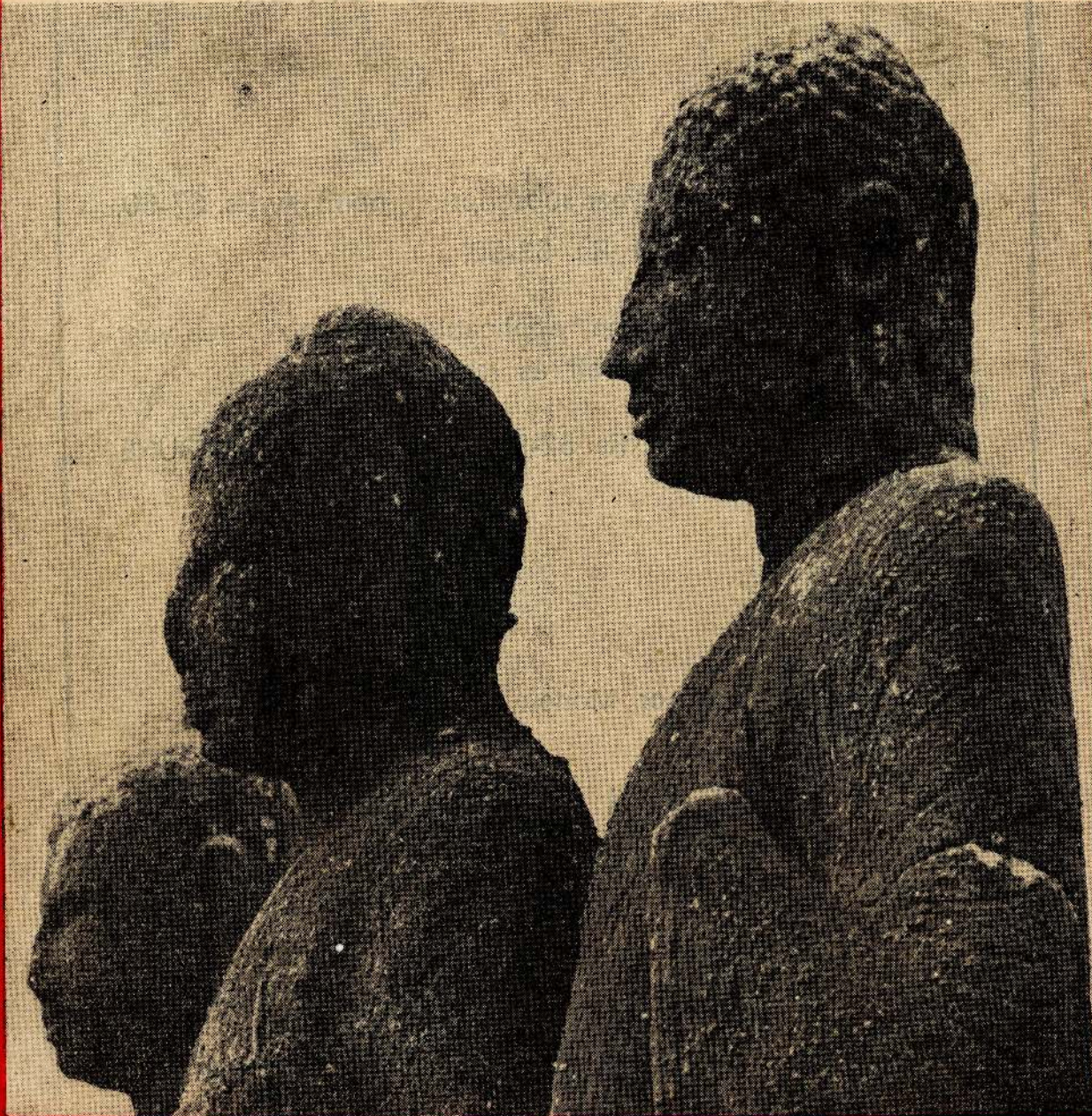


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Letter From The Editor

THE POSON FULL MOON POYA, which falls on Monday, June 23 this year, is a reminder that Buddhism was brought to Sri Lanka about 2520 years ago. Mahinda and Sanghamitta, the son and daughter of the mighty Emperor Asoka, had brought to Lanka this religion which had grown out of the womb of Brahminic Hinduism in a bid to transform extant Hindu theory and practice into a system of near-rational logic and philosophy by eliminating all the ideological, religious and ritualistic infirmities of the world into which prince Sakyamuni was born. But, like nearly every human attempt to end the rigidities of exploitative society, the Buddha's noble endeavour to emancipate men's mind from doctrinal orthodoxies intended to sustain the state power of a priestly minority had only led to new institutionalised orthodoxies able to flourish only as an adjunct of state power. Kings and politicians have used institutionalised religions, with their priestly armies of professionally trained agitators, rigorously indoctrinated and disciplined, all with totalitarian exactitude, to win empires by enslaving human minds. The contemporary history of Ceylon from the period of 1931 is an outstanding example how religion, (of the institutionalised Buddhist orthodoxy dominated by a priestly group that had managed to survive four hundred and fifty years of ruthless and barbaric onslaughts by christian priestly rivals, barked by the firepower of gunpowder weaponry and the wiles of machiavellian merchants), has been used to induce a newly enfranchised Sinhala community to establish its supreme dominance over the whole island in less than forty years in a way that has never been done before in the history of the island. Sinhala Buddhist power is today supreme from Point Palmyrah in the North to Dondra Head in the South in this heterogenous, multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-linguistic island. How long this dominance will last in this fast changing world is yet to be seen. But, the chequered career of Buddhist power in India, the land of its origin, and also in all the lands to which Buddhist power had been taken to create new dynasties from time to time, should be a reminder to those lost in current jingoism that it is one of the fundamental teachings of the Buddha that impermanence is the crux of human existence and also that every action has a reaction in terms of karmic cause and effect. Buddhist state power in the Sri Lanka today has already sowed the seeds of its own self-denigration and self-destruction. The best manifestation of this comes from the products of its schools and universities, infected with the cultural ethos of sadistic ragging, and with educational attainments that make it difficult for them to communicate intelligibly in any language (even Sinhala) with the additional disability of having nothing to communicate—having been cut off from the mainstream of the contemporary global explosion in knowledge. The future of any empire, however big or however small, rests on the training and education of its young, and the architects of the present educational system are already deploring the deterioration of standards and the growing of inability of locally-educated Sri Lanka students to cope with international intellectual standards. Reform after reform is being imposed in *diktats* from above, primarily to tailor the educational system to the employment possibilities and production requirements of a non-dynamic mechanistic state-regimented economic structure, but the results have begun to dishearten even the imperious evangelists of the new Buddhist order in this island. It will be well for these fanatical enthusiasts to remember that Buddhist power enthroned even by the imperial might of Asoka's empire disappeared from among the Aryans of North and Central India long before it did from among the Dravidians of South India where Buddhism had flourished for well nigh a thousand years (and the overflow from which have been left behind in Tamil Buddhist architectural ruins in Kanterodai in Jaffna and other parts of the North). There are still many emotional misconceptions in this country about the early history of Buddhism in Ceylon, but history will clear up these in spite of jingoists turned historians (and archaeologists) who have prostituted facts in order to provide sectarian ideological motivations to politicians. History has a way of cleaning out such cobwebs in ways from which many still refuse to learn the necessary lessons. On the cover we have a picture of three (of the four) limestone Buddhist images still intact in a place called Medirigiriya, 14 miles north of Minneriya, where according to the Mahavamsa, where Kaniththa Tissa (circa A.D. 164-192) had enlarged the ancient Mandalagiri Vihara by building an *uposathagara*. Medirigiriya is only another reminder of the validity of Buddha's logic about the transitoriness of all things human. According to the Buddha, comparative permanence can be achieved only through the old-fashioned humanistic virtues of goodness, understanding and tolerance extending to all, including minorities of every kind—intellectual, religious, racial, caste, and even linguistic.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

A Turbulent World:
India, Sri Lanka

Tribune, on many occasions, during the last three or four years, has pointed out that the present was a time when crowned heads, leaders of governments and persons in positions of strength and power, were being toppled over at an amazingly fast rate. Whoever had expected Nixon to be dislodged in so dramatic a manner? Who had thought that Haile Selassie will live to see a leftwing revolution grip his country and compel him to spend his last days in custody? Who had thought that President Allende would be overthrown so easily?

It is not possible to list all the changes which have taken place, but a few countries where radical changes have taken place might be mentioned for the record: Greece, Portugal, France, Britain, Vietnam, Cambodia and also a number of countries in Africa and Latin America. And now the spotlight has been turned on Indira Gandhi of India. A judge of the Allahabad High Court has held that the Indian Premier was guilty of corrupt practices in the 1971 election and has unseated her and disqualified her from holding elective office for six years. The Judge also granted a stay order to enable her to file an appeal to the Supreme Court. While the jurist and the lawyer will recognise the fact that she has been unseated on grounds which may be said to be technical and therefore arguable in appeal, the ordinary person will view the matter in a straightforward political manner. Those who support her as the Prime Minister and think of her as the only person who can hold the Congress and the country together will rally to her with fanatical devotion, but those opposed to her and her policies will utilise this judgement against her (whatever the arguments in the appeal or the order of the Supreme Court thereafter) as a weapon to denigrate her position and demand her resignation.

In such a confrontation which has already begun to emerge in India, there will be a polarisation of forces not known in India since

the country attained independence. Whatever be the ultimate judgement of the Supreme Court, all forces opposed to her (and they are many and widespread) have an excellent opportunity to chastise her at every turn with this judgement. Will Indira Gandhi be able to withstand the pressures that have already arisen demanding her resignation? She is no doubt a determined fighter, but will she be able to turn tables on her opponents as she has done so very often in the past? The judgement of the Allahabad High Court is no doubt a serious setback for her immediate political career, and even if the Supreme Court rejects the logic and verdict of the trial Court, Indira Gandhi will find it extremely difficult to regain the prestige and power she had attained immediately after her landslide election victory in 1971.

Difficult days are ahead for India. The ruling Congress, as news reports indicate, has begun to close its ranks behind the Prime Minister expressing the fullest confidence in her leadership in spite of the judgement of the Allahabad High Court. But the forces of the Opposition, mobilised for action as the Janata Front, will carry on a nationwide propaganda against her on the basis of the judgement. It is yet too soon to say what further changes will take place in India. Before this issue of *Tribune* is out, she would have filed a petition of appeal in the Supreme Court. The Janata Front, after its victorious showing in the Gujerat elections, will seek to mobilise the masses against Indira Gandhi and the ruling Congress.

In any case, General Elections are due in India in 1975 and it is very difficult to anticipate what is likely to happen even before that. At the moment, it is anybody's guess. Many find it difficult to think of India without Indira Gandhi because no alternative leader of skill and competence has emerged into the first rank. Will Jayaprakash Narayan make a bid to fill the vacuum if Indira is compelled to quit and spend six years in the political wilderness? But while JP is a good agitator, it is doubtful if he can head a government except as a figurehead puppet of certain vested interests.

In Sri Lanka, there is and there has been widespread sympathy and

support for Indira Gandhi as a leader who been consistently tilting to the Left. She has also been more than sympathetic to Sri Lanka's demands in regard to the stateless, their quicker repatriation and even in regard to Sri Lanka's territorial claims to Kachchativu. There is a great deal of apprehension in high political circles in Colombo about the impact which the weakening of Indira Gandhi's power and prestige will have on Indo-Ceylon relations. Any other Prime Minister in India, even if tilting to the Left, will tend to view the relations between the two countries differently. The imperatives which many high personalities in Ceylon had thought immutable owing to the long tenure in office of Jawaharlal Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi (with a short interlude with the colourless Shastri) may not be valid in the new era that has begun to emerge in India.

Even if Indira Gandhi continues she will be more susceptible than before to other pressures which she has ignored or overlooked so far especially in regard to relations with the immediate neighbours of the Indian subcontinent. There are many countries in the world, like China, the USA and some Western countries which have always wanted a weak and subservient India to conform to the geopolitical patterns they envisage as most appropriate in South Asia. India has resisted this and the ruling Congress has leant on Russia to derive sympathy and support to withstand pressures from China and the USA. This has brought India into a peculiar web of international cold war politics. The campaign against Indira Gandhi is part of the desire of many countries to have an India that will tilt to the West or come within the ideological calculations which China believes are best for countries like India.

Many people in Sri Lanka, nursing anti-Indian sentiments, fears and apprehensions, take secret delight in every denigration of Indian power without realising that a change in New Delhi that tends to go to the Right (led by the Jan Sangh for instance) will create difficult problems for Sri Lanka. And if such a change should take place, many countries, in the West and elsewhere, which now lend visible and invisible support to Sri Lanka's

Compulsory Sex Emancipation

quiet anti-Indian stances will tend to leave this little island to its fate in order to woo the Rightist-minded leaders in New Delhi. What would be worse still from the Sri Lanka point of view will be if fissiparous and separatist tendencies gather momentum to bring into existence a India which is weak at the centre with States in the periphery of the subcontinent exercising near-sovereign rights in certain matters. Many people in this country do not seem to realise that the DMK in the South and the Jan Sangh in other parts of India have the active support of certain international forces which will no longer have any interest in Sri Lankan sovereignty or territorial integrity—once they have a setup on the subcontinent they consider appropriate for their geopolitical objectives.

