal of the P.M. by the appointing authority, the President. The poser raised is as to how the latter is to exercise this particular prerogative of his as Head of State when the need arises for such action. Could he arbitrarily revoke letters patent appointing someone P.M.? The answer may be found in section 96 (a) only if the term "Minister" is inclusive also of the Prime Minister. There being no interpretative sections in the Constitution to ensure certainty of application and the Office of P.M. being altogether unique, the answer would appear to be in the negative.

E. Seemanpillai

Chenkaladi,
2, June, 1975.

Sir,

The goings on at the Peradeniya Campus and the number of students admitted to the Hospital have come as a rude shock to parents and patriotic citizens of this our island home which had enjoyed a world reputation as a cultured country. What is wrong with our youth? Do we send our children for higher education or are they being admitted to our portals of clearing to be initiated into the facts of life or undergo sex orgies of the most despicable and depraved type?

It is significant that the Professor and the University administrative officers are helpless and seem to be at the mercy of street urchins who have found their way into

the Universities on the Minister's unique STANDARDIZATION FORMULA to the exclusion of more deserving scholars who would have utilised the opportunity to bring real credit to their motherland.

As long as this country is committed to a system of free University Education, I think every right thinking citizen would agree with the very wise suggestion made, that ragging should be totally banned from all schools and Universities. As it is from public funds these institutions are maintained they the public have a right to expect the undergraduates to behave themselves and show their prowess in the field of studies rather than in the despicable and bestial conduct into which the seniors are initiating the freshers. Will Government act at once and impose a total ban of ragging?

Magi A. Punnia Puvirajasinghe
Kuruchandra Inpan,
Mannar.
4.6.74

VIETNAM STORY

The Last Chapter

by Spartacus

THE AGREEMENT on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam reached at Paris in early 1973, was another brilliant achievement of the Vietnamese people in their long and arduous struggle against foreign imperialism. The Agreement and its protocols laid the foundations for the political settlement of the Vietnamese conflict on the basis of existing realities, after the US had learnt, to their cost, that the Vietnamese people could not be defeated however long they waged their dirty war and whatever the monstrosities of the deadly weapons they employed against them.

Through this Agreement and protocols, the Vietnamese people succeeded in getting the USA to admit that they will respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam (a thing they did not do even at Geneva

in 1954), not to intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, withdraw their troops, not introduce new military equipment etc. Clearly reflected in the Agreement and protocols was the actual state of things in S. Vietnam—the existence of two administrations, two armies and two zones controlled respectively by the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the puppet government of the so-called Republic of Vietnam, and of three political forces owing allegiance respectively to either of these or neither of them.

The two S. Vietnamese parties agreed to work for national reconciliation and concord, set up a Council for this purpose composed of three equal segments. Within 90 days of the ceasefire they were to arrive at an agreement on the internal matters in the South including the settlement of the question of the S. Vietnamese armed forces and this lay the base for the end of internal hostilities too in S. Vietnam. Under the Agreement the reunification of Vietnam itself was to be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of discussions between North and South Vietnam, the time for the reunification to be agreed upon by them.

SUCH WERE the main provisions of the Paris Agreement. They put an end to the US aggression in Vietnam and laid the base for the foundations for the building of a peaceful, independent, united and thriving Vietnam. The ceasefire and withdrawal of US troops from S. Vietnam created a new situation opening up favourable prospects for the development of democratic processes in the South, for progress along the path to peaceful construction, independence and neutrality, for the final settlement of the S. Vietnam problem. It also created the prerequisites for its reunification with the North without outside interference.

The end of the US war in Vietnam also meant the removal of one more source of international tension, the most dangerous one, which for years had poisoned the atmosphere in S. E. Asia and the world. It created the conditions for further development of US-Soviet relations, and thereby strengthened the foundations of universal peace. But, as is well known,

this Agreement and protocols that the USA and its allies were forced to sign after the failure of their military campaigns to bring the Vietnamese people to heel, did not find favour with the Thieu administration in Saigon. It was under US pressure that they were made to affix their signatures to the Agreement. And from the first, Thieu and his cronies began violating its provisions.