This election petition decision against Indira Gandhi is only a symbolic manifestation that India was moving towards a new era in her domestic politics. For a Judge to show his judicial independence towards so towering a personality like Indira Gandhi is only a reflection of gathering forces of tremendous political significance. Judicial battles are only just another forum in which the political struggles between contending forces are fought. As long as political confrontation is confined to democratic, non-military battles, one can look forward with objective equanimity to developments in a neighbouring country like India. But the danger that these battles may overflow into extra-parliamentary, extra-judicial and undemocratic terrain is a development that one can only view with disturbed apprehension. But it can happen. And Sri Lanka cannot remain either blind or unconcerned about such developments.

NOR CAN THIS COUNTRY any longer ignore the warning signals that have now emerged from the student ragging at Peradeniya and Vidyalkara. The country must be thankful to the *Times* group for bringing before the public some of the worst aspects of this scandal about ragging. The *Lake House*, for strange and unknown reasons, has not only suppressed much of what should have been highlighted but has also slanted the news in a way as to evoke the sympathy of the UF supporters to rush to the rescue of the hooligans who have made University education

a disgrace. The article in the *Sunday Times* of June 15 by Dr. Brian Seneviratne reveals some of the most horrible aspects of the ragging, but what he has not touched upon is the fact that a political cum ideological motivation has come into the picture.

In the last issue of *Tribune* we spotlighted some of the aspects of the ragging which persons who know what is happening have only mentioned in private. Sex in its sadistic and masochist aspects have been emphasised in public exposures, but few people realise that an ideological thesis has been developed in certain political circles to justify such actions.

The theory simply stated is that young men and women who come into the university campuses and other places of higher education should be emancipated from the traditional inhibitions about sex and the antiquated values they have placed on virginity and the like. Without such emancipation in all matters connected with sex and the intimate parts of human anatomy, it is argued, these young people were unfit to bring about the Revolution that would take this country into the socialist future where plenty and prosperity will make everybody happy. The ragging was only a rather boisterous way of bringing about this emancipation in sex.

Whilst nobody can complain if young persons seek sex emancipation willingly and in the normal way that such emancipation has taken place at different times in different countries. But what is objectionable is that a small minority (Dr. Brian Seneviratne thinks that they are about five percent of the student population) have arrogated upon themselves, through hooligan tactics, to compel young people, especially the female of the species, to be "emancipated" in sex matters. Rape is not a nice word but this is the only word that can adequately describe some of the developments in our campuses. Rape is not merely forcible attack on a female. It is worse where a climate of terror is created whereby females submit to rape in order to be able to continue their university studies; and thereafter like those who have been forced into prostitution accept their fate with resignation.

This is the situation which these political hooligans have sought to impose on the student population.

And theorists in high places have lent support to this with pseudo-revolutionary jargon about sex emancipation as a prelude to the emancipation of the mind. Some people seem to think that the proposal to have six months in the field as a preparation for university education would provide excellent opportunities for such compulsory emancipation in sex.

Some readers of *Tribune*, after reading our comments on the subject of ragging in our last issue, were tempted to think that we were indulging in horror stories. They have only to ask university teachers and dons who still retain their sanity and equilibrium (many have fallen into the political whirlpool in order to gain promotions and other advantages) whether or not they have not been appalled by the current theory about sexual emancipation and why they have so far been tongue-tied. Dr. Brian Seneviratne has spoken about the factual manifestations in sadistic actions in the attempts to implement the new political creed about sex emancipation through force and compulsion. It is thought necessary to obtain implicit obedience to the "orders" of the approved seniors. And the physical exercises of torture are intended to achieve this objective.

And what is even more distressing is that certain publications (especially from *Lake House*) have begun to specialise in an overdose of sex and cheesecake no doubt to lend indirect support to this new theory of political emancipation through sex emancipation. Will a socialist country like China tolerate such sexual licentiousness in any newspaper or magazine publications published in that country? In the West, publications about sex flourish as part of the four freedoms. Can a country like Sri Lanka, which is seeking to reach the haven of socialism, afford to indulge in such sex aberrations? The leaders of the United Front must take a new look at some of the publications of *Lake House* to see if they will not do more harm than good to the genuine attempts being made to make Sri Lanka socialist.

STOP PRESS

J.R. and seven others pay in deposits for Colombo South by-election. The more the merrier, but whose votes will they take?

BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

Dudley's Ghost

THE COLOMBO SOUTH BY-ELECTION will prove to be one of the most interesting political events of this period. The leader of the UNP, J. R. Jayewardene, had resigned from the Assembly to place before the nation the fact that, in his view, the Assembly had no "moral" right to continue beyond May 1975. The proper thing he should have done to register his protest was to have refused to be a member of an Assembly which he believed had no "moral" validity. He had, it must be remembered, all the freedom to place his point of view before the nation without seeking a by-election to focus attention on this. He had in fact been stressing this for a long time.

At Kankesanturai, the TUF leader had challenged the Government that a by-election would prove that the majority of the Tamils felt that the 1972 Constitution was unsatisfactory from the Tamil point of view. Pro-government Tamils had argued that the TUF no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Tamils because SLFP and pro-UF Tamil "leaders" had succeeded in making the Tamil people realise that the FP and the TUF were "reactionary" and that these organisations were out of tune with the aspirations of the Tamil people. It was to show that this claim was false that Chelvanayakam had resigned the seat to challenge the pro-UF Tamils to demonstrate that what the TUF said was correct. The Government accepted the challenge but did not put it to the test for nearly two and a half years during which time the Government and its (Tamil) supporters did their best to woo the Tamils and the KKS electorate with everything the Government could offer in the form of plums and crumbs from the Government's table. When the by-election took place, after being undemocratically postponed under the Emergency Regulations for 30 months, the Government suffered a major political defeat. The results of the by-election was symbolic of the mood of the Tamil people.

In Colombo South, the Government has very correctly decided not to regard JR's resignation as a valid challenge on any matter of importance. A section of the UF parliamentary group had wanted to resort to the anti-democratic step of disbarring MPs who resigned from contesting the by-election, but the Government very wisely did not adopt this tactic. With a greater sense of political realism than implied in the strategy suggested by those who had wanted a constitutional amendment to deal with JR's resignation, the Government wisely took up the position that JR's resignation did not constitute a "challenge" on any matter of significance. The question of whether the life of the Assembly ended in May 1975 or May 1977 was today not even an academic one, after JR himself had admitted that legally the Assembly had the right to continue, but that it only had no "moral" validity. The three United Front parties, therefore, declined to fight the by-election, and let the UNP leader have the field all to himself.

In doing this, the Government has scored a major political victory. The Colombo South by-election has now become a battleground for contending forces within the UNP—not only to bring before the public the differences inside the Party but also wash a lot of dirty linen which has accumulated ever since JR took over the leadership of the Party. JR, as leader, had sought to give the UNP an image after his heart and also make the Party adopt tactics and strategies which he thought would bring political success, but there were large sections which had refused to agree with him or abide by his decisions. JR has had therefore to resort to dictatorial action to purge the Party. He amended the Constitution of the Party to make himself as *The Leader* supreme in all ways. When this did not achieve what he sought, even after placing his own loyalists in positions of strength in the party machine, JR had to resort to disciplinary reprimands, purges and even the sacking of leading elements in the Party. He felt that he had to cleanse the Party of the "bad" elements. Many, however, felt that he was only seeking to exorcise the ghost of his old-time rival, Dudley Sena-

nayake, which seems to be forever haunting him.

At the Colombo South by-election the ghost of Dudley Senanayake will offer a major challenge to JR. Suriyapperuma, who was one of those JR had sacked from the UNP, has at the time of writing these notes already paid his deposit and announced his candidature for the Colombo South seat. There is not the slightest doubt that JR will win the by-election, but there is equally no doubt that Suriyapperuma will poll heavily even if Lakshman Rajapakse comes in (as he has indicated he will on the MEP or some other leftwing or independent ticket). It is believed that film star Gamini Fonseka has withdrawn in favour of Suriyapperuma (this is what is especially believed, but Gamini Fonseka is likely to make this clear). From the sympathetic publicity which the United Front party press has accorded Suriyapperuma, it is clear that a large part of the "left" vote in Colombo South will go to Suriyapperuma because this affords the UF an excellent opportunity to discredit the UNP leader in a way which could not have been done by a straight UF candidate.

According to the *Aththa* Suriyapperuma had issued a statement no sooner he had paid in his deposit for the by-election—well before the nomination day on the 19th. In this statement he has stressed that he would bring to light actions of the UNP leader during the different "demonstrations" he had sought to stage like the satyagraha and the civil disobedience. Suriyapperuma, it must be mentioned, is a youthful stalwart of the UNP, with a clean record in politics. UF circles were unhappy that so promising a young politician should have chosen to contest the Prime Minister in 1970 and also carry on a bitter campaign against her. But such campaigns are part and parcel of the democratic process this country has accepted. But, in the Colombo South by-election, all the 1970 campaign gimmicks of Suriyapperuma will be forgotten because he is now doing for the UF what no UF candidate could have done to denigrate the reputation of the UNP leader.

Suriyapperuma represents a major trend within the UNP. He has deep-rooted support within the UNP. But those who think

and feel the way he does and who have not yet been sacked by JR will probably only render him support in secret, but there are enough disgruntled elements in the UNP who are likely to throw their weight publicly in Suriyapperuma's favour. Over the years, JR has differed from Dudley Senanayake on many matters. They had maintained a "unity" under the greatest strain. Often their differences had reached breaking point and they had even gone to the Courts to resolve their differences. But an uneasy truce had been "patched" up between them by well-meaning UNPers. With Dudley's death, JR had emerged as the supreme single leader of the UNP, but he did not have the statesmanship or the magnanimity to woo and win over Dudley's supporters. Instead he sought discipline them to his will or to purge them from the Party. He had even tried to bring off a merger with sections of the SLFP to be rid of the supporters of Dudley.

The logical outcome of the different (and often contradictory) positions JR had taken since Dudley's death has now landed him into his bye-election (under the most unfavourable circumstances) where the ghost of Dudley Senanayake is likely to pursue him in no uncertain manner. He has failed to exorcise this ghost from the UNP. Nor has been able to appease and placate this ghost into accepting the silence of the dead. Instead he has conjured up a powerful spectre which now haunts him and what is left of the UNP. It cannot be said to stalk the land, but it is a ghost that JR must contend with.

Lakshman Rajapakse, if he does contest at all, probably hopes that the Left vote which had sustained Bernard Soysa will turn to him if he stood under some left-wing banner. Lakshman, in the past, has been associated with every Left party (in fact every UF party), but what he probably fails to recognise is that the electorate in Colombo is politically sophisticated and that the Leftists will be more anxious to ensure that JR's majority is reduced drastically than have the emotional satisfaction of casting a vote for a romantic idealist. There is no doubt that the best way of achieving this is to vote for Suriyapperuma, especially after Gamini Fonseka with his

caste affiliations has withdrawn from the scene. Prins Gunsekera's Balavegaya has announced that it was not contesting the by-election.

In the circumstances, the contest in Colombo South is likely to be a straight one between JR and Suriyapperuma (even if Lakshman Rajapakse tries his luck). Suriyapperuma will have the calculated backing of the pro-UF press which is a powerful factor in this country today. The *Aththa* and the *Janadina* have already started their campaign against JR in Colombo South by giving the widest publicity to Suriyapperuma. The *Lake House* will undoubtedly lend whatever support it can for Suriyapperuma, and the *Times* group has for some time now shown its opposition to JR's tactics in no unmistakable terms. JR will only have the weak and effete UNP press to support him.

Whilst it is true that elections have not in the past been decided by the manner in which the domestic press was ranged, there is no doubt JR is confronted with a great deal he could have avoided if he had not sacked Suriyapperuma and other UNP stalwarts like Hurulle. The coming Colombo South by-election will be a public examination of the inside working of the UNP and its present policies, and even though JR will win (on the anti-government (UF) vote and on his own loyalist vote) he will emerge a politically battered figure.

JR's entire political record is likely to be dissected theradbare at this by-election and at the end of it, the UNP will have little alternative but to find a new leader within a short time. JR himself had declared (in spite of his present denials) that he would resign if he did not bring about a General Elections in 1975. The same end-result may arise from Suriyapperuma's onslaught on the UNP leader. Politics is a dirty game, but an interesting one.

CHANGING WORLD

BY KAUTILIYA

Anti-Hegemony?

THE RESULTS of the referendum in Britain on the Common Market did not come as a surprise to all those who were keeping in touch with developments. It cannot be said to have been a sweeping victory, but it was certainly a substantial victory for the pro-marketeters. The *Economist* which had campaigned most vigorously in favour of Britain staying on in the ECM, commenting on the matter "the morning after," in its issue of June 7 even before the final results were known stated: "When the last referendum vote has been counted and the final compilations made (which should—barring accidents or a recount—be sometime early on Friday evening), the uncertainty about Britain's continued membership of the European Economic Community will finally be resolved. All the indications on polling day pointed to a sweeping victory for the pro-marketeters—the final opinion polls, published on Thursday morning, continued to show them leading by a margin of over two-to-one. Polls can be wrong. But even if they are not, all that a decent victory for staying in Europe will mean is that Britain has given itself a precious chance for a fresh start. Europe can help too, and may now even wish to; and so can America. All the pressing problems which beset Britain (and which the Cabinet has self-indulgently put off looking at in favour of parading its public differences over the EEC) remain. Indeed, when the Cabinet meets (after a two and half week break) on Monday morning it will know that some, at least, of these problems have got worse...."

Britain's economic problems are complicated and difficult. The problems within the Cabinet were equally bad and the reshuffle which Wilson has effected is not likely to be of much help. What must be realised is that the Labour Party is a house divided and the Cabinet had reflected this during the debate on the ECM question. The Labour Party today has a strong and influential *ultra* (for

NEXT WEEK

- THE SRI LANKA RUPEE
—its present value?
- FLASHBACK TO THE TWENTIES
—by K. Ramachandra

Great Britain) leftwing group exercising a great deal of influence in many of the trade unions. They had opposed Britain's entry into the ECM on any terms. And they had campaigned most vigorously in public against the stand taken by Mr. Wilson. Under normal circumstances, any Prime Minister would have thrown out these Ministers who had campaigned against his policies, but Mr. Wilson did not do that. He has just reshuffled them putting them in portfolios of lesser importance. This is a reflection of the current weakness in the British Labour Party.

With Britain now entrenched in the Common Market, the economic affairs of the ECM are expected to develop along certain lines. It is significant that one of the strongest supporters of the ECM and also a purely Europe-dominated NATO is China. This is no doubt to create a bulwark to keep the Soviet Union pre-occupied with a strong Europe and thus relieve Soviet pressure on China in the East. Though China raises the slogan of anti-hegemony against both the two "so-called" superpowers, China's antipathy is really directed against the Soviet Union. THIS CHINESE ANTAGONISM, to the Soviet Union has been most forcefully demonstrated in the current negotiations for the China-Japan Peace Treaty which has been under discussion for several months. China has wanted an "anti-hegemony" clause in the Peace Treaty apparently directed against the USA and the USSR but with the vicious sting *vis a vis* the Soviet Union. There has been a kind of see-saw in this matter with Japan's Prime Minister, Takeo Miki, now blowing hot and now blowing cold over the hegemony clause. Japan had tried every trick in the bag to avoid the inclusion of the hegemony clause. China, however, insisted upon it and achieved a kind of breakthrough when it succeeded, in the words of K.V. Narain, the Tokyo correspondent of the Hindu, "in putting the screws on the Japan Socialist Party and making it agree with China's stand demanding that a clause be written into the proposed Sino-Japanese peace treaty, opposing hegemonism by the two superpowers. A joint communique signed in Peking on May 12 by

Mr. Tomomi Narita, Chairman of the Japan Socialist Party and leader of the party's delegation to China and Mr. Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, says that both sides agreed on the stand opposing hegemonism by the Soviet Union and the United States. In a banquet speech Mr. Narita told the Chinese he was very much delighted that such an agreement had been reached.

"China has been carrying on a regular propoganda campaign to bring pressure on the Japanese Government over the issue, roping in all available Japanese individuals and groups to support its stand. The Socialist Party is its latest victim. How far China will succeed in forcing the Japanese Government to bow to its demand remains to be seen. So far Japan has resisted this pressure because of its desire not to offend the Soviet Union, which is the main target of Peking's anti-hegemonism posture.

"However, besides the Soviet Union and the U.S., China has other countries in mind. A highly-placed Japanese Foreign Office source, who is conversant with the peace treaty negotiations with China, told me that India is another target. Of course India to-day does not fit into the category of a superpower by any means, but there is nothing to prevent China from describing India as a superpower or something similar one day, if it suits its purpose. Chinese propoganda is known for its sophistry. Further, for some time now, China has been insinuating India with hegemonistic designs in South Asia.

"The Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Li Hsien-nien told Mr. Narita that China would not sign a treaty which was not based on the spirit of not seeking domination nor permitting domination by other countries. The Japanese Foreign Office is afraid that if it agrees to the anti-hegemony clause now, it will not only displace both the Soviet Union and the U.S. but that eventually Japan might very well find itself twisted by the arm by Peking to take a similar stand against countries of China's choice. THE SITUATION was also admirably summed by a report from Tokyo in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of May 30 entitled *Toeing*

the Peking Security Line. "The Japanese Government made a major concession to China on the wording of a peace treaty (for World War II) even as the Japan Socialist Party (jsp) triggered another complication in a triangular tug-o-war between Tokyo, Moscow and Peking. Prime Minister Takeo Miki, under sustained pressure from both proponents and opponents of an anti-hegemony clause in the proposed treaty with Peking, directed Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and Ambassador to Peking Heishiro Ogawa to expedite the talks on the basis of the joint communique—which led to the establishment of diplomatic ties—issued jointly by the two governments in September 1972. The pertinent portion of the document said: "Neither of the two countries should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony." Miki's directive was a clear shift from the earlier Government stand against including such a clause in any treaty. China, presumably motivated by anti-Moscow feelings, has consistently pushed for "anti-hegemony" to be mentioned. Japan's resistance was based on the argument that reference to third countries in a bilateral treaty was against international practice. Yet it was evident that the resistance was in deference to the United States which, to say the least, is militarily present in Japan by virtue of the US-Japan Security Treaty.

"Irrespective of earlier reasoning, a joint communique, signed on May 12 between Tomomi Narita, Chairman of the traditionally pro-Moscow jsp, and Liao Cheng-chi, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, declared, among other things, that "it is essential to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers." Apparently this weighed heavily in Miki's decision to seek a breakthrough in the deadlocked negotiations by following the Chinese line. Miki's move also designed to dispel the scepticism in which he is viewed by Peking. Ever since the inauguration of the Miki Government last December, Peking has doubted the Japanese Premier's leadership qualities and considered him to be basically anti-Peking. After all,

Anti-Hegemony?

Miki is at the head of a Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) riddled with anti-Peking personalities. Peking's assessment was basically correct. Miki leads a minority force in the LDP and every major initiative has met stiff resistance from one direction or another. The anti-Peking structure in the Cabinet and Party is shored up by such personalities as Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, Party Executive Board Chairman Hirokichi Nadao (who is also the leader of a group of pro-Taiwan parliamentarian,) and Party Political Research Commission chairman Raizo Matsuno. Foreign Minister Miyazawa appears hesitant on the issue while LDP Secretary General Yasuhiro Nakasone sits on the fence insofar as the question of peace treaty negotiations and Peking are concerned.

"Such a political pot-pourri kept Miki on the top. First he pledged that the treaty would be concluded and ratified in the course of the current Diet session; then he dropped the idea, possibly under pressure from the Taiwan lobby within the LDP; now he is back on the expedient course. But whatever favourable effects the rethink may have created in Chinese minds, Miki's directive is destined to backfire on the domestic scene. There is a section in the Foreign Ministry which believes that any concession, made public, would leave the Japanese peace negotiators defenceless while the pro-Taiwan LDP group believes Miki's directive is not only an anti-Moscow political alliance, but also seriously undermines the US position. Indeed, the basic Japanese objection against the inclusion of the clause in the treaty was based more on consideration towards the US, whose military presence in Japan is fact of life, than from fear of antagonising the Soviet Union, whose presence in the region is more in the mind (such as in the Moscow-mooted Asian Collective Security Pact)."

TAKEO MIKI did not find it as easy as all that to push the hegemony clause into the Agreement. Many Japanese observers and commentators have begun to stress that this attempt to dragoon Japan into accepting the hegemony clause was an attempt by Peking to use Japan to enable China to

dominate the Asian continent by keeping everybody else out of it. It was not in Japan's interest argued these observers to offend either the Soviet Union or the United States by including the hegemony clause in the Agreement: that Japan should treat China, the USA and the USSR on an equal basis and that this clause would bring Japan into a new Chinese geopolitical orbit as against Russia and America.

The Newsweek of June 2 interpretatively analysed the situation in the following report: "What's in a word? If the word happens to be *haken* and is at the core of the delicate negotiations between China and Japan over the formulation of a friendship treaty, the answer is: everything. For whether or not *haken*—'hegemony', as it is translated from Japanese into English—is included in the treaty could determine the future of Japan's relations with both China and the Soviet Union. At the heart of the controversy is a dispute over the Chinese Government's insistence that the treaty should contain a thinly veiled swipe at the Soviet Union. The passage in question declares that neither Japan nor China 'should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each country is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.' U.S. President Richard Nixon accepted a similar clause in the 1972 Shanghai communique. And following in his footsteps, former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka felt compelled to endorse the "anti-hegemony" wording during his visit to Peking later that same year. Now the Chinese are insisting that Japan must follow through and include the controversial passage in the friendship treaty or else risk plunging relations between the two countries into the deep freeze.

"But although they do not want to endanger their ties with China, the Japanese are hardly eager to offend the Soviet Union. The Soviets, for their part, have spared no effort in privately warning the Japanese that acceptance of the 'anti-hegemony' clause could jeopardize their chances of agreement on joint development of natural resources in Siberia and the eventual return of the islands

that the Russians seized from Japan at the end of World War II. Caught in the Sino-Soviet cross fire, Prime Minister Takeo Miki's government recently attempted to finesse the issue with an offer to sign a modified version of the anti hegemony clause. But the Chinese promptly turned him down flat. Faced with the prospect of either publicly caving in to Chinese pressure or continuing to negotiate, Miki has apparently opted for the latter course. Last week he sent one of his top diplomatic trouble-shooters back to Peking for another round of talks. But the ultimate fate of the friendship treaty remained very much up in the air."

But, in spite of the Japanese Socialist Party chairman's support for the hegemony clause, the Japanese Government was not able to proceed to finalising the Agreement. Apart from everything else, the action of the Socialist Party's chairman had caused a major split inside the Socialist Party. The joint declaration signed in Peking was criticised in the party not only at grass roots level but also at different levels of the leadership. It was pointed out that this declaration went against the spirit of the programme and resolutions adopted at the 38th Congress of the Party. Very severe criticisms had also been levelled against the Chairman in the party press and there is no doubt that this matter will be discussed and debated at the next party congress due in December.

JAPANESE OBSERVERS had pointed out that whilst China was keen about showing how close she was to the nonaligned countries and movement, she was seeking to compel Japan into an aligned position by adopting an anti-Soviet and anti-US stance. Heavy pressure had been brought by Peking on Japan to accept the hegemony clause and the invisible threat is said to have been held out that China was in a position to influence nonaligned developing countries to downgrade their trade and economic relations with Japan. The forthcoming nonaligned Summit in Colombo is being used as a bogey to pressurise the Japanese Cabinet and Japanese businessmen into accepting the hegemony clause.

But all this pressure has not stampeded the Miki Cabinet into

accepting Peking's terms. As it stands, the talks have been deadlocked. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of June 13, commenting on latest position, stated: "... while it may be doubtful whether Japan would readily accede to such a Chinese demand for fear of being involved in the Peking-Moscow confrontation, the current Japanese opposition against the incorporation of a clause into the Treaty 'which refers to a third country'—

which Japan insists is 'alien to bilateral treaties'—clearly stems from consideration for the United States, whose 'hegemonious presence' in Japan is a reality, rather than fear of generating anti-Japanese feelings from the Soviet Union. Moscow's 'hegemonious' design, if any, is still merely a concept so far as Tokyo is concerned...."

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of June 20 has pointed out that with North Korea stepping up pro-

paganda for a reunification of the two Koreas in the manner envisaged by Pyongyang, Japan was even more anxious that the hegemony clause should be excluded from the China-Japan peace agreement. South Korea which is next door to Japan could be kept intact as a sovereign state only with the aid of both Russia and America. Japan is in no mood to tread on the toes of the two super-powers.

CHRONICLE

JUNE 7—13

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, JUNE 7: The People's Bank has outclassed all other commercial banks in gross and nett earnings: the gross earnings of the People's Bank in 1974 was Rs. 125 million—CDN. The JCTUO has decided to summon a meeting of delegates on July 16 to demand the nationalisation of all commercial banks and company owned estates—CDN. According to the President of the Peradeniya Campus of the University, the Campus was returning to normal and the students were attending lectures—CDN. A packet of gems worth over Rs. 124,000 sent to the State Gem Corporation from Barclays Bank, London, through Air Ceylon is reported missing: When the Corporation received the packet it was intact minus the gems—CDM. At a press conference held yesterday, Mr. Lakshman Jayakoddy, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, said that several countries had promised financial aid as expenses to Sri Lanka to host the 1976 Non-Aligned Summit Conference and this would enable the Government to convene the Conference without much expenditure—CDM. Mr. Gamel El Sourari, Permanent Representative of the PLO to the Arab League, said at a press conference yesterday that the Palestine Liberation Organisation will be represented at the Non-Aligned Conference to be held in Colombo next year: he further said that talks are now being held with Governmental leaders on the question for establishing a PLO office in Colombo—CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a Working Committee meeting of SLFP held yesterday said that the Government was concerned about the rights of the Tamils and Muslims of this country and the Government would take action to stop the false propaganda spread by the Federal Party here and abroad—VK. According to very reliable sources in the UNP several top men in the UNP are against the sacking of Mr. Suriyapperuma from the party and they will now fight this matter with the party President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to the bitter end—LD. Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis, in a statement

to Lankadipa said that on allegations that Mr. Suriyapperuma had criticised the party and its leader a committee was appointed to go into the matter and solely on its recommendation he was sacked from the party. In a letter to Mr. Jayewardene, Mr. Suriyapperuma has questioned the fate of the party which could not make up its mind about electing a Leader of the Opposition in the NSA—CDN. The *Janadina* editorially requested the Government to fully investigate the PL 480 expenditure of the American Embassy here following its revelations that the Embassy between January 1969 and May 1970 had spent almost Rs. 74,000 a day in Sri Lanka. E. Vivekanandan, a Colombo lawyer was yesterday sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and was fined Rs. 38,000 by the CJC (Exchange Frauds) on charges of illegally exporting Sri Lanka produce—DM. As results came in from yesterday's referendum on whether Britain should stay or not in the European Economic Community, all indications were that the public wanted Britain to stay in the EEC. Fresh violence flared up again on the Northern Israeli-Lebanon border. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said yesterday that prospects for a Middle East peace were extremely good.