SOON AFTER THE SIGNATURE of the Agreement, Thieu, no doubt realising that its just implementation would mean the beginning of his end, started making speeches against the Agreement and accusing his US patrons of selling him down the river. He began placing all kinds of obstacles in the way of the International Commission of Control and Supervision. They would not even hear of any measures towards the achievement of national concord or of freeing political prisoners, was envisaged in the Protocols. Even the delegation that the PRG sent to Saigon to take part in the bilateral military commission was virtually placed under arrest. And violating the military clauses of the Agreement, they repeatedly sought to regain control of the liberated territories of S. Vietnam.

As even Gough Whitlam, the Australian Prime Minister, has conceded, it was the failure of the Thieu administration to fulfil the key clauses in the Paris Agreement that left the liberation forces of S. Vietnam no option but to resume military activities as the only means of giving effect to the provisions of the Agreement.

But it was not only the Thieu puppets that are to blame for the violation of its provisions. The US too must share the blame not only for permitting Thieu to break his pledged word, but also violating some of its provisions themselves. Thus, though US troops withdrew in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement, their military advisors did not. The latter remained in the South to advise and often direct the operations of the Thieu forces violating the military clauses of the Agreement. Again, the US violated the Agreement by introducing new military material to the South to help South Vietnamese troops. So what, in effect, took place was the 'Vietnamization' of the war, with the US supplying the arms

and for the Thieu administration to continue the war against the national liberation forces. Towards the last stages of the Thieu regime, this military aid reached massive proportions. But all the arms given to the South Vietnamese troops were abandoned to the victorious liberation armies that an American general exclaimed in disgust: "We might as well give them direct to the Vietcong without channelling them through Thieu"!

The Americans first began to get involved in the Vietnam war with six main objectives in view:—

(1) To fill the military 'vacuum' left in Vietnam by the French withdrawal; (2) To protect the interests of the SEATO Treaty powers in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and the 'free territory of the State of Vietnam'; (3) To prevent the implementation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 which would have resulted in the creation of a unified Vietnamese Government under Ho Chi minh;

(4) To contain the expansion of Communism at the 17th parallel; (5) To build up what they called a 'free society' in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; (6) To set up in these states stable political regimes on the Western model.

They never succeeded in accomplishing the last three objects in that list. But during the period between the Geneva Conference and the latest US debacle, they partially succeeded in achieving the first three. Now the recent events mean that they have failed in all six. What then did the US sacrifice the lives of 56,000 of their own citizens, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese lives and 150,000 million dollars for? A cartoon in an American paper recently showed President Ford congratulating an American GI as a true patriot for fighting for nothing in Vietnam!

NOW, THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, denied peace, have won it for themselves. The longest and blood-

TRAIN DERAILMENT

IT IS NOT A FACT THAT the *Daily News* on May 29, 1975 had published a report under the heading IRATE COMMUTERS STORM SM'S OFFICE? That the report had read:

Over 3000 stranded train commuters stormed the Panadura Station Master's office demanding alternative transport following the derailment of a goods wagon of a Galle bound train at Pinwatte yesterday evening. Traffic between Panadura and the south was at a standstill while the Railway breakdown service worked reverishly in an attempt to clear the line. Irate train commuters invaded the Station Master's Office and almost took charge of the telephone system giving frantic calls to the CGR in Colombo for alternative transport. The Station Master and other officials are reported to have taken refuge in the baggage office of the station. Yesterday, queues at the Panadura bus stand were nearly a mile long. The CTB diverted all its buses to transport stranded commuters to the south.