SUNDAY, JUNE 8: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will leave today for Geneva where she will deliver the keynote address at the International Labour Organisation: from Switzerland the Premier will leave for Mexico where she is due to address the UNO sponsored International Women's Conference—CO. Dr. Alhaj Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, visited the injured University girl student at the Kandy hospital who alleged to have made an attempt at suicide after incidents of ragging at the Peradeniya Campus—CO & ST. Professor Kerbel, a talented Russian sculptor, had arrived in the island to create a life size monument of late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike—CO. Mr. L. Ariyawansa, Secretary of the Lanka Jathika Guru Sangamaya, has been elected as the President of the 12.5 million strong World Federation of Teachers' Union: at a recent meeting of the Union convened in Warsaw, France proposed Mr. Ariyawansa's name seconded by GDR, USSR, Iraq and India—CO. Ven. Kosgoda Dhammawansa Thera was yesterday ceremonially handed over the Act of Appointment as the Mahanayake Thera of the Amarapura Nikaya by the President Mr. William Gopallaya in which ceremony the Premier too participated—ST. The transfer of surplus houses to tenants under the Ceiling on Housing Property Law is now in its final phase—ST. When the leading shirtmakers in the country are experiencing a shortage in tetron cotton cloth there are 2 and a 1/2 million yards of this material lying idle in the Lanka

Salu Sala—ST. There are already indications that there will be a major rift in the UNP as between the J. R. clique and Senanayake clique, before the next general elections—**SLD.** Dr. Alhaj Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister Education, speaking at a seminar at Zahira College, Colombo yesterday, on "Education of Muslims in Sri Lanka" said that the mother tongue of Muslims is Tamil and therefore the Muslims of this country must develop the Tamil language, must carry out their day to day business in Tamil and not only in their homes but also on platforms must make Tamils as their medium of speech—**VK.** Australian Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, announced a sweeping cabinet reshuffle yesterday demoting Deputy Prime Minister Jim Cairns from the powerful Treasury post to the Environment Ministry. World Bank assured Bangladesh massive aid to help it meet economic difficulties and boost its development. According to Washington's State Department the reopening of the Suez Canal could lead to a further increase in the Soviet Naval presence in the Indian Ocean.

MONDAY, JUNE 9: As a step towards collaborating in large industrial and agricultural projects Sri Lanka will shortly sign double taxation treaties with several socialist countries: as a first step in this regard Sri Lanka will sign a double taxation treaty with Czechoslovakia—**CDN.** Student organisations, affiliated to the United Front in the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka, in a joint statement to the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet, state that the situation to which the Peradeniya Campus has been reduced today cannot be attributed to student misbehaviour, but to the reactionary element conspiring from within the Campus—**CDN.** The leaders of the United Front met on Saturday and resolved that none of their parties should nominate a candidate to contest the forthcoming Colombo South by-election—**CDM.** During his four-day stay in the US, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLPF Youth Leagues, met several US leaders including the Vice President, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, and discussed matters about the Indian Ocean, Sri Lanka's regional policies etc.—**CDM.** At the World Food Council sessions scheduled to open in Rome on June 23, Sri Lanka will seek more aid for food production—**CDM.** The Ministry of Public Administration will soon conduct a census to assess the number of clerical servants in Government service as the Ministry is unaware of the number of clerical employees in the public sector—**ATH.** The CWE has raised the prices of all varieties of dry fish by nearly Rs. 1.50 a pound—**LD.** Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma, who was recently sacked from the UNP, is likely to contest the Colombo South by-election opposing Mr. J. R. Jayewardene—**VK.** The all Ceylon Hindu Council has decided to vehemently protest against a proposal by Mr. Maithripala Senanayake to convert Tamil youths to the Buddhist faith and provide them jobs: the Council also decided to write to the Buddhist Congress and get particulars and subsequently to take appropriate action regarding the Congress's action to build two Buddhist temples in Jaffna—**VK.** Mrs. Jacqueline Onassis, widow of Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis, has given up all rights to her husband's estate in return for a yearly grant of 250,000 dollars. The Australian Government believed that France carried out a nuclear test in the South Pacific on last Friday. British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, happy over the nation's verdict to stay in the ECM said that the task now was to make

the country strong. Belgium will buy 102 American F-16 aircraft to reequip its Air Force.

TUESDAY, JUNE 10: A joint statement issued by the leaders of the three constituent parties of the UF stated that the action of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, by resigning his seat in the NSA was no more than a stunt and the United front had decided to keep out of the Colombo South by-election—**CDN.** Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, was accorded a red carpet welcome and a Swiss guard-of-honour when she arrived in Geneva yesterday—**CDN.** The Student Council of the Peradeniya Campus of the University yesterday decided that if the Police post in the Campus was not removed the entire student population will desert the Campus and will go home—**CDN.** The LSSP-oriented Ceylon Federation of Labour in an open letter to its membership said that the "Contract of Employment", a white paper the Government published on the eve of May Day, was no substitute for the Workers' Charter the Government promised—**CDN.** Finance Ministers of 24 developing nations met in Paris, chaired by Dr. N. M. Perera, in an attempt to prepare a common position for the Third World on international monetary and developing problems—**CDM.** Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike, said that he will bring several changes in the present law pertaining to the registration of births, marriages and deaths—**VK.** The Central Committee of the LSSP has decided to establish a red army called 'cadre camps' all over the island: this decision was taken when the LSSP Central Committee met recently to discuss the plans for the celebration of the party's 40th anniversary—**LD.** The Ministry of Defence and External Affairs has decided to strengthen anti-TAFFI operations along the northern coast of the island following an increase in arrivals of illicit immigrants from India—**ATH.** David Paynter, former Principal of the Government College of Fine Arts and the island's well-known painter, died on Saturday at the age of 75—**CDN.** The Israeli Cabinet reaffirmed its desire for a further interim peace settlement with Egypt. China and Philippines set up DPL ties. Several hundred people were killed in Luanda in fights between rival Angolan liberation movements.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11: Foreign investment under the proposed Foreign Investment Legislation will be allowed only if such investment is intended to further the economic and social development of Sri Lanka: the Ministry of Justice has prepared for the Prime Minister the draft of the "Foreign Investment Protection Law"—**CDN.** The Kandy Organisation of the UF yesterday unanimously resolved to request the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Cabinet to remove the Police force from the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka—**CDN.** The Martinair air crash inquiry was yesterday held at the BAIC in camera—**CDN.** As a safeguard against shortages the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands yesterday instructed the National Milk Board to maintain in future a buffer stock of milk foods for six months—**CDM.** The Commission inquiring into the ragging incidents of Mathematics teachers at the Vidyalkara University Campus will handover its report to the President on Monday 16—**VK.** The Commissioner of Co-operatives has informed that in future no credit facilities will be afforded to co-operative societies that fail to maintain a proper budgeting system—**VK.** The Insurance Corporation Bill will be amended soon to allow the co-operative sector to run a Insurance

Corporation—LD. All trained teachers will be put on the same salary scales from next month irrespective of the medium of training and the new scale of salaries will be with retrospective effect from January this year—DM. Following the difference of opinion in the UNP the Working Committee of the UNP Youth Leagues will hold a important meeting today at the party's headquarters—JD. There are nearly 7,000 new voters in the Colombo South electorate for the forthcoming by-election: there were 66,000 voters in the electorate for the 1970 general elections—ATH. France announced on Monday that it set off the the first underground nuclear explosion beneath Fangatanfa atoll in the South Pacific. US announced that the Soviet Union has test-fired its biggest nuclear missile, the SR-18, for the second time in three days. Manila broke off DPL ties with Taiwan minutes after it established DPL ties with China.

THURSDAY, JUNE 12: Addressing the ILO in Geneva the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, proposed a skilled manpower pool which will bring together developing countries with a surplus of capital and the Third World countries with a surplus of trained personnel: the Prime Minister will return to Sri Lanka through Tokyo where she will arrive on June 22 for a two-day unofficial visit—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, in a statement to the press said that he agreed with the Prime Minister that there was no question about the legality of the NSA but his resignation was intended to give the voters an opportunity to exercise their rights—CDN. Popular Sinhala film star, Mr. Gamini Fonseka, has announced that he will contest the leader of the UNP, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, at the Colombo South by-elections: Mr. Fonseka said that he had backed the UNP at considerable sacrifice but was now dissatisfied with Mr. Jayewardene's leadership—CDN. Sri Lanka and South Vietnam will establish DPL ties at Embassy level—CDN. The Keuneman Committee which probed into the District Quota system of admissions to the University has reported that no injustice had been done to larger sections of students as alleged—CDM. Specialised trained teachers numbering nearly 10,000 announced that they will come out on a token strike today and tomorrow to protest against the new system of salary scales—CDM. The CJC will deliver its order on June 17 whether or not a fresh trial should take place in the case against Razeen Sally and his brother Mr. Farook Sally—CDN. Sixteen undergraduates of the Peradeniya Campus were yesterday suspended for alleged ragging—CDN. The Police yesterday started questioning the undergraduate who is now warded in the Kandy Hospital after an alleged attempt at suicide owing to ragging—DM. The Navy has established a base at Mannar and the Navy will be deployed in the Northern sea for surveillance—VK. The Ministry of Local Government convened a meeting of officials of the Colombo Municipality to take further action on the decision to number all 1777 streets within the Colombo Municipality—VK. Minister Hector Kobbekaduwa, has decided to declare a National Agricultural Day to be celebrated yearly on a national scale—JD. For the third time the National Milk Board has last year incurred a loss of nearly Rs. 65 million—JD. The Ministry of Housing and Construction has announced that it can once again commence housing loans in two months which was stopped recently—ATH. While the European Common Market had entered into a

Trade Agreement with Israel, several Arab countries yesterday commenced talks with the EEC on closer political and economic ties. US Congress commenced investigations on the findings in the Rockefeller Commission's report on the CIA's wrongdoings including allegations of planned assassinations. A British lecturer and author, Dennis Hill, charged in Uganda, was sentenced to death and will face a firing squad.

FRIDAY, JUNE 13: A Credit Council will be opened in every governmental department beginning from July 1 and these Credit Councils will liquidate the debts of public servants and assume responsibility for the repayment of the loans: membership in these Councils will be open to all public servants including Ministers—CDN. The Controller of Imports and Exports announced that there will not be cuts in imports to the private sector this year—CDN. The Student's Council of the Peradeniya Campus of the University decided yesterday by a majority vote that they will go home as a protest against the presence of Police in Campus premises—CDM. The President of the Peradeniya Campus, Dr. P. W. Vithanage, said that the University would be conducting lectures and other facilities as usual until the end of the current term despite threats by some student elements to leave the Campus—CDN. Miss Rupa Ratnaseeli, an undergraduate of the Peradeniya Campus of the University, presently warded in the Kandy Hospital in a statement to the Police said that she was so fed up of life because of the ragging and that she jumped out of the fourth floor of Ramanadan Hall in an attempt to commit suicide—LD. A number of students of the Peradeniya Campus left the premises yesterday—VK. It is expected that by tomorrow all the students will leave the Peradeniya Campus as a protest against the presence of Police in the Campus premises—ATH. At the invitation of the Government, a delegation headed by the Deputy Foreign Minister of Rumania arrived in the island yesterday—CDN. UNICEF decided to grant \$ 845,000 to Sri Lanka for its child care and nutrition programs—CDM. The Central Committee of the LSSP in statement issued yesterday stated that there still prevails a public desire for organising the masses against the fascist reactionary elements in the country—JD. The UNP Youth League that met at Sri Kotha on 11/6/75 was addressed by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, but after the meeting the youth delegates went to "Woodlands" and had discussions with Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama: the youths later decided to launch a campaign against Mr. Jayewardene, at the Colombo South by-elections—JD. Several youth leagues who attended the meeting posed the question as to how Mr. Jayewardene was going to safeguard democracy when there was no room for democracy within the party where there is no freedom of speech and expression—ATH. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's 1971 election to Parliament was set aside and she was disqualified from holding elective office for six years by the Allahabad High Court: the Judge held that Mrs. Gandhi was guilty of corrupt practice in making use of the services of a senior Government servant as her election agent while he was still a gazetted officer of the Government of India: the Judge however granted the Prime Minister a stay order pending an appeal to the Supreme Court—CDM. China said Soviet Union was plundering its East European partners forcing them to accept disadvantageous economic deals.

Bell And Paranavitana

by James T. Rutnam

This is the concluding part of the 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.

WHEN WE EXAMINE CLOSELY the whole range of the story of Archaeology in Sri Lanka, we would find two outstanding figures who between them spanned the period from 1890 to 1956 with a short break during the first World War and a few years thereafter. They are Harry Charles Purvis Bell (1851-1937) and Senarat Paranavitana (1896-1972). Another contemporary figure whose great work had suffered only by comparison with the works of Bell and Paranavitana, but who nevertheless stands pre-eminent in his own self-chosen field of Epigraphy, is Don Martino de Zilwa Wickremasinghe⁽¹⁾, the Editor of the first two volumes of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

Obituary notices of Bell and Paranavitana who (like Wickremasinghe) were not professionally or academically qualified for their tasks before they entered into their vocations, have appeared in the journals⁽²⁾ of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, a learned institution which has never failed to foster and support Archaeology from the time of its establishment in 1846. Paranavitana who succeeded Wickremasinghe as Editor of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* had a paragraph each on Bell and Wickremasinghe in his Preface to Vol. IV of that journal. A list of Bell's writings compiled by Lyn de Fonseka appeared in *Ceylon Today*⁽³⁾. An impressive list of Paranavitana's writings up to the year 1963 was published by H. A. I. Goonetilleke^(3a) in the *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume* issued in 1965,

and a further list up to 1972 by Goonetilleke appeared in a Special Issue of the Sinhala journal *Sanskruti* published in 1974.

Both Bell and Paranavitana were tenacious upholders of their theories. Bell maintained until his death and in the face of all criticism the old identification of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana dagobas in Anuradhapura, an identification which was challenged on the earliest occasion in 1888 by Hugh Nevill⁽⁴⁾ and later by H. Parker⁽⁵⁾. Even Emerson Tennent had described the Abhayagiri in his book on Ceylon⁽⁶⁾ in impressive and glowing language, the whole while believing it to be the Jetavana. But we know for certain now that Tennent's Jetavana is truly Abhayagiri and that his Abhayagiri is truly Jetavana.

In the same way Paranavitana had held fast to his theories and conjectures. Some of these have been openly contradicted by scholars such as J. E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw,⁽⁷⁾ R. H. de Silva,⁽⁸⁾ A. D. T. E. Perera,⁽⁹⁾ Siri Gunasinghe⁽²⁰⁾ P. C. Sestieri⁽²¹⁾ and R.A.L. H. Gunawardene⁽²²⁾.

The most important of Paranavitana's theories, according to one of his severest and most convincing critics, R. A. L. H. Gunawardene, would have "if they are accepted, involve the re-writing of a substantial portion of the ancient and mediaeval history of Ceylon." In an effort possibly to counter the "indo-centrism" of our historical writing both ancient and modern, Paranavitana appears to have gone to another extreme and has argued according to Gunawardene "for a relationship between Ceylon and Malaysia extending beyond the economic and cultural spheres that the earlier writings had postulated", so much so that he had suggested calling the period between the demise of Parakrama Bahu I and the accession of Parakrama Bahu II the "Malay Period of Ceylon History." The subject has been dealt with fully by Gunawardene in his article on "Ceylon and Malaysia" in the last and final issue of the *University of Ceylon Review*. Gunawardene had made a serious attempt to read some of the alleged inter-linear inscriptions himself but had found them "unreliable". He further proceeded to test Parana-

vitana's arguments based on these inscriptions against other known historical evidence and had found them unacceptable and had considered Paranavitana's sources as being "of dubious credibility for purposes of historical reconstruction." Paranavitana had advanced his contention for the first time at a seminar at Dambadeniya in 1958⁽²³⁾. Notwithstanding Gunawardene's effective disposal of this thesis Paranavitana continued to uphold his position until his dying day.

Paranavitana had already engaged himself in a vigorous controversy with K. A. Nilakanta Sastri⁽²⁴⁾, the noted historian of South India, and had also introduced his views into several publications which have all been listed by Gunawardene. Paranavitana had even taken upon himself the grave responsibility to incorporate his novel theories, with scant respect for his critics, into a college textbook written jointly by himself and C. W. Nicholas, the *Concise History of Ceylon*, published by the University of Ceylon in 1961⁽²⁵⁾.

The basis of Paranavitana's arguments was his detection of inter-linear writing which he claimed to have found in about twenty-five inscriptions scattered all over the Island and at Rameswaram in South India. The bulk of these inter-linear readings could go to form several volumes. Indeed he claimed to have read copious extracts from a book (written in Sanskrit prose) named *Parampara-Pustaka* (the Book of Lineages), "written in the reign of Vikramabahu (1111-1132) by a monk named Bhadra who was the pupil of the Sthavira (Head of the Sangha) of Svarnapura (Sri Vijaya) and had received his education at the Abhayagiri Vihare of Anuradhapura"⁽²⁶⁾. He also claimed to have read extracts from four other hitherto unknown and certainly non-extant works named *Sundarivrttanta*, *Magharajavrttanta*, *Suvarnapuravamsa* and *Rajavamsa*.

In the light of Gunawardene's criticism we are obliged to come to the conclusion that Paranavitana's work is a marvellous piece of fiction that only an extraordinary genius with a vivid imagination and an amazing knowledge of the minutest details of the currents and cross-currents of historical events could have been able to produce. Knowing the man as we

do, we cannot impugn his integrity. We can only say with the utmost respect that his imagination had been permitted to run riot and that he had become really as he himself had feared "the victim of some sort of hallucination"^(26a).

Godakumbura in his article contributed to *Ceylon Today on Epigraphical Studies in Ceylon*⁽²⁷⁾ where he refers at length to these interlinear inscriptions does not say that he had himself read them. As a matter of fact we have no testimony whatsoever that anyone else besides Paranavitana had read these inscriptions. There is one paragraph in Godakumbura's article on Paranavitana (27a) which is deserving of record. He wrote "Paranavitana's book, *Ceylon and Malaysia*, was reviewed in the journal by a University don. The author thought the review was unfair. Certainly there were errors in the reviewer's reference to some literary texts and place names. Paranavitana replied, and the editor did not publish the rejoinder. Paranavitana ceased to contribute to the Journal any more."

The University don referred to by Devendra was none other than Karthigesu Indrapala⁽²⁸⁾. He was the first and only man before Guna-wardene to dare to make a "critical review"⁽²⁹⁾ of Paranavitana's stand. For this Indrapala received a furious lambasting by Paranavitana which no wonder the Editor of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society had refused to publish⁽³⁰⁾. One can now understand why A. Liyanagamage had not included his own considered views (which went against Paranavitana on this subject and which he had first expressed in a draft paper intended to form part of his thesis for the Ph. D. degree) finally in either his thesis or his book *The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya*^(30a).

I HAD MYSELF been obliged to comment on Paranavitana's views when writing on the statue near Potgul Vihare, where Paranavitana had sought to rely on the interlinear inscriptions to establish conclusively that the statue was that of Vijayabahu I⁽³¹⁾. I was compelled to animadvert on his methodology in the paper which I read before the IATR conference in Jaffna last Januray⁽³²⁾. I shall content myself here with quoting some excerpts from my paper in this connection:

"The line of argument chosen by Paranavitana to serve his purposes in the present case is typical of a new methodology. It seeks to build an impressive superstructure of erudition and scholarship over a weak and flimsy foundation. In such cases one is intellectually intimidated by the show of clever, copious, vigorous, fluent and incontrovertible advocacy of some trifling (and often irrelevant) circumstance, and such a person is led to applaud with enthusiasm the point gained in the minor skirmish, little realising that the main argument must one day totter because of its weak foundation.

"Since the time of H. C. P. Bell no one had reached the same commanding position in the field of Ceylon Archaeology as Paranavitana. His journey to the top had been long and arduous. And finally having reached the summit he dwarfed his contemporaries. He was the master *sans peur et sans reproche*.

His word was accepted without question. He had an encyclopoedic knowledge of oriental literature and was a facile writer of English prose, enough to make the best of English writers envious. It was his *ipse dixit* that concluded every argument, and for a time everyone bowed to him with awe, and even with fear and trepidation.

"All are agreed that Paranavitana was a giant in his generation. His integrity has never been questioned. If he takes a view (not necessarily the correct one) he would explore the entire gamut of human knowledge to substantiate that particular position. In the process he has been known to ignore or indifferently dismiss anything to the contrary. He was an ingenious propagandist of his own preconceived hunches. He expected everyone to look at the prospect with almost identical eyes. This of course could not last for long." That was Paranavitana.

As we have observed earlier, Godakumbura had stated that Archaeological work was begun in

Jaffna on 24 April 1966, and that was the first time an organised archaeological excavation was being carried out in the north of Ceylon. Let us hope that this will be continued. The Jaffna Archaeological Society which was founded in a modest way in May 1971 by K. Indrapala, V. Sivaswamy and A. Kandiah has already done some work with the help of the Archaeological Department, with which it has friendly relations, at Kantarodai, Vallipuram, Mutharaiyan Kattu and other sites in the Vavuniya and Trincomalee Districts and has since issued some publications, especially relating to a large number of Tamil inscriptions which were discovered during their surveys.

The old chronicles of Sri Lanka which were intended primarily to record the activities of the Hinayana Buddhist Sangha have left many things unsaid. Wilhelm Geiger, the great Mahavamsa scholar, had once observed that the priestly compiler of the *Mahavamsa* has a bias to ecclesiastical things and has often omitted or suppressed facts which are of greater interest to the modern reader. B. C. Law had written "the chroniclers who were mad with the idea of Indo-Aryan rule did not foresee the difficulties to be met by the modern historians⁽³³⁾." We now have to fill these gaps, correct the slant, restore any mutilations and remove any interpolations in the chronicles.

THE STORY OF THE TAMILS in Sri Lanka has not been fully told. While the presence of the Sinhalese in some districts in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and in the Vanni at some periods in the history of Sri Lanka is not disputed, it is equally true that the Tamils have also held sway at intervals in the Southern part of Sri Lanka. H. W. Codrington has stated that "there can be little doubt that the Jaffna Kingdom was for a time paramount in the Low-country of Ceylon⁽³⁴⁾, and that Tamil "had been the Court Language of the Kings of Kotte⁽³⁵⁾."

This may explain why the trilingual inscription^(35a) found in Galle was written only in Chinese, Tamil and Persian and not in Sinhalese. Even Alagakonar was known and spoken of as Alagakonar and not as Alagakonara as will be noted from the phonetic transliteration

Tamil Buddhists

of this word in the Chinese records. In this connection it is interesting to note that Cheng-Ho, the Chinese Admiral had a base at Beruwala where he landed several times in the early fifteenth century, and on one occasion, it is observed with a fleet of some 48 ships and a contingent of 30,000 government troops⁽³⁶⁾. The Chinese records speak of the King of the land as a Soli meaning undoubtedly that he was a Tamil from South India.

We are all heirs to the national legacy of Sri Lanka. We find Buddhist monuments in Jaffna; we also find Hindu shrines and temples throughout the Island. Some of the greatest Buddhists were Tamils. Nilakanta Sastri has described in his article on *Buddhism in South India* that "from the dawn of history up to the fourteenth century A.D. or even later Buddhism held a considerable place in South India and left its marks in the monuments and literatures of the land⁽³⁷⁾." Jaffna is only about twenty miles from the sub-continent. We have necessarily to draw the right conclusions from this unchallengeable fact.

The great commentator of the Buddhist Scriptures, Buddhaghosa, was a South Indian⁽³⁸⁾. So were Buddhadatta, Dhammapala, Sangamitra, Bodi Dharma, Ilam Bodiya, Seethalai Sattanar⁽³⁹⁾. The greatest Buddhist epic *Manimekalai* was written in Tamil by a Tamil in the second century A.D. Even Kaccayana, the author of the first Pali grammar, came from South India, which for over a millennium continued to be a centre of Pali Buddhism. "Sinhalese Buddhism", Sir Charles Elliot wrote, while acknowledging that it came to Ceylon under the auspices of Asoka, "had probably a closer connection with Southern India than the legends suggest and Conjevaram was long a Buddhist centre which kept up intercourse with both Ceylon and Burma⁽⁴⁰⁾."

It is, therefore, not surprising that we have Buddhist monuments in Jaffna so close to the South-east coast of India. The megalithic burials in Pomparippu and other places suggest a South Indian culture in Ancient Sri Lanka, but there is no archaeological evidence at all to suggest a North-Indian colonisation^(40a). I do not want to be categorical. We all make mis-

takes. That is evident in the history of Research. No side ever wins in this dialogue. We seek only a victory for Truth and Truth is so elusive that the search will continue for ever so long.

As a message to my fellow members in the Jaffna Archaeological Society I would like to end this discourse with the following extracts from the works of Dr. Paul E. Peiris:

"Long before the arrival of Vijaya there was in Lanka five recognised Isvarams of Siva which claimed and received the adoration of all India. These were Thiruketesvaram near Mahatitha, Munnissaram dominating Salawatta and the Pearl Fishery, Tandesvaram near Mantota, Thirukonesvaram opposite the great Bay of Koddidiyar and Nakulesvaram near Kankasanturai⁽⁴¹⁾."