That if passengers in the North, under a similar situation, had stormed railway offices for much greater inconvenience and hardships caused to them, the newspapers and certain political pundits would have suggested that it was the work of subversive elements inspired by the Tamil communalists and separatists? That because of this political blackmail a great deal of the dissatisfaction and discontent, which must find honest outlets in protests, are now being bottled up and repressed? That sooner or later all this will be burst out and blow the lid which the Government is holding down with contingents of the army and police? That many discerning politicians in the UF have begun to recognise that an Ulster is in the making in the North? That whilst Northern Ireland had only the icy wastes of the North Pole to the north of it, the situation here is different? That the imperatives which are regarded as eternal by many jingoists in the South may have no validity a few years hence? That just as the USA has now awakened to the realities of the Vietnam many politicians in Sri Lanka must wake up to the realities they now ignore in regard to the Tamil minorities and the Northern areas—if they are not to be disappointed like the Americans today.

iest war in recent history is over. The stage is set for the Vietnamese people themselves, without foreign interference, to achieve the national reconciliation and concord referred to in the Paris Agreement. Both after the Geneva Agreements in 1954 and after the Paris Agreement in 1973, the Vietnamese people, due to foreign interference, failed to achieve this. Now, having hounded out all foreign troops and their local puppets, there can be few doubts that they will at long last succeed.

It is significant that the magnificent victory of the Vietnamese people coincided with the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism. Both the emergence of the world system of socialism and the striking advances of the national liberation movement were a direct result of this victory. And the Vietnamese victory has further underscored that the alliance of the forces of world socialism and of national liberation is invincible.

New prospects open up not only for Vietnam but for all Asia. The recent events in Indo-China have shown that there is no 'vacuum' in Asia for imperialists to fill. Even those who banked on these imperialists and their promises are having second thoughts on the matter. The new Thai Government is pressing for the withdrawal of US troops from their country. Other members of ASEAN too are increasingly coming out for the neutralisation of the South East Asian region.

With the removal of one of the most dangerous hotbeds of war, the prospects for world detente too brighten. Even the *Washington Post* calls for a new respectful spirit towards Asian nationalism not dominated by 'strategic' considerations of the past. But, of course there are also those like US Defence Secretary Schlesinger who try to make up for the defeat of US imperialism in Asia by other adventures elsewhere as, for example, the Persian Gulf area. There is also talk in the USA of a new "defence perimeter in Asia", extending from Japan to the new military base in Diego Garcia.

WILD LIFE

Venison, Hotels and The WNPS.

By A Tribune Commentator

The *Ceylon Observer* in its issue of June 9 had a story with the heading VENISON SERVED AT REPUTED HOTELS. In its first edition, the story was on the front page and in the late edition it was on page 3. The report, quoted in full below, supports the story by Sherlock Holmes in the *Tribune* of May 10 (vol. 19, No. 51) entitled VENISON AND WILD LIFE CONSERVATION.

The *Ceylon Tourist Hotels Association* is highly perturbed over reports that a number of reputed hotels in the island serve food prepared from the flesh of protected animals in order to attract tourists and other visitors. The association has already given strict instructions to its members to refrain from preparing such food contravening the provisions of the *Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance*. This follows a request made by the *Wildlife And Nature Protection Society (WNPS)* which claims that venison is among the flesh that is served at these hotels. Mr. T. W. H. Hoffmann, President WNPS, pointed out an instance where venison had been included in the menu offered to a WNPS member at a leading Colombo tourist hotel. When the WNPS man drew the management's attention to the fact that venison could not be legally offered anywhere in Sri Lanka the only reply he had got was a 'silly grin' claimed Mr. Hoffmann. The WNPS states that in practice only wild boar and have could be hunted throughout the year and some birds as snipe during the open season from November to April. But the law prohibits the sale of even these, the WNPS points out. Since 1964, it is an offence to kill a deer in Sri Lanka. This followed a ministerial order issued by Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike Prime Minister, during the regime of previous SLFP Government. In addition to that the Wild Life Department no longer issues special licences for trade in the flesh of any protected animal.