"Everyone must concede that the chief influence which has been exercised on the Sinhalese Court throughout its history was the Dravidian interests of South India. I am of opinion that long before the arrival of Vijaya the country had been fully occupied by Dravidian Races⁽⁴²⁾."

"I hope the Tamil people will realise that in truth there is buried in their sands the story of much more fascinating development than they had hitherto dreamed⁽⁴³⁾."

(11) See *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV p. iv; also W. Mendis Gunasekera, "A Pioneer of Epigraphical Research", *Ceylon Observer* 16 January 1975 p. 2; (12) See D.T. Devendra "Harry Charles Purvis 'Bell'", *JCBRAS* Vol. VIII NS pt. 1, 1962, pp. 163 to 165; Godakumbura "Senarat Paranavitana" op. cit Vol. XVI, 1972 pp. 33 to 37; (1) Vol. I Nos. 2 and 3; (13a) Librarian, University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya Campus, author of *A Bibliography of Ceylon* 2 Volumes 1970, an indispensable guide to scholars; (14) See Kamalasinghe de Silva, "The Abhayagiri and Jetavanarama: A Case of Mistaken Identity", *Ceylon Daily News* 23 October 1965, p. 9; Hugh Nevill b. 19 June 1848, d. in France 10 April 1897, Editor *Taprabanian*, 3 Volumes from October 1885 to 1888, also *Oriental Studies* 1882, *Ceylon Civil Service* 1869 to 1886; of. *Ceylon Literary Register* Vol. 2, No. 37, 1888. p. 294; also

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. 1, Colombo 1924, pp. 10 to 14; (15) See H. Parker *Ancient Ceylon* London 1909, pp. 298 to 311; (16) See James Emerson Tennent *Ceylon*, second edition, London 1859, Vol. 1 p. 346; (17) See "The Rock-cut sculptures at Isurumuni", a paper read at Colombo at the Second International Conference Seminar on Asian Archaeology, 22 to 26 August 1969; "The Kushtarajagala Image" *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume* Colombo 1965, pp. 253-261; (18) "The Dakkina Thupa" *Ceylon Observer* 24 March 1957; (19) "Roruka" *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture* New Delhi 1973, Vol. III, pp. 83 to 89; (20) "The Statue at Potgul Vihare" *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 1 No. 2, 1958 pp. 180 to 191; (21) "The Statue at Potgul Vihare" *East and West* Vol. 9 No. 3, 1958 pp. 233 to 237; (22) R. A. L. H. Gunewardene, "Ceylon and Malaysia" *University of Ceylon Review* April-October 1967 Vol. XXV Nos. 1 and 2 pp. 1 to 64; (23) See *Dambadeni Sahitya Sammelanaya, Sammelanai Satahan*, Department of Cultural Affairs, Colombo 1959, pp. 23 to 27, 33 and 34; (24) See S. Paranavitana "Ceylon and Malaysia" A Rejoinder to Nilakanta Sastri, *JCBRAS* Vol. VIII NS pt. 2 1963 pp. 330 to 377; for Sastri's views see op. cit Vol. VIII NS pt. 1, 1962 pp. 125 to 140; (25) For a severe criticism of this work See S. P. F. Senaratna *Prehistoric Archaeology in Ceylon* Colombo 1969 pp. 28, 29; (26) S. Paranavitana, "Ceylon and Sri Vijaya" *Artibus Asiae, Essays Offered to G. H. Luce*, Vol. 1, p. 207; (26a) See Paranavitana *The Greeks and Maurayas*, Colombo 1971, p. 5. (27) October-December 1968, pp. 12 to 18; Godakumbura had accepted without reserve all Paranavitana's interliner readings; See also Roland Silva and A. Denis N. Fernando *Ancient Ceylon* No. 1, January 1971, pp. 141 to 144 for an account of an unsuccessful attempt to read these inscriptions by the use of photogrammetry; Saddamangala Karunaratna *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. VI, 1973 No. 23, Note 4 "Interlinear Inscriptions" pp. 98 to 101 which ends thus: "Perception should be free from any trace of imagination." (27a) Godakumbura's Obituary Notice on Paranavitana published in 1972 (See fn. 12 supra) is strangely silent

on Paranavitana's interliner readings; (28) Lecturer in History, University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya Campus; Now Professor of History and Archaeology and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Sri Lanka, Jaffna Campus; (29) See *JCBRAS* Vol. XI NS 1967, pp. 101 to 106; also W. H. McLeod "Interliner Inscriptions in Sri Lanka", *South Asia* (Australia) No. 3, August 1973, pp. 105, 106; of S. Kiribamure "Some Reflections on Professor Paranavitana's Contributions to History", *Ceylon Journal of Humanities*, Vol. I No. 1 for January 1970, pp. 70 ff; (30) In his inimitable style Paranavitana had lashed out in rage. It was almost libellous, more pungent than his rejoinders to Nilakanta Sastri (see *JCBRAS* Vol. VII INS pt. 2) and D. J. Wijeyaratne (see *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. V pt. I No. 4 pp. 35 to 65) and more contemptuous than his retort to D. E. Hettiarachchi (*JCBRAS* Vol. I NS 1950 pp. 174 and 175); (30a) See Gunawardene op. cit pp. 5 and 13, fn. 17 and 38; (31) See S. Paranavitana, *Art of the Ancient Sinhalese* Colombo 1971 p. 138 (plate 88); See also pp. 134-135 (plate 63) where on the basis of his readings of interlinear inscriptions the Sasseruva Buddha Image is identified by him as a "portrait statue" of Mahasena; (32) James T. Rutnam "Polonnaruwa Colossus" paper read at IV International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Jaffna, Sri Lanka, 5 January 1974; (33) Bimala Churn Law *The Chronicles of Ceylon*, Calcutta 1947 p. 47; (34) H. W. Codrington *A Short History of Ceylon* Colombo 1939, p. 84; (35) H. W. Codrington *JCBRAS* Vol. 31 No. 81, 1928 p. 202; See also C. S. Nsvaratnam *A Short History of Hinduism in Ceylon*, pp. 191 to 211 (36) See Ma Huan *Ying-yai Shen-lan* translated and edited by J. G. V. Mills, Hakluyt Society, 1970 p. 11. This refers to Cheng-Ho's Third Expedition when the King of Ceylon was captured and taken to China. Mills confidently identified Beruwala with *Pieh-lo-li* as the Chinese base in Sri Lanka in early fifteenth century; (37) K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Buddhism in South India*, *The Mahabodhi*, Vol. 50 Nos. 4 to 6, 1942 pp. 157, 158; (38) See Wilhelm Geiger *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times* p. 69; also A. P. Buddhadatta *Thero Corrections to Geiger's Mahavamsa* etc. Ambalangoda 1957 p. 142 sq. and *Times of Ceylon* 30

March 1969. (39) T. N. Ramachandran "The History of South Indian Buddhism" *The Buddhist Jayanthi Special* May 1956, Vol. XXVII No. 1 pp. 51 to 53; "Sanghamitra, a Tamil Bhikkhu of the Cola country who lived in the early half of the fourth century A.D. went to Ceylon.. and renewed and enlarged the Abhayagiri Vihare." "Buddhadatta Thera (Fifth Century A.D.) a Tamil of the Cola country, held charge successively of Buddhist monasteries at Mahavihara in Anuradhapura.."; (40) *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1921 Reprinted 1954, Vol. I p. XXV; (40a) S. P. F. Senaratna op. cit p. 30. "In particular, there are no finds which could be traced to either the west or the east of North India;" (41) Paul E. Pieris *JCBRAS* Vol. XXVI, No. 70, 1917 pp. 17 and 18; (42) Paul E. Pieris *the Ceylon Daily News*, 22 February 1919; (43) *ibid.*

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—37

Housekeeping In The Wannī—2

By Herbert Keuneman

THE HOUSEKEEPER in town may have it slightly easier commiserially (vis-a-vis 'co-operatively' distributed stores) and psychologically (vis-a-vis domestic relations with a slightly more sophisticated *menage*) but as regards victualage the Wannī housekeeper has, distinctly, an edge. Or he would have, had he not gone whoring after strange and fashionable gastronomic gods.

Drought has always crouched menacingly over the Wannī, and perhaps in the bad old days there were frequently degrees of hunger; but there is no tradition—and I can think of no historical record—of absolute famine such as, time after time, has overtaken India. Nor is this because there were easy communications or a better distribution system than India could employ nor a more humane attitude in either the government or the mercantile sector between the Wannī and the soft lands to the south. Not, at least, until well into the present century. It is because the Wannī is unexpectedly well stocked, and always has been, with food supplies both staple and subsidiary. The new feeling of deprivation that

has been created in the Wannī, so that the region must be steadily pampered by political interests rather than disinterestedly altruistic ones is felt chiefly by imported 'colonists' who are steadily doing the enchorial community out of its birthrights; if there was an old feeling of deprivation—and let us remember that to be deprived and to feel deprived are two different things: the deprivation felt and resented probably related not so much to food supplies as to modern services such as roads, health-care and education.

Towards the end of the 13th Century it was the Wannī supplied the *dhana* at an ordination ceremony bidden by King Vijayabahu IV to which the entire *sangha*, nationwide, was summoned. 'The Wannī kings (had gathered together) much rice with the divers ingredients such as fish, meat and the rest, great loads of grain, sour and sweet milk, butter and so forth, also honey, treacle, thickened sugar juice, raw sugar, lump sugar and the like..' It is true that the Wannī was at that period in its prime. But it should not be forgotten that even in its prime the Wannī—a motley of forest-dwelling communities—produced the items of this sumptuous list from a forest environment without even the benefit of major irrigation works, and at any lowest ebb of its history could have produced as much variety and in sufficiency at least to feed itself. It is the immigrants obtruded into it that have made—foodwise—it less than self-supporting and less than self-content.

IT MAY BE HARDLY LIKELY that the Wannī villager in pre-'development' days had rice to eat at all seasons of every year. But there were also cereals such as *kurakkan*, *meneri* and *tana-hal*, pulses such as *mung*, gourds and pumpkins such as *vattakka*: products of his *hena*; water-lily seeds (*olu-hal*) which he could gather in comparative plenty from the village tank; yams such as *kiri-ala* which grew in every swamp, *nelun-ala* (again from his tank) or *katu-ala* or *kiri-kodol* from any jungle; and all of these he could contentedly substitute for rice, and did so substitute, until by his association with the food-snobbs from the colonies rice got to be, for him too, a status symbol! Today he will not

eat a meal of *olu-bat* save he adds a handful of rice to it to demonstrate he is not sunk to destitution, though it is one of the most delicious of the substitutes.

This is far from an exhaustive list, and I have deliberately omitted species that from climatic or soil conditions do not thrive in the Ehetuwewa area, or which were unknown in the early Vanni; and there is not an item in it with which the local villager could not satisfactorily eke out his rice ration today, if he chose. (I realize that some of the substitutes are not as nutritious as rice—some of them are more so—but if the average villager scorns such meals as *olu-bat* or boiled *vattakka*, and if he grows sorghum and soya in his *hena* instead of *meneri* and *tana-hal*, it is not nutritional content of which he is thinking but of the cash return. Because this is another value to which a Colony Culture has converted him).

Twenty-two years ago when a colony very near to Ehetuwewa was with some fanfare opened (about 70% to local residents, it is gratifying to record) the 30% of land-hungry immigrants from the south arrived by special train, accoutred—it was intended—with the implements necessary for their new life purchased with a special grant. The equipment included, I am told, some mammoties; but *pot stills* were vastly in preponderance!

The local colonists were quick to learn from their sophisticated betters; and the teaching has widely spread. Not every Ehetuwewa villager, of course, brews *kasipu*; nor every Ataragalla colonist, either (in any case, methylated spirits—Rs. 13/75 the bottle: up from Rs 5/ three years ago—is at present the more popular buy). Nor was Ataragalla, by far, the only leaven to work in the Vanni. But the leaven has worked; and the people of the Vanni—once the last stronghold in 'Sri' Lanka of the Peasant, with his firm grip upon realities—have been bamboozled into accepting the alien illusions of a money economy and a pretentious value-scale.

(Why the inverted commas for 'Sri'? Well: would you honestly apply the term to an adde-pated woman with a painted face, gaunt ribs, flagging breasts and a hunger-distended belly? Even if she were

veiled in *Salu Sala ny'on*? For, only now, with over-development in trivial aspects and under-production in vital ones, and with three years of drought upon it, has the Vanni begun to suspect the parallel between an inflated belly and inflated currency!)

THE ABOVE EXPLAINS, I think, why the excellent new cereals and pulses—the sorghums and dhurras, the cowpeas and soya beans—with their greatly superior nutritional and drought-resistant qualities, which Government has been at such pains to introduce and popularize, have not caught on as might have been hoped: they are not rice and they are not the most profitable cash crops. He does not think of them in terms of an *alternative staple*. If he grows them, he grows them to sell... and chilis, for instance, sell better. If only he could be weaned back to all the non-rice staples to which he used to be accustomed, then—making allowance, of course, for catastrophe he *genuinely* could not control: I put it thus because there is more than a suspicion that the drought by which he is presently afflicted is at least partly of his own making—he would not only have enough to eat, and would eat it contentedly, but he might also replace some of the inferior older staples by the new ones.