At the time the Sherlock Holmes story had appeared, certain persons who claimed to represent (or pretended to represent) vested interests in Wild Life Conservation had berated *Tribune* for picking on such a minor matter in order to carry on a vendetta (?) against certain individuals in the Wild Life setup. *Tribune* has no interest in the Wild Life set up — either the official farce run by a few bureaucrats or the unofficial Society which remains the fiefdom of a few VIPs. Our only interest was to ensure that the few protected animals still left in our jungles are saved for posterity. Our venison story was said to be a canard.

A great deal of objection was also taken with regard to certain queries raised by Sherlock Holmes regarding the attempts to set up a Corporation to take over Wild Life Conservation, or at least the administration of our sanctuaries from out of Government control to place it under the international Wild Life Fund or Trust. This would have been an infringement of our territorial integrity and sovereignty because the entire acreage of our sanctuaries would have gone under the jurisdiction of the world organisation. Jealous as we are of such incursions into our territorial integrity by multinational organisations, even with noble objectives, we had pointed out the dangers of such "incorporation" by the Department of Wild Life to become a private adjunct of an international organisation.

In retrospect, we have now begun to smell a rat: when the Wild Life Department withdrew its protection from all areas except the sanctuaries, it was probably only a long range prelude to "incorporation" to bring the sanctuaries under international control after bringing the official department and the unofficial society into one body as a Corporation to be placed under the care, control and jurisdiction of a world body. The bait was that the World Wild Life Organisation would fund our Corporation and that the Government would be relieved of the financial burden. This is what Sherlock Holmes had feared and many of us still fear. This is a matter we shall revert to from time to time—until the Government is moved

to reorganise the Wild Life Department to extend its protective activities, once again, on an island-wide basis and until the dangerously subversive idea of a Corporation to be brought under a multinational international organisation is abandoned. (*Tribune* understands that the plans for such a Corporation are now in the drafting stage and the sooner this attempt is given up the better for the country and for the future of the wild animals still left in our island.)

But, to come back to Venison. The *Observer* report states that the Ceylon Tourist Hotels Association was "highly perturbed" over reports that a number of tourist hotels in the island were serving the flesh of protected animals and that this had been brought to their notice by the Wild Life and Nature Protection Society (WNPS). There is not the slightest doubt that it was the *Tribune* which had first brought the fact such flesh was being served not only in reputed hotels but also the rest-houses and hotels of the government's Ceylon Hotels Corporation.

The *Observer* report went on to say that the WNPS began to take notice of the fact that protected flesh was being served only because Mr. T. W. H. Hoffman, President of the WNPS, had discovered that "venison had been included in the menu offered to a WNPS member at a leading Colombo tourist hotel." When the *Tribune* had published the story about the slaughter of deer in order to attract tourists to certain hotels, it is unfortunate that some of those who claim to be leading lights of the WNPS had stated that *Tribune* was indulging in slander and libel. It is even more unfortunate that the ubiquitously influential hierarchy of the WNPS had not been able to discover what the *Tribune* had spotlighted. For well nigh two years and more venison was regularly on the menu of several resthouses and hotels, and the WNPS seems to have turned a blind eye on it. The Wild Life Department cannot be blamed: its guards and effective jurisdiction had been curtailed from 1970 and their protective activities confined to the sanctuaries.

The chieftains of the WNPS seemed to be horrified that the waiter who had served the venison

had only "grinned" when he was told that there was a breach of the Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance. What else could the waiter do? He had no responsibility in the matter. It is the management of the hotel that should have been taken to task. In fact, the Government should cancel the licenses of all hotels and resthouses that serve such protected meat—after a warning is given in the press and over the radio.

The WNPS will surely be also interested to know that in some "reputed hotels" in Colombo (and out of Colombo), tourists who pay fancy prices for venison steak get a piece of well-tanned deer skin as a memento and souvenir of Sri Lanka. It is not likely that after Mr. Hoffman's recent *diktat* to the Ceylon Tourist Hotels Association any waiter will dare to hand him or any member of the WNPS a souvenir in the form of a piece of deerskin.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Government must immediately take steps to re-organise the Wild Life Department and extend its effective jurisdiction to all parts of the country where wild life still exists. Men who know the subject and who are technically qualified, besides being animal lovers, should be brought into the Department and be asked to make things hum. The fact that our Bureaucracy or the WNPS hierarchy do not like the faces of such men is no reason for the Government not to make the best use of the qualified talent available in the country.

Even before this is done, Government must raise a real hue and cry about the serving of the flesh of protected animals in hotels, resting houses and eating houses—and also take effective measures to enforce the ban. This is not a difficult task and can be done quite easily.

HELD OVER
THE ARTICLE ON
"THE SRI LANKA RUPEE"
HAS BEEN HELD
OVER FOR NEXT WEEK

ONWARD TO BATTLE

With Pigeons

By R. C. Thavarajah

NO MY FRIENDS—the title is not sarcasm, which is the "lowest form of wit". It is plain, straight forward condemnation. It was with some what odiously disgusting nausea, that I read in one of the local news papers under the "Global Roundup" that pigeons are being trained by a certain country to "to spy on their enemy". This was recorded in a reputed magazine. According to this news item "It is done by equipping the pigeons with electronic sensing devices and then training them to land on likely military targets". The article further stated that the technique was being developed by a Professor in the Department of Psychology at a certain University. "The training programme teaches the pigeons to distinguish from the air between natural features like rivers or trees and man-made installations such as airstrips or emplacements. The Professor does this by starving the pigeons and then placing them in a small chamber with a photo screen in front of them and a food hopper below it."

We have certainly do doubt that all this is splendid exercise in scientific technology and military tactics—"far excellence". It may even be a major triumph in military manoeuvres. "All is fair in Love and War"—Some assinine persons will seek refuge in this type of warfare by justifying their actions. This is an unpardonable and erroneous interpretation. The correct meaning of this aphorism is that everything **should** be fair in love and war. "War, "according to Swift, "the mad game which the world so loves to play with". Is this becoming of man who, according to the Holy Bible, was supposed to be the image of God, Or at least He made him so.

HISTORY RECORDS the deeds of brave men with courage that, according to Plutarch, "consists not in hazarding without fear but being resolutely minded in a just cause".

The thrill of the "cloak and dagger stuff", the spirit of adventure, the technique of espionage, counter-espionage, infiltration etc. which

are the accepted norms of warfare appear to be things of the past. What we see today now and read in books are the narratives of Ian Flemming and the sophisticated methods garnished with romantic and embellished with sensually tantalising sequences on the screen. Those real heroes such as the men referred to in Ernest Hemmingway's *For whom The Bell Tolls*", performed their task with a real spirit of patriotism and national enthusiasm which, according to a writer of eminence, "is the great nursery of genius". They sought intelligence the hard way—the brave man's way—risking their lives and were prepared to die once—the valiant men tasting Death but once". To me this type of espionage of using pigeons is characteristic of a pusillanimity that will make even a worm or a maggot blush.

The Encycopaedia Britanica records that the awkward, strutting, graceful, wheeling bird that lives in cities is the name applied generally to all birds of the world-wide family of Columbidae. "Their long wings and

powerful flight muscles make them strong and swift fliers. Man has used pigeons partly for pleasure and mostly for utility. The homing Pigeons—a specific variety developed through selective cross-breeding for maximum distance and speed in directed flight, have been used first by the Postal Services, the Police and even for war. The earliest record of domestication of pigeons is from the Fifth Egyptian dynasty (about 3000 B.C.). The Sultan of Baghdad established Pigeon Post in 1150 A.D. Genghis Khan used this system as his conquests spread".