The situation in regard to 'the divers ingredients such as fish, meat and the rest' is much the same. The mere jungle (and the tank) supplies them in astonishing variety: Dinga has just made me an offhand list of twelve jungle products which make tasty vegetable curries and fourteen jungle leaves for *mallun* (an invariable accompaniment of the Vanni rice meal) and there is still tank fish and—until the village guns were confiscated, so that only ex-insurgents, crypto-insurgents and potential insurgents still contrive to possess any; yes, yes, yes, I know the guns are being returned, but there is an infinity of obstacles between the word and the deed—there was flesh too.

THE DEMAND for fish and flesh still runs high; jungle vegetable products, though they may be rather shamefacedly served save at a very family meal, have the overriding advantage of coming entirely free; but the old-fashioned

hena vegetables are distinctly *passee*, and if you were striving to impress anybody they would certainly be replaced at least in part by *rata elavalu* from the *pola*: cabbage, carrot curry, even a beetroot curry forsooth! for there is no snob less discriminating or more spendthrift than a new snob such as the snobs of the Vanni. (But don't scorn them. Reserve your censure for the forces of Progress that turned them snobbish and hungry and hard up all at the same time).

A typical such force is the *pola*, the village fair. It is typical not only in having probably been sponsored with the best of intentions but also in having miscarried and produced unlooked-for ill effects. Its purpose was undoubtedly to enable a profitable utilization of village surplus; which in its way (not the most efficient way) it may have done; but it has, besides, promiscuously encouraged village extravagance. It is not only that all the cheapjacks—purveyors of 'sol-gol' jewellery, quacks selling *ingirisi behet* for unspecific ailments, broadsheet poetasters—naturally foregather; there are lures more subtly irresistible. In Hiripitiya, fatter years ago one stall used to sell bread of *one single mix* but in no less than 28 separate shapes and colours, and it was a hard parent that could drag his children by and refuse them a red cock or a green star or a yellow sunflower at five times the price its weight was worth.

But it is the *rata elavalu* that most excites my indignation.

The *pola* system—it seems designed more for the pedlar's than the villager's benefit—seems wonderfully adapted to exaggerate the complementary obliquities of the Sinhalese market-gardener and his customer. (These are notably less in, for instance, Jaffna: where almost no producers seem to have the hardihood to offer really poor-quality produce for sale—or, maybe, most have sufficient pride in their product to eschew doing so—and probably no buyers could be found if low-grade produce were so offered. In sharp contrast is the attitude farther south; at least in the Vanni. Here, apparently, the market-gardener is invariably and solely concerned with the question of turnover: seeking either the least possible capital risk, so that he picks his crop too green

and reduces loss from disease and animal raids and theft by rivals; or seeking the greatest possible profit, when he lets the crop too long mature so that it gains in poundage what he sacrifices in quality; and his customer, inured to low quality, looks only for the cheapest buy). Given this attitude on either side, nothing could better perpetuate 'undiscriminating consumerism' than the *pola*. As I was saying, the system might have been arranged with no other motive.

THE WORMY CABBAGES, the stringy leeks, the bled-out beet-roots, the soft-gone carrots that appear for sale at the Galgamuwa *pola* on Tuesday mornings probably left Kurunegala (forty miles away) four or five days previously and Kandy, whence they probably come, goodness knows how long earlier. Anyway, they are pretty well leathered by Tuesday. They will have been shown and picked over at three fairs—or perhaps more on the way: perhaps Wariyapola on Saturday, Maho on Sunday, Ambanpola on Monday. The shopper at the Galgamuwa *pola* is not left with much choice. That hardly worries him if the vegetable is *ingirisi* and the price is cheap. After, all, I don't wonder that he carries his beetroots!

What I do wonder is why he needs beetroots, even to cut a culinary dash when friends come to a meal. I have sometimes (to cut a kind of culinary dash myself) served friends from Colombo an entirely jungle lunch, that is to say there was not a single main dish in it from cultivated or domesticated sources, and they have seemed to enjoy it as much as any family meal they have eaten. It could have been made quite memorable with a few additions from the *hena*. By strict Vanni convention it could have been made a feast—see next week's (concluding) article on this subject—without any recourse but the jungle at all.

The menu? This is one sample.

STAPLE: *olu bat* (boiled water-lily seeds)

THE FIVE KANDYAN MALU: (see concluding article) *ambula* of *maha-karamba* berries, *baduma* of *telatiya* fruit, *niyambalava* of *val-batu* (the wild brinjal), *malluma* of *amunu-kola* *hodda* of cashew-nuts

ADDITIONAL DISHES: curried *lulla* (choicest of tank fish) crisp-fried *li-kola*

DESSERT: *palu* berries preserved in wild honey

IN NUWARA ELIYA

Pony Racing

by Anatory Bukoba

April 15,

Flies, Pidurutalagala, and pony racing stood out. The first were a menace to food on tables. We had to poison them; it worked. Piduru I had climbed at least twice in the nineteen-forties, before independence. The walk starts by the catholic church. Thirty years ago and more, it was not difficult to climb Piduru. In those days, the path was wide all the way to the top; it is not so now. It was a gentle climb then. The hardest part used to be coming down, as the descent, or the climb, was terraced, to avoid soil erosion as I discovered; for there were chasms, feet deep, right down the middle of the path, over some distance, when we climbed this time. Someone said that heavy rains, last year, had done the damage; but I, seeing the havoc over the whole climb, had thought, before I was told this, that many years of neglect had done it, right from the time, or rather, the day, when the British packed up and left.

When I was a schoolboy, the constant jolting that my knees got, stepping down from one terrace to another; along the path, had made the descent painful and wearisome. Not so now; coming down was easy; you just had to be careful you did not slip. Going up was a real climb, and no gentle walk as it used to be on what, I seem to remember, was almost like a bridle track or path then.

What I would like to describe is the world near the top of our highest mountain. My companion described it as primeval, and he was probably right. What he meant I think, was forest untouched by the hand of man. What a different place it was to the jungle we know. All the trees had fungus growing on them; moss, lichen. In a different way, it was not unlike that caused by an air frost, but that

is white, this was sort of black, kind of prehistoric, the effect, dark. It was worth seeing.

We had good views of the town and the Nuwara Eliya valley or plain, particularly from the top. At the top, at one stage, we seemed to be the only mountain not covered in mist. I should have said mountain top. Our view of the N'Eliya valley was always clear.

Ceylon ponies, both Mannar and Delft, Ceylon lads, gaily decked out in owners colours, racing these ponies hard, was a grand sight. It warmed the cockles of my heart to know that here we had almost an indigenous sport, although the concept may have been introduced from abroad; and I hope we keep it so, now that shortage of foreign exchange and government policy have made it indigenous. I hope the idea spreads as part of our own culture and sportsmanship. No entrance fee was there, and people from every walk of life, and in every manner of dress rubbed shoulders; one people, one nation, all fellow-citizens. You had to look hard to spot the pony owners. Some of these ponies, when they are not racing, and they are not racing all the year round, help out on farms. What a way to make farming popular; just think; riding a pony at your work; it might be rounding up sheep or cattle.

N'Eliya cannot be mistaken for Europe. The dress of people precludes that. We have not adopted eastern dress, but we, have our own way of wearing European clothes, and I liked it. What Eastern clothes, there were, savoured of picking tea on the mountains; drab or grey sacking, and I liked that, too.

The chairman of a famous firm in Colombo seeing someone off at the bus stand and standing by him in the queue, albeit a short time, being solicitous about a seat, and about the time of departure of the bus; I liked that. A club which seemed the last word in luxury, old-world, and residential. All these mixed well.

Potato-farming is the big thing in the valley, and it has been so since the day when the U.N.P or the National Government, predecessor to the People's Government banned the import of potatoes. I heard that the government was up in strength in N'Eliya; it was the season.

BAZAAR TALK

● **BACK TO 1971?** ● **POSTAL**

IS IT NOT TIME that some of the leaders of the Government and other interested parties listen to broadcast which comes over the SLBC Sinhala programme on Tuesdays between 7.30 and 8.00 in the evening, that is 19.30 to 20.00 hours Sri Lanka time? That this is a programme is better entitled a *Call To Revolution*? Or better still *Back to 1971*? That the Prime Minister would be well advised to have all the past tapes of this broadcast impounded (if they are not already destroyed) and listen to them at her leisure? That she and other senior members of the Government who do not want a repetition of 1971 should listen to these broadcasts every Tuesday evening and take appropriate action? That *Tribune*, for some time now, has been flooded with comments and complaints about these broadcasts? That the complaints had come from very responsible persons in this country? That they also said they had sent letters to the premier, newspaper organisation in the country, viz. *Lake House*, which had evidently been thrown into the w.p.b. (waste paper basket)? That *Tribune* finally persuaded one of its investigators to listen to this broadcast last Tuesday (it is a painful job to make anyone listen to SLBC programmes)? That his report has induced *Tribune* to draw attention this feature? That the talk last week, started with audio-flashbacks to campus scenes where students were jeering and hooting persons who talked of "democratic socialism" (shades of Bandaranai-kaim)? That these students thereafter racously demanded "real and genuine" (meaning revolutionary) socialism? That from this they had gone on to discuss the current furore about campus ragging? That according to this broadcast all the hullabaloo about ragging was the work of "reactionary newspapers"? That the present campaign against ragging was the outcome of a conspiracy concocted by "reactionary elements" in the campuses and outside? That the broadcast called upon the youth to resist all these reactionary attempts to undermine their solidarity? That those who have listened to these Tuesday evening broadcasts for some time have told *Tribune* that the

ideological foundation of the next 1971 was being laid, among other ways, through these "broadcasts"? That in 1971 too the SLBC had been widely used by the invisible supporters of the Revolution? That those who do not want another 1971 should do something about these Tuesday broadcasts?

TWO BIRDS

IS IT NOT TRUE that the *Daily Mirror* in its historic editorial **WELL DONE, KUM** had referred to some *Wolves in Sheep's Clothing* in the postal set up? That gossip along the postal and telecommunications corridors are buzzing with stories about two birds, (let us say A & B), who have assumed near-Ministerial powers and have started calling for files (personal, secret and confidential) allegedly in the Minister's name without having recourse to the usual bureaucratic procedures laid down by Government? That the Minister, it is believed, does not know that these two gentlemen are conducting themselves in this fashion? That the two birds seem to be following in the steps of the shooting star now on the mat? That by dropping the Minister's name they seem to be getting away with murder? That they are able to exercise such power not only because of proximity to the Minister but also by muttering a few political mantras about the great services they had rendered to the cause of the Revolution in the days gone by? That the Minister, according to the whispers along the corridors, would be well advised not to allow these two birds to travel to the northern regions as frequently as they do now? That it will be in the Minister's own interest to clip their

wings to the exact size of the over-size jobs they now hold and which they had acquired because of over-kill reaction to their alleged political dedication?

LETTER

UNIVERSITY RAGGING

Sir,

You have done a valuable service to the readers of your erudite publication by reporting the incidents at our prestigious Peradeniya Campus and your analysis in-depth of the situation that prevailed there.

Have we cast "the Pearl of Great Price" before swine? is a pertinent question. From all reports the law of the jungle has prevailed at the Campus and the students responsible (which we hope was a small minority) have manifested the new found freedom of the wild ass.

The depth of depravity and the degree of violence associated with these rags only go to prove that Education must not be the plaything of politicians, for it cannot be denied that tampering with the usual and accepted norms for selection for higher education-under whatever guise, must lead to the admission of undesirables at the expense of keen and deserving students) to our seats of higher learning.

Politicking in every field of activity has been and still is the bane of life in this country and largely responsible for the sad predicament that we are in at present.

History shows that such exploitation has boomeranged on those responsible. This is a lesson most politicians are loathe to learn or realise belatedly to their cost.

R. Pararajasegaram

54, Dharmapala Mawatha,
Colombo 7. 15th June, 1975

POSTAL

There seems to be an apparent lull on the postal front. But this is deceptive. The LSSP's Sinhalese daily *Janadina* and its Tamil monthly *Janasakti* recently had a full-blooded bash at the goings-on in the Postal department. Special reference was made in these articles to the one question which *Tribune* had focused attention in several recent issues of the paper: viz. the high-flying action of a top bureaucrat to seek green pastures abroad. The *Aththa* earlier had condemned this act of bureaucratic high-handedness in no uncertain terms. The *Times* group had wanted prompt action against such offending bureaucrats. Questions have been tabled about this particular episode in the NSA on the Order Paper for June 19. It will however be possible to comment on the Ministerial replies, if any, only in our issue of June 28. There are many ways of evading answers to such questions on the first occasion they come up. But this cannot go on for ever. Sooner or later the questions must be answered, an inquiry by an independent person must be held, and the appropriate punishment (or reward) handed out. In the meantime, more skeletons in the postal cupboard are being bared and the light of day will soon shine upon them.

A WELCOME STEP

Gas Co.'s Initiative

NATIONALISED UNDERTAKINGS in Sri Lanka have gained a reputation for inefficiency, corruption, and a total lack of public relations courtesy towards its customer. A 'Tribune' reader has brought to our notice a striking departure from the general rule that Government Undertakings are bureaucratic infernos.