BORIS LEONIDOVICH PASTERNAK, (1890-1960), the great European writer is his artless, eloquently simple style speaks of Pigeons in a different tone and spirit—The spirit of Freedom, Liberty, and the ethereal heights rising above the low degraded depths of avarice, aggrandisement, and the mundane trivia of wealth, power, prestige and political supremacy. He wrote :—

*"In the sky unlimited UP,
In an upswirl of DOVE mptes,
PIGEONS in a flock have spurted
Towering out of DOVE cotes.*

*As if to be minded of these
In a Wedding's wake were to stir
Well-wishing for many a year
Sent out to overtake them".*

The apocryphal message is that the DOVE is the symbol of PEACE—the Holy spirit with a twig of olive. How revoltingly ironical is that this symbol is now being used as an agent of War and Destruction !

It was Sebastian Yradier, the great music composer who wrote

*"If far away from thee I shall die
Then a white dove swiftly
to thee shall fly,
Open thy window, for that
panting dove,
As my own soul comes to
to bear my love,
For in life and in death".*

He also wrote

*"From scenes of peace, from
scenes of war,
My spirit swift to thy side
shall soar*

*Yes, then my messenger shall
fly to thee
To prove how constant my
Heart can be.*

WHO CARES NOW for the songs of praises of the great poets, Shelley, Keats and others who have eulogised the *Skylark*, the *Nightingale* or even the great music composer who has bequeathed his inspiration from the flight of the swallow—"La Golondrina"? Who cares for what Milton said that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war"?

And thus the sad, disgusting story goes on. Man continues, according to Thomson, to "commit the Rash, fruitful War for wanton glory waged in splendid Murder". Religious leaders, thinkers and philosophers in the meanwhile are twiddling their sanctimonious thumbs hoping for the day when

*"The War drums would throb
no longer,
And the Palace flag is furled.
In the Parliament of Man
And the Federation of the World.
Then the Earth shall slumber
Wrapped in Universal love."*

More Cricket

WAS IT NOT A FINE GESTURE on the part of the UK Government to invite our Minister of Sports, Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, to study the sports setup in Britain when the World Cup Series Cricket matches (in which Sri Lanka is a participant) is taking place in that country? That it was not only the Minister who was invited to make the trip but an entourage as well? That the timing of the invitation and the acceptance by our popular Minister of Sports has become a matter of comment not only among youthful circles but also other youth who do not seem to view with joy Ministerial jaunts abroad at a time when unemployment, high prices, austerities, shortages were making life difficult in this sland? That if a true Gallup Poll were taken about such Ministerial jaunts it will be most revealing? That it is time Ministers realise that such trips only help to destroy reputations so far as the Youth are concerned? And are not the youth the future of Sri Lanka?

COLOMBO SOUTH

IS IT NOT A FACT THAT MANY PEOPLE think that film idol Gamini Fonseka's announcement of his candidature for the Colombo South by-election was a pre-emptive strike against Suriyapperuma's candidature? That nobody seems to know on which side of the battles in the Dudley versus JR cold war Gamini had stood? That Gamini has one solid claim for seeking election in Colombo South? That the clan (or caste) to which he belongs constitute the largest numerical group among the Sinhalese in the electorate—the same clan to which Bernard Soysa along belongs? That in the socialist state of Sri Lanka it is probably wrong to speak about caste and clan, but it will be admitted that such realities still matter? That Gamini also had an early LSSP political background before he went on to sympathise with the policies of the UNP? That interesting developments are expected to take place in Colombo South?