Tribune had welcomed the takeover of the Gas Company and had also commented on how its services had shown a marked improvement after the takeover. A copy of a letter sent by the Gas Company to its customers is a welcome step in the matter of not only improving public relations but also as a manifestation of the desire on the part of the Company to render more efficient service. Without comment we publish the letter sent to us by our reader—it will speak for itself. (We can only hope that other Government Undertakings which provide services for the public will follow the example of the Gas Company).

"You would by now be aware, that the Colombo Gas & Water Co. Ltd., has been vested in the Government of Sri Lanka. This happened on the 24th of February, 1975. By this time, the Colomb Gas & Water Co. Ltd., which was one of the oldest and richest companies established in Sri Lanka was 103 years old. But over the course of its centenary and especially during the past few years, the affairs of the Company deteriorated to such an extent that it soon became a struggle for mere survival, with tremendous unrest amongst its workers and a sense of insecurity pervading throughout. It was at this juncture that the Government had to take over the activities of the Company as it had to serve an important need in the city and suburbs.

"The vesting of this Company in the Government was solely for the reason that it could serve the needs of a society better in that it could give the consumers, a much better gas and afford a better service (Sales & Maintenance).

"We are therefore, on behalf of the Company dedicated to the task of re-building the lost image

of this Company by endeavouring to offer you these services in the fullest measure. I am sure, you are already noticing an improvement in the quality of gas and in our services, and thus enjoy some of the initial benefits of the change over. This little we have achieved with limited resources with old and dilapidated pipe lines and broken down machinery.

"Whilst doing our best with what we have, it is our intention however, to improve these services to the fullest not only by improving and repairing the existing facilities but by opening out new channels of service. Right now, we are engaged in the task of improving the pressure and the calorific value of the gas supplied so that your needs would be met faster and with the consuming of minimum gas which would no doubt reduce your cost and save your valuable time.

"May we therefore, enlist your support and co-operation in our endeavours to further improve and develop these services and also to bring gas to the door-step of more and more of your friends. We have no doubt that you would speak to them of the benefits of the wide use of gas and of any improvements in our services which you have already noticed. Could you please, therefore, inform those friends around you of the already improved quality of gas and our services which we have given you for the past one month and convince them of the advantages in using our gas which is now enriched with LPG for as many purpose as it would warrant.

"As much as it is in our interest it is in your interest too that more and more people get used to the habit of using gas for their domestic and other purposes. This would greatly help us in the very near future to cut down on our charges and offer you better gas at a cheaper rate which would no doubt save you a lot of your valuable time and money.

"May we therefore, call on you to assist us in reaching our targets. We would be very thankful if you could give us your views and proposals to help further improve our services which would no doubt be welcome. We would also be thankful if you could prom-

ply spot our faults and inform us of our shortcomings so that we would take prompt remedial measures. Such gestures on your part would no doubt contribute in a great way for us to give you a still better service.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
Manager,
Colombo Gas &
Water Company Ltd.

Note:— In case of complaints, please be prompt to contact our Distribution Manager on his direct telephone No: 3367! or 32311, 32312. You will then have our immediate attention.

BOOK REVIEW

The Distance And
The Being

K. S. Sivakumaran

THOLAIVUM IRUPPUM EANAYA KATHAIKALUM—a collection of short stories in Tamil by A. Jesurasa, Gurunagar, Jaffna.

The English title of this collection will read: *The Distance, the Being and Other Stories*. The underlying theme in most of these stories is alienation and private agony, but they are written in an honest and sincere manner. They are candid subjective observations of an "outsider," who is trying hard to strike a balance with the environment in which he lives. Most stories have almost the same characters and the location is also similar in most cases. The backdrop is either Peradeniya Campus or the fishing area of Gurunagar in Jaffna.

An educated youth from this village lives in Colombo and Kandy and is attached to the Postal department. He is also a sensitive aesthete, who enjoys reading and seeing artistic films. (Infact one story is a record of an experience after seeing Ray's *Apu Sansar*). He realises that the world outside has a meaning for him and yet he wants to outlive the environment and live as honestly as possible from moment to moment. He has his private problems of unrequited love, maladjustment and the like, and the natural reaction is apparently pessimistic. But

this pessimism is not allowed to take deep root in him as he continues to be sceptical and rational at the same time. These are the general characteristics of the narrator in these stories and they speak for the writer too.

Shanmugam Sivalingam, a sensitive poet and critic, has correctly analysed these stories in the foreword to this collection. He points out: "The message of the story will get lost and remain a mystery if it had not been written objectively. It is inevitable that the objective outlook is based on contemporary and practical, social-economic - political - psychological philosophical concepts".

It is best if Jesurasa takes note of this, for it will help him to see through things better and deeply. He has a very fine sensibility and a knack to put things in an effortless manner, which I believe, he has acquired by discriminate and profitable reading. But he must guard himself against confining himself to a set pattern of writing. I see that he has an almost magnetic disposition towards Mowmi and La. Sa. Ra. (South Indian writers of Kafka and Joyce variety) and a very mild flirtation with the Existentialists.

In sum, this collection is indicative of the fact that, at least, a few writers amongst us, are not that social conscious. If only Jesurasa, who has a yearning to record private experiences, divorced from objective reality (he, as a writer,

POTATO BREAD

Potato bread produced for the first time by Modern Bakeries, would be put on sale in Delhi within a fortnight. The Chairman of Modern Bakeries, Mr. Munir Ahmed Khan, said potato bread would have about ten per cent potato flour along with maida. This would help offset the occasional glut in the production of potato and could be sold cheaper than ordinary bread, he said. Use of potato in bread-making would help reduce the heavy dependence on wheat. Potato flour would also be used in biscuit manufacture, he said. He was speaking on the occasion of the commissioning of the pilot nan-making plant.

has a social role to play) writes with social consciousness, then the contemporary Ceylonese Tamil writing can become all the more richer.

SEMINAR

The Liberation Of Tea

"Liberation of Tea" as a development strategy will be the theme of a seminar (in 12 sessions) sponsored by the Centre for Society & Religion, which will begin at 5.15 p.m. on the 18th of June 1975 till 3rd. September '75. On every Wednesday). The inaugural address will be given by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Minister of Plantation Industries on the 18th. June at the Centre Hall, at 281/1, Deans Road, Maradana.

The main purpose of the seminar is to provide a forum for the free interplay of different shades of opinion on the subject of Tea.

Tea being one of the most important elements in the social and economic life of our country, the integral liberation of our people is not possible without a transformation of the structures and relationships within the tea industry, in the direction of social justice.

This seminar seeks to analyse the whole line of exploitative relationships that characterise the tea industry from the plantation to the foreign consumer. Such an analysis is intended to create awareness of the obstacles and seek together remedies towards a more efficient and equitable reorganisation of the industry so far as it is within our control.

This seminar encompasses a wide area ranging from Multinationals, Nationalization, Patterns of Ownership & Interlocking Directorates, Radicalisation of Estate Management Techniques, Production & Diversification, Manipulative Techniques and of Marketing & Agency Houses to the Status of the Plantation Workers and their Socio-cultural Integration and Political Future.

A special feature of the seminar will be consciousness raising among

all interest groups in Sri Lanka. The last session in the series entitled "Action for Liberation" will be devoted to this task.

These series will be held every Wednesday at the Centre Hall at 5.15 p.m.

Australia A Busy Training Field for Maldivians

It may come as something of a surprise to learn that over 20 Maldivians are at present being educated or trained in various fields in Australia. In all, over 60 Maldivian students and officials have been trained in Australia under Australia's bi-lateral aid programs. This was one of the matters discussed by Mr. Marshall, the Australian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, who is also his country's Ambassador to Maldives, when he made his farewell calls on the Government of the Republic of Maldives this week.

Mr. Marshall, who has returned to Colombo, had discussions in Male' with His Excellency the President, Amir Ibrahim Nasir, and with some of the four Vice Presidents and four Ministers, who now comprise the Government, as well as the Attorney General. He found continued appreciation of the benefit of the education and training opportunities open in Australia to Maldivians through the Colombo Plan despite the impact on the trainees of a rather different environment from that of Maldives itself. The fields in which Maldivians are training, or have trained, in Australia, in addition to four trainees in the Department of Foreign Affairs annual Training Courses for Afro-Asian and Australian diplomats, include primary and secondary schooling, tea cher training, education, engineering, accountancy and nursing. Mr. Marshall is due to leave the Island on 5 July on the conclusion of his term of over three years as High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, and, for the latter part, also Ambassador to Maldives.

June 12, 1975

Confidentially

Nonaligned Summit

IS IT NOT TRUE that the special Algerian envoy who had come to discuss the forthcoming nonaligned Summit in August 1976 had brought the offer from President Boumediene of a gift of 200 motor cars in the nature of a donation towards the summit conference? That it is learnt that this offer was an open one? That it was not tied to any special brand or make of cars? That any make of car in the best range was acceptable to the Algerians? That a couple of days before the envoy had arrived to convey this offer (news about which seems to have trickled through diplomatic grapevines earlier) a powerful group which has a great deal of say in organising of the preparatory work for the summit had placed an order for 200 cars of a particular make which cannot be said to be at the top of range either in the country of manufacture or in any of its neighbouring countries? That it must be remembered that of the 400 odd cars which are believed to be necessary for the summit meeting, Australia is said to be gifting a hundred or more cars? That the number from Australia may be even two hundred or if Australia was not sending 200 Holdens, it is said that another country may have made up the balance of the two hundred which is half the number estimated as being totally required? That that though there were whispers about the Algerian gift of 200 cars an order was placed for the balance 200 cars with a particular manufacturing organisation which has vast and deep roots in the administrative establishment in Sri Lanka? That the united Algerian offer had thrown many important people into confusion? That the Algerian offer was only brought into the open only after the order for the two hundred cars had been confirmed? That as a result of this, the Algerian offer of importing the best available brand or make of cars on the market could not be availed of? That with a bit of hawing and humming and elbow rubbing it would seem that the Algerian envoy was persuaded to offer to pay for the two hundred

cars already ordered? That many people in the know are sorry that Sri Lanka has missed an opportunity of getting 200 prestigious cars—certainly more prestigious than what the country will get now on this order? That it is hoped that President Boumediene will accept the undertaking given by his envoy to pay for the 200 cars which had already been ordered? That it is only after the LC is opened from Algiers that one can be certain that nothing has misfired? That in the meantime there are unpleasant whispers about the order placed for the 200 cars? That this was done in such a way as to preempt the Algerian offer? That many hope that no secret foreign commissions are involved in the deal? That such things cannot be hidden for very long in the global era of Watergate? That the point has also been made that the Committee in charge of expenditure should be extra careful about proper accounts and accountability? That when many hundred millions of rupees are being spent it was essential that no disgruntled person is given an opening to cast stones? That it is natural that evil-minded persons will talk about secret commissions and the like? That in order to prevent any such backlash the Committee must ensure that every cent is carefully and properly spent with the great economy and in a manner in which no audit or probe committee can find any lapses? That it must be remembered that the conservative estimates for the total expenditure for the summit has (according to usually reliable good gossip in the corridors) totalled to something around Rs. 500 million? That more realistic persons have suggested that Rs. 800 million would be much nearer the mark? That a sum between Rs. 500 and Rs. 800 million constitutes a sizable proportion of the annual budget of Sri Lanka? That gifts from certain affluent nonaligned countries are not expected to be anything more than Rs. 80 million? That unexpected generosity from certain donor countries may push the total of the gifts to about Rs. 100 million? That this amount will not pay for the entire foreign exchange component of the expenses for the summit? That Sri Lanka has to find the balance money, in foreign exchange as well as in rupees, to finance the summit as the host

country? That the Government will have a ticklish problem of finding all this money? That with the Finance Bill for the last Budget still in the melting pot, it will be interesting how the expenditure for the summit in the next budget is to be handled? That it will be a moot point whether the total nationalisation of everything—banks, estates (including sterling and foreign), agency houses, the big firms and all the rest—will help to find this money? That an even greater problem will be to sell the summit and the expenses it involves to the people of Sri Lanka especially in a pre-election year? That people must be satisfied that the expenditure of this vast amount for a eight-day (or is it five-day) conference by a poor country like Sri Lanka was justified considering the hardships and austerities put up by the ordinary people? That there will be hard feelings that a few foreign delegates should be entertained like maharajahs of old whilst the millions of ordinary people are on the verge of subsistence? That to be able to do this the Supreme Committee preparing for the Summit must obtain the support and sympathy of the domestic national press? That this does not mean the Lake House alone? That it does not mean only certain daily papers favoured by a blinkered bureaucrats? That the entire Fourth Estate of the country, dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies, monthlies and even quaterlies must be roped in from now to explain the nonaligned summit to the people of Sri Lanka and make them realise that this enormous expenditure was justified in the national interests of Sri Lanka? That at present it would seem that those in charge of Information and the Press for the Summit are having their heads screwed only one way and that is to appease and accommodate the foreign press? That the bulk of the local press has so far been ignored? That it is likely that the local press will find no place in the Summit Conference? That the result of such foolish short-sightedness will be that while the world press will have headlines for a week, the local press, left out in the cold, will furnish all the material for solid opposition propaganda?

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