Confidentially

On State Trading

IS IT NOT A FACT that there has been a great deal of near-hysterical speech making about efforts to streamline the co-operative movement in recent weeks? That conferences and seminars have been held in plenty to achieve more efficient and less corrupt co-operative stores? That while everybody is agreed that co-operative and state trading have come to stay, there is also general consensus that much more has to be done to make them what they really should be if they are to fulfil the role Government expects them to play? That at a recent conference at the BMICH the discussions led to important recommendations? That the immediate objective of the co-op movement was said to be an increased role in the distribution network of the country? That all consumer commodities produced by public corporations and the private sector should be handed over to the co-operative network for distribution? That there should be greater liaison among distributing agencies and a regular dialogue among Ministries and Departments that were involved in the supply and distribution of consumer commodities? That the Food Commissioner's Department should be streamlined to eliminate delays and irregularities at distribution points particularly in regard to sugar and milk foods? That the conference had also suggested that the Printing Press of the Independent Newspapers Group should be "used" for obtaining the stationery required by the co-operative movement and government and also for the printing of schools books? That the last suggestion was to takeover the press of the now idle *Davasa* group? That whilst these pious resolutions and recommendations were discussed at the BMICH, Minister Illangaratne has been at pains at different meetings to say that the time had come for the co-operative movement to shed itself of many defects that had brought the movement into disrepute among the public? That at a meeting held at the YMCA in Mount Lavinia, Minister Illangaratne (on 21/5/75) had preached

a sermon that managers in the public as well as the private sectors should be "sensitive to the needs of society"? That with the private sector dwindling to nothing in both the wholesale and the retail trade there was no need to concern oneself about managers in the private sector? That Minister Illangaratne and everyone else should devote all their attention to managers in the public sector? That Minister Illangaratne had expressed worthwhile sentiments about "profit" which might upset the ultra-marxists, (anti-Liu Shao chi and anti-Lin Piao types) but which sounded realistic? That the Minister said that whilst "profit" was not "laudable term" nowadays, (meaning that doctrinaire pundits believed that profit was the symbol and essence of exploitation), it was necessary to have "profit" as a criteria to judge the work of managers? That he had a proviso that "profit" should not be the sole criterion of success? That the Minister very laudably insisted that reasonable profits were essential to sustain any economic undertaking and also that unconscionable profits became a burden on Society?

IS IT ALSO NOT A FACT that whilst co-ops have to be streamlined in order to gear themselves to development, there is even greater need to streamline the major State Trading Organisations in the country? That it must be remembered that practically every aspect of the import and wholesale distribution has become a near-monopoly of the State and that unless these state trading organisations function properly all economic activity in the public and private sectors will be thrown out of gear? That many industrialists and actual users of various components and basic materials—many of whom are earning valuable foreign exchange for the country—are completely dissatisfied by the way in which they have to obtain their needs and requirements? That in particular the *Sri Lanka Trading (General) Corporation*, which is today the sole importer of most items, is very often not in a position to supply essential requirements? That customers are shunted from pillar to post and are ultimately told that the items were not in stock or that they were due shortly? That this story goes on for ever? That very

often no proper answer is provided? That what is distressing that these very same products are found to be available in the market—with privileged private traders whose names minions in the State Trading offices are willing to whisper for a consideration—at fantastic and unconscionable prices? That one of the mysteries that Minister Illangaratne and the Government must find out that these traders—who do not import them independently on CRAs—get their stocks when actual users are unable to get them? That it would be interesting to know how these goods have leaked out from the State Trading Corporation which is the only legal importer of these items? That these private traders make fantastic profits because the actual users are compelled to purchase them? That it would be interesting to discover how these profits are shared? That if this mystery is solved it will open the door to the other mystery how certain persons in the trading fraternity and also gentlemen (and their ladies) working in State Trading and other governmental outfits are found every evening sipping their beer and their gin in the five-star hotels before they dance at the Blue Leopard, the Intercontinental, the Renuka, the Lankaoberoi and other places where the charges are geared to hard currency rich tourists? That it must be remembered that the Sri Lanka State Trading (General) Corporation was formed to help the genuine actual user and to eliminate malpractice and corruption in the trade? That it is unfortunate that this ideal seems to have been lost sight of within such a short time? That Minister Illangaratne must take immediate steps to re-orient the plans and services of this vital organisation to meet the needs of the country if industrialists and others are to make any progress in the sphere of development? That private importers and traders had been guilty of anti-national malpractices? That Minister Illangaratne must see that State Trading is not a case of jumping from the frying pan into the fire?

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